

**H. Rider Haggard, Theophilus  
Shepstone and the Zikali trilogy: A  
Revisionist Approach to Haggard's  
African Fiction.**

By

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## Abstract

The history that H. Rider Haggard writes about in his imperial adventure romance fiction is neither collusive nor consensual with the Zulu who are often the focus of his novels. He writes a complex colonial narrative that characterises the Zulu as a proud and mythic, yet ultimately doomed, race. His early twentieth century trilogy, *Zikali*, is unique in that he uses the three books, *Marie*, *Child of Storm* and *Finished*, to narrate three pivotal events in the nineteenth century history of the Zulu Kingdom. In *Zikali*, he simultaneously propounds the legitimacy of the colonial endeavour, so effectively that he rewrites history, to ensure the primacy of the Englishman in nineteenth century Southern Africa historiography, whilst aggrandising the Zulu kingdom. This reframing of the colonial narrative—to suit the Western interloper—would be evidence of what is a standard trope within imperial adventure romance fiction, were it not for the fact that Haggard is ambivalent in his imperialism. He is both recorder and creator of imperial history, bewailing the demise of the Zulu Kingdom whilst validating the importance of the role of the colonial white Englishman; he senselessly kills hundreds of natives within his books, yet privileges the Zulu. Referencing one of the primary motivational sources in Haggard's own colonial experience, Theophilus Shepstone, I propose to show Haggard's sublimation of Shepstone's ideas into his own African Arcadian romances, and his creation of a Zulu historiography, which would go on to be lauded by the early South African National Native Congress as being one of the foundations of early twentieth century native socio-political self-fashioning. Haggard's work provides a fragmentary and elusive insight into nineteenth century southern African history and offers an abstruse glimpse into colonial culture rarely found in other imperial adventure romance fiction.

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## Introduction

In 1889, the critic Andrew Lang wrote to H. Rider Haggard, 'I don't know any other penman who can fire a gun'.<sup>1</sup> For Lang, Haggard's uniqueness as an author came down to his knowledge of the type of experiences about which he wrote. Haggard was a colonial civil servant, entrepreneur and journalist whose success as a novelist was strongly, if not wholly, owed to his six years in Africa in his twenties. Haggard himself acknowledged his immersion in colonial African culture. He wrote in his autobiography *The Days of My Life* (1926): 'I liked to understand any country or society in which I found myself. I despised those who merely floated on the stream of life and never tried to dive into its depths'.<sup>2</sup> Haggard's desire to know about the cultures with which he came into contact means that his fiction is embedded with nuanced and detailed observations of people and nationalities. This thesis focuses on the rich socio-political details which have previously been overlooked by critics due to Haggard's jingoistic and populist reputation.

The Zikali trilogy of *Marie* (1912), *Child of Storm* (1913) and *Finished* (1917) provides an insight into how Haggard saw his own and his fellow colonists' role in Africa. Haggard wrote the trilogy towards the end of his career in the early twentieth century as the British Empire began its decline. Consequently, the novels are far more reflective on colonialism and its effect in southern Africa. The thesis analyses the fictional interplay between what the original author's assumption was and what the novels actually expressed. It will show that the text is not fixed and that the lines between the text and its socio-cultural background are fluid and constantly redrawn by the author, the (intended) audience and the reader. This thesis fills the space suggested by Neil E. Hultgren in his 2011 article 'Haggard Criticism since 1980: Imperial Romance Before and After the Postcolonial Turn': 'recent intersections between cultural history and literary studies have mapped out a number of possibilities beyond textual studies that allow for new perspectives on Haggard'.<sup>3</sup> This thesis will engage with Haggard's complex and sometimes contrary attitudes to the colonialist rhetoric which was intrinsically associated with his name and his fiction.

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<sup>1</sup> ms38260 St Andrews University number 49 1-310 of 395 (1889)

<sup>2</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co, Ltd., 1926). p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Neil E. Hultgren, 'Haggard Criticism since 1980: Imperial Romance before and after the Postcolonial Turn', *Literature Compass*, 8 (2011).

The following thesis adds a substantial dimension to the current critical body of work on H. Rider Haggard and his imperial adventure romance fiction. It reaches beyond the work of Haggard scholars Lindy Stiebel, Laura Chrisman and Gerald Monsman and presents Haggard's work in a revisionist light. The development of critical cultural theories and practises—most particularly New Historicism and Thick Description—have created new and revealing approaches to literature. New Historicism creates the scope for the researcher to engage with 'the story's full situation—the genre it is thought to embody, the circumstances of its performance, the imaginings of its audience—that governs its shifting meanings'.<sup>4</sup> In a New Historicist reading the text is not isolated from its socio-cultural background, it is neither read apart from the time it comes out of, nor considered unable to represent an interpretation of history. Thick Description enables the reading not just of a behaviour or event but the context and conceptual interpretation of that behaviour. This thesis fully utilises these approaches to literature to explore and engage with Haggard's explicit and implicit colonialism as it manifests in his early twentieth century imperial adventure romance.

There are four key terms which I return to repeatedly within this thesis: native, imperialism, colonialism, and historiography. The term 'native' is usually used to mean indigenous peoples, and is used frequently by Haggard throughout his texts. Although my rendering of this phrase follows the definition by Benita Parry: 'The term "native" is used as a designation distinct from the derogatory misappropriation by white South Africa, and one that is common in the discussion of colonialism and postcolonialism', I have limited my use of the word to occasions in which it is contextual.<sup>5</sup> Imperialism is the ruling of one country by another, usually at a distance. As Elleke Boehmer notes, it 'is a term associated in particular with the expansion of the European nation-state in the nineteenth century'.<sup>6</sup> Colonialism consolidates the power of imperialism by, as Boehmer goes on to say, 'the settlement of territory, the exploitation or development of resources, and the attempt to govern the indigenous inhabitants of occupied lands'.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance*, (Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books, 1982). p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Benita Parry, 'Some Provisional Speculations on the Critique of 'Resistance' Literature', in *Altered state? Writing and South Africa*, (New South Wales: Dangaroo Press, 1994), pp. 11-24.

<sup>6</sup> Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 2.

I use historiography as a cultural concept, as the creation of a specific history, which is differentiated from the Western colonial historical narrative. Ultimately this thesis is postcolonial in that I analyse the cultural and social implications of the colonialism and imperialism that shaped both the author and the Zikali trilogy. That is not to say there is a single coalescing view of the history of the trilogy, one that perpetuates the idea of a monolithic colonialism, but rather as Kellie Holzer suggests, viewing empire as ‘a structure of shifting and often inconsistent identities and loyalties.’<sup>8</sup> By looking at the variations within the text I intend to look beyond the characteristic assumptions imperial adventure romance in the Zikali trilogy to the author, his intentions and his influences.

This thesis is part of the continuous counter-historical processes that are constantly being reshaped and readdressed by post-colonial literary analysis. This thesis will explore the colonial encounter in Haggard’s imperial adventure romance colonial literature but in doing so it will not neglect what Anne McClintock identifies as the issues around the ‘world’s multitudinous cultures’ being marked not by what distinguishes them but by ‘a chronological, prepositional relation to a Eurocentred epoch’.<sup>9</sup> This thesis builds on, and problematizes, previous post-colonial inquiry to present a revisionist reading of Haggard’s early twentieth century Zulu trilogy, Zikali. Haggard began work on the Zikali trilogy in 1911. He narrated the three main events he saw as intrinsic to the history of the ‘People of Heaven.’<sup>10</sup> These were the first land negotiations and short skirmish war between the Boers and the Zulu caused by the Great Trek, featured in *Marie*; the civil war for the Zulu Chiefship between the sons of Mpande, Mbulazi and Cetshwayo, explored in *Child of Storm*; and the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, the subject of *Finished*. In the Zikali trilogy, Haggard critically responded to the link between the expansion of British Imperialism, as characterised by Allan Quatermain, and the subsequent eradication of native peoples’ geopolitical and social structures, the demise of the Zulu nation. His work becomes a jumping off point, a

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<sup>8</sup> Kellie Holzer, ‘The Body Writes Back: Self-Possession in *Mr Meeson’s Will*, *Nineteenth-Century Gender Studies*, 8 (2012).

<sup>9</sup> Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, (London: Routledge, 1995). p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours; or, Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal, and the Transvaal.*, (London: Trubner & Co., Ludgate Hill, 1888). p. v.



beginning, and a place to start critically re-evaluating the indigenous cultures almost annihilated by British and Dutch colonialism.

## Précis

The introduction will give a short summary of Haggard's life and career, with particular focus on his time in Southern Africa as a young man. It will give an overview of Theophilus Shepstone and his place in Haggard's life. It will also show how Haggard's work was to have a role in the early South African national native political movement towards self-determination.

Chapter one will explore the history of imperial adventure romance fiction and illustrate the literary evolution of the characteristics of representation and description of the 'other'. Taking examples from the seventeenth century onwards, I will investigate how imperialism and colonialism manifest in narratives and show the background to fictional representations and interactions with the 'other' in the texts. In doing this, this chapter will highlight the imperial romance tropes which are intrinsic to Haggard's fiction.

Chapter two will look at the hermeneutics of colonial fiction. As Geertz notes: 'A good interpretation of anything—a poem, a person, a history, a ritual, an institution, a society—takes us into the heart of that which it is the interpretation'.<sup>11</sup> In this I will utilise the new historicist approaches of Greenblatt and Gallagher, and show how, with the approach of Geertz, the historical legacy of colonial literature can be re-read in a new and more detailed light. Leading on from this I will explore the importance of Haggard's relationship with Theophilus Shepstone—Natalian Governor for Native Affairs—on his fiction, and how it is this relationship that has created ambiguity, in the meaning, or role, of the texts.

Chapter three is a detailed analysis of *Marie*, discussing both the notion of lost love within the text, and its mimicking of the author's own heavily self-dramatising ideas. This chapter also identifies Haggard's animosity to, and subsequent mellowing towards, the Boer and their reasons for leaving the British colony in the mid-nineteenth

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<sup>11</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*, (New York: Perseus Books Group, 2000). p. 18.

century. Finally, this chapter begins to identify the use of Zulu history within the Zikali trilogy.

Chapter four covers the most Zulu-centric of the trilogy, *Child of Storm*. It is this chapter which most thoroughly examines the counterpoint between fictional narrative and colonial history that runs throughout the trilogy. It also looks at the role of the author surrogate as a means by which Haggard most directly revises Natal and Transvaal socio-cultural history.

Chapter five investigates *Finished*, and its intertwining with Haggard's own search for adventure in Africa, and that of colonialism in general, using the characters of Heda and Maurice to explore the failure of the colonial idyll. It also clearly looks at the relationship between Theophilus Shepstone, the character of Allan Quatermain and how that has influenced the representations of the Zulu within the text.

Finally, chapter six reappraises Haggard's narrative of the Zulu. It looks at the African experience as seen through Haggard's interpretation of a sublime idyll, and the role of Shepstone in colonial policies. It concludes by exploring the role of Zikali in Haggard's complicated and ambiguous colonialism.

## Haggard: Life and Career

Henry Rider Haggard was born on the 22 of June 1856 at Wood Farm in Norfolk. He was the eighth of ten children; a weak child who suffered from jaundice, he was not expected to survive infancy.<sup>12</sup> Tom Pocock writes in his biography of Haggard: 'It was no secret that Rider was the least-favoured son [...] In early adolescence he lacked his parents' good looks. He was tall and thin, his eyes protuberant, his nose long and his mouth and chin weak'.<sup>13</sup> Haggard's image changed little before middle-age, as is

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<sup>12</sup> Tom Pocock, *Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire; a Biography*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993). p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*p.80.

evident by the caricature drawn by Spy for *Vanity Fair* when Haggard was 30. Rider



Figure 1: Spy, "She", for *Vanity Fair* (London, 1887).

was considered the least academically gifted of the Haggard children and after being bullied at a day school in London was sent to board at a rectory in Garsington where he received concentrated tuition from the Rev. Graham.<sup>14</sup> It was at Garsington that Haggard met the man whose name was to grace his most successful character. William Quatermain was a local farmer, 'a fine handsome man of about fifty, with grey hair and aristocratic features'.<sup>15</sup> Haggard described him as a 'long, lank man [who] was very kind' to him.<sup>16</sup>

Haggard was the only son of Ella and William who was not given a gentlemen's public school education.<sup>17</sup> In *The Days of My Life* Haggard explains his lack of a public school education being due to him being considered a 'dunderhead' and 'stupid'.<sup>18</sup> He goes on to note

that his father had him tested when he was a young child in:

[A]n examination by my future brother-in-law, the Rev. Charles Maddison, with the object of ascertaining what amount of knowledge I had acquired [...] The results of this examination were so appalling that when he was appraised of them my indignant father burst into the room where I sat resigned to fate, and, in a voice like to that of an angry bull, roared out to me that I was 'only fit to be a greengrocer'.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p.7.

<sup>15</sup> H. Rider Haggard, 'On Going Back', *Longman's magazine*, 1882-1905, 11 (1887). p.62

<sup>16</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p.7.

<sup>17</sup> Pocock, *Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire; a Biography*. p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* p.5.

This judgement would haunt Haggard for the rest of his life most particularly because he had such high regard for his father's opinion. Haggard later said of his father that he 'never knew anyone who could form a more accurate judgement of a person of either sex after a few minutes of conversation, or even sight'.<sup>20</sup> After being sent to Ipswich Grammar School for 'two or three years', 'with characteristic suddenness,' Haggard's father decided he should try to enter the Foreign Office, and Haggard was duly sent to a private tutor in London, and subsequently to Scoones to cram for the entrance examination.<sup>21</sup> Haggard writes, 'to this end, when I was just eighteen, I was put in lodgings alone in London, entirely uncontrolled in any way'.<sup>22</sup> This transient education shows how completely at the will of his father Haggard was, yet it also demonstrates that Haggard would have learned to adapt to new situations quickly. After a year and a half at Scoones', in 1875, Haggard joined his family on the continent, at Tours in France. It was here that Haggard's father heard that a family neighbour from Norfolk, Sir Henry Bulwer, was taking up a post overseas, as Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, and asked him to take Haggard. 'Accordingly in a week or two Scoones' and the Foreign Office had faded into the past', and Haggard commenced his colonial career.<sup>23</sup>

He initially went out to Africa in 1875 in the unpaid role of entertainments organiser, looking after Government House in Maritzburg, Natal. This was an instant solution to Haggard's father's problem of what to do with his recalcitrant young son. His appointment in southern Africa was at a time when a 'champagne and sherry' policy was being used to foster a convivial atmosphere between the Boer and British. This was the alcohol infused genial entertaining of both the Boer and the natives, with the hope that they would then comply with British political requests. It is indicative of the role that Haggard would be expected to play in Natal that his first task, once he had been given the job in Britain, was to order all the wine which was to be consumed in Government House, in Natal. Writing many years later, Haggard described Bulwer as 'my beau-ideal of what an English gentleman should be'.<sup>24</sup> It was whilst working for

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p. 35.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p. 36.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 44.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 45.

Bulwer that Haggard met Theophilus Shepstone. Shepstone wished Haggard to accompany him to the Transvaal because, as Haggard says, 'there will be a good deal of what is called the champagne and sherry policy up at Pretoria and he wants somebody to look after the entertaining'.<sup>25</sup> In 1876, at the age of 20, Haggard went with Theophilus Shepstone into the Transvaal. Haggard established a relationship with Shepstone on the journey to the Transvaal which lasted until the older man died; Haggard later noted, 'the most interesting man of all whom I came in contact with in Natal was one who afterwards became my beloved chief and friend'.<sup>26</sup> In the words of Haggard's biographer Norman Etherington, he 'embraced Shepstone as a surrogate father'.<sup>27</sup> Haggard's later imperial adventure romances would be steeped in his own experiences and that of his mentor, Theophilus Shepstone.



Sir. T. Shepstone and his Staff, Pretoria; after Annexation, 1877:  
 Top: J.G. Sargeaunt, A. Cochrane, Capt James, Capt Patterson. Bottom: M. Osborne, W.C. Sargeaunt, C.M.G., Sir. T. Shepstone, R. Haggard, Dr Lyle.

Figure 2: Shepstone and his party after Annexation, taken by H. F. Gros, in Pretoria (1877).

Shepstone's journey into the Transvaal was a special commission from the British government. At a South African conference in London in August 1876:

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p. 62.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p. 68.

<sup>27</sup> Norman Etherington, *Rider Haggard* (Boston: Twayne, 1984), p. 4.

President Johannes Brand of the Orange Free State threatened to withdraw if Britain started to talk about federating the Boer territories. The conference was also attended by Theophilus Shepstone and during its sitting Lord Carnarvon informed him that Britain's plan was to use the excuse of a growing Zulu threat of invasion against the Transvaal to annex it.<sup>28</sup>

Carnarvon wanted Shepstone to be in command of the annexation; he had a wide ranging commission that gave him a lot of political power, 'if he thought fit', to annexe the Transvaal.<sup>29</sup> Haggard saw Shepstone as being emblematic of the British Empire, where 'great authority' was left 'to the discretion of a single man'.<sup>30</sup> It was very much the preconceived notion of imperial governance at the time that the British male's role was to rule, a notion iterated from school onwards. As Lord Salisbury stated in a prize giving at Coopers Hill College, in July 1875, students would go out into the empire,

[F]eeling their position as missionaries of civilisation and fully recognising the responsibility that lay upon them of drawing tighter the bonds between England and that splendid Empire with which it is our vast responsibility to deal.<sup>31</sup>

On the 12 of April 1877 Haggard was part of the administrative commission which formally announced the annexation of the Transvaal, which is mentioned at the start of the third book in the Zikali trilogy, *Finished*. There were multiple reasons the British Government wanted the Transvaal annexed, but primarily it was to prevent war between the Boer and the Zulu. As the Boer had migrated further north to move outwith the influence of the British they had encroached on Zulu land, a subject covered in the first of the trilogy, *Marie*. Haggard became part of the initial administration of the region, and was given his first salaried post, as Clerk to the Colonial Secretary, Mr Osborne.

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<sup>28</sup> Peter Berresford Ellis, *H. Rider Haggard: A Voice from the Infinite*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978). p. 40.

<sup>29</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 73.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* p. 73.

<sup>31</sup> F. S. Pulling, *Life and Speeches of the Marquis of Salisbury*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1885). p. 222.



He very quickly went on to become the Registrar of the High Court, 'indeed he was the youngest official of his rank in the whole of South Africa'.<sup>32</sup>

Haggard, by this stage of his career in Southern Africa, had become part of the colonial machine, like his mentor Shepstone, in which 'everything depended upon the judgement of the officers on the spot'.<sup>33</sup> Yet he was not to remain in colonial administration for long. In May 1879 he handed in his resignation, and with his friend Arthur Cochrane, who has also been part of Shepstone's original commission, decided to become an ostrich farmer.<sup>34</sup> Haggard returned to Britain at the end of 1879, ostensibly for business, but also to find a wife. Haggard was to marry his sister Elenora's friend, Marianna Louisa Margitson.<sup>35</sup> At the end of 1880 the Haggards returned to South Africa, arriving at the ostrich farm at the end of January. Their first child, Arthur (known as Jock), was born there in May 1881. Jock was to die aged 10, while his parents were in Mexico, a blow Haggard never recovered from. They went on to have three further children, Agnes (1883-1973), Sybil (1884-1946), and Lilius (1892-1968).

The family, and Cochrane, left Africa at the end of 1881, in part due to the British Government giving independence to the Transvaal. This confusing and complicated state, of annexation and independence, ensured that for many years the Transvaal, in southern Africa, was in a state of turmoil. Haggard was to use this ambiguity as the driving narrative for many of his imperial adventure romances, most particularly in the Zikali trilogy. Upon returning to Britain, Haggard read for the Bar. It was whilst he was studying that he first began to write books, but he was not to have commercial success until the publication of *King Solomon's Mines* in 1885. Haggard's time in African was to be a consistent source of inspiration for his imperial adventure romance.

## Haggard and Shepstone: The African Experience

Haggard writes in his autobiography that 'the real business of my life began [in Natal]'.<sup>36</sup> In Natal Haggard experienced frontier living. As part of Shepstone's

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<sup>32</sup> Pocock, *Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire; a Biography*. p. 27.

<sup>33</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 73.

<sup>34</sup> Pocock, *Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire; a Biography*. p. 41.

<sup>35</sup> Ellis, H. *Rider Haggard: A Voice from the Infinite*; Victoria Manthorpe, *Children of the Empire; the Victorian Haggards*, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1996).

<sup>36</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1926). p. 49.

commission to the Transvaal, Haggard experienced the romance of colonial adventure. Remembering this trek, 35 years later, Haggard said:

Still I can see the fearful sweeping thunderstorms that overtook us, to be followed by moonlit nights of surpassing brilliancy which we watched from beside the fires of our camp. Those camps were very pleasant, and in them, as we smoked and drank our 'square-face' after the day's trek, I heard many a story of savage Africa from Sir Theophilus himself.<sup>37</sup>

This idealised African adventure that Haggard talks about goes some way to explaining why Shepstone was such a prominent and recurring figure within his African novels. Shepstone was both arch-colonialist and father figure for Haggard.

As Norman Etherington states in his biography of Haggard, Shepstone seemed to him, 'the very embodiment of romantic imperialism'.<sup>38</sup> Shepstone appears as a character in books, such as *Jess* (1887), where Haggard presents him as the protector of British colonialism: 'When Shepstone annexed the Transvaal he turned the scale against the Dutch element and broke up the plans they have been laying for years to make a big anti-English republic of the whole country'.<sup>39</sup> Importantly, in Haggard's fiction, Shepstone was not just a pillar of the English system but a totemic figurehead for the indigenous populations whose lands came under his protection with the annexation of the Transvaal. Shepstone's influence with indigenous peoples was based in his recognition of the value of 'native law'. Donald R. Morris notes that 'native law was unwritten, but it was astonishingly uniform from clan to clan, and, hammered out by generations of tribal elders, it was acceptable to all the kraals'.<sup>40</sup> The indigenous systems of power and control recognised trial procedures and the concept of the right of appeal. By acknowledging 'native law' Shepstone ensured relatively good colonial political relationships, although he angered the British Crown. As Morris notes the

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<sup>37</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p.76.

<sup>38</sup> Norman Etherington, *Rider Haggard*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984). p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> H. Rider Haggard, *Jess*, (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1898). p. 124.

<sup>40</sup> Donald R. Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*, (London: Book Club Associates, 1971). p. 174.



concept of the British government acknowledging an alien legal system was 'revolutionary'.<sup>41</sup> Although by 'pure force of personality' Shepstone was often able to get policies or orders enacted, from the beginning of his involvement in colonial administration he would often find himself at loggerheads with the British colonial administration and the British Crown.

Haggard's support of Shepstone and his policies was absolute and he would use his fiction to propagandise for Shepstone, as he does in *Black Heart and White Heart* (1900). In this thickly descriptive passage Shepstone is presented as the master of other white men. It is explicit from the text, the strong influence Shepstone had in Natal. The hunter Philip Hadden overhears the Zulu ruler Cetshwayo shout,<sup>42</sup> 'I have guessed it for long, and now I am sure of it. You are a traitor. You are Sompseu's dog,<sup>43</sup> and the dog of the Natal Government [...] Take him away!'<sup>44</sup> Haggard implies that Shepstone is to the colonists as Cetshwayo is to the Zulu; an almost messianic leader. He has Cetshwayo embellish on this: 'I will not have keep another man's dog to bite me in my own house'.<sup>45</sup> In real life Shepstone was not seen as the all-powerful leader by many colonists, in fact it was suggested that 'he brought about his own downfall after being promoted beyond his competence as the first Administrator of the British Transvaal in South Africa, following its annexation in 1877'.<sup>46</sup> Yet no other real person is so prevalent in Haggard's fiction. For him Shepstone was the lynch-pin within southern African history, an idea he most likely took from Shepstone himself.

Haggard saw in Shepstone the qualities he felt were most desired in an English gentleman abroad, characteristics which were to be found repeated throughout his fictions: a steady character, of a meritocratic persuasion with a bent towards muscular Christianity. Haggard discussed the role of the Englishman in Africa in *Cetewayo and his White Neighbours* (1888):

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 174.

<sup>42</sup> His name has been spelt in many different ways due to the difficulties of translation, for example Cetewayo, Cetawayo, Cetywayo or Ketchwayo as is evident throughout this thesis.

<sup>43</sup> Sompseu is Shepstone's Zulu name.

<sup>44</sup> Haggard, *Black Heart and White Heart* H. Rider Haggard, 'Black Heart and White Heart', (*Project Gutenberg, 1900*).

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Jennifer Weir, Norman Etherington. 'Shepstone in love: The other Victorian in an African colonial administrator.' *Orb and Sceptre: Studies on British Imperialism and its Legacies, in Honour of Norman Etherington*, Ed. P. Limb (Melbourne, Monash University ePress, 2008), p. 02.1

It seems to me, that on only one condition, if at all, have we the right to take the black man's land; and that is, that we provide them with an equal and a just Government, and allow no maltreatment of them, either as individuals or tribes: but, on the contrary, do our best to elevate them, and wean them from savage customs. Otherwise, the practice is surely undefensible.<sup>47</sup>

The limits of Haggard's cross-racial geniality are also evidenced in *Cetewayo and His White Neighbours* when Haggard writes:

Of course, there is another extreme. Nothing is more ridiculous than the length to which the black brother theory is sometimes driven by enthusiasts. A savage is one thing, and a civilised man is another; and though civilised men may and do become savages, I personally doubt if the converse is even possible.<sup>48</sup>

Haggard here is racist and arrogant in his civilisation versus savagery reductionism but he is not consistent in this belief. In the subsequent paragraph of *Cetewayo and His White Neighbours* he posits a slightly more ambiguous racism:

But whether the civilised man, with his gin, his greed, and his dynamite, is really so very superior to the savage is another question [...] My point is, that his superiority is not at any rate so absolutely overwhelming as to justify him in the wholesale destruction of the savage and the occupation of his lands.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> H. Rider Haggard, *Cetewayo and His White Neighbours* (London: Trübner & Co., 1888), p. 270.

<sup>48</sup> H. Rider Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement', in *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours; or, Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal, and the Transvaal.*, ed. by John Bickers, Dagny, and David Widger (Project Gutenberg, 2012).

<sup>49</sup> Haggard, *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours; or, Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal, and the Transvaal.* p. lii-liii.

It is hard not to see this ambiguity as indicative of Haggard's rationalisation of why the Zulu could have beaten the British army in many of the battles, notably Isandlwana, of the Anglo-Zulu war of which had been fought three years prior to the publication of *Cetewayo and His White Neighbours*. Trying to rationalise the Zulu peoples' military prowess was something that Shepstone himself had done. Unable to believe that Shaka had created his unique military formations himself, Shepstone 'adopted and spread the canard that [Shaka] at some time had lived in the Cape Colony, where he had picked up his military ideas while watching European troops at drill'.<sup>50</sup> It is easy to see why some British and indigenous people thought Shepstone both 'patronising' and 'pompous'.<sup>51</sup> In his non-fiction and fictional writing Haggard seems to focus most of his attention on the Transvaal and surrounding areas between the 1830s and 1880s. Most especially it is the Zikali trilogy which covers the time from the early 1830s when the Boer first began impinging on Zulu land in Natal to 1879 when the Zulu nation was finally defeated by the British. This period coincides with the arc of Shepstone's career, from his first job in the colonial government in 1835 to his retirement in 1880 subsequent to the 1877 annexation of the Transvaal.

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<sup>50</sup> Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*. p. 172.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* p. 172.

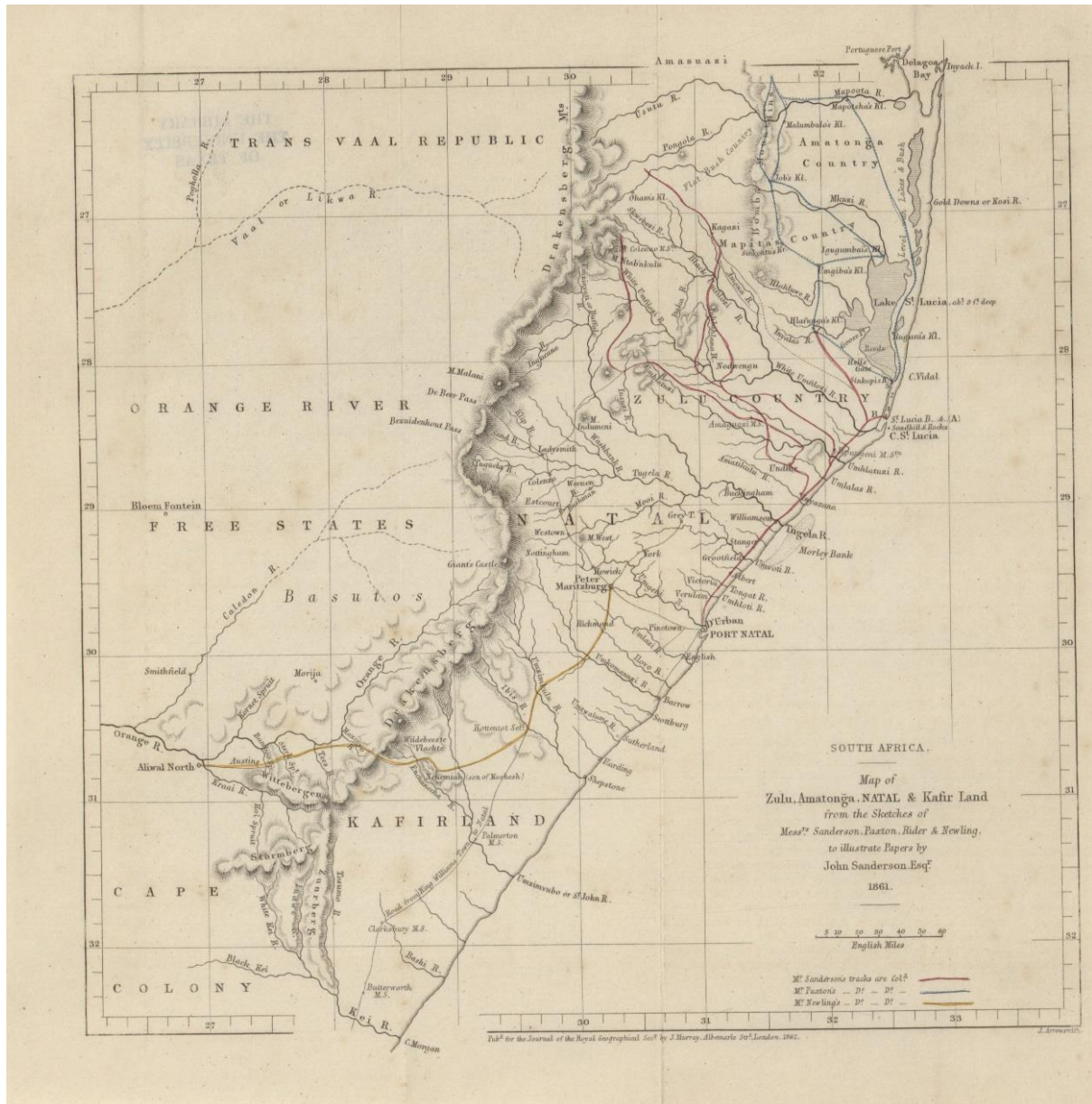


Figure 3: 1861 Map of Zulu, Amatonga, Natal & Kafir Land

Shepstone appears to have respected the local cultures within which he worked. In fact Morris compares Shepstone to a missionary when he notes that:

He was able to do something that very few of even the most devoted missionaries could do—he could think in native terms and see the complex world of European civilisation through Bantu eyes. He admired and—what was

much rarer—respected native civilisations, and he had enormous pity for that culture in its struggle against the continual European encroachment.<sup>52</sup>

Similarly Haggard, as noted above, was sympathetic to the indigenous peoples whose lands were continuously being encroached on by the European colonial powers. Haggard says in the Dedication of *Marie*, that ‘after all in the beginning the land was theirs’, meaning the indigenous inhabitants.<sup>53</sup> Haggard does not give the Africans an equal voice in his work but he does give them a voice, a voice little found in other imperial adventure romance fiction. In the first chapter of *Child of Storm* Haggard has Allan Quatermain ruminates upon human nature ‘he will remain man. I mean that the same passions will sway him; he will aim at the same ambitions; he will know the same joys and be oppressed by the same fears, whether he lives in a Kafir hut or in a golden palace’.<sup>54</sup> Although *Child of Storm* was published late in Haggard’s literary career it reflects the same attitudes he had inherited from Shepstone as a young man. In 1888 he wrote in *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours*,

So far as my own experience of natives has gone, I have found that in all the essential qualities of mind and body, they very much resemble white men, with the exception that they are, as a race, quicker-witted, more honest, and braver, than the ordinary run of white men.<sup>55</sup>

As Haggard’s literary career progressed he shied away from such plain statements and in his later fiction he presses a false nativism on the Zulu people completely at odds with their growing acculturation of Western civilisation. This false nativism very much follows on from Shepstone’s beliefs.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid. p. 171.

<sup>53</sup> H. Rider Haggard, *Marie*, (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1914). p. v.

<sup>54</sup> H. Rider Haggard, *Child of Storm* (New York, McKinlay, Stone & Mackenzie, 1921), p. 2.

<sup>55</sup> Haggard, *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours; or, Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal, and the Transvaal*. p. 269.

Haggard, having ‘lived in various parts of South Africa for about six years, and [...] enjoyed exceptional advance in forming my opinions’,<sup>56</sup>—as an observer and participant of the British Imperial mission—said, ‘true gentility, as I have seen again and again, is not the prerogative of a class but a gift innate in certain members of all classes’.<sup>57</sup> This is an important point as in it we can see Haggard is defining the very Victorian concept of the gentleman as not dependant on race but on personal attributes. He affirms this in his history of the Zulu, *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours*: ‘the average white man [...] detests the Kafir and is quite incapable of appreciating his many good points,’ and then says, ‘it is an odd trait about Zulus that only gentlemen, in the true sense of the word, can win their regard’.<sup>58</sup> Lindy Stiebel has illustrated that ‘Haggard frequently displays his adherence to a kind of social Darwinist cultural relativity in his comparison of European and African cultures, to the former’s detriment’.<sup>59</sup> What makes Haggard so interesting is, though he states plainly his awareness of, and disagreement with, conceived notions of race and culture, his work has always been labelled racist. Haggard does not imply that ‘the African is corrupt through and through,’ as Chinua Achebe’s representation of European attitudes to African people states.<sup>60</sup> Within his African romances Haggard tied up Zulu mythologies with notions of the romantic hero into his own fantasy idyll of Africa, and presented Zulu military brilliance within a Western Christian chivalric paradigm; to produce his ‘interpretation of history’.<sup>61</sup>

### Haggard and the South African Native Congress: a new perspective on the Imperial Adventure Romance Fiction of Haggard

Haggard’s fictional Zulu history is neither collusive nor consensual with the people he writes of. He writes an ambivalent colonial narrative that pursues the story of the Zulu people to a fictional epoch ending decline. Haggard makes the Zulu a proud,

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid. p. 4.

<sup>57</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 66-67.

<sup>58</sup> Haggard, *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours; or, Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal, and the Transvaal*. p. 33.

<sup>59</sup> Lindy Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001). p. 15.

<sup>60</sup> Chinua Achebe, *No Longer at Ease*, (London: William Heinmann Ltd, 1960). p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> Momene Ghadiri and Ahmad Moinzadeh, 'The Comparative Analysis of Two Songs by Farhad Mehrad: The View of New Historicism', *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 1 (2011). p. 384.

endangered and mythic race, yet he understands and agrees with their right to rule their own land, whilst he simultaneously propounds the legitimacy of the colonial endeavour. Haggard un-writes the colonial narrative to the extent that his work is pulled out of the imperial discourse and into the realm of minority nation hagiography or national self-determination. His fiction is an exploration of colonial and colonised culture outside nineteenth century English ethnocentric colonial policy. Haggard does not speak on behalf of the Zulu people but later within the twentieth century his works are reinscribed with historical meaning and cultural worth by local South African politicians. The early leaders of the South African National Native Congress used Haggard's texts as part of a renarratarvisation which registers and incarnates 'the cultural hybridity produced by the colonial condition and appropriated for postcolonial self-fashioning'.<sup>62</sup>

Haggard used the history recorded in indigenous oral traditions, that he heard translated into English by his colonial colleagues, to narrativise Zulu history for his reading public. It is in his embellishment, and dissemination for Western consumption, of the myths and legends of the Zulu people which reifies the importance of the Zulu as a nation in early twentieth century native self-determination. It is important to state that I do not suggest Haggard was liberal in his political and racial beliefs, but that the nature and way in which he wrote, could be used as a socio-cultural counterpoint to the aggressive racism of the predominantly white southern African cultural landscape. The early twentieth century native nationalist discourse reclaimed the narratives Haggard had appropriated.

In 1913, whilst visiting South Africa as part of the Royal Dominion's Commission, Haggard interviewed John Dube, the African nationalist, politician and educationalist, in Durban about the tensions caused by Louis Botha's white government in relation to an overwhelmingly black population. Earlier that month Haggard had noted in his diary that he would like to meet him, writing, 'the rev. John Dube [...] a native clergyman of a very progressive mind [...] I should much like to meet him though I am told he is looked on with suspicion by what I may call the ultra "white" party'.<sup>63</sup> This meeting is particularly interesting as it signified the

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<sup>62</sup> Parry, 'Some Provisional Speculations on the Critique of 'Resistance' Literature'.

<sup>63</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey (1914)*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2000). P. 179.

reappropriation of the Zulu historiography of Haggard's imperial adventure romances by the Zulu people themselves. Albert S. Gérard notes that:

Apart from Dube, only Sol T. Plaatje, whose mother tongue was Tswana, was fully aware of the importance of English, both because there was as yet no tradition of creative writing in Tswana, and because he was so fully immersed in the all-African struggle for recognition.<sup>64</sup>

Dube took back the stories that Haggard had written about the Zulu, ones that had originally been oral narratives that were translated and published in English, reappropriating the discourse of colonialism from the coloniser to the colonised. The cultural authority of power becomes mutable and ambiguous, and Haggard's texts are used as part of the socio-political background to a nationalist self-fashioning.

Dube was later involved with F. L. Ntuli on a translation of Haggard's all-Zulu novel *Nada the Lily* which features Umslopogaas. Set during the time of King Shaka, around whom much of the action turns, *Nada the Lily* is the story of Umslopogaas's earlier life and 'his love for Nada, the most beautiful of Zulu women'.<sup>65</sup> Dube wrote the preface to Ntuli's translation, published as *Umbuso kaShaka (In the Realm of Shaka)* in 1930, describing *Nada the Lily* as a:

[B]rilliant book [...] written by the late Sir Rider Haggard, an Englishman who was sympathetic towards the Zulu nation, praising the nation for its overwhelming influence, its strength and its honesty. I have no doubt that anyone who reads the first two lines of this book won't willingly put it down until they have finished it, it's a compelling read.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Albert S. Gérard, *Four African Literatures : Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). p. 220.

<sup>65</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *Nada the Lily*, (London: Longmas, Green and Co, 1933). p. 5.

<sup>66</sup> Stephen Coan, 'The Meeting of Two Great Minds', *The Witness*, (2012) <[http://www.witness.co.za/?showcontent&global%5B\\_id%5D=76984](http://www.witness.co.za/?showcontent&global%5B_id%5D=76984)> [accessed 20th February 2012].



Dube also praised Ntuli's Zulu translation adding that he hoped the book would 'open the eyes of many who would also like to read books written by some of their own'.<sup>67</sup> Dube himself wrote the first novel written in Zulu, based on the same myths as Haggard, *U-Jeje, Insila ka Tshaka*. Also published in 1930, it has never been out of print.

Sol Plaatje likewise saw the benefits of using the genre of adventure romance as a frame for his first book *Mhudi* (1930). *Mhudi* tells the story of two Barolong people, Nhudi and Ra-Thaga who meet in the forest having escaped from the Matabele's razing of their village. King Mzilikazi's violent extermination of the Barolong in 1832 at Kunana (nowadays Setlagole) caused an alliance to be created between the defeated peoples and the newly arrived Boer. The conflict resulted in the battle of Vegkop between the Boer and the Matabele in 1836, and the battle of Mosenga in 1837 in which the Boers pushed Mzilikazi out of the Transvaal. In the book it is one of Mzilikazi's wives, and friend of Mhudi, Umnandi who leads a new group of Ndbele from the wreckages of the people. The novel mixes Tswana history with the romance of Mhudi and Ra-Thaga, in a way that is not only indicative of Haggard's narrative techniques but speaks back to the indigenous history appropriated not only in *Nada the Lily* but in the Zikali trilogy. Brian Willan quotes a letter from Plaatje to Silas Molema written in 1920,

[J]ust after he had completed *Mhudi*, he described it as "a novel—a love story after the manner of romances; but based on historical facts", and with "plenty of love, superstition and imaginations worked in between the wars". "Just like", he said, "the style of Rider Haggard when he writes about the Zulu".<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Brian Willan, 'What 'Other Devils'? The Texts of Sol T. Plaatje's *Mhudi* Revisited', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41 (2015). p. 1342.

Plaatje adopts the style of imperial adventure romance for his own purposes. Willan notes:

He tells his tale from an African point of view and has a female heroine in place of an archetypal male hero. A central concern throughout is to undermine conventional assumptions of male superiority, to play around with male/female stereotypes, to mock male pretensions. It is a style deliberately chosen, and deployed with both irony and humour.<sup>69</sup>

Plaatje understands the genre and uses it to explore colonial history. Texts are ideologically shaped by the culture within which they are written, and Haggard is not only symbolic of imperial ideology but also of the imperial encounter from the colonial side. Plaatje uses this knowledge to write a text which 'undermines and challenges' many of the tenets of imperial adventure romance.<sup>70</sup> He explicitly states in the foreword to *Mhudi* why he has written the narrative:

This book has been written with two objects in view, viz. (a) to interpret to the reading public one phase of 'the back of the Native mind'; and (b) with the readers' money, to collect and print (for Bantu schools) Sechuanan folk-tales which, with the spread of European ideas, are fast being forgotten.<sup>71</sup>

As Haggard appropriated indigenous history so early twentieth century African writers reappropriated the imperial discourse of their history for their own ends. Laura Chrisman notes that:

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid. p. 1343.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Sol T. Plaatje, *Mhudi : An Epic of South African Native Life a Hundred Years Ago*, (Lovedale, South Africa: Lovedale Press, 1930). p. xi

Like many subsequent African writers Plaatje is involved in establishing an African mythology, creating in the activities and characters of his novel a repository of strong, affirmative heroes and heroines who function to elevate African consciousness, and self-regard, and provide thereby a model and motor for nationalist struggles.<sup>72</sup>

The complexities of colonialism that Haggard explores in his fiction are spoken back to by the complexities of national self-fashioning in Plaatje's. Haggard's Zikali trilogy clearly evidences that the Zulu are both subject and source of the British imperial body politic. His novels formed a specific societal construct firmly rooted in the patriarchal father to son and in the imperial relationship of colonist to 'other'. He was an imperialist whose avocation of empire was vociferous; as Martin Hall says, 'there can be no doubt that he believed passionately in the British Empire'.<sup>73</sup> Yet, his awareness of the Zulu as a maimed nation unable to successfully resist the changing times shows a lack of xenophobia more clear than previous evidence, which cited his 'frequently including the "native" name for geographical features'.<sup>74</sup> Further, the reappropriation of his fictional Zulu historiography by the indigenous nationalist movement evidences the texts' value as culturally hybrid objects. Though it should be noted that it is unfortunate that Haggard is still much more accessible as a discourse on colonialism than writers such as Plaatje, Mofolo and Dube, this is for many reasons but of particular note is the difficulty of accessing the works of southern African writers that are no longer in print. If Haggard's trilogy suggests one thing it is that colonial narratives are dialogues which, though they have been the building blocks of the creation of an African image by those who are within the imperial framework, go on to exist outside and become part of complex trans-boundary narratives.

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<sup>72</sup> Laura Chrisman, *Rereading the Imperial Romance: British Imperialism and South African Resistance in Haggard, Schreiner, and Plaatje* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000). p. 185.

<sup>73</sup> Martin Hall, 'The Legend of the Lost City; or, the Man with Golden Balls', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21 (1995). p. 188.

<sup>74</sup> Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances*. p. 12.

## Chapter 1: Imperial Adventure Romance and Colonial Fiction

### Introduction

Haggard's work came out of an evolving imperial framework. Fictional representations of Empire were the cultural mimesis of the geo-political expansion by European countries into the rest of the world. In late twentieth-century Western literary criticism there is evidence of very fixed attitudes to mid to late nineteenth-century imperial literature; in the main these suggest that imperial fiction is a nineteenth century construct and both racist and prejudiced against the 'other.' In reality, British imperial adventure romance came from a growing branch of literature that had its beginnings in the plays of Shakespeare. From Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (1610),<sup>75</sup> Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688), through Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (1826), to Captain Marryat's *Masterman Ready* (1841), and R. M. Ballantyne, author of *Coral Island* (1858), the imperial narrative changed, developed and reified into one in which the main trope was one for the good of, or betterment of, peoples both at home and abroad. By the late nineteenth century, it was aimed at ensuring the younger generation grew up with the ability 'to maintain,' as Linda Dryden notes, 'a righteous existence in the face of adversity,' an adversity that could be faced at home or encountered abroad when working in the dominions of Empire.<sup>76</sup> These texts were, consciously and unconsciously, shaping the future generation of colonial soldiers, merchants, missionaries and government officials. They were descriptions of an empire both accessible and acceptable to the reading public. By the latter half of the nineteenth-century and early twentieth century British imperial ideology was as much shaped by the stories of imperial adventure romance and colonial fiction as they were by it.

This chapter will explore the evolution and cultural importance of imperialist fiction in not only documenting, but shaping Western perceptions of empire. It will show how fiction strongly influenced the culture of empire, from the cult of the 'Great White Hunter,' to the ideology of imperial benevolence in far off colonies, fiction in which the grand narrative of colonialism was refracted back to the readership at the

<sup>75</sup> Or 1611, the date is not certain.

<sup>76</sup> Linda Dryden, *Joseph Conrad and the Imperial Romance*, (London: Macmillan, 2000). p. 41.

imperial centre.<sup>77</sup> In so doing, this chapter will contextualise the work of author H. Rider Haggard, explaining the background to his early twentieth century imperial adventure romance fiction.

By the nineteenth century the British Empire dominated the globe, and its administrators saw themselves as 'missionaries of civilisation',<sup>78</sup> their role being, as one newspaper put it, to bring 'Imperialist benevolence'<sup>79</sup>—which implied a benign magnanimity that was rarely true—to subject peoples. In writing in this period, Haggard was partially responsible for the shaping of this imperialist vision; he took the epoch and transposed it into incidents and episodes which became emblematic of imperialism. Elleke Boehmer said the 'colonialist work of imagination functioned as an instrument of power'.<sup>80</sup> Its power was in its ability to influence and form Britain's perception of its own culture. To paraphrase Haggard's most famous female character Ayesha, imperialist adventure romance authors created an 'empire of the imagination', establishing tropes and stereotypes which endure today in the symbolism and characteristics of British imperialism.<sup>81</sup>

## The Evolution of Empire: The Evolution of Imperial Adventure Romance and Colonial Fiction

The imperial adventure literature written both in Britain and in the colonies forged the myth of empire. Martin Green saw this genre as 'the *energizing* myth of English imperialism'.<sup>82</sup> By the term 'energizing myth,' Green refers to the dynamic use of fiction to create a positive image, steeped in legend and chivalric honour, of Britain's Empire and colonial expansion, thus encouraging and emboldening British colonists and adventurers. He states:

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<sup>77</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *Maiwa's Revenge; or, the War of the Little Hand*, (London: Longmans, Green, And Co., 1888).

<sup>78</sup> Pulling, *Life and Speeches of the Marquis of Salisbury*. p. 222-223.

<sup>79</sup> 'Our Letter from Rome', *The Morning Post*, (1898).

<sup>80</sup> Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*. p. 51.

<sup>81</sup> H. Rider Haggard, *Three Adventure Novels, She, King Solomon's Mines, Allan Quatermain*, (New York: Dover, 1951).

<sup>82</sup> Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980). p. 3.

They were, collectively, the story England told itself as it went to sleep at night; and, in the form of its dreams, they charged England's will with the energy to go out into the world and explore, conquer, and rule.<sup>83</sup>

Green's analysis is predicated on the fact that these stories were backed up by both the education system, which frequently used these kinds of novels as prizes for students, and, as shown by Peter Keating, in the publishing choices of circulating libraries such as Mudie's.<sup>84</sup> These tales were fundamental to writing the stereotypical tropes and themes of empire into existence. In particular Haggard's fictions, such as *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) and *She* (1887) were intrinsic to creating a monological British—as opposed to a Scottish or English—imperialist identity at the fin-de-siècle, one which was easily identifiable and understandable to the British reading public. Britain's first Empire was internal; as Patrick Brantlinger states: 'by the early 1800s "British" already signified the unification of the internal colonies with England in the United Kingdom.'<sup>85</sup> England was always the dominant nation within the United Kingdom; it was the strongest, economically and militarily, of the four nations and also the seat of political power; thus England became interchangeable with Britain when writers wrote of the United Kingdom.<sup>86</sup>

The English colonial prerogative was strongly tied to Britain's wealth and influence on the world stage. Brantlinger stresses that 'most Victorians believed that,

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

<sup>84</sup> Lending libraries such as Mudie were the predecessor to the local libraries we know today. They enabled people to borrow books for an annual or monthly sum. Previously many were unable to buy books as they could not afford the high costs. Mudie was highly influential not only in publishing; his insistence on the three-decker novel but on the buying public with his regular release of a list showing new and interesting books. Peter Keating, *The Haunted Study; a Social History of the English Novel 1875-1914*, 1991 edn (London: Fontana, 1989). p. 22.

<sup>85</sup> By internal colonies Brantlinger is referring to Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Patrick Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh, EUP, 2009), p. 18

<sup>86</sup> Scotland's first burst of imperialist fever in the 1600s resulted in the Darien disaster which led to the 1707 Act of Union with England. The Darien expedition was a Scottish project to establish a colony on the Darien Isthmus of Panama. Almost half of the nation's capital was put towards the scheme. When the colony failed due to Spanish hostility, lack of naval support, infighting and disease the Scottish economy was crippled. It has been suggested by historians that this caused Scotland to be forced into the treaty of Union with England; as her economy was bankrupt and her parliament no longer viable. Billy Kay, *The Scottish World : A Journey into the Scottish Diaspora*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2006). James Wood (ed.), *The Nuttall Encyclopedia of Universal Information*, (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1900).

because of industry, trade, and liberty, Britain and its Empire were in the vanguard of world progress.<sup>87</sup> If not unanimous across Britain, it was a notion which many late nineteenth century authors held. As the character Marlow says in *Heart of Darkness* (1899), what saved British colonialism was ‘an unselfish belief in the idea;’<sup>88</sup> Rudyard Kipling said colonialism was ‘the White Man’s Burden;’<sup>89</sup> and H. Rider Haggard proclaimed in the dedication in *Marie* (1912): ‘To-day the flag of England flies from the Zambesi to the Cape. Beneath its shadow may all ancient feuds and blood jealousies be forgotten. May the natives prosper also and be justly ruled’.<sup>90</sup> The moral righteousness of British colonialism was seemingly reflected by authors and the words they put in their characters’ mouths, yet what came out of their writing were unique responses to colonialism. Haggard’s emphasis on ‘justly ruled’ when he talks of colonialism is linked to his idea that the British man was in many ways the perfect colonist, he writes in the introduction to *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours*:

[E]verybody seems to forget that this same land had about a million human beings living on it, its original owners, and only, unfortunately for themselves, possessing a black skin, and therefore entitled to little consideration,—even at the hands of the most philanthropic Government in the world.<sup>91</sup>

Haggard saw the British Empire as the ‘most philanthropic,’ but he was also acutely aware of the ‘original owners’ of the land and their rights. It is this dichotomy which makes Haggard’s African imperial adventure romances significant.

It is of note that most colonial endeavours were not the prerogative of the British government; they were often, if not always, led by private companies, societies or

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<sup>87</sup>Patrick Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature and Postcolonial Studies*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009). p. 3.

<sup>88</sup> Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, Third edn (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1988). p.10.

<sup>89</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *The Five Nations*, 21st edn (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1918).

<sup>90</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. v.

<sup>91</sup> Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement'.

religious missions.<sup>92</sup> Private companies were often owned or run by the mobile and financially aggressive middle classes. The growing middle classes—whose wealth and social status was due to the increased industrialisation of Britain—saw Africa as a new ground on which to make their mark. As A. Thompson states:

It is widely acknowledged that much of the impetus for imperialism came from enterprising expatriates [...] among this group the professional middle classes were well-represented: they made a striking and substantial contribution to the history of British expansion while themselves gaining greatly from the colonial encounter.<sup>93</sup>

Typically, a British company would begin to trade in a part of Africa and exploit natural resources, establish trade links or both until it came into conflict with local people or other Imperial nations, at which stage the British government would find itself embroiled in defending lands it had not actively sought. Robinson, Gallagher and Denny described the situation: 'the merchant was expected to create empire [...] expected [...] to do without imperialist rule, to make do with the protection of a sphere of influence'.<sup>94</sup> Parliament was often steadfast in its refusals to engage in political machinations in Africa, though always willing to negotiate spheres of influence that benefited the country economically. Ministers' refusal to get involved in colonisation, citing the public costs of such ventures, was only to be negated when colonisation became a political, and thus a larger economic, issue between European countries. For example, in West Africa in the mid-nineteenth century the British government only intervened when France showed an interest in the land and Britain feared France would gain control of too much of the continent in what was then Equatoria and Sudan. It was not until the late nineteenth-century that the less sophisticated motive 'of taking

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<sup>92</sup> Patrick K. O'Brien, 'The Costs and Benefits of British Imperialism 1846-1914', *Past and Present*, 120 (1988).

<sup>93</sup> Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?* (Harlow, Pearson, 2005), p. 17

<sup>94</sup>R. Robinson, J. Gallagher, and A. Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*, 2nd edn (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1981). p. 395.



territory for its own sake as an estate for posterity' came into being.<sup>95</sup> The government resisted the expansion of Empire due to the fact that, it frequently brought with it the responsibilities of rule. Haggard, writing to Rudyard Kipling in 1917, many years after the epoch of British Imperial expansion, said:

The rise of the British Empire in the teeth of the hamperings and oppositions of British "Statesmen", who for the most part have considered it from the point of view of how many votes it will bring or lose to them, and of the elephantine obstinacy and stupidity of Permanent Officials, is, and always must remain, one of the marvels of the world.<sup>96</sup>

In this letter Haggard emphasised part of what made the British Empire so fascinating, that it evolved and expanded not because of a unified expansionist framework, but rather on the whim and instigation of individuals with their own specific reasons and interests.

If, as I have suggested, the British overseas empire was developed and expanded by individuals through private companies, enterprise or religion, then it follows that they, the individuals, shaped the empire's representation in culture. As individuals shaped ideas of empire, so too did authors, embodying within their fictions colonial constructs of the empire that were read by those both in Britain and abroad. British colonialism, by necessity rather than design, created an empire which was fractionalised, factionalised and informal. The following section charts the different authorial representations of Britain's empire, as it changes from one of fantasy and other-worldliness, to one of responsibility and historical narratives, to one of adventure, and finally Haggard's ambiguous rendering of colonial mid nineteenth century history.

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.p. 395. This concept is evidenced by King Leopold the II of Belgium, and his personal acquisition of a colony in Congo in 1878.

<sup>96</sup> Norwich, Archives Office, July 20<sup>th</sup> 1917 MC H. Rider Haggard 621/1 July 20<sup>th</sup> 1917.

## Early Narratives of Imperialism and Colonialism: from Shakespeare to Defoe

Two of the earliest British fictions that engage with imperialism are Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*. They both evidence early representations of the motifs which were to become emblematic of imperial narratives, such as the identification of the 'other,' and the singular male hero. In the seventeenth century Britain had begun to extend its influence over the rest of the world, seeking places to invest in and land in which to settle. Monies generated by the increased capitalisation of the British economy exceeded what could be reinvested and financiers and politicians looked to invest overseas in future colonies.<sup>97</sup> It is during this time that writing begins to evidence imperial and colonial tropes. In these early writings, the imagery and language used to visualise the strange and the 'other' begins to develop. These narratives were a way of illustrating, understanding and describing foreign lands which few in Britain would ever see.

Shakespeare's *The Tempest* emerges at a time when overseas investment and development are seen as a means of increased capitalisation. *The Tempest* could be seen as the beginning of a fictional discourse on colonialism, which reviewed and analysed changing characteristics of Britain's control and authority. Paul Brown finds, within *The Tempest*, 'the struggle to produce a coherent discourse adequate to the complex requirements of British colonialism in its initial phase'.<sup>98</sup> *The Tempest* describes colonial behaviours and actions, justifying them as imperial necessity. Prospero's taking of the island from its previous owner, Caliban, and his validation of this acquisition through his civilising of Caliban, form the central tenet of its being read as an Imperialist text. As Caliban puts it in Act 1, Scene 2:

CALIBAN: This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,

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<sup>97</sup> O'Brien, 'The Costs and Benefits of British Imperialism 1846-1914'.

<sup>98</sup> Paul Brown, "'This Thing of Darkness I Acknowledge Mine": *The Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism', in *William Shakespeare the Tempest: a Case Study in Critical Controversy*, ed. by Gerald Graff and James Phelan (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 2000), pp. 205-29.

Which thou tak'st from me. When thou cam'st first<sup>99</sup> 335

In this scene Caliban questions what right Prospero has to take his land which he had been in possession of before Prospero and his daughter had arrived. It is then Miranda, Prospero's daughter, who tells Caliban that they civilised him, teaching him their language through which to express himself:

MIRANDA: Being capable of all ill! I pited thee,  
 Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour  
 One thing or other: when thou didst not, savage,  
 Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like  
 A thing most brutish, I endow'd thy purposes  
 With words that made them known.<sup>100</sup>

Central to imperial writing is dominance and the ideology that imperialism is best for all those involved, both colonised and coloniser. This, the beginning of the trope of coloniser against colonised, is intrinsic to the play. As Elleke Boehmer states:

[T]he figures of speech through which travellers and colonizers pictured the exotic, from Shakespeare's *Tempest* developed through a process of reiteration and re-borrowing, into conventions of comprehending other lands.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Gerald & Phelan Graff, James, *William Shakespeare, the Tempest.*, (Boston: Bedford St. Martin's, 2000). 1.2.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. 1. 2. This speech s also attributed to Prospero

<sup>101</sup> Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature.* p. 18.

Shakespeare's *Tempest* created images of how supposedly more primitive people and less advanced cultures were perceived: the modern beginnings of a comprehensively stereotyped 'other.' Though Caliban is a well-known literary figure, it is Daniel Defoe's Friday who is the most enduring representation of the 'other,' and according to some critics, such as Martin Green, the text which demarks the beginning of the imperial literary tradition.

Green claims that Defoe 'devise[d] the literary form of its energizing myth'.<sup>102</sup> In proposing Daniel Defoe as the initiator of imperial fiction Green emphasises Defoe's historical place:

The British empire's rise at the end of the seventeenth century, in fact at the Union of England with Scotland, in 1707; which is to say, at the very historical moment when the adventure tale began to be written, since *Robinson Crusoe* appeared in 1719. Defoe was one of the English government's agents in negotiating that union. And Defoe, rather than Shakespeare, is my candidate for the prototype of literary imperialism.<sup>103</sup>

Green is clearly linking the formation of an imperial ideology, in literature, to the 1707 Treaty of Union. He suggests British imperialism was predicated on its unified internal colonisation, and it is out of that imperial fiction developed. Green acknowledges the imperialism of *The Tempest*, but suggests *Robinson Crusoe* is prima facie the text which made readers 'want to go out and do likewise'.<sup>104</sup> The eighteenth century was a period when increasing numbers of men would travel abroad to make their fortunes and many sailors of the time found themselves caught up in events similar to that of Alexander Selkirk, the suggested inspiration for *Robinson Crusoe*.<sup>105</sup> Edward Said notes:

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<sup>102</sup> Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. p. 70.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. p. 5.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. p. 345. Note 1.

<sup>105</sup> Alexander Selkirk, the inspiration for *Robinson Crusoe* was picked up from his self-requested marooning by the *Duke*, a ship upon which Dampier was the Sailing master. Dampier also being on the vessel which accompanied the *Cinque Ports*, four years previously which Selkirk had abandoned

[T]he novel is inaugurated in England by *Robinson Crusoe*, a work whose protagonist is the founder of a new world, which he rules and reclaims for Christianity and England [...] Crusoe is explicitly enabled by an ideology of overseas expansion – directly connected in style and form to the narratives of sixteenth and seventeenth-century exploration voyages that laid the foundations of the great colonial empires.<sup>106</sup>

Though not categorically stating that *Robinson Crusoe* is the beginning of British imperial fiction, Said resolutely links its creation with an ideology of imperialism and the concept of the novel as a narrative form.

However, I disagree with Green's and Said's view that Defoe 'invented the novel for England and therefore for the world,' and lay the inauguration of the imperial novel firmly at the feet of Aphra Behn.<sup>107</sup> Not only did Behn engage with imperialist tropes but she also wrote from the unique perspective of the 'other', being a female writer in a patriarchal society writing about a slave revolt in Surinam, a Dutch colony in northern South America.

Aphra Behn was one of the first well known female writers in English literature, and wrote both plays and prose from 1670 to 1687.<sup>108</sup> She had strong ties to the court of British King Charles II, whose court patronised her works.<sup>109</sup> She was one of the few playwrights of the time whose work ran for more than three performances.<sup>110</sup> In her novel *Oroonoko*, she tells a supposedly factual account of the capture of an African Royal prince who is sold into slavery and ends up in Surinam: 'I was myself an eye-

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<sup>106</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, (London: Vintage, 1994). p. 83.

<sup>107</sup> Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*.p.70

<sup>108</sup> Aphra Behn's works started to become popular again within critical literary circles at the end of the nineteenth century. The most important expounder of her work was Montague Summers. In his introduction to his deluxe editions of her work he, 'defended Behn warmly, declaring that 'long neglected and traduced, she will speedily vindicate for herself, as she is already beginning to do, her rightful claim to a high and honourable place in our glorious literature'. W. R. & Goodman Owens, Lizbeth. Eds., *Shakespeare, Aphra Behn and the Canon*, (London: Routledge, 1996). p. 133.

<sup>109</sup> Derek and Todd Hughes, Janet. Eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

witness to a great part of what you will find here set down'.<sup>111</sup> The story is based around a slave uprising that Oroonoko instigates, to prevent his child being born into bondage. His fellow slaves quickly lose their nerve, which causes the Royal Prince Oroonoko to take his lover's life to stop her being captured. He himself is tortured to death by the European plantation owners.

Behn's seventeenth century audience had little if any knowledge of Western Africa, Oroonoko having been taken from Coramantien (modern day Ghana), or northern South America. For Behn, according to Joanna Lipking, 'that was an opportunity, a convenient blank space on the contemporary map into which she could inject her romance tale of honour and love.'<sup>112</sup> For Behn both Western Africa and northern South America were an exotic setting for her doomed romance narrative. Behn adroitly uses the emerging European fascination with the exotic and the colonial 'other' to weave her narrative, building on Shakespeare's earlier representations.

Unlike Shakespeare's Caliban and Defoe's Friday, who both have the narrative acted out upon them, Behn's Oroonoko enacts and drives the narrative. Alongside the spectacle of the exotic *Oroonoko* has a complexity of narrative in which it is possible to see Behn wrestle with issues around commercialisation of colonialism and slavery. Defoe has no such qualms in *Robinson Crusoe*, at the story's heart is the acquisition by Crusoe of Friday. The central character Crusoe on first seeing Friday says: 'It came very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was the time to get me a servant.'<sup>113</sup> M. K. Logan notes: 'Crusoe's survival, and his consequent enslavement of Friday, depend on his possession of a gun and tools of modern technology.'<sup>114</sup> In *Robinson Crusoe*, Friday is there to be used by the character of Crusoe. The 'other' is portrayed essentially as an object or tool to be used by the main European male character.

In *Robinson Crusoe* Defoe struggles with the paradigm of class or race based hierarchy, variously calling Friday 'my savage', 'my friend', 'my slave' and 'my servant'.

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<sup>111</sup> Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko, the Rover and Other Works*, (London: Penguin, 2003). p.75.

<sup>112</sup> Joanna Lipking, 'Others', Slaves, and Colonists in *Oroonoko*, in *The Cambridge Companion to Aphra Behn*, ed. by Derek Hughes and Janet M. Todd (Cambridge: CUP, 2004), pp. 166-87. p. 170.

<sup>113</sup> Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe: An Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*, (London: Norton, 1994).

<sup>114</sup> M. K. Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire*, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1999). p. 32.

Defoe in his previous factual writings had strongly advocated that man was not a result of his blood line but of what he made for himself.<sup>115</sup> So it is interesting to note that despite his obvious dilemma, he is still willing to have his character Crusoe subjugate and trade his companions, as in his early companion in the novel, Xury's case. When the Portuguese Sea Captain offers to buy Xury, Crusoe says:

he offer'd me also 60 Pieces of Eight more for my Boy *Xury*, which I was loath to take, not that I was not willing to let the Captain have him, but I was very loath to sell the poor Boy's Liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully procuring my own. However when I let him know my reason, he own'd it to be just, and offer'd me this Medium, that he would give the Boy an obligation to set him free in ten Years, if he turn'd Christian; upon this, and *Xury* saying he was willing to go to him, I let the Captain have him.<sup>116</sup>

Crusoe's untroubled selling of his companion, though it goes against what the author espoused in his own factual writings, brings to the fore a recurring trope of imperial fiction, that of subjugation based on race. In having Crusoe sell Xury, Defoe is implying that Xury's life is not worth as much as the life of the white European, Crusoe.

*Robinson Crusoe* is a seminal book both in its creation of a new genre, the robinsonade, and in its prose mapping of the relationship between the Western interloper and the 'other'. The character of Crusoe exists outside the book—in the British imagination—as a stereotype of the Englishman in his burgeoning empire. Brett McNelly argues that '*Robinson Crusoe* effectively defused insecurities relating to Britain's colonial endeavours by affirming, through Crusoe's character, the exceptional nature of the English subject.'<sup>117</sup> Unlike *The Tempest*, or *Oroonoko*, in *Robinson Crusoe* the reader sees a central character who spends much of his time in extreme isolation, and whose primary colonisation of the land is achieved through his use of

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<sup>115</sup> Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe :An Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Brett C. McNelly, 'Expanding Empires, Expanding Selves: Colonialism, the Novel, and Robinson Crusoe.', *Studies in the Novel*, 35 (2003).

language alone, as evidenced in his naming of Friday, where Crusoe states: 'I let him know his name should be Friday.'<sup>118</sup> McNelly expands on this:

Crusoe's tendency to imagine and create through language his own reality reveals something of the nature of colonialism in general, namely, that it involves an assembly of images and cultural constructs, as well as material practices and circumstances.<sup>119</sup>

What McNelly suggests is that in noting specific tropes as part of a unified narrative and describing people and geographies as settings who and which are decidedly not European, Defoe was solidifying the meanings of what it was to experience colonialism. *Robinson Crusoe* has at its core a character who claims a new world in the name of Christianity and Britain. It is of note that both Prospero, in *The Tempest*, and Crusoe are not overwhelmed by the situations they find themselves in; both, upon being shipwrecked, are able to take control of the situation and turn it to their own good. This certainty and assurance of the British character was evident already in travel narratives from adventurers like Raleigh and Dampier, as mentioned above Said referred to these narratives as foundational to the 'great colonial empires'.<sup>120</sup>

Defoe's work was the start of a now familiar fundamental division in imperial adventure romance: here and there or us and them. John McClure defines this division: 'with the West represented as a zone of relative order, security and secularity, [and] the non-Western world as a zone of magic, mystery, and disorder.'<sup>121</sup> It is a common theme both in fictional and factual imperial writing that the ability to name something previously unknown facilitates the claiming of it for one's country or way of thinking, as evidenced by Prospero in *The Tempest*.

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<sup>118</sup> Daniel Defoe, 'The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe', ed. by David Price (Gutenberg, 2010).

<sup>119</sup> McNelly, 'Expanding Empires, Expanding Selves: Colonialism, the Novel, and Robinson Crusoe.', p. 5.

<sup>120</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*. p. 83.

<sup>121</sup> John McClure, *Late Imperial Romance*, (London: Verso, 1994). p. 8.



Imperial fiction is based on a system of classification which defines the centre, or the European, by what it, or he, is not. Defoe's character Crusoe is perceived as better than the 'other' he comes into contact with and greater than the landscape he resides in, as he ultimately controls, or has power over, all that exists around him in the novel. This is a behaviour reiterated by the character of Allan Quatermain in Haggard's many African romances, the implicit understanding is the Allan by his very Britishness will always be able to come up with a course of action for, or will have influence over, the 'other' characters in the books. This almost paternalistic rendering of the British male is particularly evident in the Zikali trilogy. In *Child of Storm* when Panda, the Zulu chief, is arbitrating a quarrel between his sons Umbelazi and Cetewayo it is suggested that he can only expect the truth from Allen: "How am I to know the truth?" exclaimed Panda at last. "Macumazahn, you were there; step forward and tell it to me".<sup>122</sup> In *Finished* when Cetewayo is trying to decide whether to accept the British terms to prevent war it is not his own council to which he refers instead it is Allan: 'If I run towards the English the Zulu cliff falls upon me. If I run towards my own people, the English cliff falls upon me, and in either case I am crushed and no more seen. Tell me then, Macumazahn, you whose heart is honest, what must I do?'<sup>123</sup> As with Haggard's imperial adventure romances, at the centre of early imperial texts the stereotype being formed was of a colonial European male who drove and directed the narrative.

Imperial fictions tend to affirm and reaffirm the European man's ability to become something greater and better than he was at home, the wider world becoming a stage within which the man, as traveller or coloniser, could assert himself. Yet women also had a driving role in the imperial project which is not necessarily as well reflected in the fiction. Women such as the explorer Mary Kingsley (1862-1900), who self-financed through trade her journeys into parts of western Africa collecting specimens for the British Museum, and the author Olive Schreiner (1855-1920), pioneer of South African fiction, women whose feminism, and socialist bent, sits uncomfortably with the colonial narrative. Schreiner's most famous book *The Story of*

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<sup>122</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *Child of Storm*, (New York: McKinlay, Stone & MacKenzie, 1921). The character of Allan Quatermain is given the appellation of Macumazahn by the Zulu which in the story translates to 'Watcher-by-night'.

<sup>123</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *Finished*, (London: Ward, Lock & co, Limited, 1920).

*an African Farm* (1883) tells the story of Em, Lyndall and Waldo from their childhood through to adulthood, and it is surprisingly modern in its representations of women and sexual relations. I will return to Schreiner further on in this chapter in 'Victorian imperialism and colonial adventure literature'.

The Western male interloper is generally accompanied by a 'native sidekick', or indigenous character, upon whom he comes to rely after having taught this previously 'poor wretch' civilised behaviours,<sup>124</sup> and in most cases, such as Friday in *Robinson Crusoe*, converting them to Christianity. In Haggard's Quatermain romances, it is not that Umslopogaas is converted to Christianity but his unswerving loyalty is emphasised when he lays down his life for his colonial 'father'. In the final scene of *Allan Quatermain*, Haggard writes 'down with a crash [...] still grasping the knob of Inkosi-kass, fell the brave old Zulu-dead'.<sup>125</sup> In both *Crusoe* and *Quatermain* the native sidekick is used as a mirror to reflect the moral fortitude and benevolence of the main character. McInelly says of the importance of the colonial stage to the coloniser:

The colonial sphere offers the 'private man' a setting in which he can become extraordinary and powerful; and Friday, a cultural inferior, is the perfect companion to advance the self-image of a character who, in English society, would have been a nobody.<sup>126</sup>

For *Crusoe* the colonial sphere was about creating a stage from which he could develop as a man and become something greater than the 'middle Station [way] of Life' his father had chosen for him, a station which 'had the fewest Disasters, and was not expos'd to so many Vicissitudes' as other ways of living. *Crusoe* wanted to be one of the men who, 'of aspiring, superior Fortunes [...] went abroad upon Adventures, to rise by Enterprize, and make themselves famous in Undertakings of a Nature out of the common Road'.<sup>127</sup> By placing *Crusoe* in a colonial environment Defoe expanded

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<sup>124</sup> Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe :An Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*. p.156.

<sup>125</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, (London: George G. Harrap & Company Ltd, 1944). p.289

<sup>126</sup> McInelly, 'Expanding Empires, Expanding Selves: Colonialism, the Novel, and Robinson Crusoe.'

<sup>127</sup> Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe :An Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*. p. 5.

the possibilities of what could happen to his young male character, outwith the societal norms of Britain.

### Early to Mid-Nineteenth Century Representations of Empire

During the nineteenth century great numbers of stories were being written that used the colonial encounter or the imperial world as the setting for the narrative. Authors repeatedly returned to the site of socio-cultural difference as a basis for their stories. By identifying the ideologies of power that run through these imperial fictions it is possible to see the commonality of tropes of imperialist culture as they are repeatedly reiterated in fiction. These fictional representations ultimately become synonymous with stereotypical renderings of what the imperial landscape, the Western interloper, and foreigners who are varying degrees of alien, fantastic and strange, but always 'other' to the male European, should look like. Rana Kabbani states that imperial novels were filled with 'descriptions of distant lands peopled by fantastic beings [...] as one dominant group became able to forge images of the "alien" by imposing its own self-perpetuating categories and deviations from the norm'.<sup>128</sup> By identifying how these authors represented empire, and the 'other' or 'alien,' it is possible to analyse the dominant ideologies of imperialism; or as Lindy Stiebel says: 'to understand how a culture imagines its world, both 'home' and 'away,' one looks to its literature'.<sup>129</sup>

An excellent example of quite how viciously those ideologies of power can be played out fictionally is shown in American author James Fenimore Cooper's (1789-1851) series of novels called the Leatherstocking Tales. The Leatherstocking Tales are based around a character called Natty Bumppo. Bumppo was a man of European family but who was brought up by the Delaware Indians and therefore was perfectly positioned between the Western interloper and the 'other'. Cooper's narrative utilised the site of the colonial encounter, the American frontier, within his texts. Bumppo is an excellent example of the desire by the author to represent the difference between the superior Western (i.e. of European heritage) character and the 'other'. Ross Pudaloff demonstrates that, Cooper himself 'denied that nature was more influential than culture and decried the emphasis given the frontier and backwoods in books about America. Rather, he argued that the culture created by Americans [and by that he

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<sup>128</sup> Rana Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient*, (London: Pandora, 1994). p. 3.

<sup>129</sup> Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances*. p. 1.

explicitly does not mean Native Americans] was responsible for the valuable and unique elements of American society'.<sup>130</sup> As such in his books Cooper stresses the difference and the danger of the encounter with the 'other', or Native American.

Very much in the model of British authors, Cooper created an empire of imagination through his fiction. Eric Cheyfitz explains this transference of British norms to American imperial romance. He states: 'the American empire was to be an Anglo-Saxon empire with English as the universal language'.<sup>131</sup> The language may have remained English but in many ways the romances written about America were quick to differentiate themselves from the ones written about British Island dominions and Africa; in America, the European interloper came up against the established cultures of un-displaceable Native Americans.

Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* was set on the frontier. As Martin Green points out, in Europe the frontier was a 'line between two powers, to cross which meant danger; in [America] it has been an area that invites entrance and promises opportunity and riches'.<sup>132</sup> *The Last of the Mohicans* takes as its 'other' the Native American. As with *The Tempest*, in *The Last of the Mohicans* it is a fear of the 'other' and the 'other's' desire to rape or kidnap the white colonist woman that is intrinsic to the narrative. For Cheyfitz, in *The Last of the Mohicans* 'an ironic political fable is being elaborated here, one that rationalizes a class system and its colonial ventures by locating the origin of that system in the very people it oppresses, in their need for oppression'.<sup>133</sup> This statement is not uniquely applicable to American imperial fiction, but was a defining trope of the imperial genre as seen in the quotation given earlier from Miranda's speech in *The Tempest* to Caliban:

MIRANDA: Being capable of all ill! I pitied thee,  
                     Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour  
                     One thing or other. When thou didst not, savage,         360

<sup>130</sup> Ross J. Pudaloff, 'Cooper's Genres and American Problems', *ELH*, 50 (1983). p. 720.

<sup>131</sup> Eric Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from the Tempest to Tarzan*, Expanded edition edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). p. 123.

<sup>132</sup> Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. p. 130.

<sup>133</sup> Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from the Tempest to Tarzan*. p. 161.

With words that made them known.<sup>134</sup>

The native character is seen as 'savage' and to be 'pitied'. They do not have the language to communicate with the colonists and are thus seen as inferior. In *The Last of the Mohicans* the 'savage' Indian, Magua, states when the female heroine, Cora, is bargaining with him for the life of her sister, Alice, that he desires not wealth but Cora for his bride, 'Let the daughter of the English chief follow, and live in his wigwam forever'.<sup>135</sup> Cooper goes on to write:

However revolting a proposal of such a character might prove to Cora, she retained, notwithstanding her powerful disgust, sufficient self-command to reply, without betraying the weakness. And what pleasure would Magua find in sharing his cabin with a wife he did not love; one who would be of a nation and colour different from his own?<sup>136</sup>

The narrator suggests that Cora is sickened by the idea of having to marry Magua but will do so to protect her sister, interestingly the narrator then notes that due to the miscegenation inherent in the union Magua would ultimately not be satisfied as the racial difference would be a barrier to love. As Pudaloff emphasises, Cooper 'stubbornly adhered to a notion of society as organized hierarchically and by blood; thus the marriages in his romances can be celebrated only when an equality of condition and blood obtains between husband and wife'.<sup>137</sup> In *Last of the Mohicans* Cooper emphasises the difference, what he sees as the permanent and fixed difference, between races.

Cooper reifies his stereotyping of difference by the consistent supposed threat of rape by the male 'other', or 'savage', towards the white woman. As Green shows:

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<sup>134</sup> Graff, *William Shakespeare, the Tempest*. 1. 2.

<sup>135</sup> James Fenimore Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans*, (London: Macmillan, 1930). , p. 109

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110

<sup>137</sup> Pudaloff, 'Cooper's Genres and American Problems'. p. 712.

The idea that the forest (or other such environment in another novel) is bristling with savages lusting for a white woman, who will subject her to the unspeakable if the white man's vigilance lapses for a moment is a very powerful motor for this sort of romance [...] Obviously it is parallel to the fear of cannibalism which Defoe made much of.<sup>138</sup>

It is this same unsubstantiated fear of rape which drove many colonial policies throughout Britain's Empire. Jeremy C. Martens notes, in his analysis of Shepstone's 1874 colonial policy which restricted the movement indigenous black labourers in Natal, 'It is possible [...] that Theophilus Shepstone had the rape panic in mind when he introduced his pass-registration system to control 'togg' labourers in Pietermaritzburg and Durban in 1874.'<sup>139</sup> In both the socio-political and fictional representations of nineteenth century imperialism the 'other' or the colonised is consistently represented as oppositional or dangerous to the imperial power or coloniser.

Ultimately Cooper tries to push the 'other' off the map, out of the way of the inevitable progress of Western civilisation. In fact Cooper chose to change historical alliances and vilify the Iroquois Indians in *Last of the Mohicans* when in actuality they were defenders of the British-American against the French and as Clark shows, a people 'with sufficient political development to be worthy of the name Nation when treating with the British, and as a settled arboricultural and agricultural people'<sup>140</sup> Had a truthful representation been given in the novel it would have gone against the established notions of the Iroquois Indians being a savage and nomadic people with little or no culture, and as Clark continues 'initiated quite convoluted arguments about the legitimacy of United States territorial expansion.'<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. p. 136.

<sup>139</sup> Casual labourer; an Afrikaans word from the Dutch *tocht* meaning journey or expedition. Jeremy C. Martens, 'Settler Homes, Manhood and 'Houseboys': An Analysis of Natal's Rape Scare of 1886', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28 (2002). p. 382.

<sup>140</sup> Robert Clark, 'The Last of the Iroquois: History and Myth in James Fenimore Cooper's: "The Last of the Mohicans"', *Poetics Today*, 3 (1982). p. 124.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.* p. 124.

No matter who was primary imperial power, the fiction produced reinforced and validated its role, with representations of the 'other' driven by concepts of power and fear. Michael Taussig notes that '[i]t is also clear that the victimizer needs the victim for the purpose of making truth, objectifying the victimizer's fantasies in the discourse of the other.'<sup>142</sup> The preceding texts emphasize this wielding of imperial power in not only validating that power, but in expanding the experiences available to the white male European characters, and in providing a setting—wild forests, cannibals, unknown islands, etc.—within which they can be challenged, and importantly emerge triumphant.

Ghadiri and Moinzadeh state that 'the literary text is itself part of the interplay of discourses, a thread in the dynamic web of social meaning'.<sup>143</sup> Cooper's novels represent enshrined political beliefs, and 'discourses,' about the colonial 'other'. The legitimacy of expansion, and the socio-cultural behaviour of the imperial power is justified by its presumed inevitability and its supposed Christian moral righteousness. This righteousness of behaviour is a consistent thread within Western imperial narratives. Joseph Conrad described Cooper's writing as so stimulating that he 'gave to so many the initial impulse towards a glorious or a useful career'.<sup>144</sup> The tropes of the dangerous or loyal 'other', and the fortitude and moral righteousness of the white male European character are evident in the imperial and colonial narratives previously illustrated, but it is only in the later nineteenth century that the genre develops its distinctive historiography of the 'other,' even as it continued to reify its role in the 'energising myth of Empire'.

## Victorian Imperialism and Colonial Adventure Literature

Imperialist texts—books, newspapers and magazines—satisfied the desire of the British public for information on newly acquired and ever-expanding lands. Sources

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<sup>142</sup> Michael Taussig, 'Culture of Terror--Space of Death. Roger Casement's Putumayo Report and the Explanation of Torture', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 26 (1984).

<sup>143</sup> Ghadiri and Moinzadeh, 'The Comparative Analysis of Two Songs by Farhad Mehrad: The View of New Historicism'.p. 384.

<sup>144</sup> When written effectively imperialist adventure romance could sway the most doubtful people to colonialism, Conrad goes on to say the works of Marryat and Cooper have in his eyes, 'withstood the brutal shock of facts and the wear of laborious years.' Joseph Conrad, *Notes on Life and Letters*, (New York: Doubleday, 1925). p. 35.

included regular columns in newspapers, for example, 'migrants and their friends' in *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper* (1842-1931). Their content included updates such as this from a young emigrant to Natal:

Leopards are dangerous if molested. Hyenas are cowardly [...] Springboks, antelopes, and wild fowl are abundant. Elephants and buffaloes often visit here in the dry season. The hippopotamus is found in great numbers in some of the rivers; Mr. White a Zulu trader, shot sixty-three in one river during his last visit to the Zulu country. <sup>145</sup>

Tales of fabulous animals and adventurous men, such as the afore mentioned Mr White, brought the empire to those in Britain. Frederick Lugard, noted explorer, acquirer of Uganda for the British Empire and Governor of Nigeria, noted in 1892 that:

To many people in England, Africa is still a great Dark Continent, the continent of our childhood, when we pictured the vast interior as something between a great Sahara and a vast swamp, a land of naked and fierce savages. <sup>146</sup>

Haggard himself said that the empire had been forged from that which was previously nameless, writing in *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours*, of the 'world-wide empire which the spirit of the English colonisation has conquered from out of the realms of the distant and unknown'. <sup>147</sup> The desire for knowledge of empire was so strong that Stiebel describes it as a 'mania for information, always in the name of Progress'. <sup>148</sup> In

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<sup>145</sup> 'Emigrants and Their Friends: A Letter from Natal', *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, (1852).

<sup>146</sup> Captain F. D. Lugard, 'Travels from the East Coast to Uganda, Lake Albert Edward, and Lake Albert' in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*. 14 (November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1892). p. 817.

<sup>147</sup> Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement'.

<sup>148</sup> Stiebel, p. 50.



gathering information about the empire, Britain was in fact gathering information about itself. Aijaz Ahmad expand on this when he states:

'Description' has been central, for example, in colonial discourse. It was by assembling monstrous machinery of descriptions—of our bodies, our speech-acts, our habitats, our conflicts and desires, our politics, our socialites and sexualities—in fields as various as ethnography, fiction, photography, linguistics, political science—that the colonial discourse was able to classify and ideologically master the colonial subject, enabling itself to transform the descriptively verifiable multiplicity and difference into the ideologically felt hierarchy of value.<sup>149</sup>

This form of classification which is intrinsic to imperial dialogue is a way of owning or dominating by naming: The voracious creation of knowledge by supposedly naming and classifying that which was often already named but in a native tongue, fenced off, or appropriated symbolically, that which it had named for the imperial power. It was the cataloguing and assimilation of data that—from the vantage point of distance and time—becomes symbolic of a nation justifying its empire. As George Smyth Baden-Powell said in 1887:

The British nation has taken possession in the name of civilised progress, of three of the four areas of fertile continent in temperate latitudes, which at the beginning of this century still remained unoccupied by civilised man. In the opening up of the great fertile continents of North America, South Africa, Australia, and India by means of all the forces over which civilisation and science have gained command in this nineteenth century—our nation has sown

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<sup>149</sup> Aijaz Ahmad, 'Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and The "National Allegory"', *Social Text*, (1987). p.6.

seeds which it is now commencing to reap in a magnificent harvest of profitable results.<sup>150</sup>

Baden-Powell's 'civilizing progress' was essentially the use of Western concepts of science and notions of civilization, justified by Christian ideas of benevolence, to support Britain's use of its dominant powers to subjugate unknown lands and their people. Nancy Armstrong explains that:

[t]he wholesale transformation of indigenous culture into information that could be distributed on a mass basis created an entirely new world of primitive people, places, and things in relation to which members of the literate elite were positioned as observers.<sup>151</sup>

By classifying the new peoples and lands they came into contact with the Western interloper was able to understand them—foreign peoples who were now defined as 'other'—both in relation to themselves and in relation to other new people and lands they encountered. In other words, imperial adventure romance writing assimilated the knowledge and precepts of the new age in a way that removed unease and provided a sense of order to those back in Britain.

This is exemplified in the fiction of Captain Frederick Marryat who frequently within his novels rated the blackness of people, and thus their 'value' to the Western interloper. In *Peter Simple* (1834) Marryat explains the Western classified gradations of people on the island of Barbados:

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<sup>150</sup> George Smyth Baden-Powell, 'The Commercial Relations of the British Empire', (1887). p. 3.

<sup>151</sup> Nancy Armstrong, *Fiction in the Age of Photography: The legacy of British Realism* (London: HUP, 1999), p. 177.

Perhaps I ought to say here, that the progeny of a white and a negro is a mulatto, or half and half—of a white and mulatto, a *quadroon*, or one quarter black, and of this class the company were chiefly composed. I believe a quadroon and white make the *mustee* or one eighth black, and the mustee and white the *mustafina*, or one sixteenth black. After that, they are *white washed* and considered as Europeans. The pride of colour is very great in the West Indies, and they have as many quarterings as a German prince, in his coat of arms; a quadroon looks down upon a mulatto, while a mulatto looks down upon a sambo, that is, half mulatto half negro, while a sambo in his turn looks down upon a nigger.<sup>152</sup>

Intricate classifications were a way to map the 'other' as they appeared to the English observer.<sup>153</sup> Clifford Geertz said the 'power of the givens of place, tongue, blood, looks, and way-of-life to shape an individual's notion of who, at bottom, he is and with whom, indissolubly, he belongs is rooted in the nonrational foundations of personality'.<sup>154</sup> By defining the 'other' the Westerner classifies himself. He establishes his viewpoint; he identifies his 'tongue, blood and looks,' are not that of the 'other.' The process of making the encounter with the 'other' rational and explainable through labelling and classification is an inherent facet of the colonial enterprise, and in turn, its fiction.

Captain Marryat was a British naval officer, and his work was symbolic of mid-nineteenth century morally responsible imperial fiction. Tim Fulford shows that Marryat was trying to counteract the over domestication and immorality of an increasingly industrial Britain 'by writing a purifying literature,' based on the 'chivalry of the ocean,' putting "good and wholesome food (and, as I trust, sound moral) before the lower classes".<sup>155</sup> Britain, in the 1840s, was defined by its Navy, the strength of its fleet and the battle prowess of its captains. Marryat's fiction is the earliest imperial adventure

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<sup>152</sup>Captain Frederick Marryat, 'Peter Simple', ed. by Nick Hodson (Project Gutenberg, 2007). p. 238.

<sup>153</sup> A form of Geertzian Thick Description which I will return to in Chapter 3

<sup>154</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*.p. 277.

<sup>155</sup> Florence Marryat, *Life and Letters of Captain Marryat*, 2 vols. (London, 1872), 1:160-1, in; Tim Fulford, 'Romanticizing the Empire: The Naval Heroes of Southey, Coleridge, Austen, and Marryat', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 60 (1999).

romance which codifies behaviours specifically for children, or future leaders of empire. This supposition can be made because it was the adults who—in most cases—were buying, or borrowing from circulating or lending libraries, the books. Hence it is possible to see a degree of tacit approval on behalf of the parents in the tone and message of these books. Upon retiring from active service in 1830, having had one adult fiction book published, Marryat began a career as a children's novelist.<sup>156</sup> Marryat's imperial adventure romance novels, written from 1840 onwards, drew on his own experience and were considered instructional books on how to behave. G. S. Burne wrote:

He could in all sincerity present to young readers models of the esteemed English virtues; steadfastness and “backbone”, which combined with practical knowledge, ensured survival in alien environments throughout the world; zest for putting one's abilities—and one's life—on the line in combat with the hostile nature of savage peoples; and confidence that an Englishman, by virtue of his innate superiority and certainty that God was on his side, was equal to any challenge.<sup>157</sup>

Marryat's heroes were everything British imperialists were meant to be, with an 'innate superiority,' and the skills and moral fortitude to take on whatever they encountered. In one of Marryat's most famous novels, *Masterman Ready* (1841), the three main characters, Ready, William and Mr Seagrave fight off six hundred 'savages'. Ready says, 'with God's help I have no doubt but that we shall beat them off'.<sup>158</sup> This short sentence, imbued as it is with the certainty that three Englishmen with guns and God on their side will undoubtedly win, epitomises many of the values which lie not just within Marryat's work, but in nineteenth century imperial adventure romance as a whole. By the early nineteenth century the central narrative impetus of imperial

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<sup>156</sup> Christopher Lloyd, *Captain Marryat and the Old Navy*, (London: Longmans & Green, 1939).

<sup>157</sup> G. S. Burne, *Frederick Marryat, English Writer (1792-1848)* (New York, 1987), in; J. M. Bingham, 'Writers for Children.'

<sup>158</sup> Captain Frederick Marryat, *Masterman Ready or the Wreck of The "Pacific"*, (London: Purnell and Sons, Ltd.). p. 248.

adventure is embedded in the genre: male British characters are always in the right and almost always successful.

Another important trope in Marryat's fiction was the degree of implied veracity of the tale. By referring to previous tales of adventure the author gave the impression that what was occurring in his tale was factual. In *Masterman Ready*, William refers to *Robinson Crusoe* when talking to Ready:

“Were you ever shipwrecked on a desolate island like Robinson Crusoe?”

“Yes, Master William, I have been shipwrecked; but I never heard of Robinson Crusoe. So many have been wrecked and undergone great hardships, and so many more have never lived to tell what they have suffered, that it's not very likely that I should have known that one man you speak of, out of so many.”

“Oh! But it's all in a book which I have read. I could tell you all about it—and so I will when the ship is quiet again.”<sup>159</sup>

The preceding extract shows not only the knowing humour of the author, in the self-referential nod to the robinsonade genre, but more importantly by referencing a fictional book the author implies the current narrative being told is true, or a factual account. Michael Saler shows how imperial adventure romance authors 'clothed their fantastic tales in the guise of realism'.<sup>160</sup> Mixing the idea of reportage and fiction was an aspect of the genre which was to become far more prevalent in the works of authors, such as Haggard and his Zulu romances, as the century wore on.

*Masterman Ready* was written by Marryat initially at the request of his children. He wrote in the preface: 'I promised my children to write a book for them. It was a hasty promise, for I never considered whether I was capable of so doing'.<sup>161</sup> The family

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<sup>159</sup> Captain Frederick Marryat, *Masterman Ready or, the Wreck of The "Pacific"*, (London: Blackie and Son Limited). p. 8

<sup>160</sup> Michael Saler, "Clap If You Believe in Sherlock Holmes': Mass Culture and the Re-Enchantment of Modernity, C. 1890-C. 1940', *The Historical Journal*, 46 (2003). p. 611.

<sup>161</sup> Captain Frederick Marryat, *Masterman Ready or, the Wreck of The "Pacific"*, (London: Blackie and Son Limited, 1929). Preface, p. xi.

had read Wyss's *Swiss Family Robinson* (1812) and had been disappointed in the way it ended, so asked their father to carry on the tale where it had left off. A sequel was not to be as easy as Marryat had thought. He goes on in the preface to say: 'I found difficulties, which were to me insurmountable, and which decided me not to continue the work, but to write another in the same style.'<sup>162</sup> Marryat did not agree that a book should be as wholly fictitious as *Swiss Family Robinson*, and should be grounded in fact. 'Fiction', he wrote, 'when written for young people, should, at all events, be based upon truth; and I could not continue a narrative under the objections which I have stated.'<sup>163</sup> This notion of the truth of the imperial or colonial adventure around which the story is based is one which Haggard uses time and again within his own fiction, consistently reminding his readers of the truth of the narrative by weaving real people, events and places into the narrative. *Masterman Ready* was published in three volumes over 1841 and 1842. It was the most popular children's novel of its day, and was highly respected by his fellow authors; Charles Dickens was a great friend of his and he wrote to Marryat after reading the novel that it was 'famous: I have been chuckling and grinning and clenching my fists and becoming warlike for three whole days'.<sup>164</sup> Marryat had sent a copy of his first children's book to Dickens for his son's fifth birthday. Dickens remarked he would keep the book back until his son could appreciate it and if 'he be not delighted with its contents, he is no son of mine'.<sup>165</sup> Dickens' reaction indicates how this particular branch of literature had become a mainstay of the reading public, acceptable reading for adults and children alike.

Conrad wrote, in 1898, what was felt about Marryat, by many literary figures: 'If he be not immortal, yet he will last long enough for the highest ambition, because he has dealt manfully with an inspiring phase in the history of that Service on which the life of his country depends'.<sup>166</sup> The imperial or colonial adventure story had moved from play through to prose and from there been adapted for the juvenile market, to become a literary inspiration of expected behaviours by future colonialists and

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid. p. xi.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid. p. xii.

<sup>164</sup> Oliver Warner, *Captain Marryat: A Rediscovery*, (London: Constable, 1953). p. 141.

<sup>165</sup> Pocock, *Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire; a Biography*. p. 172.

<sup>166</sup> Conrad, *Notes on Life and Letters*. p. 55.

imperialists.<sup>167</sup> To the publishers of his day Marryat's children's fiction was not only highly successful but became the template for most subsequent adventure fiction sea tales. Mawuena Kossi Logan points out that 'Captain Frederick Marryat is arguably the first boys' writer of Victorian Britain who sought to revive the spirit of *Robinson Crusoe* with the ethos of the early school story'.<sup>168</sup> As such he is pivotal in understanding the context out of which Haggard's work was to appear. Marryat continued the popularisation of imperial adventure narratives in the nineteenth century.<sup>169</sup>

Marryat is little remembered today, but at the turn of the twentieth century he was considered as vital to the empire building process as the colonial servicemen themselves.<sup>170</sup> Conrad described Marryat's work as 'the beginning and the embodiment of an inspiring tradition'.<sup>171</sup> Marryat, like Conrad, had a cosmopolitan aspect to his writing, in the main due to his many years in the Navy. This is not to say that he did not have the same Anglo-centric view that his fellow writers did, but that he was more aware of different cultures and peoples. Marryat was considered by many to be a primary author in the canon of children's literature, adult values could be seen reflected in the juvenile imperial adventure romance literature. Juvenile imperial adventure romance was exemplified, in the second half of the nineteenth century by the prodigious historical fiction output of G. A. Henty.

G. A. Henty was a very successful author.<sup>172</sup> His prodigious output and his labelling as the history teacher of Imperial adventure, have ensured that he is still remembered today. Henty is the author of the most stereotypical imperial romance, a writer who urged young men to, in the words of Henry Newbolt's *Vitai Lampada* (1898): 'Play up! play up! and play the game!'<sup>173</sup> Fellow imperial adventure romance author

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<sup>167</sup> 'A Cultural Resource: Early Children's Literature and Its Context', *Northern Scotland*, 15 (First Series) (1995).

<sup>168</sup> Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire*. p. 42.

<sup>169</sup> Marryat published a total of 26 books between 1829 and 1848, including works such as *Mr Midshipman Easy* (1836), *Settlers in Canada* (1844) and *The Children of the New Forest* (1847).

<sup>170</sup> Marryat was entertained in Belgium in 1835 at the Court of King Leopold, who, like his son, King Leopold II, was keen to establish links with famous authors.

<sup>171</sup> Conrad, *Notes on Life and Letters*. p. 53.

<sup>172</sup> Henty did not write his books and instead chose to dictate them. 'I do not write any of my books myself. I get a man to do them for me-an amanuensis, of course; it all comes out of my head, but he does all the actual writing.' George Manville Fenn, *George Alfred Henty: The Story of an Active Life*, (London: Blackie and Son Ltd, 1907). p. 316.

<sup>173</sup> Henry Newbolt, 'Vitai Lampada', in *The Golden Staircase: Poems and Verses for Children*, ed. by Louey Chisholm.

George Manville Fenn wrote that in Henty's books, 'there was the vraisemblance that added power to his narrative'.<sup>174</sup> Like Marryat, his stories seemed to be based on truth and as such, were considered better than mere fictions. Manville Fenn, in explaining why Henty was so popular said the boy who read Henty had a desire to 'become a man and read what men do and have done [...] They are essentially manly, and he used to say he wanted his boys to be bold, straightforward, and ready to play a young man's part, not to be milksops'.<sup>175</sup> Henty's tales rarely had female characters; he found it easier to focus on his boy heroes. The female character was indicative of domesticity and the home; by removing them from the storyline, the central male characters were free to have adventures in the unknown, without fear or responsibility. Fenn elucidates the specific reasoning behind Henty's lack of main female characters:

There was nothing namby-pamby in Henty's writings, for his adolescent characters were not so much boys as men, saving in this, that he kept them to boy life, and never made his works sickly by the introduction of what an effeminate writer would term the tender passion.<sup>176</sup>

Henty's narratives ensured that his characters did not have to take on the responsibility that, it was implied, came with having to look after women, or have men who fell in love with women and thereby ruined the adventure of male prerogative. Manville Fenn, like many authors of his day, avoided dealing with women and marriage by having his women either die early in the books or stay behind in Britain, carrying on the tradition which had started with Defoe's *Crusoe*.

Works which did have prominent female characters, such as Mrs Seagrave in Frederick Marryat's *Masterman Ready* (1841), tended to portray them as weak. Mrs Seagrave makes the following speech early on in the adventure tale:

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<sup>174</sup> Fenn, *George Alfred Henty: The Story of an Active Life*. p. 319.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.* p. 334.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.* p. 321.



I was wrong, my dear husband; but sickness and suffering have made me, I fear, not only nervous and frightened, but selfish; I must and will shake it off. Hitherto I have only been a clog and an incumbrance to you.<sup>177</sup>

In *Off to the Wilds* (1894) by Manville Fenn, the mother dies at the very beginning of the story: 'Here for a time Mrs. Rogers had seemed better [...] Then the much-dreaded day came, and they were left to mourn for a tender wife and mother'.<sup>178</sup> This is a very specific tool which 'allows' the male characters to be free to pursue their adventure. Less than a page after her death, the two sons of Mrs Rogers and her husband are 'delighted' as they prepare for their 'campaign in the wilds yonder'.<sup>179</sup>

Yet it was not these stories' misogynistic narratives—with their unfettered freedom from Victorian constraints—that made them so popular; rather it was often the use of historical events within which the narratives were based which was to become their greatest selling point. As Manville Fenn explains of Henty:

Unconsciously too, all this while he was building up a greater success for his boys' books by enlisting on their behalf the suffrages of that great and powerful body of buyers of presents who had the selection of their books. By this body is meant our boys' instructors, who, in conning the publishers' lists, would come upon some famous name for the hero of the story and exclaim: "Ha! History; that's safe."<sup>180</sup>

Here again is evidenced the tacit approval of adults that was previously mentioned with Marryat. Henty's books were considered suitable reading for children and as such, bought as presents, school and church prizes and by local lending libraries.

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<sup>177</sup> Marryat, *Maternal Ready or the Wreck of The "Pacific"*. p. 59.

<sup>178</sup> George Manville Fenn, *Off to the Wilds: Being the Adventures of Two Brothers*, (London: Sampson Low, Martson & Co., Ltd., 1894). p. 12.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.* p.13.

<sup>180</sup> Fenn, *George Alfred Henty: The Story of an Active Life*. p. 320.

As Manville Fenn points out, Henty's success was huge, and he was feted both for his robustness of manner and his celebration of empire; fundamentally his interpretation of history in favour of the British. Henty was the first author in the field to truly revel in the character of the British male. For his characters there was no torment of right and wrong; his schoolboy heroes had a single-minded duty to serve the empire. Henty rewrote the history of the world, one in which Britain was *sui generis*. Edward Salmon explains: 'As with Mr Kingston so with Mr Henty. Duty and self-preservation, not glory and love of fighting for fighting's sake, are the idea and the ideal aimed at'.<sup>181</sup> Henty was part of the system which instilled into young boys the ideas which they would need to continue the building of Empire, not as gung-ho adventurers, but steady servants of the imperial machine. Manville Fenn states that Henty was 'supplying boys with literature which held them engrossed and helped them to think, and think well'.<sup>182</sup> Kitzan has shown that the concepts of truth, honour and virtue were fundamental to imperial adventure romance literature:

The strongest emphasis was placed on the virtue of all that was happening, and this conviction of virtue not only buoyed the feeling of hope that was integral to the optimism of the imperialist age, but contributed essentially to the feeling of satisfaction with which the ordinary Briton viewed [his] world picture.<sup>183</sup>

This feeling was as readily apparent in the later works of imperial adventure romance as much as it was in the days of Marryat and Henty. For these authors duty and honour were as important to the narratives as the storylines themselves. Manville Fenn as well as being G. A. Henty's biographer was one of the few imperial adventure romance authors to never leave his home country.<sup>184</sup> Manville Fenn was one of the most prolific writers of Victorian boy's adventure fiction, publishing over 170 novels in his lifetime,

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<sup>181</sup> Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as It Is*, (London: Henry J. Drane, 1888). p. 73.

<sup>182</sup> Fenn, *George Alfred Henty: The Story of an Active Life*. p. 340.

<sup>183</sup> L. Kitzan, *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-Colored Vision*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001). p. 175.

<sup>184</sup> This fact did not bother his young readers but was a bone of contention to others writers of the time. It was noted on his death on the 29<sup>th</sup> of August 1909, 'Mr. G. Manville Fenn died, and in so doing left England for the first time.' (Mulhauser 1968, p. 410).

all adhering to the optimistic and righteous beliefs of the 'imperial age.' His first story, 'In Jeopardy,' was published by Charles Dickens in his magazine, *All the Year Round*. His works have never been as well regarded by either critics or literary historians, as Frederick Mulhauser says: 'No one struggles with the "heart of darkness" unsuccessfully, physically or intellectually', in Fenn's novels'.<sup>185</sup> Yet, his work is a strong link in the evolution of the genre of imperial adventure romance.

Manville Fenn was aware of how imperial adventure romance books aimed at boys were perceived by the rest of the book industry; there was snobbery about these books aimed at a young audience which sold in such great numbers. He said:

It may be taken into consideration that to go back to, say, 1830, there were hardly any books for a boy to read. We had *Evenings at Home* and *Robinson Crusoe* [...] Marryat's and Cooper's works, with a few of Scott's, however, found plenty of favour with boys [...] after this Kingston and Ballantyne had the field almost to themselves, while the publishers were shy about publishing exclusively for boys; even to this day the trade, as it is termed, class books written especially for boys as juvenile literature.<sup>186</sup>

Manville Fenn knew how rapaciously a younger audience read and enjoyed books which told of faraway places and gave the reader some idea of what life would be like out in the Empire. Unlike others who emphasised the strangeness of distant lands, Manville Fenn's works serve to reassure the reader that although the environment and culture may be different, the British man still behaved with the same manners as he would at home.

For Brantlinger the characters in imperial adventure romance fiction were: 'crossing frontiers and exploring new territories, the white heroes [were] pathfinders

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<sup>185</sup> Frederick V. Mulhauser, 'A Juvenile View of the Empire: G. M. Fenn', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 2 (1968). p. 412.

<sup>186</sup> Fenn, *George Alfred Henty: The Story of an Active Life*. p. 333.

for the Empire and civilization'.<sup>187</sup> Manville Fenn's characters were consistently proving their mettle in his fiction, experiencing new countries and landscapes always as an adventure and always from the perspective of the British reader at home. Manville Fenn's characters according to Mulhauser 'carry an impregnable national consciousness, an acute sense of being English among savages'.<sup>188</sup> It was always possible to return home in Manville Fenn's fictions, a trope of the imperial genre which Haggard complicated by having his most iconic character, Allan Quatermain only feel at home when in Africa, 'I would go...back again to the wild land where I had spent my life [...] and so many things, good, bad, and indifferent, had happened to me'.<sup>189</sup>

Imperial adventure romance described the new horizons and landscapes that had not previously been known in Britain. Whether written by authors such as Manville Fenn, who never actually went abroad, or authors such as W. H. G. Kingston, who frequently travelled between continental Europe and Britain, imperial adventure romance provided an image of Britain's imperial landscape that brought an understanding or explanation of the periphery to the centre: labelling, classifying and 'othering' the imperial landscape.

By the latter half of the nineteenth century adventure romance novels were weighed down with the moral and social guidance that occurred within their pages, particularly to the gaze of the modern reader. Nowhere is this clearer than in the works of William Henry Giles Kingston. When Kingston's novel *Peter the Whaler* (1851) was first published, his biographer Rev. M. R. Kingsford wrote: 'its success was instantaneous and from that time on in public estimation it was generally considered that the mantle of Captain Marryat [...] had fallen upon Kingston'.<sup>190</sup> The preface to *Peter the Whaler* was dedicated to Kingston's cousin and expresses one of the main themes of the imperial adventure romance novel in the late nineteenth century, that of doing one's duty for one's country:

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<sup>187</sup> Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature and Postcolonial Studies*. p. 30.

<sup>188</sup> Mulhauser, 'A Juvenile View of the Empire: G. M. Fenn'. p. 417.

<sup>189</sup> H. Rider Haggard, 'Allan Quatermain', in *Three Adventure Novels, She, King Solomon's Mines, Allan Quatermain.*, (New York: Dover, 1951). p. 418.

<sup>190</sup> The Rev. Maurice Rooke Kingsford, *The Life, Work and Influence of William Henry Giles Kingston*, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947). p. 175.

My dear Harry [...] The Navy is a profession in which perhaps more than any other, energy, perseverance, courage, self-reliance and endurance are required; and I may add a firm trust in God's good providence. I have, therefore, in the following history, endeavoured to show the importance of those qualities.<sup>191</sup>

Kingston's strong moral imperatives are nowhere more evident than in *Peter the Whaler*. Early in the novel Peter states:

Often I have envied the light hearts of my fellow-sufferers, whose consciences do not blame them. Let me urge you, then, in your course through life, on all occasions to act rightly, and to take counsel and advice from those on whose judgement you should rely.<sup>192</sup>

The moral guidance Peter gives is not to another character, but aimed at the young boys reading the book. Kingston strongly emphasises the importance of acting correctly and invokes the adage of 'trusting ones elders'. Less than fifty words later, the character Peter reminds the reader: 'With me, as it will be with everyone, idleness was the mother of all mischief.' He continues: 'this is the only way to treat temptation, in whatever form it appears. Fly from it as you would from the slippery edge of a precipice'.<sup>193</sup> There can be no doubt to the aim of Kingston's writing being moral guidance.

These books also served to inspire the young male readership to go abroad as is seen in *Peter the Whaler*: 'you must go to foreign lands, and there retrieve your name and, I trust, improve and strengthen your character'.<sup>194</sup> As Dryden states, Kingston's tales were 'morally didactic...with a strong religious message'.<sup>195</sup> G. A. Henty noted that Kingston was the only author of the time who could 'sugar the pill so

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<sup>191</sup> Kingston 1851 W. H. G. Kingston, *Peter the Whaler: His Early Life and Aventures in the Artic Regions*, (London: Blackie & Son Ltd, 1913).

<sup>192</sup> Ibid. p. 7.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid. p. 9.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid. p. 15.

<sup>195</sup> Dryden, *Joseph Conrad and the Imperial Romance*. p. 11.

sweetly', to make it palatable to most ages of boys. The 'pill' that Henty talks of was the moral messages that imperial Britain thought so vital to stress to children. After Kingston's death on August the 25<sup>th</sup> 1880, Henty wrote:

More than to any man now living, English boys owe to Mr. Kingston, as Cooper may be said to have invented Indian Tales, and Marryat sea stories, so Kingston was the father of the School of writers of healthy stirring tales for boys [...] He sought in his writings not only to amuse, but to elevate, and there are tens of thousands of men now alive who have as boys learned lessons of truth, honour, and true courage, from the lads whose adventures they read in the pages of Mr. Kingston's books.<sup>196</sup>

So great was the affection for Kingston that Salmon wrote in 1888: 'If boys had been taught to believe that an Englishman's word should be his bond, and that that bond is the secret of his safety in foreign climes, he has only to read Mr Kingston to become convinced of the wisdom of the teaching.'<sup>197</sup> Kingston's strong jingoistic messages were very popular during his lifetime and like many authors of the genre, had a tangible influence on future generations. Yet the evangelical and civilisational proselytising that was inherent in much early to mid-nineteenth century imperial adventure romance, was not to last within the genre. Instead, the genre moved towards a more ambiguous form of narrative, that which combined fact and fiction within the texts to give them a greater authenticity to the readership.

In 1853 a young Californian journalist wrote an adventure romance novel which is only known today due to it being one of Ballantyne's supposed influences for *Coral Island* (1858).<sup>198</sup> In this book, *The Island Home; or, The Young Cast-aways* (1853) by Romaunt, many of the tropes of adventure romance were used, most interestingly the concept of the truthful narrative. The character of Max, one of the castaways, says:

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<sup>196</sup> Kingsford, *The Life, Work and Influence of William Henry Giles Kingston*. p. 191.

<sup>197</sup> Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as It Is*. p. 51.

<sup>198</sup> E Quayle, *Ballantyne the Brave: A Victorian Writer and His Family*, (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1967). Ballantyne based the *Coral Island* on a little known novel *The Island Home; or, The Young Cast-Aways* by Christopher Romaunt (Pseudonym for James F. Bowman), which he read whilst holidaying in Burntisland in the summer of 1857.

“Well—the ship is always abundantly supplied with everything necessary to a desert— island life; she is driven ashore; the castaways—the future desert islanders—by dint of wonderful good fortune, get safely to land; the rest of course are all drowned, and so disposed of: then, in due time, the ship goes to pieces, and everything needful is washed ashore, and secured by the islanders. That’s the regular course of things—isn’t it, Arthur?”

“Yes, I believe it is, according to the story-books, which are the standard sources of information on the subject.”<sup>199</sup>

The element of truth, even if it was invented, seemed intrinsic to the success of a majority of imperial adventure fictions. In the introduction to *The Young Cast-aways*, Romaunt as the voice of the editor, plays with the truth of the tale which he, as the ‘editor,’ found washed up inside a model of a boat. This was a trope Haggard used repeatedly within his books: the idea of the found narrative appears in *She*, *Cleopatra* and importantly in the three texts of Zikali which are found in sealed cupboard in Allan Quatermain’s house after he dies. Romaunt’s book was a narrative in the classic imperial adventure romance genre, with its detailing of a found text. The ‘editor’ tells the reader ‘the history of this little book:’

It contained, as I found, what purported to be a “narrative of the adventures” of six lads, who, after getting strangely enough adrift in a small boat, and being several days at sea in imminent danger of starvation, finally, in the nick of time, happened upon a “desert island,” where, after the fashion of Robinson Crusoe and other shipwrecked worthies, they appear to have led quite a romantic and holiday sort of life.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> C. Romaunt, *The Island Home; or, the Young Cast-Aways*, (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1853). p. 6.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid. Preface. p. vii.

This referencing of fictional books to make the current story being read seem true is also evident in Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886). The character David says:

The time I spent on the island is still so horrible a thought to me that I must pass it lightly over. In all the books I have read of people cast away, they had either their pockets full of tools, or a chest of things would be thrown upon the beach along with them, as if on purpose.<sup>201</sup>

Stevenson deliberately uses tropes which would have been known by his readers to establish not only a familiarity between the reader and author but also to indicate a believability in the characters within the story, he plays David's experiences off against romanticised tales of island adventure such as *The Coral Island*. As a child Stevenson's favourite book was *The Coral Island*;<sup>202</sup> so much so that he engineered a meeting with the author Robert Michael Ballantyne. Frank McLynn writes: 'Stevenson waylaid Ballantyne one Sunday morning when he was emerging with his new bride at Colinton Kirk, introducing himself, and inviting him to dinner with his uncle'.<sup>203</sup> Stevenson credited Ballantyne at the beginning of his most famous novel *Treasure Island* (1883) as one of his inspirations.

R. M. Ballantyne came to writing almost by chance and thanks in part to Walter Scott. His family was the publisher of Scott's books and due to some unfortunate business mistakes by both Scott and Ballantyne's uncle the family was left financially bereft.<sup>204</sup> This caused Ballantyne to be sent away to work from the age of 16 in Canada for the Hudson Bay Company.<sup>205</sup> When he returned, aged 21, Ballantyne wrote of his

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<sup>201</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson, 'Kidnapped', in *The Misadventures of John Nicholson; Kidnapped*, (London: Chatto & Windus, 1911). p. 171.

<sup>202</sup> Frank McLynn, *Robert Louis Stevenson: An Autobiography*, (London: Hutchinson, 1993).

<sup>203</sup> Ibid. p. 28.

<sup>204</sup> Quayle, *Ballantyne the Brave: A Victorian Writer and His Family*.

<sup>205</sup> His time spent in Canada although it gave him a great fund of experiences to use in his later career as a writer, was not a successful one, His boss wrote to a friend of his back in Scotland saying he might of well have sent out "a pair of trousers filled with straw" as the young Ballantyne for all the good he was.



experiences abroad, in *The Hudson's Bay Company* (1848); this started him upon his literary path which would lead to him publishing *The Coral Island* at the age of 33. Ballantyne's biographer, E. Quayle, notes: 'Mr Ballantyne's pen has been prolific and varied. The experience which he gained while connected with the Hudson Bay Company has been turned to good account in many works'.<sup>206</sup>

Ballantyne had a lighter writing style than his predecessors and though he was a strongly religious man, his proselytising was not as strong or as frequently referenced in his books. Kitzan writes, 'R. M. Ballantyne [...] had Marryat's and Kingston's tendency to stop midnarrative to deliver little sermonettes on religion or morality, but he had a greater talent for storytelling and a much more good-humoured tone of delivery'.<sup>207</sup> This proselytising is evident in *The Coral Island*. The character Ralph states, 'I could not help again in my heart praying to God to prosper those missionary societies that send such inestimable blessings to these islands of dark and bloody idolatry'.<sup>208</sup> Together with the didactic aspects of Ballantyne's writing he emphasised to his young readers the importance of chivalric behaviours in dealing with each other, women and encountered peoples.

In *The Coral Island* the boys decide to rescue Avatea, a captured Samoan girl, to enable her to marry the man she wishes. Jack says: 'having become champions for this girl once before, it behoves us, as true knights, not to rest until we set her free'.<sup>209</sup> Not only does *The Coral Island* again reify notions of duty and honour but as Joseph A. Kestner shows it 'remains a signature text of mid-century Victorian adventure narrative. It does so because it established motifs such as islands, voyaging and encounters with racial Others that will be major elements in subsequent adventure texts'.<sup>210</sup> Imperial adventure romance fictions are animated by moral duty and honour, these in turn framed how the characters behaved, they must rescue the maiden, escape or fight the evil 'natives,' be truthful, and acquire the treasure. These highly

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<sup>206</sup> Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as It Is*. p. 58.

<sup>207</sup> Kitzan, *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-Colored Vision*. p. 127.

<sup>208</sup> Robert Michael Ballantyne, *The Coral Island; a Tale of the Pacific Ocean*, (London: Ward, Lock & Co., Limited). p. 325.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.* p. 307.

<sup>210</sup> Joseph A. Kestner, *Masculinities in British Adventure Fiction, 1880-1915*, (Farnham, Ashgate, 2010), p. 18.

formulaic tropes of the genre were an appealing image for the generations of people, particularly boys, brought up on the books. Andrew Lang said of Haggard's books that 'they make one a boy again while one is reading them.'<sup>211</sup> The genre was presented as escapism, to read of an adventure outwith the confines of industrial Britain.

The late nineteenth-century industrialisation of Britain caused the breakup of families and communities. Jonathan Rutherford has shown that, 'the growing separation of work from the home had distanced men from family life and contributed to the feminising of domesticity'.<sup>212</sup> This meant that traditional family ties were replaced by an emphasis on monarch and country, whose reach stretched around the globe and the success of the individual became inescapably linked to the success of the British Empire: as such, the British man and boy strove towards a 'masculinity for an imperialist nation whose priority was the creation of an elite of soldiers and administrators'.<sup>213</sup> Taking Rutherford's point further, Vogel states that the 'exotic African explorer: a contemplative, essentially solitary figure set down in a beautiful but alien landscape cluttered with real and invented artefacts signifying danger, dissolution, darkness,' became an iconic Englishman.<sup>214</sup> Haggard's Allan Quatermain embodied this character completely. Widowed and without family, only in Africa could Quatermain find himself rejuvenated—he writes that 'the thirst for the wilderness was on me; I could tolerate this place [Britain] no more'—and, importantly, made rich by his adventures in the exotic wilderness of Britain's most enthralling domain.<sup>215</sup>

Olive Schreiner's work stands out for its oppositional approach to such patriarchal narratives. Schreiner, like Haggard, was not blind to the horrors of colonialism. In fact the frontispiece of her novel *Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland* (1897) has quite a shocking image of so-called 'rebels' being hung by men from Cecil Rhodes' Chartered Company.

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<sup>211</sup> Andrew Lang, *In the Wrong Paradise and Other Stories*, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1886). p. v

<sup>212</sup> Jonathan Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Masculinity and Empire*, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997). p. 19.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.* p. 19.

<sup>214</sup> Vogel, p. 293.

<sup>215</sup> Haggard, 'Allan Quatermain'. p. 419.



Figure 4: Frontispiece of Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland

Rhodes' colonialism and economic exploitation of southern Africa was particularly brutal, most notoriously the atrocities inflicted in the name of his diamond mining and trading company De Beers. Haggard, on the other hand, held Rhodes in high esteem and compared him to Chaka [Shaka].<sup>216</sup> Haggard suggests in his fiction that a successful colonial endeavour is based on noble men with good intentions, but as McClintock highlights, 'Schreiner seems to suggest that civilisation can be redeemed through the self-sacrificial graces of white motherhood'.<sup>217</sup> Both authors propose a sense of duty, in their fiction, inherent in the coloniser but are oppositionally gendered in their responses as to how that duty should be enacted. The writing of Schreiner and Haggard evidence that later nineteenth century imperial narratives were becoming more ambiguous in both representation and ideology, and in Schreiner the righteousness of the imperial endeavour was beginning to be more obviously questioned.

Schreiner was the first colonial writer to garner success in Britain. Through her father Schreiner also knew the Shepstones. Theophilus Shepstone's father, Rev. John William Shepstone and Gottlob Schreiner knew each other through the Wesleyan

<sup>216</sup> 'It would almost seem as though Rhodes was one of those men who have been and still are raised up by that Power, of the existence of which he seems to have been dubious, to fulfil certain designs of Its own. There have been a good many with somewhat similar characteristics. Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon, Chaka [sic], come to my mind as I write'. Henry Rider Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1926). p. 118.

<sup>217</sup> McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. p. 272.

Mission, and Olive was born in a house built by the Rev. Shepstone.<sup>218</sup> Being a white woman in such a patriarchal colonial society Schreiner was both colonised and coloniser and this ambiguity comes through in her fiction. Schreiner does not give an equal voice to the female characters within her fiction, and, as McClintock notes, continues to reinforce the concept of a racial hierarchy:

Almost without exception, black women in Schreiner's fiction are servants. In *The Story of an African Farm*, Africans pass like fitful shadows through white people's lives, unnamed and without identity. The notion that they might have lives of their own is not entertained.<sup>219</sup>

Schreiner's work, despite the problems with its representations of race and in particular black women, clearly evidences a disillusionment with colonialism far greater than Haggard's fiction ever would. Schreiner had an interesting relationship with Haggard. He thought she was an excellent author, and there are clear links from *The Story of an African Farm* to *Jess*, whereas she was not enamoured of his work at all. Haggard once said of *The Story of an African Farm* that it was one of only two proper 'novels' he had read in the past year, describing it as 'written from the heart' and being 'the outward and visible result of inward personal suffering on the part of the writer'.<sup>220</sup> Schreiner, however, said of Haggard's fiction, in a letter to Constance Lytton, that '[t]o read one of Haggard's novels would be as agonizing to me as to sit in a room & hear Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ai played over & over. They are not art to me'.<sup>221</sup> In fact when Haggard sent her his first book *Dawn* (1884) Schreiner wrote to her friend Havelock Ellis stating that 'from the first letter & book I made sure it must be a woman. I can't make out what type of man would have written such a book'.<sup>222</sup> Neither Schreiner's nor Haggard's fiction offers one representation or discourse; ambiguity is inherent in

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<sup>218</sup> Ruth Gordon, *Shepstone: The Role of the Family in the History of South Africa, 1820-1900.*, (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1968).

<sup>219</sup> McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. p. 268.

<sup>220</sup> H. Rider Haggard, 'About Fiction', *The Contemporary review*, 1866-1900, 51 (1887).

<sup>221</sup> Olive Schreiner, 'Lytton Family Papers', ed. by Constance Lytton (Knebworth, 1895). Lines 52-54.

<sup>222</sup> Olive Schreiner, 'Olive Schreiner to Havelock Ellis', ed. by Havelock Ellis (Austin, 1884). Lines 21-23. Schreiner had thought at one point that Haggard was Florence Dixie writing in disguise.

both their oeuvres. Colonial social energies run through all the texts of both writers. The texts' and their authors are embedded in, and shaped by, the colonial cultural landscape.

### Placing Haggard within the Imperial Tradition

In much of the mid-to-late nineteenth century imperial adventure romance a strongly didactic tone is evident; Marryat, W. H. G. Kingston and G. A. Henty were all strong advocates of literature that had a clear moral message. In these novels the concept of home-building is an analogy for nation building. The structure and values of colonies reflected that of the homeland and reassured colonists that they were still within the boundaries of their society. All young men of empire were meant to carry their home in their head, to identify themselves solely with Britain and not the lands to which they travelled. Clifford Geertz identifies this sociological group behaviour as one in which '[c]ulture patterns—religious, philosophical, aesthetic, scientific, ideological—are “programs”; they provide a template or blueprint for the organization of social and psychological processes'.<sup>223</sup> These cultural patterns enable the readers of imperial adventure fiction, future colonists, to know what was required of them in the dominions and enclaves of empire, using their cultural templates, without ever going 'native' or act barbarically—a notion which Haggard's writing deals with. Haggard describes bad colonists in his fictional and nonfictional writing as standing between 'civilisation' and 'savagery'. For example in *Jess*, Frank Muller, a Boer man, is said to be:

Too civilised to possess those savage virtues which, such as they are, represent the quantum of innate good Nature has thought fit to allow in the mixture, Man; and too barbarous to be subject to the tenderer constraints of cultivated society, he is at once strong in the strength of both and weak in their weaknesses. Animated by the spirit of barbarism, Superstition; and almost entirely destitute of the spirit of civilisation, Mercy, he stands on the edge of both and an affront to both, as terrific a moral spectacle as the world can afford.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. p. 216.

<sup>224</sup> Haggard, *Jess*. p. 267.

Muller is the story's main evil character and is responsible for the destruction of the farm of English colonists, the Crofts. It seems as though because the character is white and of European heritage the author is unforgiving of his behaviour, suggesting that Muller is constructed of the bad parts of both 'civilisation' and 'barbarism'. It is unsurprising that Haggard's bad colonial characters rarely survive until the end of his books given his fixation with moral duty both publically and privately, what one of his critics at the time called his 'morbid moralising'.<sup>225</sup> In this instance Muller is killed by the titular Jess and his house is set on fire in the final chapter of the book.

Haggard's central characters always refuse cold blooded killing or un-Western behaviours such as miscegenation; for example, in *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), the main characters are offered their pick of women from the Kukauna; the king says, 'choose the fairest here, and ye shall have them, as many as ye will' but Quatermain replies, 'Thanks, O king, but we white men wed only with white women like ourselves'.<sup>226</sup> The heroes in Haggard's novels never run the risk of turning away from their quintessential Britishness. They are always guided by their supposed strength of character, such as above, in which, Quatermain only reifies the clear division between the white European interloper and the native 'other.' Haggard's characters evidence the features of a British imperial ideology. Geertz notes that to 'formulate an ideological doctrine is to make [...] what was a generalised mood into a practical force', and Haggard's characters are often evidence of the beau ideal of British imperial behaviour.<sup>227</sup> The principles of imperial socio-cultural ideology are reflected in the imperial adventure romance of the time.

Imperial adventure romance was to reach its climax in the work of G. A. Henty, Ballantyne and finally, Haggard, authors who were complicit in furthering the 'energizing myth of empire'.<sup>228</sup> By the time of Haggard there was a considerable reduction, even eradication of the stronger Christian didactic elements of the earlier writers. Haggard was similar to Henty in that his fictional zeal for empire lacked harmony with the realities of the time: those being the political and economic issues

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<sup>225</sup> 'The Culture of the Horrible: Mr Haggard's Stories', *The Living Age*, 0176 (1888).

<sup>226</sup> Haggard, *Three Adventure Novels, She, King Solomon's Mines, Allan Quatermain*. p. 337-338.

<sup>227</sup> Geertz, p. 252.

<sup>228</sup> Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*.

of Victorian Britain, both in the assumed right to rule over other nations and in the cost of doing so. In the late nineteenth century, according to Huddart, there is a 'disproportion between the grandiose rhetoric of English Imperialism and the *real* economic and political situation of late Victorian England'.<sup>229</sup> The assumed European right to rule distant lands was brought into question in earnest by the public after the reported horrors of King Leopold of Belgium's colony in the heart of the Congo. This particular period of brutality was witnessed in small part by the author Joseph Conrad, who used the experience in his most famous work, *Heart of Darkness* (1899).

Conrad wrote powerfully of the horror caused by the capitalist scramble for profit in Leopold's personal fiefdom—though he was very supportive of British colonisation—in his novella. The character of Marlow comes across a quarry—'A wanton smash-up' of colonial endeavour at the edge of the jungle—he says: 'Another mine on the cliff went off followed by a slight shudder of the soil under my feet. The work was going on. The work! And this was the place where some of the helpers had withdrawn to die'.<sup>230</sup> Haggard was diametrically opposed to Conrad, he would never write so obviously about the grotesque brutality of the European interloper in his representation of colonisation. For Conrad, what made imperialism interesting was primarily its morality, what role the coloniser was supposed to be fulfilling within the empire. Conrad writes at the start of *Heart of Darkness* the 'conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or who have slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much'.<sup>231</sup> As Daniel Bivona shows:

Conrad takes greater risks: his Congo cannot be sealed off at the end of *Heart of Darkness* to protect England from contamination, as Haggard seals off the cave in which 'She-Who-Must-Be-Obeyed' takes her final fire-bath, for the same water which flows into the heart of darkness flows up the Thames, making England also 'one of the dark places of the Earth'.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> David Huddart, *Homi K. Bhabha*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006). p. 161.

<sup>230</sup> Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*. p. 20

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.* p.10.

<sup>232</sup> Daniel Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction: Imperial Visions and Domestic Debates in Victorian Literature.*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990). p. 79.

Possibly Haggard could never write with the strength of conviction Conrad did because he had not only experienced a different kind of colonialism, but because he believed the benefits of the civilising mission outweighed its negative consequences. Importantly Haggard also resolved his narratives, unlike Conrad who deliberately did not seal off his narrative. Conrad's unresolved end to *Heart of Darkness* provokes the reader to engage with the topic of the story, unlike Haggard's African romances which always validate the worth of the imperial endeavour and the righteousness of the British characters. Haggard raises different questions to Conrad, and was much more keenly focused on colonial southern Africa and the histories of the indigenous black people that lived there.

Haggard incorporated into his work, tales that came from beyond the boundaries of European colonial settlements, often gathered by colonists, soldiers, sailors and merchants. For example, the mythical basis for *She* comes from the fable of a Queen called Mujaje from the Zoutpansberg district of the Transvaal.<sup>233</sup> Mujaje was said to rule over the Makgalaka people, a light-skinned kin-group originally from the far reaches of the Limpopo, on the Eastern coast of Africa.<sup>234</sup> Although there are no records of the queen being seen by a European, early travellers did trade with the people, and wrote of rumours of her ability to control the rains and her stunning beauty; a beauty, it was said, so great it was a danger for anyone to look upon her.<sup>235</sup> It could be imagined she was the inspiration for the famous 'fair girl form' of Ayesha, or She-who-must-be-obeyed.<sup>236</sup>

Haggard, unlike his imperial adventure romance predecessors, is ambiguous in his portrayal of women. Haggard presents some women, such as Jess mentioned above, and the titular character of Marie in the first book in the Zikali trilogy as docile and in many ways quite servile characters who do have agency but frequently die soon

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<sup>233</sup> She was also known as Modyadye or Modjadje.

<sup>234</sup> Ernest B. Haddon, 'System of Chieftainship Amongst the Bari of Uganda', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 10 (1911).

<sup>235</sup> The queen was dispossessed in 1892, her chiefdom having been broken up and displaced by the incoming settlers. She died desperately poor three years later.

<sup>236</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *She*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). p.185.



after enacting it. Yet others such as Mameena, in *Child of Storm*, are written with a powerful agency that allows them to challenge and oppose the central male British character. The form of misogyny exemplified by Manville Fenn's *Off to the Wilds*, one based in complete removal of female characters, was a common trope within imperial adventure fiction. Haggard was one of the few male authors to diverge from the hegemony of misogyny in imperial adventure romance. His female characters, such as Nada and Ayesha were, and continue to be strong characters to a modern day readership: they moved beyond conventional Victorian constructs to not be primarily defined by their gender within the texts. This is not to say their representations are unproblematic. Haggard's female characters often face aggressive misogyny. This is true in both the explanation for their behaviour, such as Ayesha in *She* when Holly notes: 'and I saw after all she was only a woman', and in their effect upon the male characters as William J. Scheick states, women 'are the engendering maternal/bewitching agents of male enslavement to morality'.<sup>237</sup>

Women characters in imperial adventure romance texts often have events acted out upon them, and they have little agency within the narratives. It is notable in Haggard's African romances that his female characters have agency, although he uses the melodramatic trope of coincidental death to ensure miscegenation never occurs, such as the Zulu character of Mameena in *Child of Storm*, who kills herself with poison after kissing Allan Quatermain: 'Mameena shivered, threw wide her arms and fell back—dead. The poisonous drug she had taken worked well and swiftly'.<sup>238</sup> It is possible to suggest that women use their agency to do the will of the male European colonial interloper in Haggard's fiction.

### Conclusion: The Imperial Ideology within Haggard's Fiction

Haggard's imperial adventure romance novels are as much about Britain as they are about southern Africa, he brought alive the exotic colonial possessions of empire to the public at home. Kabbani expands on this, pointing out that:

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid. p. 157. William J. Scheick, 'Adolescent Pornography and Imperialism in Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*', *ELT*, 34 (1991).

<sup>238</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 321 - 322.

The traveller begins his journey with the strength of a nation or an empire sustaining him (albeit from a distance) militarily, economically, intellectually and, as is often the case, spiritually. He feels compelled to note down his observations *in the awareness of a particular audience*: his fellow-countrymen in general, his professional colleagues, his patron or his monarch. Awareness of this audience affects his perception, and influences him to select certain kinds of information, or to stress certain aspects of a country that find resonances in the culture of his own nation (emphasis added).<sup>239</sup>

Haggard's work encapsulated many of the hopes and fears of a late nineteenth century society which was uncertain about its future or the legitimacy of colonial expansion. In the wake of various revolts and native uprisings, such as the violent and bloody southern African wars, people in Britain began to question the validity of the great capitalist expansion.

The literature of British colonialism was created out of a sphere of influence, similar to the creation of the empire itself, with its boundaries only to be defined within the reflective gaze; as Oscar Wilde said in the late 1890s 'literature always anticipates life. It does not copy it, but moulds it to its purpose'.<sup>240</sup> The literature of empire came to define empire itself. It seems that through imperial adventure romance literature the principal ideas and beliefs of the nineteenth century imperial age were sustained.

Haggard's novels allow the researcher to observe Haggard's personal feelings regarding British imperialism. If, as Michael Taussig argues, 'people delineate their world, including its large-scale as well as microscale politics, in stories and story-like creations', then in Haggard's texts an imperial ideology can be traced.<sup>241</sup> This is evidenced in the correspondence between Haggard and Winston Churchill. Churchill grew up reading Haggard; they were even in contact when Churchill was a child, thanks to Churchill's Aunt's acquaintance with the Haggards:

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<sup>239</sup> Kabbani, *Imperial Fictions: Europe's Myths of Orient*. p. 1.

<sup>240</sup> Margery Ross, ed. *Robert Ross: Friend of Friends* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1952), p. 49.

<sup>241</sup> Taussig, 'Culture of Terror--Space of Death. Roger Casement's Putumayo Report and the Explanation of Torture'. P. 494.

Dear Mr Haggard,

Thank you so much for sending me “Allan Quatermain”, it was so good of you. I like A.Q. better than “King Solomon’s Mines” it is more amusing. I hope you will write a great many more books.

I remain yours truly Winston S. Churchill <sup>242</sup>

Haggard was part of the cultural knowledge of the young British boy as he grew up. The ‘wild’ Africa of Haggard’s books was a place of action where higher and nobler causes could be fought and men fashioned.<sup>243</sup> Haggard presented to Churchill and others like him, what he considered the fundamental importance of Africa: that it could teach them who they really were. Knowingly or unknowingly, authors use their writings as a conduit for both their social and political perspective. John Mackenzie stated:

The values and fantasies of adult authors are dressed up in fictional garb for youthful consumption, and the works thereby become instrumental in the dissemination and perpetuation of particular clusters of ideals, assumptions and ambition.<sup>244</sup>

This facet—the propagation of imperialist tropes and beliefs—of Haggard’s work alone is enough to merit this thesis. Yet this, combined with an understanding of Theophilus Shepstone and his influence on Haggard’s views, provide the evidence of the strength of Haggard’s influence on the British image of southern Africa, and on the indigenous population of South Africa itself. Haggard, who was writing during the height of imperial adventure romance’s popularity at the fin-de-siècle, was influenced by and influenced colonialists in the shaping of the western gaze upon the African sub-continent. The following chapter will expand on the hermeneutics of colonial fiction, looking specifically at Haggard’s work through the lens of New Historicism and Geertzian Thick Description, both theories developed in response to previous hegemonic European

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<sup>242</sup>Winston Churchill, 'Personal Correspondence', ed. by H. Rider Haggard.

<sup>243</sup> Haggard, *Three Adventure Novels, She, King Solomon's Mines, Allan Quatermain*.

<sup>244</sup> Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire*. p. 25.

perspectives. The following deep reading will show the ambiguity, or Janus-like themes, inherent in Haggard's imperial adventure romances.

## Chapter 2: The Hermeneutics of Colonial Fiction

The late twentieth and early twenty-first century have produced a small but significant body of critical work on the African fiction of Haggard, and most recently the work of Stiebel, Chrisman and Monsman. Lindy Stiebel's book, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances* (2001), focuses on land, landscape and Victorian desire in his pre-1892 romances. Laura Chrisman, whose book *Rereading the Imperial Romance: British Imperialism and South African Resistance in Haggard, Schreiner and Plaatje* (2000), used cultural materialism and postcolonial theory to reassess the imperial romance genre with Haggard as one of the three authors assessed. Most recently Gerald Monsman's (2006) monograph *H. Rider Haggard on the Imperial Frontier: The Political & Literary Contexts of His African Romances* (2006) acknowledges the importance of the colonial context in Haggard's writing. This thesis builds on Monsman's work, to focus on the personal and political background to Haggard's fiction, specifically his early twentieth century Zikali trilogy, which Chrisman notes 'merit[s] examination',<sup>245</sup> and considers what this can reveal about the author and his own colonial framework.

These works mainly looked at the symbolism in, and comparative analogies to, Haggard's fiction. But neither these nor Haggard's biographers have analysed the powerful influence those around him had on Haggard's work. As his letters and notes evidence, Haggard was constantly debating, discussing and refining his beliefs regarding empire and the journey of the self—inherent to the British gentleman's colonial adventure. People such as W. H. Henley, who first inaugurated Haggard into London literary society; Kipling, Haggard's long-time friend and confidant; Andrew Lang, who encouraged Haggard from his earliest publications, and most importantly, Theophilus Shepstone, who imbued Haggard with his own colonial beliefs.

Haggard's career-defining colonial background, being the primary source for his imperial adventure romances, was fundamental to the shaping of imperial historiography and fin-de-siècle interpretations of southern Africa. Beyond that his role

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<sup>245</sup> Laura Chrisman, 'The British Conquest of Zululand: Haggard's Politics and Ideology', in *Rereading the Imperial Romance: British Imperialism and South African Resistance in Haggard, Schreiner, and Plaatje*, ed. by Laura Chrisman (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2000).

as an author meant that Haggard contributed significantly to the creation and sustaining of a late nineteenth century imperial ideology. In situating Haggard's texts within their time specific discourses, it presents them in a manner which lays bare the geo-politics of the texts' construction and the background of their content, moving beyond—the acknowledged easy confidence of—Haggard's mastery of the imperial adventure romance fiction to present a revisionist perspective on his African fiction. I intend to use a New Historicist framing of Haggard's fiction based on the significant, but under-researched, relationship with Shepstone to provide a revealing perspective on the contradictory discourses of colonialism within his texts.

### New Historicist Approaches to the Literature of Empire

I have based my overarching theoretical framework on the premise of New Historicism for two reasons: the first being New Historicism's function in allowing the use of cultural and geo-political discourses in the analysis of a text; secondly to move beyond the scope of New Historicism and its inception in the reinterpretation of canonical early modern texts, to a revisionist approach to a non-canonical, but highly significant genre of fiction. Stephen Greenblatt and Catherine Gallagher describe New Historicism as focused on the 'history of possibilities: while deeply interested in the collective, it remains committed to the value of the single voice, the isolated scandal, the idiosyncratic vision, the transient sketch'.<sup>246</sup> In echoing this, whilst focusing on imperial adventure romance and southern Africa, the core of this thesis is a reassessment of the author Haggard and his colonial association with Theophilus Shepstone, a man who had a manifold influence on the lives of many who lived in southern Africa, particularly in Natal.

New Historicism realigned the study of English with 'social and politically oriented disciplines', away from narrower conceptual frameworks such as F. R. Leavis's literary canon which privileged a very select group of English authors.<sup>247</sup> Paul Stevens stated that New Historicism is 'helping to create a climate in which literary criticism could become more open to the influence of the social sciences'.<sup>248</sup> Not that

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<sup>246</sup> Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).p.16.

<sup>247</sup> Paul Stevens, 'Pretending to Be Real: Stephen Greenblatt and the Legacy of Popular Existentialism', *New Literary History*, 33 (2002). p. 493.

<sup>248</sup>Ibid. p. 493

literary criticism was not open before but rather that New Historicism does not sit in opposition to the application of various contexts to examine textual discourse. The openness to different types of evidence in literary research seems especially fitting for Haggard's African fiction given his heavy involvement with the many facets of British southern African colonialism; from his journalistic articles on the state of the nation; to his involvement in the annexation of the Transvaal; and his subsequent employment as Master and Registrar of the High Court of the Transvaal.

In using New Historicism an emphasis is placed on the status of social and political representations in Haggard's novels, in other words, the context. The literary work is not privileged within this thesis; rather the focus is upon 'situating the text, [and] stitching it back into the intertextual quilt of its initial context'.<sup>249</sup> In looking at Haggard's fiction in its socio-cultural context it is possible to see that which is not usually found within the genre of imperial adventure romance and to analyse the ambiguities within the text. Greenblatt and Gallagher state:

To wall off for aesthetic appreciation only a tiny portion of the expressive range of a culture is to diminish its individuality and to limit one's understanding even of that tiny portion, since its significance can be fully grasped only in relation to the other expressive possibilities with which it interacts and from which it differentiates itself.<sup>250</sup>

This is not to say that it is no longer viable to look at the book as an autonomous aspect of cultural history but instead I use New Historicism to destabilise what Ghadiri and Moinzadeh call 'the homogenizing abstractions of traditional comparative approaches'.<sup>251</sup> New Historicism equally values the literary text, and the historical

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<sup>249</sup> Kiernan Ryan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader*, (London: Hodder Headline, 1996). p. xiii.

<sup>250</sup> Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*. p. 13.

<sup>251</sup> Ghadiri and Moinzadeh, 'The Comparative Analysis of Two Songs by Farhad Mehrad: The View of New Historicism'. p. 384.

location out of which it was produced; it is both the text and the context together which reveal the cultural discourse.<sup>252</sup>

Rereading Haggard's work in conjunction with diaries, letters, journals and government papers provides a much needed new perspective on what the previous ontological hegemony, or critical consensus, of literary theory called Haggard's, in the words of Nicholas Daly, 'fiction for the masses'.<sup>253</sup> Complicating Haggard's narratives—by that I mean reading them deeply to explore their paratextual links back to the author and his colonial world—will provide a greater understanding of the author and his texts, as both an imperialist writer and as a colonist who experienced life on the periphery of the British Empire.

The defamiliarisation of Haggard's texts, beyond critical literary analysis, reveals the cultural fabric or paratext, through which he wrote. Complicating his imperial adventure romances, and looking at who appears in his books, what they do, and importantly in this thesis, who has agency within the text, shows the dynamic of Haggard's socio-cultural framework. The use of paratextual analysis serves to further explore the environment which Haggard creates, moving beyond the book as object to seeing it as part of cultural history, in this case, the early twentieth century colonial landscape. Gallagher and Greenblatt proposed when they first suggested the concept of New Historicism, that they 'deliberately departed from the literary-historical practice of creating embrasures for holding texts inside of established accounts of change and continuity; [they] used anecdotes instead to chip away at the familiar edifices and make plastered-over cracks appear'.<sup>254</sup> In using such a wide-ranging analysis of Haggard's African fiction it is possible to explore the hermeneutics of colonial literature, in particular looking beyond the inherent racist structure and language of Haggard's imperial adventure romances, to see his exploration of the Englishman's role within European imperial expansion. It is through the cracks in established perspectives that Haggard's fascination with death, thwarted sexual appetites and father figures will be analysed, moving beyond the scope which examines his fictions as 'conduits for

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid. p. 384.

<sup>253</sup> Nicholas Daly, *Modernism Romance and the Fin De Siele: Popular Fiction and British Culture, 1880-1914*, Digital reprint paperback 2006 edn (Cambridge: CUP, 1999). p.117.

<sup>254</sup> Catherine Gallagher & Stephen Greenblatt, p. 52.



anxieties from the late Victorian period,' specifically of gender and imperialism.<sup>255</sup> Interpretations of Haggard's work have varied greatly over the years, but all critics agree on his 'surprising powers of survival from generation to generation of reader'.<sup>256</sup> By using New Historicism as the framework within which to explore the absorption and manipulation of historical figures and events in the African fiction of H. Rider Haggard, it is possible to link biographical analysis with a revisionist critical interpretation of the author's work.

Haggard's works are a reflection of the disparate attitudes of fin-de-siècle imperialism in Africa and it is only by viewing them in their cultural context that these aspects of his books can be identified. An example of Haggard's possibly surprising views given his authorial reputation is shown in his autobiography. He writes in reaction to the attitudes of some European white males in Africa and their right to rule:

Also many white men have, or used to have, a habit of personally assaulting natives, frequently upon quite insufficient grounds. They say or said that these would do nothing unless they were beaten. I do not believe it.<sup>257</sup>

It is interesting that Haggard whose fiction is filled with stereotypical colonial behaviour, such as the mass slaughter of Masai at the mission station in *Allan Quatermain*,<sup>258</sup> would, in his factual writing, disagree with the archetypal imperialist characteristic of the 'lazy good-for-nothing' native who had to be beaten regularly.<sup>259</sup>

Reflecting the dynamic nature of history, cultural literary analysis shies away from overgeneralisations and instead focuses on the density of the information

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<sup>255</sup> Hultgren, 'Haggard Criticism since 1980: Imperial Romance before and after the Postcolonial Turn'. p.649.

<sup>256</sup> Douglas Hewitt, *English Fiction of the Early Modern Period 1890-1940*, (London, Longman, 1988), p. 92.

<sup>257</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 66.

<sup>258</sup> Quatermain says, 'We were but thirty men all told...and we were going to engage two hundred and fifty of the fiercest, bravest, and most formidable savages in Africa [...] it was a slaughter great and grim.' Haggard, 'Allan Quatermain'. pp. 471-481.

<sup>259</sup> Haggard, *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours; or, Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal, and the Transvaal*.

revealed by a full examination of the site, context, and situation of the text. In Haggard's case the information is revealed in his unique fictionalisation of Zulu myth, and the English colonial gentleman, within imperial adventure fiction. Writing about changing behaviours during the Renaissance, Stephen Greenblatt suggested that 'middle-class and aristocratic males began to feel that they possessed such [autonomous] shaping power over their lives,' whilst also being, 'the ideological product of the relations of power in a particular society'.<sup>260</sup> I suggest that this was as true of late nineteenth century male colonials as it was of the renaissance men Greenblatt talks of. English colonial male power reveals itself most when it has something to respond or reply to, specifically the 'other' or the unknown. In Haggard's representations it is when Allan is beyond the boundaries of the known British Empire that he is most powerful, 'sublime', and in control of the 'events' which surround him.

Meg Armstrong notes that 'the sublime could be an emblem of the superiority of reason (as an indication of the supersensible in man), exemplifying unity, mastery, and control of frightening or alien aspects of the natural world'.<sup>261</sup> The behaviour being enacted was a response to the socio-cultural environment of the time, that of regularising and explaining an action or event. John Ruskin, prominent Victorian social commentator, as well as art critic, geologist and poet, said in December 1864, 'among the ideas most prevalent and effective in the mind of this busiest of countries...is this of "Advancement in life"'.<sup>262</sup> These are all evidence of a male self-fashioned articulation of power.

Haggard firmly believed in his own autonomous 'shaping power' over his life. He wrote in his autobiography, in a letter dated June 1877: 'my aim is of course to rise to the position of a colonial governor'.<sup>263</sup> Haggard presumed an autonomous control over his own destiny that had been iterated from the earliest imperial novels, such as Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. It is not just in understanding an act but 'giving the act its place in a network of framing intentions and cultural meanings' that allows a detailed

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<sup>260</sup>Quoted in Stevens, 'Pretending to Be Real: Stephen Greenblatt and the Legacy of Popular Existentialism'.p. 492.

<sup>261</sup> Meg Armstrong, "'The Effects of Blackness": Gender, Race, and the Sublime in Aesthetic Theories of Burke and Kant', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 54 (1996). , p. 214.

<sup>262</sup> John Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin, Sesame and Lilies*, 4th edn (Orpington: George Allen, 1880). p. 3.

<sup>263</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 102.

reading of a person's motivations.<sup>264</sup> Haggard's work was shaped by the Victorian conventions of the day, emphasising a strong masculinity bound up in rigidly moral conventions.

The contemporary context of Haggard's romances becomes the more important as the contemporary critic's response to colonial literature—involving new approaches to texts and alternate ways of reading those texts—has ensured the impact of literary texts is greater than that of anthropological accounts or travel narratives of the nineteenth and twentieth century in shaping representations of Empire. I suggest that we look with the same critical eye on the words and actions of the fictional Allan Quatermain as we do on the real Dr. David Livingstone. If this is so then all 'literary texts are cultural artefacts that can tell us something about the interplay of discourses, the web of social meanings, operating in the time and place in which the text was written'.<sup>265</sup> Haggard's novels allow the researcher to observe his (Haggard's) personal feelings regarding British colonialism, and also divulge the socio-cultural space within which they were created.

It would be reductive to assume the attitudes and behaviours suggested through visual and textual propaganda defined all people within an age; Haggard does not represent his readership and neither does he represent a hegemonic cultural outlook. Yet, as Frederick Cooper says: 'one never quite gets away from the colonial construction of African history, but one can engage, challenge, and refashion it'.<sup>266</sup> New Historicism facilitates the engagement with the boundaries Cooper highlights, breaking down the homogenous colonial constructs to identify the individual historiographies within, generating a new hermeneutical reading of Haggard's texts.

Writers must draw upon their 'whole life-world' when creating their stories, 'and [...] this life-world has undoubtedly left other traces of itself'.<sup>267</sup> This means it is possible to look into his stories and see through Haggard's eyes the main protagonists in the cultural and historical upheaval of South Africa at the turn of the nineteenth

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<sup>264</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, 'The Touch of the Real', *Representations*, (1997). p. 15.

<sup>265</sup> Ghadiri and Moizadeh, 'The Comparative Analysis of Two Songs by Farhad Mehrad: The View of New Historicism'. p. 384.

<sup>266</sup> Frederick Cooper, 'Africa's Past and Africa's Historians', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 34 (2000). p. 308.

<sup>267</sup> Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*. p. 13.

century. This in turn gives an emotionally nuanced perspective of historically relevant people, something which would not have been considered relevant to contemporary observers. In an 1888 review of *Colonel Quaritch, V. C.* (1888), the reviewer writes: 'We are glad to meet Mr. Rider Haggard upon English ground, and to find him free from his usual nightmare of impossible adventures among uncivilised races'.<sup>268</sup> To be able to extract such a breadth of material from Haggard's populist works of fiction, is to acknowledge that it is not just through the canon that we can extract the literary signifiers of a specific culture or moment in time. Haggard's texts are entirely the kind of 'literary work,' defined by Greenblatt and Gallagher, 'as too minor to deserve sustained interest and hence marginalised or excluded entirely from the canon'.<sup>269</sup> Through its framework, New Historicism fosters a 'weakening of the aesthetic object;' this allows a breaking down of the monopoly of previously deferentially revered canonical works in literary analysis.<sup>270</sup> New Historicism enables the researcher to 'seek something more, something that the authors we study would not have had sufficient distance upon themselves and their own era to grasp'.<sup>271</sup>

A nuanced cultural analysis of Haggard's work and his life is dependent on using primary source material. Everything subsequently has been created in the cultural moment of that period, thus interpretations change and are fluid, flowing from one time of study to the next. The revisionist discourse has been largely facilitated by the expansion in recent years of the digital humanities; the twenty-first century has seen a massive spike in the use of the internet as a source and depository for archive material. Access to archives allows researchers to utilise all the academic tools at our disposal—ephemera, letters, diaries, digital databases, as well as books—to present an analysis of Haggard's Zikali trilogy unjaundiced by previous critical ideology. I will 'rub literary texts against the grain of received notions about their determinants'.<sup>272</sup> It is not in sentimentalising Haggard's fiction, but through drawing out the cultural implications of his work that I will understand his place in the creation and preservation of a British colonial ideology. Much of the ephemera associated with the Victorian era unless considered important now—and hence digitised or preserved—will not be

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<sup>268</sup> 'Literary Notices', *Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire, Cheshire and General Advertiser*, (1888).

<sup>269</sup> Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*. p. 9.

<sup>270</sup>*Ibid.* p. 11.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.* p. 8.

<sup>272</sup>*Ibid.* p. 52.

around much longer. This thesis makes full use of digital advances and, ‘invokes the vastness of the textual archive, and with that vastness an aesthetic appreciation of the individual instance’.<sup>273</sup> In examining the specifics of creation as well as content, the roots of Haggard’s successful imperial adventure romance series are exposed and thus available for rigorous criticism. Frederick Cooper states that, ‘[e]vents emerge from chains of contingent actions, a time-specific coming together of processes that may each be systematically understandable, but whose configuration and contingencies are also of causative significance’.<sup>274</sup> This quotation shows the emphasis that historians such as Cooper place on trying to grasp as much of the available information as possible, if only to review it all before discarding what is not needed.

### Geertz and New Historicism: Thick Description and Colonial Culture

Used alone New Historicism would not allow a full utilisation of the wealth of primary cultural data now available to researchers in the form of first-hand accounts of nineteenth century journeys to Africa and personal correspondence.<sup>275</sup> Yet, used in conjunction with the work of Clifford Geertz, who has accepted that both the physical—what is there within a culture—and metaphysical—what it means, what it symbolises—are part of our understanding of culture in his theory of Thick Description, all available sources can be used to create a cogent argument about the historical legacy of Haggard’s fiction. The behaviours and contexts that a Thickly Descriptive framework looks for within any action or event, sit perfectly within the larger theoretical framework of New Historicism, which looks at the external forces which affect an action or event. In short, I will be using New Historicism and Thick Description to look outwards from the agencies involved in the construction of Haggard’s romances as opposed to seeing his books as literary artefacts with no clear link to history, or as outwith historical enquiry.

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<sup>273</sup>Ibid. p. 16.

<sup>274</sup>Cooper, 'Africa's Past and Africa's Historians'. p. 310

<sup>275</sup> The field of digital humanities has been foundational to the research behind this thesis. The garnering of such a wide variety of primary documents, to shed light on Haggard’s life, was possible due to the technological advancements which have allowed the historical literary scholar the tools to search vast databases previously inaccessible due to geographical or financial constraints.

Stephen Greenblatt defines the role of a New Historicist as mounting ‘an interdisciplinary campaign to track [a] culture’s chief tropes as they move back and forth between its various discursive domains’.<sup>276</sup> This emphasis on culture and its interplay with literature takes as its foundation the work of anthropologist Clifford Geertz. In the latter half of the twentieth century Geertz worked on a study to understand the structure of meaning within cultures, how something—be it gesture, behaviour, action, signal or practice—can have any number of responses; yet it is how it is produced, perceived and interpreted that define its meaning. He said in his seminal collection of essays, *The Interpretation of Cultures*: ‘believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore one in search of meaning’.<sup>277</sup> Max Weber put the question: ‘which motives led and continue to lead individual functionaries and members of this “community” to behave in such a way that it comes into being and continues to exist?’<sup>278</sup> Like Geertz and Weber, I am curious about the ‘motives’ or ‘webs of significance’ that are produced by a British colonial community at once removed yet constrained by the British imperial centre. Geertz suggests that all ‘gestures’ are defined through ‘inference and implication’; by the thick description surrounding them. By following the history of southern Africa from events, through personal mediation, into Haggard’s novels, I intend to analyse the act of cultural appropriation on an individual level.

The history that Haggard writes about in his fiction is a subjective construction of Zulu and Natal history. Haggard does not write his texts with the agreement of the Zulu, they did not ask him to record their history and as he wrote in English they had limited access to understanding what he wrote. If anything, his work provides a fragmentary and elusive glimpse of Zulu history, but it is in the small moments when passages are laden with Thick Description that the event and the actors, or the agencies involved in their construction, become visible. As Barthes has stated, ‘there does not exist, and never has existed, a people without narratives’.<sup>279</sup> Unfortunately

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<sup>276</sup>Ryan, *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader*. p. xiv.

<sup>277</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*.p. 5.

<sup>278</sup> Max Weber, ‘The Nature of Social Action in Wirtschaft Und Gesellschaft’, in *Max Weber: Selections in Translation*, ed. by W. E. Runciman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956, First published in 1922). p. 21.

<sup>279</sup> Roland Barthes, *A Barthes Reader*, (New York, Hill and Wang, 1982). p. 252.

some cultures have their narratives expunged or subsumed by dominant cultures, resulting in little authentic narrative remaining.<sup>280</sup> In analysing the colonial history which unfolds in the Zikali trilogy, I can engage, challenge and revise colonial constructs. By this I suggest that through this analysis of the context and content of Haggard's fictions, southern African narratives can be partially restored. As part of the hegemonic literary culture Haggard appropriates the native narrative for his own ends. Reading New Historically it is possible to move beyond the author's intent and show aspects of socio-cultural colonial interaction and agency. In referring to Haggard's intent I am specifically thinking of the civilisational fortitude that it was supposed the British man brought to his role in the construction of the British Empire.

The British imperialist was schooled to believe that it was his duty to rule and civilise the rest of the world in a European manner. For the British man in Africa, imperialism 'was suffused with a vivid sense of superiority and self-righteousness, if with every good intention'.<sup>281</sup> They were an 'ideological product' of the relations between church, nation and government. It was a time when white European males felt they were able to aspire to goals outwith their predetermined social class. Industrialists such as Andrew Carnegie, and politicians such as Benjamin Disraeli, were evidence that men could shape their lives autonomously, albeit within a particular society with all its inherent strictures.

If the vision of empire, in which a man's reputation was based solely on his merit, was one in which he could make his own way and return to Britain a rich, well rounded gentleman then Haggard, the 'leggy youth', was a prime candidate for enrolment. Haggard first went to southern Africa when he was 19, shipped off by his father in the midst of an unrequited passionate holiday romance to work unpaid as a secretary. His initial thoughts were not positive and he was not to know it would turn out to be the major turning point of his life; he would encounter the Zulu, a people he

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<sup>280</sup> Vijah Mishra notes: 'In these settler nations, settler ethos became identical with the nation and immigration policies aimed at creating a monolingual (or, as in the case of South Africa and Canada, a bilingual) nation under the celebratory sign of (white) assimilation.' Cultures have to be subsumed into the national narratives in ways that don't align with the maintenance of separate cultural narratives. Vijay Mishra, *The Literature of the Indian Diaspora: theorizing the Diasporic Imaginary* (Routledge, 2007).

Wade Davis, 'Dreams from Endangered Cultures', (TED, 2003), p. 22:01.

<sup>281</sup>Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*. p. 2.

returned to again and again as a primary source in his romances.<sup>282</sup> Although Haggard was to live in southern Africa for only six years, it ruled his imagination so strongly that it became the setting for most of the forty-eight novels he would subsequently write.

The extrapolation of meaning from his novels is a concerted effort to find that which is useful in that which has been perceived as worthless. Geertz shows that, 'concepts developed for the analysis of the more elevated aspects of culture [...] are applicable to the more lowly ones without in any way blurring the enormous qualitative distinctions between the two'.<sup>283</sup> There is no definitive way to approach a work, nor is there a work within which there is no scope for further analysis. It is my contention that Haggard's romances consistently engage with and question both the colonial experience and the native/settler interaction of nineteenth century southern Africa.

Wendy Katz notes that Haggard 'was an ideological presence, part of his period's popular culture; and he contributed to a certain state of mind'.<sup>284</sup> Historical, social and political reconstructions which take place within narrative fiction, become an author's historiography of situations and occurrences. The southern African history Haggard writes of is only one interpretation, yet his rendering of colonial power and influence is part of the literary production that influenced cultural perceptions of empire and British nineteenth century socio-political norms. Imperial adventure romance by its very subject and setting was emblematic of the British Empire. For example, explorer Ewart Grogan was one of many influenced by the works of the imperial adventure romance writers. 'When Ewart was eleven, *King Solomon's Mines* was published and from the moment he opened Rider Haggard's thrilling tome he was determined to try and emulate its hero, Allan Quatermain'.<sup>285</sup> It was not from guidebooks but from books of fiction that Grogan was able to visualise the Empire. His biographer Paice goes on to explain, 'His vision of Africa was defined by the books of Rider Haggard...and from them he knew that one needed a plethora of talents to

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<sup>282</sup> 'From the beginning I was attracted to these Zulus, and soon began to study their character and their history.' Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p.52.

<sup>283</sup>Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. p. 209.

<sup>284</sup> Wendy R. Katz, *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). p. 4.

<sup>285</sup> Edward Paice, *Lost Lion of Empire: The Life of 'Cape to Cairo' Grogan*, (London: Harper Collins, 2001). p. 12.



survive in the bush'.<sup>286</sup> The books of Haggard and fellow imperial adventure romance writers were so influential it was often felt by English people travelling to Africa for the first time that here was a place they were not only familiar with but one they understood. Mary Kingsley having read of the 'Dark Continent', 'culled an image...so strong...that when the SS Lagos drew towards the West African coast in August 1893, it all seemed so familiar'.<sup>287</sup> When British people arrived in Africa—particularly central and southern Africa—their natural inclination was to shape their experience according to the stories they had been brought up with. In fact, as Dutheil states, 'far from being naïve, the confusion between imagination and fact in the novels of Empire serves powerful ideological, political and economic interests'.<sup>288</sup> If the 'novels of Empire' had such a strong impact on imperial ideological representations then colonial novels of southern Africa were to have the greatest influence. Roger S. Levine notes that Natal, of which Haggard wrote so often, 'has enjoyed a disproportionate, although not unmerited, place of prominence in the historiography of empire, colonialism, and, specifically, the institution of indirect rule'.<sup>289</sup> Haggard transmitted his ideas through his work as did his fellow authors and journalists. Brantlinger proposes that a 'literary text is just as much a fact as a government document...It may even be epistemologically more reliable than a document, which can be just as deceptive as any other kind of text'.<sup>290</sup> Haggard's prodigious output and his commercial success ensured that his impact was powerful on contemporary culture. The written word or text is representative of a specific connotation. It is part of a cultural concept, what Geertz describes as an:

[H]istorically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men

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<sup>286</sup> Ibid. p. 24.

<sup>287</sup> Dea Birkett, 'Mary Kingsley and West Africa', in *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society*, ed. by Hordon Marsden (Harlow: Pearson, 1998). p. 217.

<sup>288</sup> Martine Hennard Dutheil, 'The Representation of the Cannibal in Ballantyne's the Coral Island. Colonial Anxieties in Victorian Popular Fiction', *College Literature*, 28 (2001).

<sup>289</sup> Roger S. Levine, 'Thomas V. McClendon. *White Chief, Black Lords: Shepstone and the Colonial State in Natal, South Africa, 1845-1878*. Review of Books', *American Historical Review*, (2011). p. 1610.

<sup>290</sup> Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature and Postcolonial Studies*. p. 56.

communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life.<sup>291</sup>

Haggard's colonial texts—'texts very much in and of their world'— then go on to become the building blocks of the creation of an African image by those at the centre of the Empire, the readers in Britain.<sup>292</sup> Gallagher and Greenblatt state that by approaching texts 'through the eccentric anecdote, "history" would cease to be a way of stabilizing texts; it would instead become part of their enigmatic being'.<sup>293</sup> New Historicism brings critical attention to objects and aspects which have not previously been considered legitimate areas of study, and allows for previously researched works to be interpreted in new ways.

### Geertz and Colonial Cultural Analysis

Geertz further clarifies the importance of understanding the cultural discourse of actions or meanings by explaining the value of Thick Description, and its benefits over a description or an explanation of an event, in understanding said event. Thick Description enables a researcher to set 'down the meaning particular social actions have for the actors whose actions they are, and stating, as explicitly as we can manage, what the knowledge thus attained demonstrates about the society in which it is found'.<sup>294</sup> Thick Description identifies the social structure behind an act or event; it is a way of exploring the unique facets of an occurrence. Geertz goes on to say:

Our double task is to uncover the conceptual structures that inform our subjects' acts, the 'said' of social discourse, and to construct a system of analysis in whose terms what is generic to those structures, what belongs to them because they are what they are, will stand out against the other determinants of human behaviour.<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. p. 89.

<sup>292</sup> Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*. p. 10.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.* p. 51.

<sup>294</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. p. 27.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.* p. 27.

A Geertzian reading should push for a cultural analysis of meaningful structures, why they were created and what they mean for the articulator of the action. Haggard's African novels, written both from a distance in Britain and from within the African continent, show the process of reasoning, or discourse, he took to reach the point at which he becomes synonymous with the image of British imperialism in Africa, despite the fact that his fiction was often quite deliberately beyond the imperial borders. Haggard was not only a fictional ambassador of the British Empire but would, in real life, go on to become an actual ambassador for the Royal Dominion's Commission. This is discussed further in Chapter 5 'Colonial ambiguity: Haggard and the Royal Colonial Institute'.

Geertz states: 'Culture [...] is not cults and customs, but the structures of meaning through which men give shape to their experience; and politics is not coups and constitutions, but one of the principal arenas in which such structures publicly unfold'.<sup>296</sup> Haggard writes about a colonial culture, in part idealised, in part an exploration of events he did not fully comprehend but learnt about third hand through stories and media reports, in which he creates a structure of meaning. There is a difficulty 'in bringing certain elusive phenomena within the sphere of culturally formulatable fact, which renders man chronically uneasy'.<sup>297</sup> Haggard affirms and reaffirms the role of the Englishman in colonial Africa through his imperial adventure romances. He uses the Zikali trilogy to map out his own experience, yet he does so within a framework of established tropes which familiarise his texts and situate them firmly with Imperial adventure romance. That Haggard was so heavily involved in the subsequent political and social upheavals that resulted from the period he wrote about can only serve to allow a more complex analysis of his work.

### The Historical Context of the Zikali Trilogy

In the British Empire, few, if any, African colonies had the same impact as Natal. Not only did 'some of the most dramatic grassroots resistance to white rule in 20<sup>th</sup> century South Africa' come from Natal, but as Shula Marks goes on to note:

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<sup>296</sup> Ibid. p. 312.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid. p. 102.

In Natal the contradictions between theory and practice, between the exploration, expropriation and political suppression of Africans on the one hand, and the ideology of separate development, paternalism and trusteeship on the other, have probably been more blatant than in any other part of South Africa in the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>298</sup>

This statement eerily echoes Haggard's thoughts almost 100 years earlier in *Cetewayo and His White Neighbours*:

In all that world-wide empire which the spirit of the English colonisation has conquered from out of the realms of the distant and unknown, and added year by year to the English dominions, it is doubtful whether there be any one spot of corresponding area, presenting so many large questions, social and political, as the colony of Natal. Wrested some thirty years ago from the patriarchal Boers, and peopled by a few scattered scores of adventurous emigrants, Natal has with hard toil gained for itself a precarious foothold hardly yet to be called an existence.<sup>299</sup>

William Tordoff describes an empire of expansion in which individuals and private companies would set up trading posts or areas of influence and then look to the government to validate their claim and provide support. Once colonies had been established in Africa, 'British missionaries and traders pressurised their home governments to extend the colonial boundaries inland as a means of protecting their interests and gains against French and German competition'.<sup>300</sup> By the mid

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<sup>298</sup> Shula Marks, 'The Ambiguities of Dependence: John L. Dube of Natal', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1 (1975). p. 162.

<sup>299</sup> Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement'.

<sup>300</sup> William Tordoff, *Government and Politics in Africa*, Third edn (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997). p. 30.

nineteenth-century the creep of colonial boundaries had created a British Empire in Africa massive in both political remit and territories with many politically minor British figures such as Theophilus Shepstone and Baden-Powell ruling autocratically. Men such as these were intrinsic in providing Haggard with the sources—telling him stories, providing him with reports and sharing stories from their diaries and journals—to write his fiction which then emblematised fin-de-siècle British colonialism.

As Holland, Fox and Daro explain it, 'collective identity formation, as with all other cultural phenomena, is fundamentally dialogic'.<sup>301</sup> The recirculation of stories of autocratic individualism in the Empire constructs a collective identity, coherent cultural characteristics, exclusively pertaining to the white English male. Haggard's work was particularly saturated with stereotyped imperial behaviours: individual male heroism, adventure, duty, and economic reward. Sola Adeyemi shows that: 'In his writing, Haggard manipulates fact and fiction to generate mystery while perpetuating the existing imperial ideas in spite of his ambivalence toward the colonial agenda'.<sup>302</sup> Haggard's ambiguity towards the colonial endeavour, evidences his awareness of the complexity of the socio-political landscape of southern Africa.

The history of southern Africa during British occupation in the nineteenth and early twentieth century is not as easy to define as black versus white. The land was fought over by Xhosa, Bapedi, Swazi, Boer, Portuguese and Zulu. When the British began to assume the role of colonial power in the Transvaal and South Africa it was the Bapedi who were the foremost native community. The Bapedi were one of the larger more powerful groups in southern Africa until the death of their leader Thulare in 1820 or 1824,<sup>303</sup> combined with the increasingly aggressive influence of the Ndebele or Matabele people. What followed was sixty years of the Bapedi trying to retain their identity and independence in an increasingly hostile and overcrowded territory.<sup>304</sup> The

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<sup>301</sup> Dorothy Holland, Gretchen Fox, and Vinci Daro, 'Social Movements and Collective Identity: A Decentered, Dialogic View', *Anthropological Quarterly*, 81 (2008). p. 99.

<sup>302</sup> Sola Adeyemi, 'Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances And: Diary of an African Journey: The Return of Rider Haggard', *Research in African Literatures*, 33 (2002). p. 219

<sup>303</sup> His death was during an eclipse initially thought to be the annual eclipse of 1824 but recent studies show it was more likely the total eclipse of the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 1820. K. W. Smith, 'The Fall of the Bapedi of the North-Eastern Transvaal', *The Journal of African History*, 10 (1969).

<sup>304</sup> The Bapedi were finally dissipated completely by their defeat at the hands of Sir Garnet Wolseley's Expeditionary force of November 1879. Sir Garnet Wolseley had been sent out to Africa after the colonial office in Britain was shocked into action by the Langalibalele uprising. Wolseley's role was to quell the discord created by so many small self interest groups to ensure the continued tax income and labour pool provided by the native to the colonials and their government.

Bapedi's main antagonists were the Zulu and the Swazi. The Bapedi chief Sekwati realised he would never be able to beat the Zulu in battle so every year sent presents and proffered the hand of friendship. This in itself turned out to be fatal as Cetshwayo saw these gifts as tribute: as K.W. Smith states, Cetshwayo regarded the Bapedi as his subjects, his 'dogs'. Unfortunately the Swazi also saw the Bapedi as their subjects, though tribute was never offered. The Boer decided to 'purchase from the Swazis the land, including that to the west of the Steelpoort, on which the Bapedi lived, as they were under the impression that the Swazi had conquered the Bapedi, and that Sekwati had acknowledged himself a Swazi subject'.<sup>305</sup> In the tradition of the apprenticeships the Boer then assumed that Sekwati became their subject.

Haggard did not divorce his stories from the politics of the time, instead he used the ambiguity as part of the myth behind his romances. Allan Quatermain says in *Marie*, 'so the end of it was that those in authority commandeered me to serve in one of the continual Kafir frontier wars which was in progress, and instantly gave me a commission as a kind of lieutenant in a border corps'.<sup>306</sup> Zikali, the titular character of the trilogy, is portrayed as the last remaining member of the house of Matiwane who uses magic to bring about the demise of the Zulu. In actuality Zikali was a successful chief who managed to reunite his people after the death of his father Matiwane. Matiwane was the last leader of the amaNgwane before they were defeated by a combined force of the British, Xhosa, Thembu and Mpondo near Umtata in 1828. In *Child of Storm* Haggard has Matiwane put to death by the Zulu chief Dingane, but his people eventually regrouped under his son Zikali.<sup>307</sup> The hardships of the amaNgwane have become legend in southern African tribal history.<sup>308</sup> Ultimately Haggard was using aspects of truth in his narratives to encourage his readers to completely suspend

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<sup>305</sup> Smith, 'The Fall of the Bapedi of the North-Eastern Transvaal'. p. 238

<sup>306</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 101.

<sup>307</sup> Haggard writes Dingane as Dingaan.

<sup>308</sup> The remains of the amaNgwane people were finally scattered after being attacked by Colonel Somerset and his army of 1000 mounted colonists and 18,000 Xhosa. Somerset had been given his information by Major Dundas, Civil Commissioner of Albany and Somerset, who 'either ignorant or indifferent to their identity' assumed the amaNgwane were Zulu and 'attacked the unfortunate Matiwane and his Ngwanes (sic), and wiped them out. E. A. Ritter, *Shaka Zulu : The Rise of the Zulu Empire*, (London: Longman, 1955). p. 332.

On the other hand Frank Welsh writes that in fact the amaNgwane after being attacked by both Zwide and Shaka were only finally killed after they themselves forged a 'protracted campaign of terror and devastation' giving Matiwane the name of 'he who reddens his mouth by drinking the blood of men'. Frank Welsh, *A History of South Africa*, (London: HarperCollins, 1998). p. 145.

belief as his characters adventured deep within unknown Africa, although not all readers were willing to be led by Haggard.

William Watson wrote in to the *Fortnightly Review* in 1888 stating:

Mr. Haggard's is indeed an "undiscovered Africa," for it is an Africa which has no existence. Does not every reader see that Kôr, and Kekuanaland, and the city in *Allan Quatermain*, are localities so essentially *in nubibus* that there was no artistic necessity to parade realistic means of conveying us thither?<sup>309</sup>

Watson highlights the nebulous quality of the romances and queries why Haggard feels so driven to add truthful or realistic elements to his narratives when they are so clearly made up and supposedly have little to do with the real southern Africa. In fact Watson highlights that point further on in his letter when he notes 'it is too ridiculous. Africa indeed! He [Haggard] has but stood in the shadow of the porch of it'.<sup>310</sup> This is particularly interesting as Haggard is vehement in his author's notes and prefaces of the truth of the history within his texts. For example he says in the preface to *Marie* that 'he believes it to be accurate in its details', in the author's note to *Child of Storm* Haggard states that 'Mr Fynney assured me that it was quite true', and in the introduction to *Finished* he assures the reader that 'the main facts of history have been adhered to with some faithfulness'.<sup>311</sup> Irrespective of the differing opinions people within Britain might have had of Haggard and his fiction, it is possible to see the presumed sense of righteousness in the act of British appropriation of the land, people and history of Africa, or, to put it another way, in the assumption of knowledge of the continent of Africa within the act of British colonialism. The British man in Africa was fêted and historicised by Haggard. Haggard brought the experience of the imperial encounter into the homes of the British reading public.

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<sup>309</sup> William Watson, 'Mr Haggard and His Henchman', *Fortnightly Review*, 44 (1888). p. 684

<sup>310</sup> Ibid.

<sup>311</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. Haggard, *Child of Storm*. Haggard, *Finished*.

In his romances, no matter the suggested veracity, Haggard regularly uses magic or coincidence to propel his narrative. To return to Watson, it was this 'coincidence' that was at the heart of his issues with Haggard. Watson comments that '[i]t is not in Mr. Haggard's holes in themselves that I so much mind, it is in his inartistic helplessness to save himself from being always seen, spade in hand, and with loamy fingers at his digging'.<sup>312</sup> The melodramatic coincidence enabled Haggard to describe the imperial encounter whilst using melodramatic tropes to push the narrative on. In this Haggard utilised the perceived difference, or 'otherness', of southern Africa to Britain. The Africa depicted in imperialist adventure romance writing is 'the heartland of witchcraft and magic'.<sup>313</sup> Peter Pels has summarised this idea, using Brantlinger and McClintock, to show how 'Africa as a dark and occult continent functioned [...] as a way to contain African phenomena within the parameters of imperialist, colonial, and neo-colonial power and ideology'.<sup>314</sup>

As Conrad has Marlow emphasise in *Heart of Darkness*, Africa was to the British what Britain had been to the Romans all those centuries before: 'all that mysterious life of the wilderness that stirs in the forest, in the jungles, in the hearts of wild men [...] And it has a fascination too [...] The fascination of the abomination'.<sup>315</sup> What Conrad is suggesting is the perceived difference between cultures, as defined by the dominant or colonial perspective. Stuart Hall shows that:

Marking "difference" leads us, symbolically, to close ranks, shore up culture and to stigmatize and expel anything which is defined as impure, abnormal. However, paradoxically, it also makes "difference" powerful, strangely attractive precisely because it is forbidden, taboo, threatening to cultural order.<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>312</sup> Watson, 'Mr Haggard and His Henchman'. p. 686.

<sup>313</sup> Peter Pels, 'The Magic of Africa: Reflections on a Western Commonplace', *African Studies Review*, 41 (1998). P. 191.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid. p. 194.

<sup>315</sup> Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*. p. 10.

<sup>316</sup> Stuart Hall, 'The Spectacle of the "Other"', in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. by Stuart Hall (London: SAGE, 1997), pp. 223-79. p. 237



Haggard's romances are consciously embedded in a 'tribal' history which is resolutely different from the near history of early twentieth century Britain. By highlighting the difference Haggard plays up to an exotic, 'taboo', and 'othered' representation of southern Africa. In Africa there could only be two explanations for what could not instantly be comprehended by the Western gaze: magic or science. It would not be until the mid-twentieth century that British anthropology would make a connection or understand the similarities between Western religion and African 'magic'. Anne McClintock suggests Africa was seen in the nineteenth-century as 'marooned and historically abandoned [...] a fetish land, inhabited by cannibals, dervishes and witch doctors'.<sup>317</sup> The land was represented as not only desirous of the white man's civilising hand but a free realm in which he could find adventure.

In 1900 Haggard said, 'It is the fashion nowadays to say that everything is hackneyed; that the East itself, for instance, is practically exhausted; that the reader, who perchance has never travelled further than Ramsgate, can have little more to learn therefrom [...] I cannot for my part believe that this old world is so exhausted after all. I think that there is still plenty to be seen and more to be learned'.<sup>318</sup> Writing in 1888 the explorer Henry Drummond expanded on this sentiment, and wrote of Africa:

It is a wonderful thing to start from the civilisation of Europe, pass up these mighty rivers, and work your way into that unknown land...till you have reached its secret heart and stood where white man has never trod before. It is a wonderful thing to look at this weird world of human beings...and to turn and come back again to civilisation before the impressions have had time to fade.<sup>319</sup>

It is this same sentiment that is evident in Haggard's work; the joy of the journey and the secrets found during it only become vivid when retold back in the heart of Western civilisation and society.

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<sup>317</sup> McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. p. 41.

<sup>318</sup> H. Rider Haggard, *A Winter Pilgrimage* (Leipzig, Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1902), pp. 13-14.

<sup>319</sup> Henry Drummond, *Tropical Africa*, (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1899), p. 4.

Haggard's work allows a retrospective socio-cultural interpretation by subscribing to a number of specific imperial adventure romance characteristics—that of the hero, the quest, the danger and the reward—whilst also being directly aligned to historical events. In the Zikali trilogy the hero is a mix of a paeon to Theophilus Shepstone and Haggard's most famous character Allan Quatermain. The quest in all three novels centres on saving the girl, Marie, Mameena and Heda in *Marie*, *Child of Storm* and *Finished* respectively. The danger is either Boer or Zulu, or both; and finally the reward is the girl and financial gain.

### Knowledge and Authority: Theophilus Shepstone, Natalian Governor of Native Affairs

In the Zikali trilogy Haggard ties in historical events with his own romantic ideas, creating a personal perspective on colonial South African history. Haggard narrates a native history which gives strength to the supposition by colonists and civil servants that their influence in southern Africa was not only considerable but honourable. Haggard's colonial narrative in turn was shaped by Theophilus Shepstone, whose public persona was intimately entwined with that of the Zulu. In the popular imagination Shepstone is best remembered for his relationship with the Zulu and particularly his crowning of Cetshwayo kaMpande as King of the Zulu.<sup>320</sup>

Theophilus Shepstone was Haggard's African hero. He was, for Haggard, the archetypal English adventurer, a 'curious, silent man, who had acquired many of the characteristics of the natives amongst whom he lived'.<sup>321</sup> Shepstone was born in Westbury-on-Trym near Bristol on the 8 January 1817 to the Rev. William Theophilus Shepstone and Elizabeth Brooks. His family moved out to Southern Africa as settlers in 1820. Encouraged by the British government the Shepstones were part of a mass influx of settlers to Southern Africa, settlers who were instantly at odds with the local Boer population whose roots in southern Africa went back to the 1600s. Friction between these competing European groups would shape nineteenth century South African history. Wesleyan missionaries understood that to bring African people into

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<sup>320</sup> Shepstone was the British representative at the coronation service which crowned Cetshwayo, son of Mpande, king of the Zulu nation in August 1873.

<sup>321</sup> H. Rider Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, Vol. 1 (London, Longman's, Green & Co., 1926), p. 69.

their particular fold of Christianity they had to first move beyond their own social attitudes, behaviours that had bound and slowed so many other European missions. This enabled them over time to ingratiate themselves into local communities before then attempting to change the behaviours of the indigenous people. Shepstone was aware of this practice, as evidenced by his governing of Natal in later life; he 'was not in a hurry to speed up the break with their own background and culture in which, despite his dislike of Bantu witchcraft, magic and polygamy, he saw much that was fine and noble'.<sup>322</sup> This attitude would win him many allies among the Africans but strong distrust from sectors of both the Boers and the British.

Shepstone's family frequently moved around southern Africa setting up missions and building houses in rural native communities; as such Shepstone was brought up among the indigenous population. Ruth Gordon writes, in her excellent and painstaking biography of the Shepstone family, that 'Theophilus' mastery of the Bantu languages, easily and naturally learned from his little black playmates of the missions, was to influence every step' of his career.<sup>323</sup> Shepstone's ability to communicate successfully with indigenous peoples and his knowledge of local customs is intrinsic to understanding the authority placed in Shepstone by Haggard. The power associated with language and translation was not just evident in British spheres of influence. Emily Lynn Osborn highlights the importance of language knowledge and cultural understanding in colonial French West Africa. She notes that

The unofficial corridors of power that sprouted out of the nascent colonial bureaucracy in the early colonial period point to the significance of those low-level colonial employees who possessed the linguistic capabilities, symbolic trappings and cultural know-how to mediate colonial rule.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> Gordon, *Shepstone: The Role of the Family in the History of South Africa, 1820-1900*. p. 234.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.* p. 42.

<sup>324</sup> Emily Lynn Osborn, 'Circle of Iron': African Colonial Employees and the Interpretation of Colonial Rule in French West Africa', *The Journal of African History*, 44 (2003). p. 30.

Shepstone was able to place himself in a position of authority as he was able to understand, and importantly communicate with, the people the British were trying to govern. Shepstone's role as a gatekeeper between two cultures was being reified from his earliest days working for the British colonial government, when his astonishing fluency in the 'many native dialects of the region, enabled him to work as an interpreter for the British army in the 1834 war whilst he was still in his teens.<sup>325</sup> The perceived difficulty of learning any of the Bantu languages is highlighted by a letter home from one of Shepstone's fellow officials, William Boyce: 'I am fully convinced that the obstacles in the way of an adult European acquiring a perfect knowledge of the Caffre language are insurmountable'.<sup>326</sup>

Gordon's account suggests that Shepstone's ability to speak many southern African languages and his subsequent retelling of heard oral histories and stories to Haggard makes him vastly important not only as a translator, but places on Shepstone the power of interpretation and understanding. Thus Haggard's African romances, in using Shepstone's interpretation of Zulu history, narrate a specific colonial history based on the interpretation of one man. Haggard sees himself as a recorder of history with Shepstone as a kind of ethnographer,

The ethnographer 'inscribes' social discourse; *he writes it down*. In so doing, he turns it from a passing event, which exists only in its own moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscriptions and can be reconsulted.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> Gordon, *Shepstone: The Role of the Family in the History of South Africa, 1820-1900*. p. 26. The Xhosa war of 1834-35, also known as the Sixth Frontier war, came about due to repeated clashes between native kin-groups, the Xhosa, the San, and the Khoikhoi, the Boer, and the British as they fought for land. Previous lands and cattle had been dispossessed by colonial British expansion. The wars were also used by the colonists to shore up their claims to the land with the military presence; this involved the building of many garrisons and forts. Welsh, *A History of South Africa*.

<sup>326</sup> Gordon, *Shepstone: The Role of the Family in the History of South Africa, 1820-1900*. p. 41. Theophilus often assisted Boyce as a translator, and his continued learning of the language provided the beginnings of the English understanding of the syntax and grammar of the Bantu language. This process was inherently important; if the colonial official wanted to Christianise the native population as it enabled the Christian bible and sermons to be preached and printed in the local dialects.

<sup>327</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. p. 19.

There is a shared dialogue between ethnographers and fiction writers as they both push to understand human life. But Haggard's fiction complicates matters by its reliance on historical events to frame the narrative of his colonial adventures. Elaine Showalter suggests that in 'reading these narratives [male quest romances], we must always ask why *this* man is telling *this* story. What is his stake in the narrative? What is his relationship to the fantasies it represents?<sup>328</sup> What was the implication of Haggard's devotion to, and reliance on, Shepstonian colonial thinking in his fictions, especially, as Etherington has noted, Shepstone's interactions with the Zulu chiefdom were limited:

Shepstone's direct contact with the top echelon of chiefs in Zululand was extremely limited. The messengers who were sent to his office from time to time were bound by protocol to limit their dealings to descriptions of their journeys and verbatim delivery of the messages they had been given. Shepstone made only two journeys to Zululand during his tenure as Secretary for Native Affairs: one in 1861, which resulted in Natal's official recognition of Cetshwayo as heir apparent during Mpande's lifetime; and a second in 1873, when he accepted an invitation to be present at Cetshwayo's installation as king.<sup>329</sup>

What makes Shepstone particularly ambiguous and difficult to locate in the colonial framework is the lack of a printed biography, although much has been written about Shepstone there is no single work about his history and very little written in his own hand.<sup>330</sup> Thus it is possible to project onto Shepstone behaviours and beliefs which may not necessarily have been his. Gordon notes that as Shepstone 'gave away too little of his own personality, opinions and philosophy, as he left only fragmentary

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<sup>328</sup> Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy : Gender and Culture at the Fin De Siècle*, (London: Bloomsbury, 1991). p. 82-83.

<sup>329</sup> Norman Etherington, 'Zulu Kings, Coronations, and Conversations with Colonial Officials', *South African Historical Journal*, 39 (1998). p. 230.

<sup>330</sup> Ruth Gordon's excellent book, *Shepstone: The Role of the Family in the History of South Africa, 1820-1900*, about the whole Shepstone family in South Africa, goes some way towards starting to fill the gap in knowledge about Theophilus Shepstone himself.

private papers, we are left to guess at his motivations'.<sup>331</sup> In his imperial adventure romance fiction, Haggard mirrors the dichotomy between Shepstone the white Zulu and Shepstone the colonist. As Lindy Stiebel suggests, 'imperial romance set in Empire's far-flung dominions depended on this duality of the knowable and therefore predictable, and yet unknowable and uncertain'.<sup>332</sup> Haggard's real life romantic hero Shepstone was both a mysterious Africanist and reliable colonialist.

Shepstone's position as a linguistic gatekeeper may have been the basis for his unerring belief that only he had the answers to a successful colony. He moved between the colonists and indigenous peoples enabling communication and ascribing language meaning. He was assigned to the staff of Colonel Harry Smith in 1835, as headquarters interpreter of Native Languages in Cape Town. Smith was an important mentor to Shepstone in the establishment of his ideas regarding colonial politics.<sup>333</sup> It was from Smith that Shepstone learnt the tactic of 'seizing large numbers of the enemy's cattle and horses' in battle exactly as the native chiefs did.<sup>334</sup> In one of Haggard's first romances, *The Witch's Head* (1894), he has one of the native characters cry out to beware of Shepstone as he 'will eat them up; he will swallow them', meaning the people's cattle.<sup>335</sup> Smith's aim was to manipulate the natives to become 'pliant labourers and consumers by using chiefs as colonial administrators [...] in a system reflective of patterns established in the princely states of colonial India'.<sup>336</sup> In effect this forced them to become willing participants in Western-European style colonial hierarchy. Unfortunately for Smith, his plans did not come to fruition and subsequent years were marred with both civil and tribal battles. Yet it was from this notion that Shepstone's idea for a personal fiefdom came, raising the indigenous peoples as if they were children, away from what he saw as the negative influences of colonialists. Shepstone felt that native people would best flourish 'away from settlers

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<sup>331</sup> Jennifer Weir, 'King Shaka, the Diviners and Colonialism', in *Orb and Sceptre: Studies on British Imperialism and Its Legacies, in Honour of Norman Etherington*, ed. by Peter Limb (Melbourne: Monash University ePress, 2008). p. 02.1

<sup>332</sup> Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances*. p. 44.

<sup>333</sup> Shepstone was also married in 1838 at Smith's home, showing the relationship between the men was both personal as well as political.

<sup>334</sup> Thomas V. McClendon, *White Chief, Black Lords: Shepstone and the Colonial State in Natal, South Africa, 1845-1878*, (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010). p. 31.

<sup>335</sup> Haggard, *The Witch's Head* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), p. 181.

<sup>336</sup> McClendon, *White Chief, Black Lords: Shepstone and the Colonial State in Natal, South Africa, 1845-1878*. p. 31.

who set a rather bad example of civilisation'.<sup>337</sup> 'The province [where Shepstone worked] was to become an arena for the benign civilisation of the unfortunate savage'.<sup>338</sup> He appears to have been of the school of thought that—in the late nineteenth century—felt, 'social development mirrored mental development'.<sup>339</sup> Thus if he could get to the indigenous peoples before they had interacted with Boer or British settler he could 'raise' the people to be both 'civilised' and intellectual.

In attempting to maintain the social fabric of the indigenous black African way of life and thus his ability to manipulate them, Shepstone hoped, in the words of Thomas McClendon, 'to recast colonial others as useful and unthreatening imperial subjects, redeemable through wage labour and Christianity'.<sup>340</sup> He saw himself in a very different light from other colonial officers; McClendon describes 'Shepstone's conception of himself as a secular missionary with a Mosaic quality, as well as an African king-an inkosi'.<sup>341</sup> This dualistic persona, as both native chief and colonial officer, was anathema to many in the colonial community who were scandalised by Shepstone who 'surrounded himself with the trappings of Zulu kingship, presided over Zulu dances, and gave Zulu girls in marriage to his loyal black henchmen'.<sup>342</sup> It was in Shepstone's dualistic nature that Haggard found a significant component of his African romances; he was both a bold colonial figurehead and perceived by the Europeans to be initiated into the culture of the indigenous people, as evidenced in the following extract from *The Witch's Head*:

His name is Goza... He is now singing the praises of the Special Commissioner-  
-bongering' they call it. This is what he is saying:

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<sup>337</sup> McClendon, *Ibid.* p. 43

<sup>338</sup> Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks; Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain*, 1st edn (London: Routledge, 2001). p. 136.

<sup>339</sup> Anna Vaninskaya, 'The Late-Victorian Romance Revival: A Generic Excursus', *ELT*, 51 (2008). p. 70.

<sup>340</sup> McClendon, *White Chief, Black Lords: Shepstone and the Colonial State in Natal, South Africa, 1845-1878*. p. 32.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.* An Inkosi is a chief, and comes from the isiZulu.

<sup>342</sup> Etherington, *Rider Haggard*. p. 3.

"Listen to the foot of the great elephant Somptseu (Sir T. Shepstone). Feel how the earth shakes beneath the tread of the white t'Chaka, father of the Zulus, foremost among the great white people."<sup>343</sup>

To Shepstone, and many English colonial officials like him, power could only be gentlemanly if it was used for the greater good. Selfish uses of power were frowned upon, as in Haggard's fictions where those who used their power selfishly always get retribution, such as Ayesha in *She*. The ritual power and authority of leading Africans, such as Cetewayo, was understood by the Victorians as it so closely mirrored their own understanding of rank and social status. This may, in part, explain why Shepstone saw nothing wrong with the pomp and circumstance accorded his station by the native people.

Haggard was forcibly struck by the impact Shepstone made on the Zulu people, he wrote in the Dedication to *Nada the Lily*, 'Sompseu, your name became great among the people of the Zulu, as already it was great among many another tribe'.<sup>344</sup> Haggard identified Shepstone as great man because he believed Shepstone had 'mastered' the Zulu by the strength of his personality, he goes on to say the Shepstone 'never erred except through over kindness'.<sup>345</sup> It is clear from the preceding quotations that Haggard held Shepstone in very high regard, and believed not only in him but in Shepstone's policies. Even Shepstone noted in a letter to Haggard about the Dedication, 'Indeed you give me far more credit than I am entitled to'.<sup>346</sup> Haggard appears to have idealised Shepstone, and what could be called Shepstone's colonial behaviour. Not only does he himself repeatedly laud Shepstone but he puts the same words in the mouth of the character Allan Quatermain, in *Finished* Allan states that Shepstone was 'one of the greatest of African statesmen'.<sup>347</sup>

The natural warmth and affection of Shepstone's character appealed to Haggard, as much as Shepstone appreciated his eager young disciple. Haggard called

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<sup>343</sup>Henry Rider Haggard, *The Witch's Head*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894). p. 181-182.

<sup>344</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *Nada the Lily*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892). p. vii.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid. p. vii.

<sup>346</sup> Theophilus Shepstone, 'Letter to H. Rider Haggard, July 13th 1892, Durban, Natal.', (Natal: Norfolk Records Office, 1892).

<sup>347</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 21.



him, 'of all men the most spotless and upright in character'.<sup>348</sup> It seems with Shepstone Haggard was able to have the relationship he was never able to with his own father. Gordon notes that 'the Shepstones were an affectionate and closely knit group and Theophilus loved his home, his garden, his workshop, and had the utmost confidence in his family'.<sup>349</sup> She goes on to comment 'there was perennial interest for Theophilus in the activities of his "boys"- long discussions with them on their official duties, and, as is quite apparent from diaries and letter books, an appreciation of the way in which they were prepared to draw upon his fund of knowledge and experience'.<sup>350</sup> This is directly opposed to the parental relationship between Rider and his father:

My father did not welcome my reappearance with whole hearted enthusiasm. He remarked with great candour that I should probably become 'a waif and a stray' or possibly—my taste for writing being already known—'a miserable penny-a-liner'.<sup>351</sup>

Haggard never felt he got the filial or fraternal love he desired. In a letter to Rudyard Kipling written in 1925, he wrote:

I remember when I was a young fellow overhearing my Chief Sompson [sic] (Sir T. Shepstone) say "I love that boy", as I passed him, and so I think it was with all of them. But they were all much older men than I, & are long dead [...] To tell the truth the sole exceptions in this round of affection were among my own brethren. Some of whom seemed to resent such small successes as came my way, or find other fault with me. But that is often the case in families — & now they have passed away.<sup>352</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 144.

<sup>349</sup> Gordon, *Shepstone: The Role of the Family in the History of South Africa, 1820-1900*. p. 298.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.* p. 299.

<sup>351</sup> As quoted in Peter Bereford Ellis, *H. Rider Haggard: A Voice from the Infinite* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 71

<sup>352</sup> Haggard to Kipling, correspondence March 2<sup>nd</sup> 1925 UOS SxMx 38 Kipling papers 18,4

This explains all the more clearly how great Shepstone's influence was on Haggard, and goes some way to explaining why Shepstone was such a prominent and recurring figure within his African novels. When Haggard wrote of first trying to visit home after being sent to Africa he said, 'I received a most painful letter from my father. Evidently he thought or feared that I was abandoning a good career on Africa and about to come back upon his hands.'<sup>353</sup> Writing thirty-four years later Haggard noted that the awfulness of what his father had written still hurt; 'the sting of them after so long an absence I remember well enough'.<sup>354</sup> He was conscious of the fact his father thought him not only 'stupid', but a 'dunderhead' and 'whimsical', not the traits desirable in a muscular Christian gentleman.<sup>355</sup> I suggest it is this background, laden as it is by deep patriarchal insecurities, which caused Haggard to form fervent relationships with older men.

The assumption of authority over the local people is one of the overarching stereotypes of the British abroad, a stereotype which was often wholeheartedly believed in the nineteenth century. It was a belief held by many colonial British people as the author of a pamphlet called 'The Transvaal' wrote in 1876:

Anglo-Saxon and self-governing peoples can exist far from the central authority; they may, in fact, to a great extent, be ruled by telegraph. This is utterly impossible in the case of native populations, who absolutely require the presence of their ruler amongst them.<sup>356</sup>

Shepstone cast himself very much in the role of 'native' ruler and just before he died he still believed that the Boer wars could have been prevented, 'if' he said 'some of my news and advice had been acted on'.<sup>357</sup> Robinson states that the British 'were not the first, nor were they to be the last people, to project their own image as the universal

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<sup>353</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 21.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.* p. 22.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.* p. 5.

<sup>356</sup> 'The Transvaal', (1876). p. 21.

<sup>357</sup> Shepstone, 'Letter to H. Rider Haggard, July 13th 1892, Durban, Natal.'

ideal, nor to mistake fortunate trends of national history for natural laws and bend foreigners to obey them'.<sup>358</sup> What makes Shepstone particularly interesting as an important historical figure in the history of Natal is the incongruity of his running of the colonial department for Native Affairs with his immersion in the local African culture. Haggard's fiction continually reifies Shepstone's supposed ease with local indigenous cultures.

Shepstone was the first of many English expatriates Haggard would meet whose desire was to take Africa back to how it was when Europeans first arrived. Although Shepstone did not appear to acknowledge the dichotomy of being both the instigator of change and wanting the local populations to remain unchanged by the colonial influx. Renato Rosaldo explains:

Agents of colonialism—officials, constabulary officers, missionaries, and other figures [...] often display nostalgia for the colonized culture as it was 'traditionally' (that is when they first encountered it). The peculiarity of their yearning, of course, is that agents of colonialism long for the very forms of life they intentionally altered or destroyed.<sup>359</sup>

Shepstone saw himself in the role of the 'staunchest and most powerful' protector of the indigenous populations.<sup>360</sup> Yet his behaviour was not wholly benevolent, Etherington notes that 'Shepstone's interest in the interior was more than merely official or vainglorious, for the Shepstone family was from time to time directly involved in schemes for the economic exploitation of African resources.'<sup>361</sup> In 1877, four years after the coronation of Cetshwayo the continued independence of the Zulu kingdom did not sit well with the future colonial policy of the Disraeli government or Lord Carnarvon's plans for a southern African confederation, and Shepstone supported the

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<sup>358</sup> Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*. p. 2.

<sup>359</sup> Renato Rosaldo in Nancy Armstrong, *Fiction in the Age of Photography: The legacy of British Realism* (London: HUP, 1999), p. 176.

<sup>360</sup> Shepstone, 'Letter to H. Rider Haggard, July 13th 1892, Durban, Natal.'

<sup>361</sup> Norman A. Etherington, 'Labour Supply and the Genesis of South African Confederation in the 1870s', *The Journal of African History*, 20 (1979). p. 238.

removal of support for the Zulu nation. E. V. Walter notes that ‘Shepstone supported the plan for his own reasons, looking covetously at the Zulu lands and prepared to sacrifice his presumed friendship for the Zulu state by using its property to obtain relief from the financial burdens of the Transvaal, the bankrupt Boer republic he had just annexed for the Crown’.<sup>362</sup> In fact one of Shepstone’s first assignments in the 1834-35 unrest was to liberate 17,000 Mfengu from slavery under the Xhosa.<sup>363</sup> As McClendon has queried, whether this was benevolence on the British government’s part or an attempt to remove native people from land desired by the colonists is still to be properly explored.

This ambiguity of both self-righteous advisor of indigenous populations and self-serving financial gain is echoed in the formula for imperial adventure romance. The formula of imperial adventure romance in which the British male character adventures in exotic lands, fights the evil lurking there of ten for financial gain, with the support of both a British father figure, and an indigenous character, identified as a ‘noble savage’. Ultimately the main character gains treasure by pillaging the land, triumphing over evil ‘natives’ and thus the superiority of the British character is proven.

### Conclusion: Haggard, Shepstone and the Fiction of Empire: truth, fact and ambiguity.

Were we not to analyse Haggard’s fiction in the light of the Thick Description of his own history and his contemporary culture, our perception of him would not acknowledge that his was a more fractured and nuanced standpoint than that of many of his contemporaries. As Gallagher and Greenblatt are ‘concerned with finding the creative power that shapes literary works *outside* the narrow boundaries in which it had hitherto been located, as well as *within* those boundaries’, I am fascinated with the hidden layers of colonial ambiguity within Haggard’s texts.<sup>364</sup> Part of the ‘creative power’ behind Haggard’s books was his family. His family had been closely tied up with British imperialism since the eighteenth century. Norman Etherington noted the

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<sup>362</sup> E. V. Walter, *Terror and Resistance a Study of Political Violence with Case Studies of Some Primitive African Communities*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969). p. 226.

<sup>363</sup> McClendon, p. 27.

<sup>364</sup> Catherine Gallagher & Stephen Greenblatt, p. 12.

'exotic influences' of his heritage: his grandfather had been a banker in Russia and his mother's family spent most of their lives on St. Helena and in India.<sup>365</sup> As the following extract of a letter between Ellen Maria Haggard and Ella Maddison Green shows, the family was very aware that they had 'exotic influences' in their heritage:

Now as to your enquires about our great-grandmother, about whom I am afraid I can't tell you much. I never heard her maiden name but I know that her mother was a half-caste-or even native-, she, our great grandmother married a Col. Bond and ran away from him with another man. Charlie happened recently to come across an account of the divorce in some old Indian records. Apparently the man did not marry her and she kept her name of Bond and lived and died in Paris, where you saw her. She had a daughter who seems to have inherited her mother's easy virtue, as she was living (unmarried) with a Frenchman named Duval. Your father and mother were naturally very much horrified at this illegal connection and prevailed upon the couple to legalise it by marriage. All this I heard for the first time from your brother Will (W.H.D. Haggard) and it was afterwards confirmed by my mother whom I asked about it. She naturally did not care to speak about her grandmother's unedifying past, nor the taint of black blood which she imported into the family, but she could not deny the facts.<sup>366</sup>

This letter, discussing Haggard's grandmother's ethnic background, shows that his family was bound up in the British Empire and her dominions. This letter, essentially discussing the ambiguity in the Haggards heritage, might explain the cultural ambiguity within Haggard's texts. Until now the importance of Haggard's colonial imaginings has not been understood. When one reviews Haggard's fiction in light of not only

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<sup>365</sup> Etherington, *Rider Haggard*. p. 1.

<sup>366</sup> Ellen Marie Haggard was born 1857, she was Haggard's aunt's (Elizabeth Haggard) daughter. Haggard's oldest sister Ella Doveton Maddison Green (nee Haggard) (1845-1921). Charlie, Col. Andrew Charles Parker Haggard, (1854-1934), DSO. 7<sup>th</sup> child of William Meybohm Rider Haggard and Ella Doveton, H. Rider Haggard's older brother. Will, Sir William Henry Doveton Haggard, (1846-1926), KCMG, CB. 2<sup>nd</sup> child, and 1<sup>st</sup> son, of William Meybohm Rider Haggard and Ella Doveton. 'My mother' was Caroline Doveton, born 2 March 1827 in Bombay, India, wife of James Haggard II. Ellen Maria Haggard to Ella Madison Green correspondence, Bournemouth August 31<sup>st</sup> 1917. Norfolk Records Office, **HAG 131**, 602X1.

ethnographic and historiographical markers but his early interplay with the founders of the South African National Native Congress, the 'social meanings' within his fictions become not only apparent but culturally significant.

Antoinette Burton states that it is dangerous to privilege one contact zone over another, which is 'part of the seductive legacy of imperialism itself'.<sup>367</sup> Haggard 'privileged' contact with the Zulu and other Southern African people, which had a subsequent societal effect upon the children and adults reading his books in Britain. He was developing a code of adventure through his fiction which came to be emblematic of British overseas imperialism; his novels suggested adventure romance happened in Africa. Allan Quatermain states in chapter one of *Child of Storm* that the 'universal nature' of man could be found in Africa, in which the 'eternal principles' of humankind were 'nakedly and forcibly expressed'.<sup>368</sup> Writing allows Haggard's to explore and experience adventures without the strictures of Victorian rationality interfering.

Haggard's characters are not part of the colonialist picture as it appears in propagandistic representations of the British Empire; fictional representations of the British Empire are more nuanced and complicated. What is perhaps most surprising about Haggard's fiction is that, as Frederick Cooper has shown, '[d]ecentering the subject, [and] questioning the categories' are 'quintessentially "modernist."<sup>369</sup> Therefore in his fictional discussions of the 'universal nature' of humankind, and his desire to try to explain certain historical events, such as some of the impetuses for the Boer Great Trek in *Marie*, Haggard is complicating romances that are easily perceived as imperial propaganda. Haggard makes both implicit and explicit claims about colonialism in his text. Although Julia Reid suggests that 'his novels fraudulently idealized the British Empire and effaced its material, money-making aspects', it is not inaccurate to see both the complicated colonial justification and the jingoistic rhetoric within Haggard's romances.<sup>370</sup> It is these conflicting impulses which evidence the cultural ambiguity that runs through all three books in the trilogy. Haggard was acutely

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<sup>367</sup> Antoinette Burton, 'Tongues Untied: Lord Salisbury's 'Black Man' and the Boundaries of Imperial Democracy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42 (2000). p. 655.

<sup>368</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 2.

<sup>369</sup> Cooper, 'Africa's Past and Africa's Historians'. p. 316.

<sup>370</sup> Julia Reid, 'Gladstone Bags, Shooting Boots, and Bryant & May's Matches', *Studies in the Novel*, 43 (2011). p. 152.

aware of the problematic morality of colonialism in the face of 'the true owners of the land'.<sup>371</sup> Conrad more clearly illuminates the problem with colonialism in *Heart of Darkness* when Marlow identifies foreign land acquisition as 'an accident arising from the weakness of others'.<sup>372</sup>

Haggard combined myth and empire in his African novels with the confidence of one who had extracted 'the pith from a mass of blue-books'.<sup>373</sup> As such 'the task of understanding then depends not on the extraction of an abstract set of principles, and still less on the application of a theoretical model, but rather an encounter with the singular, the specific, and the individual'.<sup>374</sup> Haggard fashions a unique response to the cultural 'othering' of Africa, he suggests it is a place of richness and beauty, not somewhere unknown and dangerous. He justifies his role as an interpreter of colonial Africa by rooting his knowledge not only in his own time in Africa but in the strategic location of Theophilus Shepstone in his role as colonist, translator and government official.

It becomes easier the greater the distance from an event to say and think things which may not previously have been acceptable; essentially distance gives clarity to disparate events and enables the researcher to use a wealth of evidence not necessarily available at the time a work was created. The notion of a distinct culture, particularly a culture distant in time or space, as a text—a view emphasised by Clifford Geertz—is powerfully attractive for several reasons: 'It carries the core hermeneutical presumption that one can occupy a position from which one can discover meanings that those who left traces of themselves could not have articulated'.<sup>375</sup> In using this theory of interpretation I examine not only the influence of Theophilus Shepstone on Haggard and his political views but also to look at Haggard's attitude towards indigenous people which previously have been presumed to be negative, xenophobic or racist. Haggard's 'savages' do not have equality but it could not be said that they are not recognised by the author given how intrinsic they are to his fiction, in particular providing the historical framework upon which he based his Zikali trilogy.

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<sup>371</sup> H. Rider Haggard, 'The Fate of Swaziland', *The New Review*, 2 (1890).

<sup>372</sup> Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*. p. 10.

<sup>373</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 47. Blue books were the official government almanacs supplying all the statistical data for an area or region.

<sup>374</sup> Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*. p. 6.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.* p. 8.

The risk of devaluing the text, as posited by Hawthorn in *Cunning Passages*,<sup>376</sup> in using New Historicism does not invalidate its use with imperial adventure romance, in fact the opposite is true: New Historicism suggests itself as a prime source of raising the value of Haggard's texts. It is only by complicating Haggard's novels and examining the resultant discourses that a revisionist perspective can be produced. I propose imperial adventure romance fictions will always been seen as minor and inferior texts if they are not fully explored within their social construct. The viewer or reader is only able to comprehend the complete narrative when they know the details surrounding the author and the characters they create. To look at these fictions in a cultural or historical vacuum is to only analyse their surface value.

To continue to read Haggard's Zikali trilogy only in light of its genre, imperial adventure romance, would be to disregard the parts of the novels which make them particularly interesting to twenty-first century researchers, such as his presentation of indigenous people within the texts. This concept builds on the work of Peter Edgerly Firchow. In his study of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, he talks of looking at the 'imagology' of different peoples within the literary text. 'Put simply, imagology is, as the name implies, the study of the ways in which national, ethnic, or racial images (stereotypes) are presented, transmitted, and perceived in literary contexts'.<sup>377</sup> Haggard did not present indigenous Africans as an amorphous whole but gave his characters individual personalities which acknowledge them as discrete persons. I propose that there is space within a revisionist interpretation of Haggard for both opinions. In *Finished* Haggard compares Cetewayo's attitude in sentencing a young man to death, 'as we white people dismiss any trivial incident in a morning stroll'.<sup>378</sup> Yet in *Child of Storm* he writes, 'while man is man [...] he will remain man. I mean that the same passions will sway him [...] whether he lives in a Kafir hut or in a golden palace'.<sup>379</sup> Haggard balances these disparate views in his fiction, he validates colonial

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<sup>376</sup> Jeremy Hawthorn, *Cunning Passages: New Historicism, Cultural Materialism and Marxism in the Contemporary Literary Debate*, (London: Hodder Headline PLC, 1996). p. 50.

<sup>377</sup> Peter Edgerly Firchow, *Envisioning Africa; Racism and Imperialism in Conrad's Heart of Darkness*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2000). p. xi

<sup>378</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 173

<sup>379</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 2



rule and strongly argues for the role of the paternalistic colonial interloper, and yet he also glories in history and myths of the indigenous people.

Taking Haggard out of the imperial jingoistic space and presenting his literary oeuvre revised and embedded in its personal cultural space allows the researcher to see how Haggard and his readers responded to colonialism, not what we view retrogressively in critical analysis. Firchow said of Conrad's fiction: 'the Africa he described in *Heart of Darkness* must never be straightforwardly equated with what he actually saw and experienced there. It is something at once familiar and something quite different; it is a novel envisioning (and also a novel revisioning) of those experiences in the medium of fiction'.<sup>380</sup> It is this same 'envisioning' and 'revisioning' I perceive in Haggard's African novels, to take us beyond the original author's assumptions and into the plethora of cultural matrixes, which can now be brought to bear on literary works.

The literary researcher, like the anthropologist, strives to understand the meaning and processes inherent in a cultural product, a text, or situation, the creation of that text, and the role an individual actor or group play within it. They examine a culture in-depth by looking at the creation of specific texts by specific authors, analysing the minutiae of cultural production. 'The whole point of a semiotic approach to culture is', as Geertz has said, 'to aid us in gaining access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live so that we can, in some extended sense of the term, converse with them'.<sup>381</sup> By understanding the meanings and tropes behind the literature of fin-de-siècle-British-dominated-Africa the researcher can reveal the cultural moment in which the work was created.

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<sup>380</sup> Firchow, *Envisioning Africa; Racism and Imperialism in Conrad's Heart of Darkness*. p. xv

<sup>381</sup> Semiotics as the study of signs and symbols—partially based on the work of Roland Barthes—became a major approach to cultural studies in the 1960s. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. p. 24.

## Chapter 3 Marie

### Introduction and Synopsis of Text: 'the autobiography of Allan Quatermain.'<sup>382</sup>

*Marie*, the first book in the Zikali trilogy, is a prequel to all the Allan Quatermain stories.

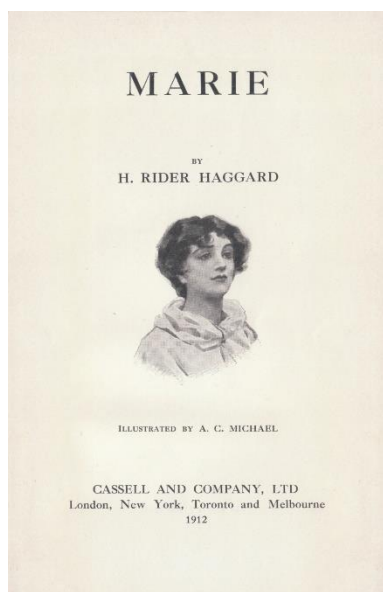


Figure 5: Marie by A. C. Michael in *Marie* (1914)

It was published on the 25th of January 1912 by Haggard's regular publisher Cassell. *Marie* tells the story of Allan Quatermain's first marriage to Marie Marais, set against the backdrop of the Boer people's mass exodus from the Cape in South Africa between 1835 and 1843, known as the Great Trek. *Marie's* setting is within the highly political land issues between Britain, the Boers and Zulu society in Natal, and the killing of the Retief party by Dingane during discussions for cession of land in the Tugela-Umzimvubu region of Natal.

In *Marie* Allan has his first encounter with both the Boers and the Zulu, and in these encounters learns the skills which will make him a great hunter. Importantly in *Marie* Allan meets Zikali, a wizard of the amaNgwane, and becomes embroiled in a revenge tale which is only to reach its conclusion in the defeat of the Zulu by the British in 1879, as told in *Finished*. *Marie*, alongside many of Haggard's other African novels, contributes towards the British public perceptions of the Zulu people. *Marie* can be read as a narrative of the early 'wild' days of British imperialism in the Transvaal: in fact *Marie* and *Finished* delineate the author's generation of British colonialism, from the heady early days of adventure, to the political manoeuvrings which caused so much bloodshed towards the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>383</sup>

Though *Child of Storm* was written first, it is *Marie* which begins the Zikali trilogy. In the Dedication to *Marie* Haggard writes to his friend, Sir Henry Bulwer: 'Nearly thirty-seven years have gone by, more than a generation, since we first saw the shores of

<sup>382</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. xii.

<sup>383</sup> A greater explication of this generation with particular regard to Haggard and his family can be found in Manthorpe, *Children of the Empire; the Victorian Haggards*.

Africa rising from the sea'.<sup>384</sup> This is the first line in the Dedication of the novel and implies that the ensuing story is firmly set in a specific historical space and time. It could also be said that *Marie* — utilising the knowledge of his own career and culture — is in part a justification of the colonisation of southern Africa by the British. Haggard states that he and Bulwer had 'brought a period of peace to Southern Africa'.<sup>385</sup> Here Haggard is suggesting that it was not for capitalistic reasons but for reasons of security that the British colonised southern Africa.

In *Marie* Allan meets, marries and loses his first wife, Marie Marais. Allan is sent by his father, Reverend Quatermain, to have lessons with a nearby Boer girl Marie Marais. Allan is always accompanied by his 'Hottentot' servant Hans.<sup>386</sup> The children fall in love but Marie's father, Henri Marais, has promised Marie in marriage to his half-Portuguese half-Boer nephew Hernan Pereira. The children's French tutor one day accidentally shoots the son of a local chief of the Quabie people. This sets in motion a large battle which instigates the removal by the Marais family and fellow Boers inland — part of the Great Trek — out with the reach of the British colonial government.

The Boers are repeatedly attacked by indigenous groups and many of their remaining cattle are killed by the Tsetse fly. Marie writes to Allan asking that he comes and helps them. When he gets to the party Allan sees that Hernan has been the cause of many of their problems. Allan helped the Boers, using his famed shooting prowess to provide the starving people with food. A Zulu contingent arrives, led by a man named Kambula who gives Allan his Zulu name of Macumazahn, or Watcher-by-night.<sup>387</sup> Dingane treaties with Peit Retief the Boer Commandant about land boundaries in Natal.<sup>388</sup> During the course of discussions about land the Boers are trapped and killed by the Zulu. Allan, who has been working between the two parties as a translator, is the only one left alive, Dingane having been warned by the wizard Zikali not to kill the 'son of George', Allan. The remaining Boers think Allan has had a part in the massacre and vote to put him to death. In Allan's final hours Marie, Hans, and Vrouw Prinsloo,

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<sup>384</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. v.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.* p. v.

<sup>386</sup> Hans accompanies Allan on subsequent adventures and is killed in *The Ivory Child* (1916) protecting Allan from a vicious elephant called Jana. In the climax to the battle in *The Ivory Child* it is the spirit of Mameena from *Child of Storm* that stops the elephant charging Allan and gives Hans time to kill Jana with a hunting rifle.

<sup>387</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 173.

<sup>388</sup> Haggard spells the name Dingaan but it should be spelt Dingane.

a Boer woman who has always supported the love between Marie and Allan, drug and hide Allan to save him. Marie dresses as Allan to confuse his guards. She is killed by Pereira who assumes she is Allan. In the final pages of the book Henri Marais realised it is Pereira who has been the root of all their misfortune, and becomes 'raving mad'.<sup>389</sup> The novel finished with Allan stating that 'such is the history' of his first love.

### The Story of Allan Quatermain and Marie Marais

*Marie* is an imperial adventure romance, filled with chivalric escapades, heroes and heroines, villains and wild animals, set in the 'unknown, savage-peopled North' of southern Africa.<sup>390</sup> *The Bookman* reviewer was keen to point out how much like Haggard's earlier romances the text was: 'Once Mr. Rider Haggard begins, adventures spring up thick and fast, and these new chapters in Allan's autobiography are crowded with a variety of amazing experiences worthy alike of hero and author'.<sup>391</sup> Haggard created the old Allan when he was young and envisioned Allan's youth when he was himself old. The creation of the back story of, arguably, colonialism's most enduring literary figure allows the researcher to see further into the author's rendering of the nineteenth century imperial narrative, moving beyond mere jingoism to present a character surprisingly ambiguous in his colonial beliefs, maybe one also more indicative of the author himself.

Unlike his earlier work *Marie* is much more reflective of the author's time in southern Africa. *Marie* evidences, what Monsman calls, Haggard's 'moral-theological vision of the necessary interrelation of good and evil'.<sup>392</sup> In the novel Allan, as a prisoner of the Zulus, recalls the horror of the Zulu massacre of the Boers in 1836 and states:

I concluded that some ineffable purpose was at work through this horror, and that the lives of those poor men which had been thus sacrificed were necessary to that purpose. This may appear a dreadful and fatalistic doctrine, but it is one that is corroborated in Nature every day, and doubtless the sufferers meet with

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<sup>389</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 345

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.* p. v.

<sup>391</sup> 'Marie', *The Bookman*, 42 (1912).

<sup>392</sup> Gerald Monsman, *H. Rider Haggard: The Political & Literary Contexts of His African Romances*, (Greensboro: ELT Press, 2006). p. 113.

their compensations in some other state. Indeed, if it be not so, faith and all the religions are vain.<sup>393</sup>

This rather melodramatic train of thought, in chapter XIX, 'Depart in Peace', clearly reflects an oft repeated idea within Haggard's fiction: that of the necessity of evil in the march of 'civilisation', and his own personal melancholic spiritualism as previously mentioned at the end of chapter 1.<sup>394</sup>

*Marie* provides a detailed background for the character of Allan Quatermain. It explores his upbringing in the Cradock district of the Cape Colony in South Africa. With an explicit subtext which details Haggard's explanation for the Great Trek: that of the British abolition of slavery and the subsequent economic impact on the Boers. Haggard uses the early upheavals of British colonial clashes with the native population as the arena within which Allan learns what are to become his stock in trade skills; Allan says: 'I returned home, no longer a lad, but a man with experience of various kinds and a rather unique knowledge of Kaffirs, their language, history, and modes of thought and action.'<sup>395</sup>

*Marie* charts the young Allan Quatermain's journey growing up in rural southern Africa. He meets Marie when their fathers, both farmers, have their children 'acquire a knowledge of the French tongue' together at Maraisfontein, the Marais farmstead.<sup>396</sup> In the course of his weekly commute between the two farms, Allan becomes a very good shot, and it is in the first chapter that Marie predicts: 'no doubt you will be a great hunter one day, Allan Quatermain.'<sup>397</sup> Unfortunately, the children's teacher Monsieur Leblanc 'was a drunkard, which explains how he, with all his high education and great ability, came to hold the humble post of tutor on a remote Boer farm.'<sup>398</sup> One Sunday

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<sup>393</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 292-293.

<sup>394</sup> The section just quoted is preceded by Allan saying, 'In the end, however, reflection and education, of which I had a certain amount, thanks to my father, came to my aid. I recalled that such massacres, often on an infinitely larger scale, had happened a thousand times in history, and that still through them, often, indeed, by means of them, civilisation has marched forward, and mercy and peace have kissed each other over the bloody graves of the victims'. Ibid. p. 292.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid. p. 102.

<sup>396</sup> Ibid. p. 2.

<sup>397</sup> Ibid. p. 9.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid. p. 10.

Leblanc shoots a 'Kaffir,' in the mistaken belief the young man had stolen his horse when he was asleep. The young man turned out to be the son and heir of a local chief. His comrade who was with him escaped to 'tell the tale of [...] a wanton and premeditated murder.'<sup>399</sup> This sets the scene for the first great battle of Allan's life. Allan's 'Hottentot' servant, Hans, wakes him up one night to tell him of the planned Quabie attack on Maraisfontein in revenge for the chief's son's death.<sup>400</sup> Marie is alone with the servants, and Leblanc, in the house that night and Allan has 'fifteen miles to do and [only] five-and-thirty- minutes before dawn' to get there in time to defend the farmstead.<sup>401</sup>

Now I could see the mass of the trees about the stead. And now I dashed into something, though until I was through it, I did not know that it was a line of men, for the faint light gleamed upon the spear of one of them who had been overthrown. So it was no lie! The Kaffirs were there!<sup>402</sup>

Allan organises the household to defend the stead, and all are ready to fight. It is at this point that Allan and Marie profess their love for each other. After an initial volley of shots, the Quabie send a messenger with a white flag asking them to give up Leblanc so they may 'make him "die slowly"',<sup>403</sup> but Allan refuses. The 'fool' Leblanc shoots the messenger as he walks away. A second fight ensues and the Quabie onslaught burst in, 'Leblanc and a slave who was near him were seized by black, claw-like hands and dragged out'.<sup>404</sup> At the climax of the battle Allan and Marie are backed into a room, and with only two bullets left, Allan prepares to shoot Marie before shooting himself, but the Boers arrive and rescue them at the last minute.

It is while Allan is recuperating from the battle that Marie's evil cousin, Hernan, appears. Marais promises Marie's hand in marriage to Hernan, 'one of the richest men

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<sup>399</sup> Ibid. p. 18

<sup>400</sup> Quabie was the name of the people's chief, they are also know in the text as the 'Red Kaffirs.'

<sup>401</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 21.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid. p. 22.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid. p. 30.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid. p. 35.

in the Colony'.<sup>405</sup> Marie refuses to marry Hernan, and Marais refuses to allow Marie to marry Allan. Marie intends to marry Allan when she comes of age but before that happens she and her father join fellow Boers on one of the first Treks to Delagoa Bay. Over a year later Allan gets a letter from Marie, saying that ten of their party had died and the rest faced starvation and poverty. Allan rushes to help with the faithful Hans by his side, he says: 'I think that if I had told him I was riding to the moon, beyond his customary exclamation of "Allemachte!" he would have made no objection to

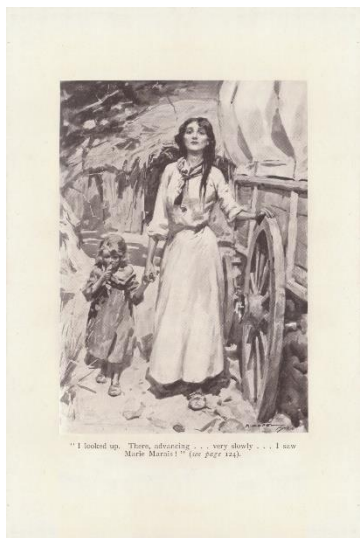


Figure 6: "There advancing...very slowly...I saw Marie Marais" by A. C. Michael in *Marie* (1914).

accompanying me thither'.<sup>406</sup> When he finally catches up with the group only nine are left alive, 'I saw *Marie Marais!* She was wasted to nothing'.<sup>407</sup>

Allan helps the Boer party — which includes the forthright female character Vrouw Prinsloo, who supports Marie and Allan's love — whilst avoiding being killed by Hernan, 'For well I knew that Pereira alive was more dangerous to me than all the wild men and beasts in Africa put together'.<sup>408</sup> The group are tracked by a party of Zulu, and are escorted to Dingane the Zulu chief. Allan saves the party from being killed by the Zulu, utilising his 'hair-triggered rifle'<sup>409</sup> to kill three vultures on the wing and thus win a bet for their lives from Dingane, and the Boer party then make their way to the Tugela River. It is at this point Haggard has his fictional characters engage with real historical people, having Allan's party meet up with the Trek group of Boer General Piet Retief.<sup>410</sup> Allan returns to Dingane's kraal with Retief as a translator to help with the land treaty the Boers required to create their new homesteads. After the treaty is signed Dingane requests that Allan help one of his sick wives: '[n]ext moment men pounced on me, and before I could utter a word a cloth was thrown over my mouth

<sup>405</sup> Ibid. p. 49.

<sup>406</sup> Ibid. p. 110.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid. p. 124.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid. p. 147.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid. p. 211.

<sup>410</sup> The real Retief, and 70 of his people were killed by Dingane on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February 1838, after Dingane signed a paper ceding all the land between the Tugela and Mzimvubu Rivers to the Boer. 'Dingane waited until the Boer were relaxed and unsuspecting before having them seized and killed, one by one.' The paper later found on Retief's body was used as a justification for the Boer to claim the land within part of the newly created Natalia. Welsh, *A History of South Africa*. p. 171.

and tied tight behind my head. I was a prisoner and gagged'.<sup>411</sup> Allan is told by one of his guards, "Hearken, little Son of George. The king would save you, if he can, because you are not Dutch, but English".<sup>412</sup> The rest of Retief's party were killed on the 'Hill of Slaughter, Hloma Amabutu'.<sup>413</sup>

When Allan returns to the Boer Trek party they suspect him of subterfuge as he is the only survivor of the party, 'a false and abominable charge' put about by Hernan and Marais.<sup>414</sup> Allan is court-martialled and imprisoned in a small hut. The court rules that Allan should go before a general council of emigrant Boers, but after returning him to his hut they think it best to say Allan tried to escape during the night and shoot him instead. Hernan is charged with the murder, he says: 'Have no fear Commandant, the accursed Allan Quatermain shall not succeed in his attempt to escape to-morrow before dawn'.<sup>415</sup> Vrouw Prinsloo, Marie and Hans realise they have to spirit Quatermain away and drug him and hide him in a mealie pit. The following morning Hernan shoots Marie as she exits the hut dressed as Allan. When Marais realises, he shoots Hernan and subsequently goes mad. Hernan confesses as he is dying that he lied about Allan. Allan is left with a letter from Marie declaring her love for him.

### Reading the Melodrama in *Marie*

Ultimately, it was the Boer character of Hernando [Hernan] Pereira, who was to be the cause of Marie's death. Though he is actually a Boer, it is often reiterated that he is half Portuguese. Towards the end of the text Marais makes a point of saying to Allan: 'if he is bad, as they say, it comes with that Portuguese blood'.<sup>416</sup> This melodramatic prose is the language in which Haggard frames his selective historical account, using it to signpost the role of each main character. Michael Booth notes that '[t]he world of melodrama is a world of certainties where confusion, doubt, and perplexity are absent; a world of absolutes where virtue and vice coexist in pure whiteness and pure blackness'.<sup>417</sup> There is a natural place for melodrama within the popular, almost anti-intellectual, nature of imperial adventure romance, most particularly in the villainous

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<sup>411</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 287.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid. p. 288.

<sup>413</sup> Ibid. p. 290.

<sup>414</sup> Ibid. p. 316.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid. p. 329.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid. p. 246.

<sup>417</sup> Michael R. Booth, *English Melodrama*, (London: H. Jenkins., 1965). p. 14.



characters who are always oppositional to the heroic main character. As James L. Smith notes, it ‘follows that the undivided protagonist of melodrama has only external reassures to fight against: an evil man, a social group, a hostile ideology, a natural force, an accident or chance, an obdurate fate or a malign deity’.<sup>418</sup> Haggard’s romances could be called melodrama, with their ‘things heroic and their kin’.<sup>419</sup> As a reviewer from 1888 points out, Haggard was nothing if not consistent in how he drew his characters. Haggard’s melodramas consist of:

[C]ertain invariable stage properties, an insipid Adonis, of whom all the women are enamoured, and a champion pugilist, whose exploits fill a large space in the play; second, two or more women, whose affections are at cross purposes, to the eventual triumph in most cases of the least worthy; third, several scoundrels, civilized and savage, whose repulsive appearance and atrocious deeds form the leading attractions; and lastly, a crabbed, sententious sage, the guide, the philosopher, and friend of the piece.<sup>420</sup>

Haggard uses the sensationalism of melodrama to embolden his characters. The character constructions in the imperial adventure romance formula follow the same binary classifications that are seen in melodrama.

The ‘sententious sage’ in *Marie* is the character who gave his name to the trilogy itself. Zikali warns Dingane against killing any Englishmen and when Allan first arrives at Dingane’s camp he is asked by the resident English translator and trader Thomas Halstead what his nationality is.<sup>421</sup> When Allan replies, Halstead says: ‘That may be lucky for you,’ he said, ‘because the old witch-doctor, Zikali, has told him that he must not kill any English’.<sup>422</sup> In this melodramatic plot manipulation the seed is sown for the

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<sup>418</sup> James L. Smith, *Melodrama*, (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1973). p. 8.

<sup>419</sup> Haggard, ‘About Fiction’. p. 179.

<sup>420</sup> ‘The Culture of the Horrible: Mr Haggard’s Stories’. p. 709.

<sup>421</sup> Thomas Halstead was a real trader who couriered messages between the Zulu and the English, but he is most famous for dying with the Retief party. Ian Player, *Zulu Wilderness: shadow and Soul* (Fulcrum Publishing, 1998). p. viii.

<sup>422</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 181.

future of Allan and his role in the Zulu nation's downfall. As Allan comes round after swooning at the sight of the Retief massacre he hears:

[A] hollow voice speaking over [him] in Zulu. "I am glad that the little Son of George has been saved," said the echoing voice, which I did not know, "for he has a great destiny and will be useful to the black people in time to come." <sup>423</sup>

Through Zikali the wizard, and his manipulation, Haggard places Allan apart from the other European characters. The character of Zikali gives Allan agency to interact equally with the Zulu chief and others of power. In this the author is mirroring Shepstone's colonial behaviour. Allan is positioned in an area within which he can act outwith the influence of colonial strictures. Like Shepstone, Allan is in a position of power, he is not beholden on any British colonial administrative architecture for his authority with, and over, the indigenous peoples he meets rather it is his own individual agency which is admired. Leading on from this within the imperial adventure romance framework, amongst the melodramatic characters of perceived lowbrow fiction, there are moments within the text in which the author's life, the historical moment and the cultural landscape can be read. It is this 'social energy', based upon the anecdotal as opposed to the hegemonic that informs my reading of the Zikali trilogy. As such it is also what allows such a complexity of reading of the character of Allan, whose rendering is based in fictional formula, historical colonial antecedent and authorial construction.

### Haggard, Marie and Allan: Lost Love and Quatermain

Haggard writes at the start of *Marie*, he will 'set down the tale of [Quatermain's] first love and of the adventures that are grouped around her'.<sup>424</sup> Haggard's creation of Allan's biography is firmly rooted in melodrama, not only do the two central lovers experience untold hardship but they spend barely any time together before Marie is brutally killed while pretending to be Allan, and thereby saving his life.

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<sup>423</sup> Ibid. p. 290.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid. p. 2.

As an author, Haggard was cognisant that he used women, particularly those he had lost or who were unattainable, as muses for his work. For example he writes in his autobiography:

I was taken by a friend to a ball at Richmond; who gave it I have long forgotten. There I saw a very beautiful young lady a few years older than myself to whom I was instantly and overwhelmingly attracted. I say beautiful advisedly, for to my mind she was one of the three really lovely women whom I have seen in my life. The second was the late Duchess of Leinster, and the third was a village girl at Bradenham who was reported to be the daughter of a gentleman. She, poor thing, died quite young.<sup>425</sup>

Haggard states that he had only ever seen three truly beautiful women in his life. He emphasises the women's distance from himself, being respectively: an almost ephemeral character (see quotation below), outwith his social class, and a waif who dies in her youth. This melodramatic outlook, his extreme polarisation of women, is as evident in Haggard's fiction as in his life. Haggard's fictional women are characterised by extremes of behaviour. His female characters are often written as supramortal. As the idealised feminine, the female characters are 'other' by their very nature, such as the high spiritualism of Ayesha in *She*, or, Marie's nobleness, which means that although she is plighted to Allan they are never actually together. To return to his autobiography it is evident that Haggard was melodramatic, almost theatrical, in how he structured his reminiscences. The following quotation is about the 'very beautiful young lady' Haggard had mentioned above.

The reason that I mention this matter is that quite a curious coincidence is connected with it. The house where the ball took place had a garden in front, down which garden ran a carpeted path. At the end of the path a great arch had been erected for the occasion, and through this arch I followed the young lady.

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<sup>425</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 42.

Some thirty-five years later I was present at her death-bed — for happily I was able to be of service to her in her later life — and subsequently, with my wife, who had become her friend many years before, was one of the few mourners at her funeral. At the church where this took place it is the custom to carry out coffins through the big western door. As I followed hers the general aspect of the arch of this door reminded me of something, at the moment I could not remember what. Then it came back to me. It was exactly like that other arch through which I had followed her to her carriage on the night when first we met. Also, strangely different as were the surroundings, there were accessories, floral and other, that were similar in their general effect.<sup>426</sup>

Haggard identifies similarities between his first and last visions of the woman that are almost mystical. He draws a parity between his first vision of the woman and the woman's funeral, suggesting he places the same weight of emotion on both events. This is very much in the melodramatic turn in which characters are externally-orientated, only responding to the stimulus in front of them. Haggard is placing a kind of spiritual significance on beautiful women that is exactly mirrored by the three central women in the Zikali trilogy.

Each book in the Zikali trilogy has a central female character whose role is somehow otherworldly; in *Marie* it is the title character, in *Child of Storm* it is Mameena, and in *Finished* it is Heda. Whereas other adventure romance authors, such as G. M. Fenn mentioned in Chapter 1, were more likely to kill off the female characters so the male leads could go off on adventures without supposed restraint created by the inclusion of women, Haggard more often made his female characters represent the otherworldly or spiritual side of his romances and eliminates the average, or normal, female characters from the narrative. By only having women in the novels that are 'other', Haggard ultimately achieves the same effect as the other authors. By ostensibly not including female characters, the male characters' freedom is facilitated.

Haggard was not unique in his spiritualism in late nineteenth-century society. Tania Zulli notes: 'Haggard's mysticism, however, was not so detached from 'real life'.

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<sup>426</sup> Ibid. p. 42.

It was close to it as much as the general understanding of spiritualism and supernatural was close to modern technological discoveries and chemical or biological fascinations'.<sup>427</sup> Thus Marie, as the first of Allan's three wives, is represented with such perfect idealism there is no other option but for the character to die, which enables Haggard to ground Allan with a melancholy that, retrospectively, can be seen in the character's behaviour in the earlier books.<sup>428</sup>

The woman at the Richmond ball, Lilith, was to haunt Haggard his entire life, as his daughter Liliias notes:

For it was to be his fate that the deep emotional experiences, his loves and his tragedies, were not as with most men and women, if not forgotten, overlaid so deeply by the years that they became mere remembrances. They remained active, insistent, his daily companions until the hour of his death, no less present because jealously hidden, nor unspeaking, because of them he never spoke.<sup>429</sup>

It is this first love of Haggard's which informs the female characters within his romances, as Liliias goes on to say: 'Possibly she was not as beautiful as he thought her, but he carried away in his heart [...] the undimmed hopes of youth, to whom heaven on earth is not impossible'.<sup>430</sup> These overwrought emotional outpourings are also seen in the character of Allan, he says at the end of *Marie*: 'Such is the history of my first love. Those who read it, if any ever do, will understand why I have never spoken of her before.'<sup>431</sup> Haggard's identification of himself in Allan facilitates a Thickly Descriptive reading of not only the character and situations he finds himself in but also in the author. Haggard said in his autobiography: 'I always find it easy to write of Allan

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<sup>427</sup> Tania Zulli, 'Between Body and Soul: *She* and the Aporia of Science and Religion', in *She: Explorations into a Romance*, ed. by Tania Zulli (Rome: Aracne, 2009), pp. 77-95.

<sup>428</sup> Although the books were published before *Marie* they occur in a subsequent time period.

<sup>429</sup> Liliias Rider Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left: A Biography of the Author Henry Rider Haggard K. B. E.*, (Ipswich: Boydell Press, 1976). p. 31-32.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.* p. 32.

<sup>431</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 346.

Quatermain, who, after all, is only myself set in a variety of imagined situations, thinking my thoughts and looking at life through my eyes'.<sup>432</sup>

To establish the uniqueness of Allan's first love, Haggard emphasises how different their meeting was from his usual stories, he does this with particular reference to one of his most melodramatic African romances, *Jess*. Allan says, 'There was nothing remarkable about my introduction to Marie Marais. I did not rescue her from any attack of a wild beast'.<sup>433</sup> At the beginning of *Jess* the main character John rescues Bessie from the vicious attack of a huge male ostrich. Haggard goes on to say in *Marie*, that neither did he 'pull her out of a raging river in a fashion suited to romance',<sup>434</sup> as John does with the titular character in *Jess*.<sup>435</sup> In fact *Marie* is as melodramatic as most of Haggard's other texts, the only thing that makes it unique is that the two romantic leads meet when they are children instead of adults.

The character of Marie is used as the romantic, and highly melodramatic, counterpart to the historiography of the Boers. Haggard claims in the Author's Preface that he believes *Marie* 'to be accurate in its details'.<sup>436</sup> Yet Marie's particular narrative is embedded in Haggard's own youthful idealism. Allan's first love thus mimics Haggard's early romantic encounters, as the quotation from Lilius's biography of Haggard above states: '[f]or it was to be his fate that the deep emotional experiences, his loves and his tragedies, were not as with most men and women'.<sup>437</sup> This melodramatic representation of women, specifically the love interest — characters such as Vrouw Prinsloo are allowed greater agency due to their masculine characteristics (For Prinsloo this is signalled by her forthright and aggressive manner) — remains distinct in the colonial hierarchy, separated from the men. These women are observers of a scene or there to have scenarios acted out upon them. Marie only once steps out with this categorisation, in order to sacrifice herself for Allan at the end of the narrative. Though Haggard, as I will go on to show, was decidedly ambiguous in his colonial beliefs, his stance towards European women is curiously bound by the

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<sup>432</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 85-86.

<sup>433</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 4.

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid.* p. 4.

<sup>435</sup> Chapter I, 'John has an Adventure', and Chapter XXIII, 'In the Drift of the Vaal', respectively. In: Haggard, *Jess*.

<sup>436</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. vii.

<sup>437</sup> Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left: A Biography of the Author Henry Rider Haggard* K. B. E. p. 31.

customs of British society. It is only when he explores the relationships between the male characters that the uniqueness of some of Haggard's imperial ideologies start to show.

### Quatermain in Africa: Shepstone and Friendship

In exploring the homosocial relationships in *Marie*, it is important to understand the nature of the genre, and time, in which Haggard wrote. The dominant themes and tropes that run through Haggard's African romances characterise perceptions of Britain and its empire, most particularly in the historiographical representations of events such as the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. As such it is important to understand the background and creative influences behind Haggard's enduring character, Allan Quatermain, and the Zulu trilogy, *Zikali*, that both owe so much to the southern African wars, and politico-colonial machinations, of the mid to late nineteenth century. Particularly, as in this case, their cultural sited-ness is presented as key to understanding their historical merit. This point is reiterated by Haggard in his dedication to the man who took him out to Africa, Henry Bulwer: 'Those historical events, in some of which you, as the ruler of Natal, played a great part, and I, as it chanced, a smaller one, so far as we can foresee, have at length brought a period of peace to Southern Africa'.<sup>438</sup> Haggard's lost worlds, white heroes, treasure and indigenous Africans participate in, if not actively drive, the construction of Britain's southern African colonial experience.

Most striking in the *Zikali* trilogy is Haggard's appropriation of real people's narratives in his texts, especially his use of the life, ideas and personality of his mentor Theophilus Shepstone. This is exemplified by the remolding of Allan Quatermain; Haggard changes his age, making him older than he would have been according to previous books, to fit in with the timeline of both Shepstone and the Zulu history he writes about.<sup>439</sup> As Paul Fry notes, 'the relationship between literature and history is *reciprocal*'.<sup>440</sup> Thus Haggard embeds his narratives in his own lived experience and into the history of colonial South Africa. Ultimately the imperial narrative is language-

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<sup>438</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. v.

<sup>439</sup> The inclusion of the *Zikali* trilogy would make Allan 65 instead of 55 in *King Solomon's Mines*.

<sup>440</sup> Paul H. Fry, *Theory of Literature*, (Yale University Press, 2012). p. 250.

bound, and that language is what the interpretation of the colonial culture is based upon.

Haggard does not make Allan a recreation of Shepstone. In fact Allan is symbolic of the idealised Englishman abroad. It could even be said he is symbolic of an idealised colonial ideology — ‘the energizing myth of English imperialism’<sup>441</sup> — as he is often the only character who can successfully negotiate between opposing parties, such as the Boers and the Zulu in chapter IX, ‘The Promise’.<sup>442</sup> In this way it is possible to see a large part of Shepstone — who Haggard always endowed with the prescience to know how to handle most indigenous transactions — within the characterization of Allan. Yet there are also large parts of Allan’s adventures which Haggard romanticizes from his own short time in southern Africa. He used the details from his own life to strengthen or reinforce his narrative. This is most clear when he mentions in his 1916 diary his revisiting of the area in which most of the action in *Marie* takes place, Dingane’s kraal:

At length after we had traversed some seven miles of this rough country in about an hour, we came to the famous and very seldom visited Hill of Slaughter...It is also called Hloma Amabutu. It and the Umgungundhlovu kraal are situated in the Makosini or ‘Place of Chiefs’ (see *Marie*) district where are interred all the ancestors of the Zulu royal house.<sup>443</sup>

Haggard’s attention to detail and insistence on using the correct indigenous names very much establishes the historical framework of his narrative. J. Barron noted in his 1904 review of Haggard’s fiction: ‘The art of the novelist does not lie in working round a single great invention, the keynote of his book, but in building up a real life-like tale

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<sup>441</sup> Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980). p. 3.

<sup>442</sup> ‘Therefore, through my Kaffirs, I opened negotiations with the surrounding natives, who, when they heard that I was not a Boer and was prepared to pay for what I bought, soon expressed a willingness to trade’. Haggard, *Marie*. p. 138.

<sup>443</sup> Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey* (1914). p. 192.



with the help of many little inventions of circumstance.<sup>444</sup> *Marie* is built on layer upon layer of minor detail which bring Haggard's colonial idyll to life.

There is also a case to state for Haggard using the character of Allan as a means to do, or resolve, the things he had wanted to do while he was in Africa. Haggard strongly believed that had British colonial policy been more firm, reflecting the native settlement policy of Shepstone, many of the political skirmishes and wars would not have occurred. In *Diary of an African Journey* Haggard recalls a conversation with Mr. Merriman, late Prime Minister of the Cape Colony:

He knew Shepstone and spoke of him as a 'great' man. Had he remained in the Transvaal, he said, all would have gone well and of course South African history would have been changed...He considered that Shepstone's subsequent treatment was disgraceful, as indeed it was.<sup>445</sup> I pointed out that the result of all this was the re-establishment of Shepstone's policy by means of the expenditure of 20,000 lives and £350 millions.<sup>446</sup>

Haggard even wrote at the end of *Finished* that the outcome of the second Anglo-Zulu war was evident to most except the British government: 'Then of course there was more fighting, as every one knew would happen, except the British Colonial Office'.<sup>447</sup> As Thomas McClendon says: 'Rider Haggard didn't hang around Shepstone for nothing'.<sup>448</sup> Haggard took the colonial news of the day and fictionalised it: Shepstone, as well as being Haggard's Natalian *pater familias*, was his conduit to the centre of colonial politics.

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<sup>444</sup> J. H. Barron, 'H. Rider Haggard', *The English Illustrated magazine*, (1904). p. 298.

<sup>445</sup> Haggard writes in *Days*, that just after the battle of Isandlwana, 'Not very long after this terrible event Sir Theophilus Shepstone was summoned home to confer with the Colonial Office respecting the affairs of the Transvaal...to find himself thrown as an offering to the Moloch of our party system'. Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 121.

<sup>446</sup> Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey* (1914). p. 61.

<sup>447</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 310.

<sup>448</sup> Thomas McClendon, "'Who Put the Mission in Civilizing Mission? Reconsiderations of Shepstone's Early Career'", in *North East Workshop on Southern Africa*, (Southwestern University, 2002). p. 33.

Haggard could not have chosen a better guide to the colonial machinations of southern Africa, as a pamphlet from 1876 notes: 'the joke of the Transvaal succumbing to the advance of an elderly gentleman [Shepstone], armed with certain diplomatic powers and supported by 25 mounted police, has, much to the surprise of many, become an accomplished fact'.<sup>449</sup> As shown in chapter two 'Knowledge and Authority: Theophilus Shepstone, Natalian Governor of Native Affairs', Haggard's African romances, in using Shepstone's interpretation of Zulu history, narrate a specific colonial socio-political history based on the interpretation of one man.

By aligning Allan with Shepstone, Haggard conflates his narrative with colonial history. He inserts tropes and themes which his readers would see mirrored in newspapers or magazines. For example, when setting the scene in *Marie* Haggard writes 'every reader of the history of the Cape Colony has heard of the great Kaffir War of 1835,' before going on to use the personal pronoun 'we' in Allan Quatermain's retelling of the story. This inclusivity insinuates a link between the imaginary characters and the real world which is borne throughout the narrative.<sup>450</sup> The events in Haggard's story are embedded within real world situations, and configured to his ideology. Michael Saler notes that Haggard was one of those authors who 'clothed their fantastic tales in the guise of realism.'<sup>451</sup> Haggard almost forces a passive identification by the reader with the ensuing journey of the characters, by basing the imaginary explorations in real events and rationalist tropes. In *Marie* the real events are the Boer Treks and the rationalist tropes are the reasons and behaviours which lead to the events with the novel, namely the antagonism caused by conflicting land rights.

The identification between the imaginary adventures of Allan and actual southern Africa history is grounded in Haggard's assimilation of Shepstone's biography. In the first chapter of *Marie*, Allan talks of his home life: 'I passed my youth with my old father, a Church of England clergyman, in what is now the Cradock district of the Cape Colony'.<sup>452</sup> This is very reminiscent of Shepstone's early life: his 'parents came to Grahamstown [Eastern Cape, South Africa, 100 miles south of Cradock], with three-year-old Theophilus in tow, in 1820'. They were part of a group encouraged by

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<sup>449</sup> 'The Transvaal'. p. 21.

<sup>450</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 16.

<sup>451</sup> Saler, "Clap If You Believe in Sherlock Holmes": Mass Culture and the Re-Enchantment of Modernity, C. 1890-C. 1940'. p. 611.

<sup>452</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 2.

the British government to 'Anglicize and pacify a region fraught with conflict'.<sup>453</sup> In addition, Shepstone's father quickly turned to missionary work and went on to become a Wesleyan lay preacher similar to the way in which Allan's father is a 'Church of England clergyman.'

These similarities give a Thickly Descriptive and critical biographical depth to the character of Allan Quatermain. Haggard is grounding his romances in historical truth, what Hayden White proposes as endowing 'sets of real events with the kinds of meaning found otherwise only in myth and literature'.<sup>454</sup> Haggard is creating an allegorical micro-narrative of the British colonial experience. Thus Shepstone's upbringing becomes Allan's and Allan becomes Haggard's beau ideal of an Englishman in Africa, thus endorsing Haggard's hero-worship of Shepstone.

In the role of colonist Shepstone intervenes, displaces and dislocates the native way of life. Haggard is almost subverting the Boy's Own trope in that he presents the reasons behind Allan's socio-political skills, unlike the much more gung-ho attitude of other characters of adventure romance fiction, such as Ready in Marryat's *Masterman Ready*.<sup>455</sup> It is not just the unquestioning, white, patriarchal European prerogative of adventure romance, but one in which the central white male's dominance is justified by the author's notions of skill, character and integrity.

Haggard's Zulu historiography is one Englishman's interpretation of events. It is, as Mazlish states: 'a "representation" of Africa that reflects its European observers rather than the peoples and lands of that continent itself'.<sup>456</sup> Zikali is a vivid representation of British colonial southern Africa in which Haggard proposed he was writing a history for a 'country which has no history'.<sup>457</sup> His reimagined colonial landscape reflected both his and Shepstone's political beliefs, and the words he puts into the mouths of his characters to some degree echo this. For example, in *Marie Allan* states: 'I revealed some unorthodoxy, especially as regards the matter of our

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<sup>453</sup> Thomas V. McClendon, *White Chief, Black Lords; Shepstone and the Colonial State in Natal, South Africa, 1845-1878*, (Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 2010), p. 26.

<sup>454</sup> Hayden White, *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990). p. 45.

<sup>455</sup> "Victorian Imperial and colonial adventure literature", in Chapter 1, 'Imperial Adventure Romance and Colonial Fiction'.

<sup>456</sup> Bruce Mazlish, 'A Triptych: Freud's the Interpretation of Dreams, Rider Haggard's She, and Bulwer-Lytton's the Coming Race', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 35 (1993). p. 727.

<sup>457</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 27.

methods of Christianising Kaffirs'.<sup>458</sup> This imitates both Shepstone and Haggard's assertion that in applying Christian dogma to southern Africa, 'polygamy will never be eradicated by moral persuasion', and thus it had to be flexible to account for indigenous customs.<sup>459</sup> There is quite a detached observational aspect to this supposed understanding of indigenous peoples customs, which does not imply affinity with the peoples being written about. Morris notes that Shepstone's understanding of local people was based in 'pity verging on sympathy, but it never extended to affection, and his correspondence on native problems at times sounded rather like that of an entomologist engrossed in a colony of ants'.<sup>460</sup> In a similar vein there is always a distance between Haggard's Allan and the indigenous characters, an almost miscegenetic limit on the understandings or knowledge given to the characters. Though this is rendered ambiguous when it comes to ideas of spiritual or magical power, such as in Zikali having foreknowledge of all Allan with do throughout the narrative of the trilogy.

In the early 1830s the British influence in southern Africa was growing as colonial agents put pressure on the British government to take a more active role in ruling the region. One area in which the British government was not reluctant to get involved was that of slavery, both the selling and acquisition of slaves, and the shipment and transportation of slaves from British ports. The colonial government insisted that the Boer people residing within the British sphere of influence release their slaves.

Haggard tackles this issue in *Marie*, but what makes his approach different from the general attitude of roundly condemning all forms of slavery in empire is the way he shows why the Boer people were angry about the policy. He has Marie explain to Allan why her father and other Boers plan to leave the Cape rather than comply with the changes: 'dear, we are almost ruined, especially as the British Government are freeing slaves and only going to give us a very small price, not a third of their value'.<sup>461</sup> Although this can be read as an attempt to explain away horrific practices, it also shows that Haggard was trying to present a background which was representative of

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<sup>458</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 101.

<sup>459</sup> Haggard, *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours; or, Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal, and the Transvaal*. p. 41.

<sup>460</sup> Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*. p. 171 – 172.

<sup>461</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 45.

the times in which the events occurred. Similarly he wrote in *The New York Times*, two years after the publication of *Marie*: 'In the old days, of course, there were very strained relations between the English and Boers, which had their roots in foolish and inconsistent acts carried out by the Home Government, generally to forward party ends'.<sup>462</sup> Allan's father further explains the Boers' point of view in chapter V, 'The Shooting Match': '[e]ither they [the Boers] intend to rebel because of that most righteous act, the freeing of the slaves, and because we will not kill out all the Kaffirs with whom they chance to quarrel, or to trek from the Colony'.<sup>463</sup> In this chapter Haggard then goes on to tell the story of a micro-section of the Great Trek. Appropriately, given Haggard's tendency for historiographical narratives, the groups he writes about include the real life Boer Piet Retief. Haggard weaves into the story examples of the common occurrences that happened to many of the Trek parties, such as attacks by local peoples whose land the Boers encroached upon, in chapter XIX 'Depart in Peace', or starvation, in chapter VIII 'The Camp of Death', or the political Boer infighting, in chapter IV 'Hernando Pereira'.

It is possible to extrapolate from his friendship with Shepstone that Haggard had a well-rounded understanding of the British colonial government's position with regards the to Boers. Haggard notes, in the words of Mr. John Merriman, that Shepstone 'understood the Boers so well that practically he was a highly educated Boer'.<sup>464</sup> Evidence of this is found in Shepstone's 1892 letter to Haggard — regarding Haggard's decision to dedicate *Nada the Lily* to Shepstone — in which he references their discussions about the Boers:

I cannot, however, help thinking that if some of my views and advice had been acted on we should have avoided both the national disaster and disgrace that took place after the "pleasant past" that you and I spent together in the Transvaal.<sup>465</sup>

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<sup>462</sup> H. Rider Haggard, 'South Africa's Boers and Britons', *New York Times Current History of the European War*, (1914). p. 126.

<sup>463</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 64.

<sup>464</sup> Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey* (1914). p. 61.

<sup>465</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 23.

What is also clear from this section of the letter is the idealised memory Shepstone has of their time in the Transvaal, what he called their “pleasant past”. Shepstone takes no responsibility for the many of the disasters that happened during his time as Secretary for Native Affairs. In fact the biographers of Shepstone’s colonial Governor Sir George Grey write that:

No man has been more potent than [Shepstone] in wielding influences which have exposed the populations of South Africa to great disasters. History must declare that the astuteness displayed by him was singularly disastrous in its effects alike on friends and enemies’.<sup>466</sup>

Yet neither Shepstone, nor Haggard, ever countenanced that his colonial administration might have been at fault. As late as 1923 Haggard was still writing that he thought Shepstone was brutally and meanly treated in the interest of British politicians.<sup>467</sup> Shepstone evidently saw Haggard as a kindred spirit and in a further letter he wrote regarding the dedication in *Nada the Lily* he said to Haggard: ‘I always feel indebted to you all for your loyal support and zealous fellow-working in the Transvaal’.<sup>468</sup> Haggard had not only played an active part in the colonial politics of the region, he was personally validated by the high esteem in which Shepstone held him. This indicates why Haggard was so vehement in his defence of Shepstone’s policies. From Haggard’s earliest writing he considered himself to have an ‘intimate personal knowledge’ of Shepstone’s thinking and socio-political policies regarding both the Boers and the Zulu.<sup>469</sup> Haggard’s ideas grew from Shepstone’s, whose public persona was intimately entwined with the Zulu people and the ‘native’ policies he enacted. In

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<sup>466</sup> William Lee Rees and Lily Rees, *The Life and Times of Sir George Grey, K.C.B.*, (Auckland: H. Brett, 1892). p. 178.

<sup>467</sup> H. Rider Haggard, 'Personal Diary. July 2nd.', (Norfolk Records Office, 1923).

<sup>468</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 20.

<sup>469</sup> Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement'.

fact, Shepstone appears in the main daily broadsheets over one hundred and twenty times in the ten year period leading up to Haggard's writing of the Zikali trilogy.<sup>470</sup>

Evidence of Shepstone's beliefs regarding The Boers motivation for the Trek is found in an interview he gave to *The Times* newspaper on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May 1888. He expanded on the role of slavery in the Boers' decision to leave the Cape, and other lowland provinces:

It is, or rather was, usual for each Boer to hold two farms, one in the high lands and one in the bushfeldt or low country, the former for summer and the latter for winter grazing. In early days, when a farm was first assigned to a Boer, it often happened that there was a considerable native population upon it. These natives became a sort of serfs to the Boers, who claimed a certain amount of labour from them in return for protection. The system of apprenticeship, which has long existed among the Boers, is really slavery in disguise.<sup>471</sup>

I reference this interview to show how acutely Shepstone, and I believe as evidenced by *Marie*, Haggard, understood the complexity of the issues behind the Boers exodus and subsequent rebellion against the Colonial government. The Boer migration was not just a desire to be away from British rule, but the various land acquisition laws caused by the changing political policies which created a lack of stability or certainty in land possession

The Boers were never meant to be a colonized people according to Shepstone's plan. Mannoni offers a similar opinion in his seminal book — written during and immediately after the 1948 Madagascan revolt — *Prospero & Caliban*: 'To my mind there is no doubting the fact that colonization has always required the existence of the need for dependence. Not all people can be colonized: only those who experience this need'.<sup>472</sup> This is a sentiment that Haggard echoes in his

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<sup>470</sup> An estimate based on a search of the Gale database <British Newspapers 1600-1900>

<sup>471</sup> 'Sir T. Shepstone on Slavery in the Transvaal', *The Anti-slavery reporter*, 1 (1881). p. 88.

<sup>472</sup> O. Mannoni, *Prospero & Caliban: The Psychology of Colonisation*, (Michigan: Ann Arbor Paperbacks 2001). p. 85.

dedication to Henry Bulwer in the preface to *Marie*: 'May the natives prosper also and be justly ruled'.<sup>473</sup> Haggard's fictional reconstruction of the colonial socio-political landscape is essential to the Zikali trilogy; it is the primary grounding narrative which influences the story of Allan's youth. This singularly ambiguous thread is what makes Zikali so intriguing, whether Haggard was trying to construct a grand colonial narrative or whether it was a more personal reconstruction of his own colonial history.

### The British, Boers and Zulu: Representations of the 'other'

The famous massacre by Dingane's troops of Piet Retief and his party was on the 6 February 1838. Piet Retief was nominal leader of the Boer trekkers and commander of many skirmish parties.<sup>474</sup> Haggard says of Retief in *Marie*:

He had been appointed by the Government one of the frontier commandants, but owing to some quarrel with the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, had recently resigned that office, and at this date was engaged in organizing the trek from the Colony.<sup>475</sup>

As the above quotation shows, Haggard is attempting to demonstrate how historical events unfolded, mixing anecdotal evidence with fiction. He creates a dynamic storyline which used the tropes of adventure romance, such as the heroic quest to rescue the girl, whilst making the tale appear true by grounding it in the narrative of the real Great Trek. Haggard wrote, in 1890: '[m]any of us have respect for the Boers, however much we may disapprove of their policy and mode of government, a respect that has been increased by their brave and successful conduct of the Transvaal rebellion. The writer is one of these.'<sup>476</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. v.

<sup>474</sup> Piet Retief (1780 – 1838) was a Voortrekker, Boer, leader and spokesman for the Boers before they left British Colony. He wrote a manifesto stating why the Boers were leaving British controlled land which was published in the Grahamstown Journal of January 1837. The manifesto was seen as effectively a declaration of independence by the Boer farmers.

<sup>475</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p.55.

<sup>476</sup> Haggard, 'The Fate of Swaziland'. p. 74.



So much did Haggard endeavour to be as accurate as possible when talking of factual events, that when he visited a hill called Kwa Matiwane (Hill of Slaughter), on the 25th of April 1914, with the Dominions Royal Commission, he noted: 'On the whole my description of it in *Marie* is not inaccurate, but speaking from memory I made the hill too steep'.<sup>477</sup> This emphasis of the factual basis of his fiction shows how involved Haggard was in his narrative or as Ghadiri and Moinzadeh explain: '[p]ersonal identity — like historical events, texts, and artefacts — is shaped by and shapes the culture in which it emerges'.<sup>478</sup> Haggard reaffirms his own colonial history, that which in turn shapes the landscape of Allan's narrative in *Marie*. By choosing to emphasise the importance of the truth of a relatively minor detail — in this instance the landscape — it is a central indicator of the fundamental reality that Haggard is trying to imbue throughout his narratives.

The emphasis on historical accuracy in the trilogy was what gave the books a similar spark and immediacy with the British reading public as *King Solomon's Mines*, which had played on the freshness of the African setting in 1885. As the reviewer for *The Bookman* notes: '[n]othing could be more enthralling than the account of Allan's experiences with Dingaan in the Great Kraal, or among the vultures on the Hill of Death'.<sup>479</sup> This enthusiasm for Haggard was most decidedly not the case with Boer readers, many of whom thought Haggard had vilified them throughout his literary career. Gustav Preller — writing anonymously as 'Dutch Afrikaner' — wrote in the *Pretoria News* of the 1st of April 1914, of the 'heinous literary diatribes against that "older generation" as a whole, of which Sir Rider has been successfully delivered since first he put his facile pen to paper in 1881!'<sup>480</sup> Yet Haggard in his later African romances was possibly more magnanimous than Boers such as Preller gave him credit for. For example, in *Marie*, the representation of Piet Retief, whose commendation of Allan and untimely death are pivotal to the story, is very positive. Haggard describes him in

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<sup>477</sup> A vital setting for the action in chapter 19: 'Here we waited a little while, listening to the tumult that grew more distant, till presently the dreadful procession of death reappeared, coming round the fence of the Great Kraal and heading straight for the Hill of Slaughter, Hloma Amabutu', *Marie*, p. 290. H. Rider Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey (1914)*, ed by Stephen Coan, (London, Hurst & Company, 2000), p. 193.

<sup>478</sup> Ghadiri and Moinzadeh, 'The Comparative Analysis of Two Songs by Farhad Mehrad: The View of New Historicism'. p. 384.

<sup>479</sup> 'Marie'.

<sup>480</sup> Quoted in H. Rider Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey (1914)*, ed by Stephen Coan, (London, Hurst & Company, 2000), p. 137n.

the book as 'the celebrated Heer Pieter Retief, a very fine man of high character, then in the prime of life, and of Huguenot descent like Heer Marais'.<sup>481</sup> In his twentieth-century factual writing Haggard identifies himself very clearly with the Boers, acknowledging what he sees as a shared lineage:

Remember what stock these Boers come from. They are descendants of the men who withstood and beat Alva in the sixteenth century [...] I state positively that the world has no record of a more glorious and heroic struggle than that made by the Dutch against all the power of Spain. Well, the Boers are descended from these men and women (for both fought). Also, they include a very large dash of the best blood in Europe, namely, that of the Huguenots [...] [I] have that same blood in me.<sup>482</sup>

What is evident in *Marie* is that Haggard clearly justifies the morality and social standing of Retief through his historic Huguenot lineage. It is not necessarily the supposed egalitarian nature of the Boers that Haggard recognises. Rather he informs his reading of the political machinations of southern Africa through his own cultural beliefs. Haggard is retrospectively shaping his representation of the Boers in light of his own cultural understanding. His thinking in the 1910s is very much at odds with what he wrote in one of his earliest factual publications, *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours*. In *Cetywayo* he wrote '[p]ersonally Boers are fine men, but as a rule ugly. Their women-folk are good-looking in early life, but get very stout as they grow older'; he said the Boers were 'a peculiar people', with 'none of the refinements of civilisation'.<sup>483</sup> When he comes to write of Marie's father Marais, before Marais has been 'corrupted' by the half Portuguese Herman, he has Allan observe:

I say he was a Boer, but, as may be guessed from both his Christian and surname, his origin was Huguenot... Unlike most Boers of similar descent, these

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<sup>481</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 55.

<sup>482</sup> Haggard, 'South Africa's Boers and Britons'. p. 127.

<sup>483</sup> Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement'.

particular Marais — for, of course, there are many other families so called — never forgot their origin. Indeed, from father to son, they kept up some knowledge of the French tongue, and among themselves often spoke it after a fashion. At any rate, it was the habit of Henri Marais, who was excessively religious, to read his chapter of the Bible (which it is, or was, the custom of the Boers to spell out every morning, should their learning allow them to do so), not in the "taal" or patois Dutch, but in good old French.<sup>484</sup>

Haggard is reshaping his interpretation of mid-nineteenth-century southern Africa in light of his own colonial experience. Haggard's 'lived life' has made its way into the Zikali trilogy: running parallel to, yet also intertwined, with the romantic imperial adventure narrative.<sup>485</sup>

As the relationship between Allan and Marie strengthens and they have pledged to marry, so Marais tries harder to separate them. Haggard, after previously drawing on Marais's Huguenot lineage, returns to the crude nineteenth century cultural stereotyping he had previously used in his youth as evidenced in the above extract from *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours*, to explain Marais's behaviour. Marais was, 'violent and foolish when excited or under the influence of his race prejudices'.<sup>486</sup> At odds with his representation above, at this juncture Haggard uses the character of Marais as a fictional representation of the many Boer people in the Cape at the time, people who were choosing to create an independent nation — the beginnings of what would become a separated apartheid South Africa — with their own laws and customs. Marais obliquely references the impending Trek when he says to Allan and his father: 'I must take counsel with my countrymen about certain secret matters which have to do with our welfare and future'.<sup>487</sup> Haggard presents the desire for a separate nation by the Boer as not one being driven by political behaviours, a top down socio-cultural change but one caused by the life experiences, or collective consciousness, of the Boer people in nineteenth century southern Africa.

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<sup>484</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 3.

<sup>485</sup> Greenblatt, 'The Touch of the Real'. p. 20.

<sup>486</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 61.

<sup>487</sup> *Ibid.* p. 61.

In *Marie* Haggard has moved completely away from the importance of the various administrations in deciding colonial policy and instead presents the history of southern Africa as being created by individuals. In fact he has retreated 'into an individualism which jettisons public political action altogether'.<sup>488</sup> In Haggard's fiction, his selective historical account of the Boers, Zulu, and British is one in which every aspect of actual history can be based on the actions or intent of one person. Returning to the melodrama inherent in Haggard's fiction fundamentally there is always someone to blame for every event in Haggard's colonial world—an external locus to react against—and as such the many reasons for the Great Trek are boiled down into simplistic narratives which all serve to reify the romantic notion of an imperial endeavour built on the backs of individuals.

Haggard completed his autobiography just before he began the Zikali trilogy and in it he says of the Boer people: 'I did not like them much at the time — few Englishmen did — but I can see now that I ought to have made more allowances'.<sup>489</sup> Haggard did not give up his distrust of the Boers, and he repeatedly uses them in his books as the melodramatic villains; his literary counterpoints to the evil 'savage,' who was often the Masai in his African romances.<sup>490</sup> Haggard's vacillation between trying to understand the socio-political motives for the Boers and condemning them is a consistent aspect in his southern Africa stories, which may be explained by the lead up to and the fallout from the Anglo Boer wars of 1880-1881 and 1899-1902. Elleke Boehmer notes that:

It was the outbreak of the Boer, or South African War [...], however, more than at any other time up until 1914, that the fault-lines in imperial self-perceptions were most revealingly laid bare. As Britain's massed imperial forces struggled for almost three years to defeat the guerrilla army of the two tiny Boer republics, the weaknesses of an over-extended and over-confident empire, which several

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<sup>488</sup> Chrisman, 'The British Conquest of Zululand: Haggard's Politics and Ideology'.

<sup>489</sup> H. Rider Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd, 1926). p. 78.

<sup>490</sup> For example it is 'those Masai villains' who stalk Allan, Curtis, Good, and Umslopogaas along the river in *Allan Quatermain*. Henry Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1893). p. 25.

writers and politicians had already suspected, could no longer be very easily masked.<sup>491</sup>

The Boers in *Marie* are the precursors to the issues which so badly bruised the national belief in British imperialism. Haggard uses his fiction to explain the historical dynamics of nineteenth century southern African, in which the individual characters drive social and political interactions.

### Zulu historiography in *Marie*: Dingane and the Zulu cause

Haggard's fiction is rich with cultural historiography, particularly in the agency he gives to the history of marginalised indigenous people. In *Marie* Haggard's characters actively partake in the historical events leading up to the Anglo-Zulu wars. Monsman writes: '*Marie* might well earn respect as an alternative to the racist paradigm at the core of antiblack historiography in which the invaders disguise or misrepresent their predatory expansion'.<sup>492</sup> For all he holds to the tropes and themes of imperial adventure romance and an idealised British Empire, in the Zikali trilogy Haggard presents the viewpoints of the various social groups geopolitically invested in the Transvaal and Natal. In *Marie*, indigenous people are not solely used as a plot device: they are the driving agency of the trilogy's narrative itself.

Haggard's representations of the 'other' in his romance fiction are not reconciled or manipulated to adhere to nineteenth-century orthodoxies regarding behaviour, status and role within fiction. There is only one truly duplicitous and stereotyped 'other' in *Marie*, and that is Marie's cousin Hernan Pereira. When Allan first met him as a boy, he noted of Hernan:

[T]his tall and splendid man standing above me in his fine clothes, for he was richly dressed as the fashion of the time went, with his high colouring, broad shoulders, and face full of health and vigour. Mentally I compared him with

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<sup>491</sup> Elleke Boehmer, 'Introduction', in *Empire Writing: An Anthology of Colonial Literature, 1870 - 1918*, ed. by Elleke Boehmer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). p. xxvi.

<sup>492</sup> Gerald Monsman, *H. Rider Haggard: The Political & Literary Contexts of His African Romances*, (Greensboro: ELT Press, 2006). p. 150.

myself, as I was after my fever and loss of blood, a poor, white-faced rat of a lad, with stubbly brown hair on my head and only a little down on my chin, with arms like sticks, and a dirty blanket for raiment. How could I compare with him in any way? What chance had I against this opulent bully who hated me and all my race, and in whose hands, even if I were well, I should be nothing but a child?<sup>493</sup>

The word-picture of Allan which Haggard draws is not like the stereotypical Englishman of imperial adventure romance; 'a dirty blanket for raiment' actually suggests the unemployed, hungry or homeless black Africans written about in newspapers of the time, particularly in reference to the horrors caused by the gold rush in the Transvaal.<sup>494</sup> Haggard locates Allan in southern Africa, making his main character as intrinsic to the veld as the local people he interacts with. It is the corpulent Hernan, redolent of a gross and indulgent Europeanism, 'over-extended and over-confident', who does not fit in Haggard's colonial landscape, unlike the naturalised Allan.

Haggard writes of a colonial culture that is not as tied to the British imperial centre as one would presume. His authorial perspective shows elements of the colonial experience which may even have escaped his own notice. Most particularly it is the journey of the 'other', the Zulu characters, within *Zikali* which is personalised and individualised, giving the characters a degree of agency that is both rare and difficult to align with Haggard's reputation as a committed imperialist. His commitment is evidenced by his work — during the time he was writing the trilogy — with the Dominions Royal Commission to explore 'the consolidation and furtherance of the British imperial endeavour'.<sup>495</sup>

Allan's first encounter with the Zulu is documented in *Marie*; they are 'a people with whom I was destined ere long to make an intimate acquaintance'.<sup>496</sup> His initial

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<sup>493</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 53.

<sup>494</sup> Hiram S. Maxim, 'The Chinese and the South African Labour Question', *Fortnightly review*, May 1865-June 1934, 73 (1903).

<sup>495</sup> Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey* (1914). p. 1.

<sup>496</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p.155.

meeting with the Zulu emphasises his perceived keen instincts. When he first meets the Zulu captain Kambula, Kambula says:

Now I have heard all about you. I have heard that although young you are very clever, so clever that you do not sleep, but watch by night as well as by day. Therefore, that I, Kambula, name you Macumazahn, Watcher-by-night, and by that name you shall henceforth be known among us.<sup>497</sup>

At this meeting Haggard enforces a reciprocal validation of both the Zulu and Allan. The character of Allan Quatermain is patently worthy as the Zulu respect him and give him a name in isiZulu, 'Macumazahn, [translated as] Watcher-by-night';<sup>498</sup> likewise, the Zulu are authenticated by being chivalrous and acknowledging Allan's character. Here Haggard embodies the ideal concepts of imperialism in his characters' interactions.

The historiographical importance of recognising chivalry in Haggard's trilogy stems not only from it being a trope of imperial adventure romance, but also as an inherent part of the politics of nineteenth-century southern Africa. Manuel Delanda identifies the opposition between Western 'sedentary' fighting and the 'nomadic' tactics of many colonial peoples as fundamental to the burgeoning relevance of chivalry to nineteenth century wars, and, I would add, political manoeuvrings; the person became as much, if not more important than the might of the weapons that could be brought into play.<sup>499</sup> This aspect of colonial politics — the power of the individual — is repeated consistently throughout, not only the Zikali, but all of Haggard's imperial adventure romance fiction. In chapter XVIII of *Marie*, 'The Treaty,' Allan rides out with the Boers advance party as 'interpreter' to negotiate with Dingane, the Zulu king, about a land grant.<sup>500</sup> In the process of negotiations Dingane says to Allan:

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<sup>497</sup> Ibid. p.173.

<sup>498</sup> Ibid. p. 173.

<sup>499</sup> Manuel DeLanda, 'War in the Age of Intelligent Machines.(1991)', *Swerve*. New York.

<sup>500</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 252.

"Yes, Macumazahn," replied Dingaan quite genially. "That is where you and I are alike. We are both honest, quite honest, and therefore friends, which I can never be with these Amaboona, who, as you and others have told me, are traitors. We play our game in the light, like men, and who wins, wins, and who loses, loses. Now hear me, Macumazahn, and remember what I say. Whatever happens to others, whatever you may see, you are safe while I live. Dingaan (sic) has spoken. Whether I get the tall white girl, or do not get her, still you are safe; it is on my head," and he touched the gum-ring in his hair.<sup>501</sup>

This excerpt shows that Haggard's definition of a gentleman was not primarily shaped by race, but by medieval-like chivalric behaviours: truth, integrity and loyalty. This authorial belief is mirrored the geopolitical situation in nineteenth-century southern Africa, the nature of which meant that more modern European, partially mechanised, forms of combat could often not be used due to the skirmish basis of most engagements. It was only later in the nineteenth century that the awful might of mechanised warfare combined with the concept of the gentleman soldier to cause great swathes of death and destruction. The 'nuances of colonial combat', J. L. Cranfield notes, were such that they 'relied instead upon the more bodily virtues that harmonised with the projection of a chivalric past'.<sup>502</sup> Haggard gives these 'bodily virtues' not only to Allan but to many central Zulu characters, such as when, again in chapter XVIII, 'The Treaty,' Retief asks for powder for rifles to shoot game — though it is implied that it is in fact for the Boers to protect themselves from the Zulu. Dingane responds: "What do you want powder for in a peaceful country?", "it will not be wanted here," [...] "since I will give you food, and as I, the king, am your friend, no man in Zululand dare be your enemy".<sup>503</sup> Haggard makes his characters behave with a respectability which is reminiscent of the chivalric ideas repeatedly presented to imperial Britain as the supreme mode of behaviour.

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<sup>501</sup> Ibid. p. 64.

<sup>502</sup> J Cranfield, L., 'Chivalric Machines: The Boer War , the Male Body, and the Grand Narrative in the *Stand Magazine*', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 40 (2012). p. 566.

<sup>503</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 270.



In the chivalric Zulu behaviour, Haggard created a native hagiography which never leaves his writing. For example, when Allan talks to Dingane alone after the Boer contingent has left, Haggard identifies the importance of Zulu cultural hierarchy. Allan does not suppose a racially based superiority when talking to Dingane, instead he calls himself 'insignificant,' deferring to the importance of the rank of man he is talking to. Allan states:

A strange contrast we must have made, this huge, black tyrant with the royal air, for to do him justice he had that, at whose nod hundreds went the way of death, and I, a mere insignificant white boy, for in appearance, at any rate, I was nothing more.<sup>504</sup>

Haggard still identifies the physical and racial differences between the characters, 'huge, black tyrant' and 'insignificant white boy' whose 'appearance' masks a stronger character, but what is clear is the writer's deference, whether sincere or disingenuous, to indigenous culture and practice. Here Haggard's staunch colonialism becomes problematic. Mahmood Mamdani identifies two primary 'colonial presumptions' that are inherent in most post-colonial attempts to engage with colonialism:

The first was that colonial cultures were not grounded in historical processes. The second was that colonial contact marked the beginning of a history for these societies, since colonialism was presumed to have animated them culturally, economically, and politically.<sup>505</sup>

Yet Allan adheres to the cultural and societal framework of the Zulu, respecting the status of Dingane, and clearly acknowledges the pre-colonial history of the Zulu. In other words, for the imperialists, the indigenous cultures had no history before the

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<sup>504</sup> Ibid. p. 270.

<sup>505</sup> Mahmood Mamdani, 'Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 43 (2001). p. 651.

advent of the 'white' man. The problem is that these theoretical assumptions Mamdani makes are based on an economic approach to colonialism, one that easily historicises the past between native and non-native.<sup>506</sup> Haggard's colonial ideology was as an idyll, a dogma based on bettering people and their lives. His beliefs were strongly tied in with the concept of an English country squire looking after the people on his land and establishing a fertility of production, thus one aspect of colonialism — that Haggard was most enthusiastic about — was a chance for the lower classes to escape from overcrowded metropolises, such as London, to relocate to a land with space to establish themselves.<sup>507</sup> Haggard stated, very early on in his writing career in 1876, when he was just 20:

Why should people continue to be cooped up in this narrow country [Britain], living generally on insufficient means, when yonder [Southern Africa] their feet may be set in so large a room? Why do they not go to where families can be brought into the world without the terror that if they are brought into the world they will starve or drag their parents down to the dirt; to where the individual may assert himself and find room to develop his own character, instead of being crushed in the mould of custom till, outwardly at any rate, he is as like his fellows as one brick is like the others in a wall?<sup>508</sup>

It is, in part, this ideology which makes Haggard's fictions so interesting. His imperial adventure romances are a powerful strand of nineteenth-century contemporary culture. They are part of, what Gallagher and Greenblatt describe as: 'the social energies that circulate very broadly through a culture, flowing back and forth between margins and centre'.<sup>509</sup> Haggard's fiction is thus influential in its narrative representation of the colonial landscape, both in Britain and in the colonies, in shaping social beliefs about the Zulu and their role in Africa. His work is a realistic representation of young British colonial southern Africa rather than a representation of

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<sup>506</sup> Ibid. p. 654.

<sup>507</sup> See chapter 5, 'Colonial ambiguity: Haggard and the Royal Colonial Institute'.

<sup>508</sup> 'Mr. Rider Haggard as Prophet', *The Review of Reviews*, (1899).

<sup>509</sup> Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*. p. 13.

the real southern Africa. Essentially Haggard is specific in both his subject and theme: the subject of the trilogy is colonialism, and the theme is that it is good.

In *Marie* Allan is not only an enthusiastic young adventurer but also a savvy colonial field operator and Haggard is explicit in his identification of Allan's skills and the work he put in to gain them. Allan states in chapter XI 'The Shot in the Kloof', before he first speaks to Kambula:

Now I should explain that though as yet I had never mixed with these Zulus, I could talk several native dialects kindred to that which they used very well indeed. Moreover, ever since I had hired men of their race at Delagoa, I had spent all my spare time in conversing with them and acquiring a knowledge of their language, history and customs. So by this time I knew their tongue fairly, although occasionally I may have used terms which were unfamiliar to them.<sup>510</sup>

Allan, is displaying behaviour that goes against the colonial type. Allan does not face the problems identified by Emily Lynn Osborn of the typical European colonists, '[n]ot only were the language barriers significant, but newly arrived European conquerors frequently knew little about the social and political configurations of the regions that they occupied.'<sup>511</sup> Instead, like Shepstone, Allan is grounded in southern Africa –and quite literally, as in fact Haggard implies, Allan was born in the Cape Colony — and so he does not force English on the Zulu but instead learns their language. Haggard reifies the position of his main character as being one of knowledge and authority. Allan is a gatekeeper between the British, Zulu, and the Boers.

The character's interactions in the Zikali trilogy do not involve the usual British implied 'gift of enlightenment' in which the indigenous people are taught to speak English. In Haggard's colonial southern Africa he explicitly does not follow the imperial adventure romance trope of the English language being an indicator of culture. Antoinette Burton

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<sup>510</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 172.

<sup>511</sup> Osborn, "Circle of Iron": African Colonial Employees and the Interpretation of Colonial Rule in French West Africa'. p. 34.

notes 'that capacity for careful, controlled speech — versus the excited, excitable kind — was recognised as a mark of civilisation, culture and of course, of Englishness itself in Victorian Britain'.<sup>512</sup> In the Zikali trilogy language and speech are not equated with culture in this way. In fact it is notable that Haggard does not fall back on the overtly racist rendering of speech patterns so often seen in imperial adventure romance novels. For example G. M. Fenn will have the Zulu characters speak with a stereotyped crudeness, such as in *Off to the Wilds*, when Chichory – the indigenous sidekick of the main English character — says "No make Boss Dick cry eye any more'.<sup>513</sup> Or Ballantyne in *Lost in the Forest* (1869) who brings in a character, Bunco, whose difference to the English characters is implied to the reader in his first speech: 'me know dis here part ob the universe, - bin borned an' riz here'.<sup>514</sup> When these examples are compared with Haggard's rendering of Dingane's speech, 'we play our game in the light, like men, and who wins, wins', the disparity is clear, Haggard does not appear to be belittling the Zulu characters and gives dignity to their speech.<sup>515</sup> This ambiguity in Haggard's racial representations has not been noted previously. Indeed Bivona states that '[w]hile Haggard's Zulus play a conventional epic role as tragically heroic opponents of the British armies, their customs and way of life also exert a compelling interest for British readers who commonly frame these unfamiliar customs by assimilating them to the ways of the English children'.<sup>516</sup> This does not seem to be the representation Haggard is trying to get across in his narrative; with the young Allan not only learning the language and the customs of the Zulu but in the respect Haggard has him show to the rank and authority of Dingane.

Haggard's fictional rendering the character of Allan is embedded not only physically but aurally within the culture of the region. Haggard's fictional entities are grounded in his own personal ideology and this belief — in the grandeur of the Zulu and the British misunderstanding of the Boers – comes through in the speech of his characters.

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<sup>512</sup> Burton, 'Tongues Untied: Lord Salisbury's &quot;Black Man&quot; and the Boundaries of Imperial Democracy'. p. 647-648.

<sup>513</sup> Fenn, *Off to the Wilds: Being the Adventures of Two Brothers*. p. 10.

<sup>514</sup> R. M. Ballantyne, 'Lost in the Forest', (London: James Nisbet & Co., Limited). p. 25.

<sup>515</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 272.

<sup>516</sup> Bivona, *Desire and Contradiction: Imperial Visions and Domestic Debates in Victorian Literature*. p. 76.

## Conclusion

Haggard's talent lies in layering a wealth of convincing details through his narratives. Gallagher and Greenblatt have shown that writers must draw upon their 'whole life-world' when creating their stories, 'and that this life-world has undoubtedly left other traces of itself.'<sup>517</sup> *Marie* examines Zulu, Boer and English interactions not through any deliberate political imperialism or 'antiblack' paradigm, but through Haggard's own life experience and his understanding of some of the people involved in the real events.

Haggard's execution of the character of Allan draws from Theophilus Shepstone. In *Marie* we can begin to see the influence of Shepstone on Haggard's colonial political beliefs. Specifically the importance Shepstone placed on personal relationships with all the entities involved in colonial history is mirrored in the character and actions of Allan. Recognising Haggard's influences opens up an analysis of his fiction. It is evident from the quotations above, taken from *Marie*, that Haggard recognised the societies — and the 'social actions' inherent within them — of people in southern Africa and their influence on the socio-political environment. In Haggard's fiction many of the multi-faceted aspects of colonialism occur, from his acceptance of pre-colonial indigenous cultural structures, which goes against preconceived post-colonial theory that is inclined to be walled off or assume a lack of knowledge on the part of the colonial author, to his use of real historical figures, in playing out various historical colonial scenarios, such as the reasons for the Anglo-Zulu wars. This ambiguous rendering of the colonial encounter is most clearly seen in the role played by Allan, in *Child of Storm*, in the battle for the Zulu Chiefship between Cetewayo and Umbelazi.

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<sup>517</sup>Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*. p. 13.

## Chapter 4 Child of Storm

### Introduction: 'from the beginning I was attracted to these Zulus.'<sup>518</sup>

*Child of Storm* was published by Cassell in 1913. Haggard thought it his 'most artistic' book and as such it satisfied his 'literary conscience'.<sup>519</sup> After its completion, in 1911, Haggard decided to make it part of a trilogy and delayed giving it to his publishers until he had first written *Marie*. *Child of Storm* takes place between 1854 and 1856. Its historical setting is the battle between Panda's sons, Cetewayo and Umbelazi, to become ruler of the Zulu nation.<sup>520</sup> One of Haggard's previous colleagues in the Transvaal, Fred Fynney noted in 1885, the 'latter days of the old King Umpande were made miserable by the conduct of his two sons, Cetchwayo [sic] and Umbulazi [sic]—half-brothers – who, as soon as they grew up to man's estate, commenced a feud as to who was to succeed the old King'.<sup>521</sup> It was from Fynney that Haggard 'gathered much information as to Zulu customs and history'.<sup>522</sup> The narrative's driving force, though, is the great Mameena, a Zulu woman whose intelligence and quest for power is partially responsible, in Haggard's telling, for the downfall of the Zulu nation.

*Child of Storm* is backgrounded by the Zulu leadership conflict between Cetewayo and Umbelazi, and is presented as an 'instalment of Zulu History'.<sup>523</sup> Allan Quatermain, whilst hunting in Natal, agrees to help a man called Saduko reclaim cattle taken in war. Saduko needs one hundred cattle to pay the dowry for Mameena, daughter of Umbezi 'headman of the Undwandwe'.<sup>524</sup> Saduko is saved by Zikali as a child when Bangu, on behalf of Dingane, wiped out the rest of Saduko's kin-group, the Amangwane. Saduko and Allan journey to see Zikali, who prophesies Allan's involvement with the destruction of the Zulu nation. Allan first meets Mameena when she nurses him back to health after a hunting accident. Mameena opts to marry Masopo chief of the

<sup>518</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 52.

<sup>519</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 207.

<sup>520</sup> The correct Zulu spellings are Mpande kaSenzangakhona, Cetshwayo kaMpande and Mbuyazi kaMapnde respectively.

<sup>521</sup> Fred B. Fynney, 'Zululand and the Zulus', (Maritzburg: Horne Bros, 1885). p. 23.

<sup>522</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 56.

<sup>523</sup> 'Readable Novels. Child of Storm. By H. Rider Haggard (Book Review)', in *The Spectator*, (London: The Spectator Ltd., 1913), p. 456.

<sup>524</sup> The correct spelling is Ndwandwe.

Amansomi, instead of Saduko. Panda gives his daughter Nandie, sister of Cetshwayo, in marriage to Saduko as reward for his prowess in battle.

Mameena and Saduko arrange to kill Masopo by having him blamed for a crime, thereby allowing Mameena to become Saduko's second wife. Yet Mameena, who is always defined by her desire for power, leaves Saduko for Umbelazi, the son of Panda. When Cetshwayo and Umbelazi fight for the Chiefship of the Zulu, Saduko guarantees Cetshwayo will win by defecting from Umbelazi's camp with his followers and fighting for Cetshwayo. Ultimately Saduko and Mameena are charged with inciting civil war but Mameena poisons herself before she can be executed. Saduko is exiled by Panda, goes mad and dies.

*Child of Storm* is very similar to *Nada the Lily* not only in the narrative motivation being a Zulu woman but also in that Haggard uses a white man as a framing narrator, allowing the Zulu characters to be the central driving force of the narrative. Unlike *Nada the Lily*, however, the white man, in this case Allan, is a character within the text, whereas in *Nada the Lily* the white man's 'name does not matter, for he plays no part in this story'.<sup>525</sup> In *Child of Storm* the wizard Zikali also explains to Allan why he, the solitary British man, was spared in the massacre of the Boer in *Marie*. Zikali says to Allan, so 'you see you were spared, Macumazahn, and afterwards you helped to pour out a curse upon Dingaan without becoming a ghost, which is the reason why Panda likes you so well to-day, Panda, the enemy of Dingaan, his brother'.<sup>526</sup> As with *Marie* Haggard continues to identify Allan as a powerful agent of change within the colonial socio-cultural landscape. Jennifer Weir notes that in the competition for political dominance in southern Africa there was as much focus on ritual or spiritual might as there was on military might, she says that 'Zulu conquest involved not only land, political institutions and economic power. It also meant capturing the invisible spiritual power'.<sup>527</sup> In the same way as the Zulu dominated their surrounding peoples Allan is presented as having a symbolic, almost 'spiritual power' within the text. Allan can be seen to represent quite how startling the effect was by the colonial power on the agency of the colonised.

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<sup>525</sup> Haggard, *Nada the Lily*. p. 1.

<sup>526</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 46 – 47.

<sup>527</sup> Weir, 'King Shaka, the Diviners and Colonialism'. p. 05.10

Haggard builds upon his native-historiography of the Zulu people, using his early twentieth century fiction to narrativize the events of mid-nineteenth century colonial socio-politics. As with *Marie* he brings his story closer to real life by referencing actual people and events. In *Child of Storm* Haggard uses the dedication of the book, to Natalian civil servant James Stuart (1868-1942), to suggest the story is rooted in factual events. Haggard firstly establishes Stuart's knowledge of the Zulu people, he points out that Stuart has made 'deep and scientific' studies of Zulu language, custom and history. Having established Stuart's authority Haggard then quotes Stuart's comment that the book is made dynamic by its 'true Zulu spirit' thus suggesting a narrative constructed, to some extent, in colonial reality.<sup>528</sup> Haggard writes:

Dear Mr. Stuart,

For twenty years, I believe I am right in saying, you, as Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, and in other offices, have been intimately acquainted with the Zulu people. Moreover, you are one of the few living men who have made a deep and scientific study of their language, their customs and their history. So I confess that I was the more pleased after you were so good as to read this tale—the second book of the epic of the vengeance of Zikali, "the Thing-that-should-never-have-been-born," and of the fall of the House of Senzangakona—when you wrote to me that it was animated by the true Zulu spirit

[...]

I must admit that my acquaintance with this people dates from a period which closed almost before your day. What I know of them I gathered at the time when Cetewayo, of whom my volume tells, was in his glory, previous to the evil hour in which he found himself driven by the clamour of his regiments, cut off, as they were, through the annexation of the Transvaal, from their hereditary trade of war, to match himself against the British strength. I learned it all by personal observation in the 'seventies, or from the lips of the great Shepstone, my chief

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<sup>528</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. v.



and friend, and from my colleagues Osborn, Fynney, Clarke and others, every one of them long since "gone down."<sup>529</sup>

Haggard is quite explicitly tying his narrative to a specific historical moment reifying the story with reference to definite events and people. Haggard is siting the events in *Child of Storm*, not only socio-culturally but by suggesting that Stuart is an expert on the Zulu people.

Stuart recorded oral testimonies from over 200 Zulu people which was not only the primary material for the *James Stuart Archive of Recorded Oral Evidence Relating to the History of the Zulu and Neighbouring People* (1968), but a unique late nineteenth and early twentieth century ethnographical record of colonial southern Africa. As a reviewer in 1924 stated, Stuart's 'knowledge of Zulu is equalled by few, if any, Europeans'.<sup>530</sup> In the dedication Haggard wrote of his desire, 'to write of the Zulus as a reigning nation, which now they have ceased to be, and to try to show them as they were, in all their superstitious madness and bloodstained grandeur'.<sup>531</sup> Haggard then maintains the truth behind the story in the Author's Note, stating that the book had a 'broad foundation in historical fact'.<sup>532</sup> In this way Haggard is validating his narrative, not only by claiming its basis in historical truth, but by linking the book directly to Stuart.

*Child of Storm* begins with Allan fulminating on human nature, and the arrogance of white Europeans who believe they 'know everything', but Allan thinks he knows better as he has studied human nature 'in the rough'. This idea of racial hierarchy is something that Haggard himself constantly reiterated, stating in his autobiography that he found it easy to write about the Zulu in *Child of Storm* as he

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<sup>529</sup> Ibid. p. v-vii.

<sup>530</sup> James Stuart was Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal from 1st July 1909 to June 1912 when he retired from the post. Stuart was the first European to systematically record native oral histories and between 1897 and 1922 interviewed over two hundred Zulu and neighbouring peoples on historical matters. These interviews formed the base of the James Stuart Archive which is currently held as part of the Killie Campbell collection within the library of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. John Wright, 'Stuart, James (1868-1942), Magistrate and Historian in South Africa', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2006).

Peter Limb, *Orb and Sceptre : Studies on British Imperialism and Its Legacies, in Honour of Norman Etherington*, 1st edn (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University ePress, 2008).

<sup>531</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. vi

<sup>532</sup> Ibid. p. ix.

'under[stood] them by the light of Nature'.<sup>533</sup> Haggard describes this 'naturalness' in the difference between the behaviour of Allan and the Zulu characters across the novels. The Zulu characters may enact behaviours that they are unable to rationalise, a childlike simplicity. Whereas Allan, being British, even from childhood has a complex and thorough understanding of events and outcomes; as evidenced in the battle at Mariasfontein in chapter 2 of *Marie* in which the young Allan organises the defence of Henri Marais' farm against an attack by the Quabie.

In imperial fiction the colonised indigenous character is presented to European readers as 'other'; pagan, savage and unknowable; strange to Western 'civilised' people. Haggard makes the point that his character Allan is one of the few who truly understands the Zulu, with the implication that Allan makes allowances for the Zulu people's 'primitive' behaviour. 'Civilised' refers to the European notions of Christianised nineteenth century democracies. Aimé Césaire explains the premise as a basic equation, '*Christianity=civilisation, paganism=savagery*'.<sup>534</sup> Allan states that Western civilisation is made up of 'trappings' and 'accessories' and that it is only indigenous Africans who still possess the 'virgin ore' of human nature, unsullied by the 'conventions' of Western society.<sup>535</sup>

Ultimately Haggard's heavy handed separation of Western and indigenous southern African peoples' societies reifies the supposed romance of the colonial encounter. In *Child of Storm* Haggard idealises the Zulu their mythic nobility, and by implication their naive history, one which has not developed in the eyes of Western nineteenth century imperialism. In conflating the Zulu Kingdom's short brilliant political ascendancy with the narrative of his hero Allan, Haggard's career long eulogising of the grandeur of Zulu history is nowhere more evident than here in *Child of Storm*. At one point Panda says to Allan:

We Zulus trust you, Macumazahn, as we trust few white men, for we have known for years that your lips say what your heart thinks, and that your heart

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<sup>533</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 207.

<sup>534</sup> Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000). p. 33.

<sup>535</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 1.

always thinks the thing which is good. You may be named Watcher-by-Night, but you love light, not darkness.<sup>536</sup>

Haggard is stressing the high regard with which the Zulu characters hold Allan, and the weight they place on his reasoning. Allan is the trusted and benevolent interloper. Haggard is mythologizing Allan's life but at the same time he is inadvertently emphasising the gentility of the Zulu people, in that they are presented as chivalrous enough to realise Allan is a better quality of European. In some ways Allan is presented as a king maker within the Zikali trilogy, his destiny entwined with that of the Zulu people. Again it is possible to see Shepstone as a determinant in Haggard creation of Zulu historiography. Shepstone proposed that the Zulu people identified him with Shaka, basing his premise on the fact that in 1861 he had been greeted with the royal salute, *buyete*, something reserved for the king alone in Zululand. In order to explain this anomaly, it had been necessary, Shepstone explained, to represent him as Shaka. Norman Etherington notes that it was thanks largely to Haggard that 'this has become a central element in the Shepstone legend. There are, however, reasons to doubt that *buyete* was such a singular honour. Not only was it widely used outside Zululand, the Ngwane chief, Zikhali (Matiwane's son) used it on one occasion to honour commoners among his own people for exceptional services'.<sup>537</sup> Haggard consistently reiterates the esteem the Zulu people held Allan in. Chrisman notes that in 'British constructions of African peoples, the Zulu people hold an important place.'<sup>538</sup> In fact until the war of 1879 the Zulu people were noted for their political autonomy and brilliant military organisation, and then subsequently the Zulu people were mythologised for their past brilliance. Chrisman goes on to state that associated with 'intense physical power, the Zulu become metropolitan emblems of "primitive" vitality. This is fetishised as the antidote to a capitalist modernity that experiences itself as reificatory.'<sup>539</sup> By having the

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<sup>536</sup> Ibid. p. 144.

<sup>537</sup> Etherington, 'Zulu Kings, Coronations, and Conversations with Colonial Officials'. p. 233.

Zulu characters place such high regard in Allan Haggard again reifies Allan as being the beau ideal British man, better than not only the almost-mythical Zulu but also a muscular Christian gentleman. The dominance of the Zulu people by the character of Allan is evidence of the fictionalisation of Haggard's continued commitment to the British Empire and his belief that it would be the individual whose efforts would 'hold the Empire together' in light of Britain's waning power at the start of the twentieth century.<sup>540</sup>

Haggard presents the Zulu people as a lost or primitive society that is 'generationally' behind the civilisation Allan comes from.<sup>541</sup> Yet Haggard is unable to fix on a representation of the Zulu as primitive; he also has Allan describe the many similarities between the Zulu and more 'modern' societies in a way which continues to fetishise the cultural encounter between British interloper and indigenous civilisations:

Setting aside the habit of polygamy, which, after all, is common among very highly civilised peoples in the East, they have a social system not unlike our own. They have, or had, their king, their nobles, and their commons. They have an ancient and elaborate law, and a system of morality in some ways as high as our own, and certainly more generally obeyed. They have their priests and their doctors; they are strictly upright, and observe the rites of hospitality.<sup>542</sup>

Haggard identifies aspects of Zulu society that are the same or similar to aspects of British society. He suggests a link between the Zulu and British peoples which implies that at the point of the cultural encounter the British are encountering their own distant history. With regard to the polygamy mentioned above, again it is possible to be Shepstone's beliefs filtering into the character's speech. Shepstone said, in 1892, '[j]udging from what I see and know, I am not quite sure that importantly it should be ranked among customs revolting to civilised ideas'.<sup>543</sup> But, it is in the idea of the Zulu being an 'earlier' or 'lost' society that is a way of taking indigenous power and

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<sup>540</sup> H. Rider Haggard, 'Diary Entry July 20th 1917', (Norfolk Records Office, 1917).

<sup>541</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 89.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.* p. 88 – 89.

<sup>543</sup> 'Sir Theophilus Shepstone and His Local Critics', *Natalia*, 3 (1973). p. 19.

representation out of the colonial discourse and highlighting the romance of the colonial encounter.

In the time period between *Marie* and *Child of Storm*, Allan has lost a second wife, Stella, and has a son, as told in *Allan's Wife, and Other Tales* (1889).<sup>544</sup> After leaving his son with 'some kind people in Durban' Allan returns to "the Zulu"—a land with which [he] had already become well acquainted as a youth, there to carry on [his] wild life of trading and hunting'.<sup>545</sup> In May of 1854 Allan goes hunting between the White and Black Umvolosi Rivers, with the permission of the Zulu king Panda.<sup>546</sup> Allan leaves his waggons and goods with Umbezi, the headman of a local kin-group, the Undwandwe. Umbezi goes hunting with Allan and helps him track game in return for the promise of a gun:

[A] particularly bad gun that had seen much service, and one which had an unpleasing habit of going off at half-cock; but even after he had seen it, and I in my honesty had explained its weaknesses, he jumped at the offer.<sup>547</sup>

Umbezi is the father of Mameena. Allan first hears of her when Umbezi, in handling the gun, shoots one of his wives, 'leaving a little bit of her ear upon the ground'.<sup>548</sup> Umbezi is unconcerned saying 'It is the Worn-out-Old-Cow's fault; she is always peeping into everything like a monkey [...] I thank my ancestral Spirit it was not Mameena, for then her looks would have been spoiled'.<sup>549</sup> When Allan asks further about Mameena, Umbezi suggests he talk to her suitor Saduko, 'a tall a magnificently formed young man'.<sup>550</sup> Here Haggard falls into the imperial adventure romance trope of a character's attractiveness being judged by how close they are to a white European ideal.<sup>551</sup> Thus he goes on to describe Saduko as having 'a very fine face, with little or

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<sup>544</sup> Henry Rider Haggard, *Hunter Quatermain's Story; the Uncollected Adventures Allan Quatermain*, (London: Peter Owen, 2003).

<sup>545</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 4 – 5.

<sup>546</sup> The correct spelling is the Umfolozi Rivers.

<sup>547</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 6.

<sup>548</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7.

<sup>549</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7.

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7.

<sup>551</sup> As evidenced in Chapter 1 in the example of Captain Marryat's *Peter Simple*.

nothing of the negroid type about it; indeed, he might have been a rather dark-coloured Arab, to which stock he probably threw back'.<sup>552</sup> Saduko is the son of a chief, whose group were killed by Dingane; most died other than the chief's brother Chosa and his son Saduko, who was saved by Zikali the wizard. That evening Saduko goes to Allan asking for his help:

I have come to ask you a favour. You heard Umbezi say to-day that he will not give me his daughter, Mameena, unless I give him a hundred head of cows. Now, I have not got the cattle, and I cannot earn them by work in many years. Therefore I must take them from a certain tribe I know which is at war with the Zulus.<sup>553</sup>

When Allan asks if Saduko wants to turn him into 'a cow-thief,' Saduko replied that the cattle were originally his. He then goes on to explain that Bangu, chief of the Amakoba, 'whispered into Dingaans [sic] ear that Matiwane, [Saduko's] father, was a wizard; also that he was very rich. Dingaan [sic] listened because he thought a sickness that he had come from Matiwane's witchcraft'.<sup>554</sup> Dingane authorised the annihilation of the Amangwane people.<sup>555</sup> Haggard is seeding the narrative with factual information, and explaining why the Zulu rose to such prominence in Natal in the mid-nineteenth century. He is appropriating indigenous history to enrich the narrative.

Having established the historical accuracy of the events within which his characters are situated, Haggard then embellishes the narrative with melodrama, involving a crude emotional contrivance in which Saduko's mother uses her bare hands to break out of their compound which they had been trapped in by the Amakoba: 'she tore at it with her nails and teeth like a hyena'.<sup>556</sup> In running away Saduko's mother

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<sup>552</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 7.

<sup>553</sup> Ibid. p. 13.

<sup>554</sup> Ibid. p. 15.

<sup>555</sup> The real Dingane is recorded as having said, 'The Chief who lives there is uMatitwani [Matiwane] the head of the Amangwane [amaNgwane]. I put him to death and made him the devil, chief of all wicked people who die'. Quoted in Ron Lock, *Zulu Conquered: The March of the Red Soldiers, 1822-1888*, (Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Books Ltd, 2010).

<sup>556</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 16.

is killed by an assegai and the ten-year-old Saduko in his rage drew the assegai from her body and killed one of Amakoba. The man was Bangu's brother and just as Bangu tries to kill Saduko in revenge, Zikali suddenly appears: '[t]here he stood, though whence he came I know not', and prophesies that Bangu will die before the next night if he kills the boy.<sup>557</sup> Bangu and his people fall back, 'muttering, for they found this business terrible' and Zikali takes Saduko to his kraal in the Black Kloof.<sup>558</sup> It is this section in which Haggard reverts back to the trope he uses in *Nada the Lily*: Allan is the passive recipient of a Zulu narrative, which we are then led to believe he is revealing for the first time in the found manuscript, as identified at the start of *Marie*.<sup>559</sup>

In principal Haggard is using Saduko as a carrier of the narrative. Saduko's role in the battle for the Zulu Kingdom is preordained and thus by implication of recitation so is Allan's. When Saduko grows up Zikali says he must choose his path, 'the Road of Medicine, that is the spirit road, and the Road of Spears, that is the blood road'.<sup>560</sup> The Road of Spirits would be 'full of years and honour and wealth,' but the Road of Spears would see Saduko's 'feet red with blood, and women wind their arms [about] his neck, and one by one [his] enemies go down before' him.<sup>561</sup> Saduko takes 'the blood-red path of spears'.<sup>562</sup> Haggard's Zulu characters are often, if not always, following a predetermined path. The theme of mythical destiny runs throughout most of his imperial adventure romance novels. He said in 1908:

I am convinced from my own experiences, and from studies of psychological matters, that this life is really the most trivial portion of our existence. I firmly believe that, before the end of the next hundred years, we shall have as definite information on the life 'beyond' as we have on things connected with this sphere. I am borne out in this not only by my own deductions, but by the

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<sup>557</sup> Ibid. p. 17.

<sup>558</sup> Ibid. p. 18.

<sup>559</sup> In the Editor's Note at the start of *Marie* George Curtis (brother of the late Henry Curtis, a character in *King Solomon's Mines* and *Allan Quatermain*) describes finding a stout box, made of some red foreign wood, that contained various documents and letters and a bundle of manuscripts'. p. x.

<sup>560</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 20.

<sup>561</sup> Ibid. p. 21.

<sup>562</sup> Ibid. p. 21.

experiences, which cannot be questioned, of some of the most prominent scientific minds of the day.<sup>563</sup>



“‘ Into this stone I am about to draw your spirit, O Macumuzana!’” (see page 33).

Figure 7: Quatermain and Saduko meet Zikali by A. C. Michael in *Marie* (1913).

Though it is possible to link Haggard's beliefs in such a holistic spiritualism to his desire to explain the death of his own son, Arthur, a horror from which he never recovered, it is also clear that Haggard saw all people as being part of a shared humanity.<sup>564</sup> This then filters down into his fiction, and Allan becomes more than a stereotype of an adventuring colonial white hunter: he becomes part of Zulu historiography, his role in their history predetermined. After Saduko has told his story Allan agrees to help him, Saduko tells him that he knew he would as Zikali had prophesied it.

Allan accompanies Saduko to the Black Kloof to meet Zikali. Allan states: 'I wished further to find out if he was a common humbug, like so many witchdoctors, this dwarf who announced that my fortunes were mixed up with those of his foster-son'.<sup>565</sup> When they reach the Kloof, Zikali conducts a ceremony after which he tells the men their future. Zikali prophesies that Allan will be attacked by a buffalo and that Saduko will 'win many cattle at the cost of sundry lives'.<sup>566</sup> Allan thinks the prophesy is false but at the end of the hunt he is duly charged by the buffalo and is only saved by Saduko jumping on the back of the beast and spearing it to death. He is taken back to Umbezi's village and nursed by Mameena. While she is looking

<sup>563</sup> 'Mr. Rider Haggard and Re-Incarnation', *The Review of Reviews*, 38 (1908).

<sup>564</sup> Haggard's nephew later wrote, 'Spiritualism was taboo [...] There was another taboo—a super taboo—the subject of his only son. Although it was assumed that Jock's memory was forever in Rider's thought, years passed without his name being mentioned. It was unnatural so to bottle the thing up [...] True the shock of his loss had been overwhelming [...] There was a guilty silence. Jock haunted the house the more obtrusively because everyone there pretended they could not see him, and the poor schoolboy wraith seemed to be begging piteously for some notice, so that at last he might be laid to rest.' Godfrey Haggard in Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left: A Biography of the Author Henry Rider Haggard* K. B. E.

<sup>565</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 23.

<sup>566</sup> *Ibid.* p. 38.



after the insensible Allan, Mameena talks of the opportunities she would have if she could be his wife, 'Now, if he met a woman who is not merely a cow or a heifer, a woman clever than himself, even if she were not white, I wonder'.<sup>567</sup> Here Haggard is embellishing his earlier point in the story:

Now, Mameena, although she was superstitious—a common weakness of great minds—acknowledging no gods in particular, as we understand them, set her own snares, with varying success but a very definite object, namely, that of becoming the first woman in the world as she knew it—the stormy, bloodstained world of the Zulu.<sup>568</sup>

Mameena is a powerful character who is self-constructed and creates agency via the only means given to her by the author, that of her femininity and intellect. This is very much opposed to the white European male-centred idea of colonial discourse. She is an ambiguous character that Allan is both drawn too, describing her as the 'most beautiful that ever lived among the Zulu', and repelled by, saying 'she was [...] the most wicked'.<sup>569</sup> Haggard takes the ambiguity of the relationship between Allan and Mameena even further when he has the Editor point out that maybe Allan had been swayed by Mameena's beauty and even refused to accept her name implied an immorality of character:

Her attractive name—for it was very attractive as the Zulus said it, especially those of them who were in love with her—was Mameena, daughter of Umbezi. Her other name was Child of Storm (Ingane-ye-Sipepo, or, more freely and shortly, O-we-Zulu), but the word "Ma-mee-na" had its origin in the sound of the wind that wailed about the hut when she was born. \*

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<sup>567</sup> Ibid. p. 68.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid. p. 4.

<sup>569</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

*\*—The Zulu word "Meena"—or more correctly "Mina"—means "Come here," and would therefore be a name not unsuitable to one of the heroine's proclivities; but Mr. Quatermain does not seem to accept this interpretation.—EDITOR.<sup>570</sup>*

This is a gendered reversal of the colonial stereotype of the male, oversexed savage 'other,' such as Caliban, who is always waiting to pounce on the unsuspecting colonial white woman. Haggard suggests Allan cannot defend himself against the darkly 'exotic' nature of Mameena. As noted earlier, Haggard's African idyll strongly references notions of the sublime. Yet as Meg Armstrong explains:

There is, however, a provocative silence on the relation between the sublime and the exotic, and even the most insightful commentaries on the romantic sublime spawned by recent interests in deconstruction have neglected to mention the prevalent association between the sublime and various, embodied, forms of difference.<sup>571</sup>

Haggard titillates the reader with what is essentially a lurid description of a female character whose sexual wiles could confuse a supposed exemplary colonial figure such as Allan Quatermain. To look at it another way as Aijaz Ahmad suggests:

[T]here is no such thing as a category of the "essentially descriptive"; that "description" is never ideologically or cognitively neutral; that to "describe" is to specify a locus of meaning, to construct an object of knowledge, and to produce a knowledge that shall be bound by that act of descriptive construction.<sup>572</sup>

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<sup>570</sup> Ibid. p. 3.

<sup>571</sup> Armstrong, "'The Effects of Blackness': Gender, Race, and the Sublime in Aesthetic Theories of Burke and Kant". p. 21.

<sup>572</sup> Ahmad, 'Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and The "National Allegory"'. p. 6.

The initial quotation from the novel's editor suggests that Allan is bewitched by Mameena. Haggard emphasises the difference between Allan and Mameena by focusing on the difference in language and the descriptive interpretation of the meaning of her name. Allan is embedded in the Western colonial literary tradition that excuses the white male characters' sexual gaze by blaming it firmly on the 'exotic' female 'other'.

Allan agrees to go with Saduko to retrieve the cattle. Saduko having the authorisation of the Zulu king Panda, who succeeded his brother Dingane after the battle of Maqongqo.<sup>573</sup> When the men return in triumph to Umbezi's compound, Saduko is devastated to find that Mameena has been given to a chief called Masapo. Allan is the outside observer in this central part of the narrative, narrating the events as they unfold. Saduko is promoted by Panda and stands alongside Panda's sons, Cetewayo and Umbelazi.<sup>574</sup> Haggard creates a stimulus for Allan to be present at one of the pivotal moments in nineteenth century Zulu history. Saduko is Allan's conduit to the centre of Zulu society. This particular action allows Allan to be eye witness to the events which lead to the great battle between Panda's sons, Cetywayo and Umbelazi, the Battle of Tugela or Ndongakusuka, to be the next king. Panda says:

I think Saduko a man of promise, and one who should be advanced that he may learn to love us all, especially as his House has suffered wrong from our House, since He-who-is-gone listened to the evil counsel of Bangu, and allowed him to kill out Matiwane's tribe without just cause. Therefore, in order to wipe away this stain and bind Saduko to us, I think it well to re-establish Saduko in the chieftainship of the Amangwane, with the lands that his father held, and to give him also the chieftainship of the Amakoba.<sup>575</sup>

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<sup>573</sup> A battle fought on the 29<sup>th</sup> of February 1840 as part of the Zulu civil war for accession to the crown between Dingane and his brother Mpande. Mpande was supported by the Boers, although they were not involved in the main battle their involvement ensured they were able to claim lands from Mpande. Welsh, *A History of South Africa*.

<sup>574</sup> Haggard anglicises the names from Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi respectively.

<sup>575</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 148.

Panda gives his daughter Nandie in marriage to Saduko, yet he still clearly loves Mameena. Saduko plots with Mameena to kill her husband, by poisoning Saduko and Nandie's child and blaming Masapo. Masapo is killed and Mameena becomes Saduko's second wife, though she is still not happy and leaves him for Umbelazi. As her father Umbezi says to Allan, when Mameena got rid of Masapo [...] she married Saduko, who was a bigger man [...] And now [...] she enters the hut of Umbelazi, who will one day be king of the Zulus, the biggest man in all the world, which means that she will be the biggest woman'.<sup>576</sup> Mameena moves beyond the not-quite-feminine to become truly 'other', her difference reified by her desire for power.

Haggard uses the anger of Saduko, at Umbelazi and Mameena's betrayal, to explain the success of Cetewayo in the battle between the sons on the 2 December 1856. In the story Saduko defects from Umbelazi's ranks with his followers, as a result of which he changes the course of the battle, and instigates the demise of the Zulu nation. It is interesting that Haggard chooses to focus the narrative around this particular battle as it has come to be seen as the battle which precipitated the demise of the Zulu nation. Cetshwayo's army of 30,000 decimated Mbuyazi's 20,000 strong force, in a horrific slaughter, which was seen as 'mortally weakening the nation'.<sup>577</sup> The final book in the trilogy, *Finished*, concerns the 1879 Anglo-Zulu war, which, as noted by Cele and Canonici, 'saw the complete demise of the kingdom'.<sup>578</sup>

Saduko's love for Mameena is presented by Haggard as one of the reasons for the downfall of the Zulu nation. The idealisation of love and its effects are integral to Haggard's oeuvre, though it may appear trite to emphasise it, in Haggard's world nations and empires fall because of mythical and melodramatic representations of love. No matter how strong his narrative insistence that his stories are based in historical fact, his work, whether consciously or not, is based in myth. To return to the start of the novel Allan talks of the similarities between Mameena and Helen of Troy:

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<sup>576</sup> Ibid. p. 226.

<sup>577</sup> T. T. Cele and N. N. Canonici, 'Cetshwayo Kampande in Zulu Literature', *Alternation*, (1998). p. 73.

<sup>578</sup> Ibid. p. 73.

Since I have settled in England I have read—of course in a translation—the story of Helen of Troy, as told by the Greek poet, Homer. Well Mameena reminds me very much of Helen, or, rather, Helen reminds me of Mameena. At any rate, there was this in common between them, although one of them was black, or, rather, copper-coloured, and the other white—they both were lovely; moreover, they both were faithless, and brought men by hundreds to their deaths.<sup>579</sup>

Reiterating the links between the Zulu historiography he writes and Greco-Roman myths is Haggard's way of constantly reinforcing the links he saw behind the demise of the Zulu nation and the decline of other mythic ancient civilisations.

### Mameena and Macumazahn: the Female 'other.'

Britain was superior towards her colonies but this was only maintained by 'othering' and differentiating Africa and her people, and 'Africa' as Stiebel notes, 'with its well-documented heat, reputed fecundity and "savage customs," was ripe to be cast as the "Other" woman'.<sup>580</sup> As Africa was observed to be dark, exotic and unknown, heathenish and magical, it is no surprise that Stiebel suggests Britain, 'locked into a straitjacket of middle-class sexual repressiveness and decorum, found the apparent sexual license and supposed sexual opportunity of some of its colonies both attractive yet fearful'.<sup>581</sup> The pagan licentious savagery with which the British were quick to label Africa and her people, was foundational in Haggard's fiction, from 'that wild cat' Mameena in *Child of Storm*,<sup>582</sup> to Nada whose beauty 'was a dreadful thing, and the mother of much death' in *Nada the Lily*,<sup>583</sup> appearing to reach its zenith in the mighty Ayesha from *She*, who the character Holly described as, 'something that was not canny'.<sup>584</sup>

The central female character of Mameena in *Child of Storm* was notable even when the book was published, described as a 'wonderful woman' in *The Spectator*,

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<sup>579</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 4.

<sup>580</sup> Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances*. p. 20

<sup>581</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20

<sup>582</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 134.

<sup>583</sup> Haggard, *Nada the Lily*. p. 180.

<sup>584</sup> Haggard, *She*. p. 142.

and as ‘the only striking feature of the book.’<sup>585</sup> A reviewer in *The Athenaeum* describes Mameena as of ‘a type the author has often depicted - beautiful, passionate, and ambitious’.<sup>586</sup> Haggard’s female characters had always been richly detailed, but it is only Mameena, alongside the more well-known Nada from *Nada the Lily*, who are presented as both real — i.e. not mystical in the manner of Ayesha — and as having agency. Haggard has traditionally fitted within the stereotypical Victorian concept of the white imperial male patriarchy; and to study his work is to see how the ‘other’ is normalized into the body-politic of British imperialism, by the process of naming, identifying and placing the ‘other’ in opposition to the white British male. Yet, in the agency given to Mameena Haggard was ambiguous in his rendering of the universal discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century British Empire. The ‘universal discourse was’, as Antoinette Burton shows, ‘of course, Victorian democracy, a political arrangement with an implicitly white, male, and middle-class character’.<sup>587</sup> Haggard explicitly states his intention to explore a native woman’s personal narrative and its influence on Zulu politics, a notion completely at odds with the universal discourse of the Victorian British imperial dialogue just mentioned. Haggard writes at the start of *Child of Storm*:

[T]he first of these histories that I wish to preserve is in the main that of an extremely beautiful woman...I think the most beautiful that ever lived among the Zulus. Also she was, I think, the most able, the most wicked, and the most ambitious. Her attractive name—for it was very attractive as the Zulus said it, especially those of them that were in love with her—was Mameena, daughter of Umbezi.<sup>588</sup>

*Child of Storm* is Haggard’s rumination on women and their power over men. Wendy Katz refers to Haggard’s proprietary explanations of Zulu culture, and other southern African peoples, within his novels as a form of ‘naïve pseudo-anthropology’, that is his

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<sup>585</sup> 'Readable Novels. Child of Storm. By H. Rider Haggard (Book Review)'.

<sup>586</sup> 'Advertisement', *The Athenaeum*, (1913). p. 112.

<sup>587</sup> Burton, 'Tongues Untied: Lord Salisbury's 'Black Man' and the Boundaries of Imperial Democracy'. p. 634.

<sup>588</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 3.

view of humankind is presumptuously based on perceived racial and cultural superiority.<sup>589</sup>

It is this book which shaped the Zikali narrative and the book he spent the most time on, writing and editing it over a number of years until he was satisfied. *Child of Storm* is the natural successor to *She*, the central character, aside from the British male, being a strong, confident, sexually assured, 'exotic' woman. Allan comments on first seeing Mameena: 'I felt even then that the brain within the shapely head was keen and bright as polished steel; that this woman was one made to rule, not to be man's toy, or even his loving companion, but to use him for her ends.'<sup>590</sup> The character of Mameena re-fashions the representation of female 'otherness' by being both 'beautiful' and 'clever'.<sup>591</sup>

The African 'other' is presented in fiction as below the European, second not only in development but also in cognition.<sup>592</sup> To Haggard they are evidence of 'the raw material, the virgin ore,' out of which civilisation grew.<sup>593</sup> Geertz explains the crude colonialism behind this view:

[T]he invalid empirical generalization that tribal peoples employ whatever meagre culture resources they do have for intellection less frequently, less persistently, and less circumspectly than do Western peoples, the proposition that primary process thinking proceeds secondary process thinking phylogenetically needs only the final mistake of viewing tribal peoples as primitive forms of humanity, "living fossils," to complete it.<sup>594</sup>

It is this idea that suggests a dissonance between the thinking of those considered 'tribal' and those who are considered 'civilised'. Haggard deliberately uses this idea of 'primitive' thinking when Mameena's intelligence is consistently referred to within the narrative. Mameena's downfall is caused by her 'long[ing] for greatness'.<sup>595</sup> Haggard's

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<sup>589</sup> Katz, *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire*. p. 32.

<sup>590</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 67.

<sup>591</sup> *Ibid.* p. 67.

<sup>592</sup> David July Ward, *Chronicles of Darkness*, (London: Routledge, 1989).

<sup>593</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 1.

<sup>594</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. p. 61.

<sup>595</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 82.

indigenous African characters, whilst they are often presented with such a narrow perspective—with behaviours that could be narrowly categorised as hunt, fight and kill—are not so completely constructed. The reconstructed ‘other’ within Haggard’s fiction, I would suggest, is a by-product of his emphasis on the individual and their own agency. It is particularly this facet of his imperial adventure romance, which allows the books to be examined for their native historiographical value. Terence Ranger has long argued, ‘that you could read against the grain of colonial records and construct an African narrative from inside a colonial narrative’.<sup>596</sup> It is very much in this manner that this thesis responds to Haggard’s texts. There are two important post-colonial perspectives to be gained from the texts; the first that expands and complicates the universal discourse of the colonial white man in Southern Africa, and a second in which the native voice can be identified, and a native historiography reappropriated, and used to resist the colonial authority.

Geertz notes that ‘savage (“wild,” “undomesticated”) modes of thought are primary in human mentality. They are what we all have in common’.<sup>597</sup> It is this ‘primary’ mentality Haggard taps into in his representations of the ‘other’. Haggard holds a mirror to the Western interloper and suggests a common humanity only separated by ‘civilisation’, or as Geertz states, the ‘civilised (“tamed,” “domesticated”) thought patterns of modern science and scholarship are specialized productions of our own society. They are secondary, derived, and though not unuseful, artificial’.<sup>598</sup> Haggard writes in the introduction to *Allan Quatermain*, ‘civilisation is only savagery silver-gilt’,<sup>599</sup> he suggests to his readers that civilisation is a veneer over our savage natures. He thrills the readers with his notion of the ‘other’ as being something within them all. Gordon suggests that Haggard believed ‘it was too much to expect the Zulus suddenly to put away traditions,’ and he is in some cases the only recorder of certain stories from Zulu history.<sup>600</sup> This is most clear in *Child of Storm*. Allan is not a central character, but instead the one to whom the story of the history of the Zulu is told. Within the novel his narrative is the colonial surrounding to the indigenous history, and his role is to record the history of the Zulu for Western consumption. However this belief

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<sup>596</sup> Terence Ranger, 'Terence Ranger: Life as Historiography', ed. by Diane Jeater (History Workshop Online, 2011).

<sup>597</sup> Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. p. 357.

<sup>598</sup> Ibid. p. 357.

<sup>599</sup> Haggard, 'Allan Quatermain'. p. 420.

<sup>600</sup> Gordon, *Shepstone: The Role of the Family in the History of South Africa, 1820-1900*. p. 250



that Haggard was recording authentic historical events is problematic, as Etherington notes:

Haggard was a remarkable man [...] However, he spent only three years of his life in Natal, did not speak Zulu, and would have had to depend on his memory for the second-hand versions of whatever stories about Zululand he may have heard from Shepstone, Melmoth Osborn and other members of the Shepstone circle. Otherwise, he relied for information on books.<sup>601</sup>

In his introduction to *Finished* Haggard wrote 'although, of course, much is added for the purposes of romance, the main facts of history have been adhered to with some faithfulness'.<sup>602</sup> As mentioned in chapter 2, not only is Haggard claiming authenticity for his narrative but is basing his claim in the assumption of knowledge of the continent of Africa that occurs within the act of British colonialism.

### Society and Structure in Representations of Empire

Antoinette Burton notes that Africa was 'the unspoken Other not just of Englishness but of Indianness as well'.<sup>603</sup> Although she is particularly referencing the notion of 'Englishness-as-whiteness, Indianness-as-brownness, and blackness-as-Africanness',<sup>604</sup> I would also suggest that it was in the lack of written history that Africa and the Africans were seen as *most* 'other' to the Western gaze. The native social structures the British encountered in India, that of caste and rigid hierarchy which were understandable to the European coloniser, were not to be repeated by the colonisers with the indigenous societies of Southern Africa. Most social structures in Africa were of a type alien to the British. David Cannadine states: 'however different their social backgrounds, the governors, residents and district commissioners sent out from Britain shared a similar social vision of their homeland,' a geopolitical referential tool, a shared

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<sup>601</sup> Etherington, 'Zulu Kings, Coronations, and Conversations with Colonial Officials'. p. 233.

<sup>602</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 9.

<sup>603</sup> Antoinette Burton, 'Tongues Untied: Lord Salisbury's "Black Man" And the Boundaries of Imperial Democracy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42 (2000). p. 639.

<sup>604</sup> *Ibid.* p. 639.

history.<sup>605</sup> The ethnocentrism of the British imperialist image of Africa was created by the transference of British cultural norms to the socio-cultural landscape of colonial southern Africa. As Cannadine goes on to note: ‘their preferred society was paternalistic, hierarchical and rural, with individual layers and gradations of status’.<sup>606</sup> For the British abroad it was the class structures and social conceits of nineteenth-century Britain which they understood and thus replicated in the colonies. In Britain’s acquisition of India the colonisers were to meet a society with very similar social structures, the ‘indigenous Indian society was ordered, traditional and layered hierarchically’.<sup>607</sup> India was a country rigid with class and social divides presided over by a complex series of rules and customs; to the British it seemed their rule was accepted and assimilated with great ease. This was not to be the case with subsequent colonisation of parts of Africa due to its complex intertribal politics and existing Dutch Boer or Afrikaan colonisation.

For the western interloper it was incomprehensible to see societies with no apparent systematic form of writing as civilised.<sup>608</sup> Pels states that they saw Africa as, a ‘continent of secret and hidden forces that [could] run wild and threaten civility and reason’.<sup>609</sup> The colonists failed to recognise the often patriarchal democratic systems in place, and as such, it appeared to them that this land was in dire need of the guiding hand of Western civilisation; a task the newly arrived British assumed as their God-given duty, as Haggard wrote in *Child of Storm*, ‘we white people think we know everything’.<sup>610</sup>

### The ‘othering’ of Zulu and British Colonial interactions

Haggard’s mythologizing of the Zulu has been one of his most enduring legacies in literary fiction. As Annie E. Coombes evidences in her description of the 1901 Military exhibition at Earl’s Court, in *Reinventing Africa*—her monograph on museums,

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<sup>605</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, (London: Penguin Books, 2002). p. 66.

<sup>606</sup> Ibid. p. 66.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid. p. 16.

<sup>608</sup> It was to be almost at the point that African oral tradition was wiped out before it was recognised as of historical value and attempts were made to save it. James Stuart was one of the earliest Europeans to record such testimony from the Zulu.

<sup>609</sup> Peter Pels, ‘The Magic of Africa: Reflections on a Western Commonplace’, *African Studies Review* 41, 3 (1998), p. 195.

<sup>610</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 1.

material culture and popular imagination—‘Despite the [exhibition] organisers’ denial of their product as fiction [...] the official guidebook of the ‘Briton, Boer and Black’ exhibition compared the inhabitants of the ‘Zulu Kraal’ to the characters in a Rider Haggard novel’.<sup>611</sup> The totemic rise of the Zulu as exemplar African is intricately linked to the imperial adventure romance fiction of Haggard.

Haggard’s view of the Zulu and their role in Southern African history was to gain a cultural dominance of such solidity that until recently it has been barely challenged within British colonial studies. The dominant supposition that Haggard’s works are racist and blatantly imperial in outlook does not account for the nuanced native historiography he lays down in his fiction. Timothy Brennan notes that:

[T]he nation-centred origins of literary studies distorts the coverage of that vast realm of experience arising from imperial contact. Thus, for the most part, the English criticism of empire has been, until recently, almost all of one kind: the slightly ill-at-ease, slightly ashamed, but enormously forgiving recognition of imperial themes in writers from ‘the centre’.<sup>612</sup>

Haggard took Zulu mythology and wrote it down, subsuming it into the Anglo-centric imperial world narrative. Jeremy Hawthorn says in his book *Cunning Passages*, for ‘those living in preliterate cultures the past as preserved in myth is quite different from that to which we have access; it is a past made already familiar, already *naturalized*’.<sup>613</sup> I suggest that in focusing so heavily on the Zulu, Haggard also created an idiomatic link between their chiefs and his chief, Secretary for Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone. The Zulu historiography woven into Haggard’s narrative is one British man’s interpretation of events; a “representation” of Africa that reflects its European

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<sup>611</sup> Annie E. Coombes *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination*. (London, YUP, 1994), p. 87.

<sup>612</sup> Timothy Brennan, ‘The National Longing for Form’, in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990). p. 61.

<sup>613</sup> Hawthorn, *Cunning Passages: New Historicism, Cultural Materialism and Marxism in the Contemporary Literary Debate*. p. 6.

observers rather than the peoples and lands of that continent itself'.<sup>614</sup> Haggard's ambiguous and complicated response to the colonial endeavour requires a flexible framework, within which to decipher it. As such, as Greenblatt and Gallagher suggest:

The task of understanding then depends not on the extraction of an abstract set of principles, and still less on the application of a theoretical model, but rather an encounter with the singular, the specific, and the individual.<sup>615</sup>

Haggard mentions in his dedication to Shepstone in *Nada the Lily*, 'the regiments turned staring towards the Black Water, as though the day of Ulundi had already come,<sup>616</sup> and they saw the white slayers creeping across the plains'.<sup>617</sup> In this he posits that the Zulu as the greatest warriors in Southern Africa are only afraid of the British troops coming from the 'Black Water', or disembarking from the troop ships at Natal's ports. The troops would be seen to be under the control of his chief and 'father' Shepstone, thereby continuing the mythological chain of Zulu Chiefship.

In *Child of Storm* Allan Quatermain is the patriarch of the story; he is both scribe of the history of the Zulu, and involved within the story when his opinions as an elder statesman character are required. Haggard frequently puts political speeches into the mouths of his Zulu and British characters. Paul Stevens has shown the meaning both stated and hidden within Haggard's writing demonstrates how 'literary texts, often in despite of themselves, performed political speech-acts within the larger processes of social agency'.<sup>618</sup> The dissemination of 'tribal' knowledge and history in Haggard's fiction is a European configuration of indigenous ideas and tradition.

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<sup>614</sup> Mazlish, 'A Triptych: Freud's the Interpretation of Dreams, Rider Haggard's She, and Bulwer-Lytton's the Coming Race'. p. 727.

<sup>615</sup> Gallagher and Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*. p. 6.

<sup>616</sup> The Battle of Ulundi was fought on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1879 and was the last major battle of the Anglo-Zulu war. The British defeated the Zulu due to overwhelming and catastrophic fire power, after the battle they went on to raze the Kraal of Cetshwayo at Ulundi.

<sup>617</sup> Haggard, *Nada the Lily*. p. v.

<sup>618</sup> Stevens, 'Pretending to Be Real: Stephen Greenblatt and the Legacy of Popular Existentialism'. p. 493.

Haggard defined the colonial British character with his creation of Allan Quatermain, as Lindy Stiebel explains; ‘Haggard, son of Empire and popularly thought of as the “Kipling of Africa,” captured in his romances more than any other writer of his time the quintessential British image of Africa’s lands’.<sup>619</sup> His books are symbolic of Britain’s perception of itself in Africa. Imperial adventure romance authors provided the readership back in Britain with vivid word-pictures of colonial Africa, but always with a hint of danger, characters who lived, as Haggard wrote in *Child of Storm*, a ‘lonely existence in wild places’.<sup>620</sup> Haggard’s use of the word ‘lonely’ would suggest that the native is being obscured from direct view in the fiction, yet within the Zikali trilogy the indigenous people are the focus of the narrative; but the native is ‘other,’ as is the landscape, and are the animals of Africa. Their difference is defined by their ‘otherness’ to the British imperial metropolitan centre. Elleke Boehmer states that:

Colonial writing is important for revealing the ways in which that world system could represent the degradation of other human beings as natural, an innate part of their degenerate or barbarian state. Overdetermined by stereotype, the characterization of indigenous peoples tended to screen out their agency, diversity, resistance, thinking, voices.<sup>621</sup>

By removing indicators of personality or individualism the native encountered outside Europe could become whatever the Western writer wanted them to be, propagandic tool in the advancement of civilisation, future market for manufactured goods, or actors to furnish excitement or danger in a narrative. The Western world defined its status by the weakness and lack of power that was perceived to be exhibited by the colonised.

Chakraborty defined this separation: ‘The world of the “other” was inscribed from within the European archive to manage Europe’s understanding of its colonial

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<sup>619</sup> Lindy Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard’s African Romances*. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 2.

<sup>620</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 5.

<sup>621</sup> Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). p. 21.

relationship with native societies'.<sup>622</sup> In nineteenth century fiction the word 'other' was used to reduce people to a homogenous opposite to the European, savage, uneducated, base and dark skinned. Unable to interact as an equal to the European, the person or persons considered 'other' had no independent agency, thus could be a malleable or pliant character in British imperialistic writing. As Stiebel states 'to destroy the source of anxiety is to remove the impetus for the romance in which the hero has to have an Other (land, people, animals) to prove himself against'.<sup>623</sup> For Haggard his characters travelled in 'wild countries, amongst savages',<sup>624</sup> having adventures they could not have in Britain. Allan states how impossible it was to have adventures in Britain at the start of *Allan Quatermain*:

I longed once more to throw myself into the arms of Nature. Not the Nature which you know, the Nature that waves in well-kept woods and smiles out in corn-fields, but Nature as she was in the age when creation was complete, undefiled as yet by any human sinks of sweltering humanity.<sup>625</sup>

Haggard, here, is clearly linking Africa with a wild state, before civilisation or as he refers to it, 'sweltering humanity.' So, if the land must be wild and the people savages, then why does Haggard then devote so much of his literary career to writing the narrative of the Zulu. To answer this Haggard's definition of the 'other' must be examined? For him, it was not that all natives were savages but that there were degrees of civilisation. Haggard saw in the Zulu, institutions similar to those of old chivalric myth, brave knights and stories of beautiful women which captured his youthful imagination. Haggard wrote in his autobiography, 'from the beginning I was attracted to these Zulu'.<sup>626</sup>

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<sup>622</sup> Chandrima Chakraborty, 'Interrupting the Canon: Samuel Selvon's Postcolonial Revision of Robinson Crusoe', *Ariel*, 34 (2003). p. 51.

<sup>623</sup> Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances*. p. 45.

<sup>624</sup> Haggard, *Marie*. p. 94.

<sup>625</sup> Haggard, 'Allan Quatermain'. p. 421.

<sup>626</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 52.

## Misrepresenting the Past: Colonial Ambiguity

In *Tropical Africa* (1899) Henry Drummond emphasises the ‘otherness’ of his porters, ‘muscular heathens, whose sole dress was a pocket-handkerchief, a little palm oil, and a few mosquitoes’.<sup>627</sup> At once he makes the men both disparate from the Western norm, ‘sole dress was a pocket-handkerchief,’ and exotic, in that they also wore ‘a little palm oil, and a few mosquitoes.’ Here were people being presented who were as different to British societal norms as to be completely ‘other’. The alterity of Africa and its people, or ‘otherness,’ challenged the British documenter. In perceiving Africa as ‘other’—repeated not only in fiction but travel writing, drawings, paintings and photographs—the imperial power was able to ensure a trenchant iconography which was to last more than halfway through the following century. Most frequent in the stereotypes are the indigenous peoples need for the guidance of the white man and their desire for weapons.

Haggard wrote of the Zulus desire to have a British ‘civilised’ man,<sup>628</sup> ‘who would lift up [their] House on his white back,’<sup>629</sup> or that local people’s sole desire was for guns - the character Umbezi says in *Child of Storm*, ‘when I own the White Man’s weapon I shall be looked up to and feared by everyone between the two rivers.’<sup>630</sup> The imperial adventure romance novel allowed the British reader to experience Africa vicariously. The stories Haggard wrote have become implicit in defining the ‘other’ for Western consumption, what has now become part of the colonial archive of representations of Africa. Cooper describes Africa as ‘caught within its colonial archive, an archive that remains the base of departure even if it is read critically’.<sup>631</sup> A clearer picture only emerges if there is scope to explore the hybridity or ambiguity of representations. For example Haggard mythologises the Zulu people and their history and yet he also states they are only motivated by base desires such as the acquisition of guns. Only in such a breadth of analysis can colonial representation in imperial adventure romance literature be fully analysed, or, as it relates to this work in

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<sup>627</sup> Henry Drummond, *Tropical Africa*, 9th edn (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1899). p. 11.

<sup>628</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 204.

<sup>629</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 9.

<sup>630</sup> *Ibid.* p. 6.

<sup>631</sup> Cooper, ‘Africa’s Past and Africa’s Historians’. p. 308.

explaining Haggard's ambiguous representation of the 'other' within his African romances.

## Conclusion

The production of the Zikali trilogy began with *Child of Storm* in 1909, Haggard wrote of it in his autobiography: 'If I am asked what book of mine I think the best as a whole, I answer that one, yet unpublished, to my mind is the most artistic. At any rate, to some extent, it satisfies my literary conscience.'<sup>632</sup> In *Child of Storm* Haggard valorises the Zulu nation and eulogises both the Zulus and Allan's military prowess. He has Cetshwayo identify Allan as a 'great man', a king maker.<sup>633</sup> In fact, in the battle between brothers for the seat of Zulu kingship, Allan in a feat of horrific slaughter, 'nearly wiped out three whole regiments of the *Usutu*,<sup>634</sup> killing many more people than did all [Umbelazi's] army'.<sup>635</sup> In the book which most satisfied his 'literary conscience' Haggard actually spends more time rationalising why it was so hard for the British colonial administration to defeat or rule the Zulu people, their highly developed political structures and military brilliance, and reinforces the Shepstonian notion that an individual white man could influence and guide a whole people, Allan is consistently asked for advice by those in power or who would claim power. It is likely Haggard was unconscious that the unseen central theme to *Child of Storm* is a retrospective idealisation of Shepstonian ideas. In light of the traumas of the various Anglo-Boer and Anglo-Zulu wars and the imminent threat of war in Europe it is evident why Haggard would write a trilogy in which Allan becomes more than an adventurer, he becomes a hero-figure of colonial southern African history.

Haggard's 'best' book was one which did not draw the central male British character back to the Britain once he has completed his adventure, rather the story is the creation of a melodramatic history independent of the imperial centre, one in which the undivided central character is fully involved with each event and does not have to deal with conflicting politics or problems of the actual British Empire. Haggard's characters never engage with the very issues he himself was dealing with whilst writing

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<sup>632</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. P. 207.

<sup>633</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 279.

<sup>634</sup> In the succession struggle the Usutu were the group which Cetshwayo, Cetewayo in the book, headed. Mbuyazwe, Umbelazi in the book, lead the Gqoza.

<sup>635</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 279.



the trilogy. The Dominions Royal Commission, in which Haggard was serving, came about due to:

[R]evelations about poverty and ill-health, exposed by sociological inquiry and confirmed, apparently, by the large number of volunteers for the South African War of 1899-1902 who were found to be quite unfit for military duties: the poor quality of the manpower (and indeed womanpower) of the United Kingdom seemed a weak base upon which to maintain population growth, prosperity and international authority.<sup>636</sup>

Haggard's novel is very much sealed off from the real world, and although he, possibly unconsciously, engages with colonial politics he still ensures his main character is untroubled. As in 'melodrama' in the imperial adventure romance of *Child of Storm*, Allan 'remains undivided':

[F]ree from the agony of choosing between conflicting imperatives and desires. He greets every situation with an unwavering single impulse which absorbs his whole personality. If there is danger he is courageous, if there is political corruption he exposes it, untroubled by cowardice, weakness or doubt, self-interest or thought of self-preservation'.<sup>637</sup>

*Child of Storm* is both untroubled imperial adventure romance, as established by the use of melodramatic fictional tropes which enable a binary rendering of characters motivations; and a historiography of mid-nineteenth century colonial encounter between the British interloper and the Zulu people, in which Haggard narrative the political machinations of Zulu society between 1854 and 1861.

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<sup>636</sup> E. J. Harding and Stephen Constantine, *Dominions Diary: The Letters of E. J. Harding 1913-1916*, (Halifax: Ryburn Publishing, 1992). p. 18.

<sup>637</sup> Smith, *Melodrama*. p. 7 - 8.

In the Zikali trilogy, Haggard looks to both the African and European characters to narrativise his colonial history. This successful historiography is due in part to what Monsman calls Haggard's fusing of: 'heterogeneous fields of comparative literature, religion, and anthropology to perfect the imperial adventure novel'.<sup>638</sup> Haggard is repeatedly singled out by postcolonialists, such as Elleke Boehmer or Edward Said, for his simplistic stories which stereotyped and eventually came to symbolise all that was wrong with colonial writing. Said notes in *Culture and Imperialism* that 'one must remember too, that when one belongs to the more powerful side in the imperial and colonial encounter, it is quite possible to overlook, forget, or ignore the unpleasant aspects of what went on 'out there'.<sup>639</sup> This point is fundamental to understanding the ambiguity hitherto unseen within Haggard's texts; he did see the 'unpleasant aspects' and was part of the system that caused them, yet his books are filled with imperialistic rhetoric. Said goes on to note that for the nineteenth century European all contact with the 'other' is predicated 'upon the subordination and victimisation of the native,' yet Haggard involved himself so completely with the Zulu people that they appear as individuals, such as Umslopogaas, Mameena, or Nada, and are the centre of most of his African imperial adventure romance novels. Haggard's inability to leave the history of the Zulu alone shows an ambiguous complexity to his work. Usually one sees in colonial literature a hyper awareness of, or overdetermination, by the metropolitan readership yet this is not so in Zikali, it is, in part, a colonial articulation of a marginalised culture. Haggard's focus upon colonialists and indigenous peoples constructs a colonial knowledge based on historical socio-cultural events. His writing is more nuanced than 'nation-centred', rather it is colonial in construct. The Zikali trilogy is a subjective narrative based on Haggard's own experience and that of his mentor, Theophilus Shepstone, and this is nowhere more evident than in *Finished* in which both Haggard and Shepstone appear to share the fictional stage with Allan Quatermain.

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<sup>638</sup> Monsman, *H. Rider Haggard: The Political & Literary Contexts of His African Romances*. p. 236.

<sup>639</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*. p. 157.

## Chapter 5: Finished

### Introduction and the Story of the Text

When Haggard was writing *Finished*, he had also made a return trip to Natal in his role as part of the Dominions Royal Commission, and was able to revisit key locations involved in the Zulu-British war; this gave a greater vibrancy to his descriptive passages. As shown when Allan comes upon Cetewayo's kraal:

At length we sighted the great hill-encircled plain of Ulundi which may be called the cradle of the Zulu race as, politically speaking, it was destined to be its coffin. On the ridge to the west once stood the Nobamba kraal where dwelt Senzangacona, the father of Chaka the Lion. Nearer to the White Umfolozi was Panda's dwelling-place, Nodwengu, which once I knew so well, while on the slope of the hills of the north-east stood the town of Ulundi in which Cetewayo dwelt, bathed in the lights of sunset.<sup>640</sup>

The emphasis on historical accuracy in the trilogy was what gave the books a similar spark with the British reading public as *King Solomon's Mines*, which had played on the freshness of the African setting in 1885. *Finished* is Haggard's examination and romantic interpretation of the annexation of the Transvaal, the run up to the battle of Isandhlwana on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1879. The battle of Isandhlwana, which, with its concurrent conflict, the battle of Rorke's Drift on the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> of January, lead to the swift military demise of the Zulu in the face of overwhelming British ordnance.

The plot of *Finished* was sketched out in the first half of 1913. According to Liliias in *The Cloak I Left Behind* in 1914 with James Stuart looked up a Zulu renowned for his memory Socwatsha and with his and Masooku's (whose father fought beside

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<sup>640</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 168.

Cetywayo) aid 'told Rider much that he wanted to know and subsequently used in the book, *Finished*, the last of the trilogy on Zulu history.<sup>641</sup>

*Finished* tells the story of two lovers, Maurice Anscombe and Heda Marnham, who in a rare turn of events for a Haggard story, are successfully together at the end of the tale, being happily married in the last thirteen pages of the book. The female English character Heda is used by Zikali to persuade Cetewayo to go to war, and thus fulfill his prophesy from the previous two books to wipe out the Zulu in revenge for Chaka wiping out his people, the Amangwane. Cetewayo says to Zikali 'if you can call Nomkubulwana,<sup>642</sup> should there be such a spirit, to appear before our eyes, the Council will take it as a sign that the Heavens direct us to fight the English'.<sup>643</sup> It is this act, Zikali's trickery, which Haggard would have be the reason for the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, and subsequent demise of the Zulu Kingdom. Haggard writes in the introduction:

[*Finished*] narrates, through the mouth of Allan Quatermain, the consummation of the vengeance of the wizard Zikali, alias The Opener of Roads, or 'The-Thing-that-should-never-have-been-born,' upon the royal Zulu House of which Senzangacona was the founder and Cetewayo, our enemy in the war of 1879, the last representative who ruled as a king.<sup>644</sup>

In *Finished* Allan helps Maurice rescue Heda from the clutches of the evil Dr. Rodd. The wizard Zikali psychically connects to Allan, and helps the trio escape. It is in return for this assistance that Zikali uses Heda to fool the Zulu king Cetewayo into going to war against the British, thereby bringing about the downfall of the Zulu empire.

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<sup>641</sup> Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left: A Biography of the Author Henry Rider Haggard* K. B. E. p. 224.

<sup>642</sup> Zikali has Heda appear on a rock in the guise of Nomkubulwana. He says in the novel, 'Now it is known that we Zulus have a guardian spirit who watches over us from the skies, she who is called Nomkubulwana, or by some Inkosazana-y-Zulu, the Princess of Heaven. It is known also that this Princess, who is white of skin and ruddy-haired, appears always before great things happen in our land.' Haggard, *Finished*. p. 217.

<sup>643</sup> Ibid. p. 218.

<sup>644</sup> Ibid. p.9.

## Imperial Adventure Romance: Quatermain and Anscombe

At the start of the novel Allan pairs up with Maurice, younger son of Lord Mountford, who is in Africa 'just idling and shooting',<sup>645</sup> after coming 'into a good lot of money on [his] mother's death' and finding his regiment at home, a situation which 'bored' him.<sup>646</sup> After watching the annexation of the Transvaal, Allan mentions to Anscombe that there are buffalo in the district. Anscombe is eager to go shooting but Allan says:

"Look here, Mr. Anscombe," I said, "it's no use. I cannot possibly go on a shooting expedition with you just now. Only to-day I have heard from Natal that my boy is not well and must undergo an operation which will lay him up for quite six weeks, and may be dangerous. So I must get down to Durban before it takes place. After that I have a contract in Matabeleland whence you have just come, to take charge of a trading store there for a year; also perhaps to try to shoot a little ivory for myself. So I am fully booked up till, let us say, October, 1878, that is for about eighteen months, by which time I daresay I shall be dead."<sup>647</sup>

This delay—of the principle characters not meeting again until October 1878—is vital to the storyline as it is the only way Allan can be both at the Annexation and present during the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879. Haggard himself emphasises a slightly different reason for Allan being at the Annexation. Allan states:

Now I have only mentioned this business of the Annexation and the part you played in it, because it was on that occasion that I became acquainted with Anscombe. For you [the Author] have nothing to do with this story which is about the destruction of the Zulus, the accomplishment of the vengeance of Zikali the

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<sup>645</sup> Ibid.p.15.

<sup>646</sup> Ibid.p.19-20.

<sup>647</sup> Ibid. p.22-23.

wizard at the kraal named Finished, and incidentally, the love affairs of two people in which that old wizard took a hand, as I did to my sorrow.<sup>648</sup>

Haggard has Allan emphasise that he has only referenced the 'author' in his narrative as that was when he first met Anscombe. I will return to the idea of the author surrogate further on in this chapter. When the two main characters meet again, they head to the Lydenburg district in search of game and after Anscombe has to give chase to a wounded wildebeest they come upon a 'remarkable house'.<sup>649</sup> The owner of the house, Mr Marnham, tells them they must not shoot on his land as it upsets his daughter. After refusing his hospitality Allan and Anscombe return to their camp, but not before they learn that Mr Marnham and his partner, Dr. Rodd, 'are labour agents,<sup>650</sup> [who] recruit for the Kimberley Mines'.<sup>651</sup> They would later find out the men were also illicit diamond buyers.<sup>652</sup>

Marnham and Rodd are evidence of the kind of colonists that Haggard did not like: they did not go out into Empire to 'justly rule' but to make money. Haggard saw the role of English colonialism as something noble in the history of the world, writing at the start of his literary career, '[w]hen the strong aggressive hand of England has grasped some fresh portion of the earth's surface, there is yet a spirit of justice in her heart and head which prompts the question, among the first of such demands, as to how best and most fairly to deal by the natives of the newly-acquired land'.<sup>653</sup> Marnham and Rodd are not the noble English gentlemen of Haggard's usual romance, instead they are venal characters whose nature is evidenced by their focus on financial profit and not benevolent colonialism.

A few days after meeting Marnham, Anscombe and Allan are hunting buffalo when they are shot at by a group of Basuto; Anscombe is shot through the instep. Being a

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<sup>648</sup> Ibid. p.19.

<sup>649</sup> Ibid.p.30.

<sup>650</sup> Labour agents were part of a particularly nasty form of job recruitment which ensured there was always more men than jobs available in the mines. This meant the, mainly young male African, workforce was always willing to work for lower wages due to the oversupply of labour. Etherington, 'Labour Supply and the Genesis of South African Confederation in the 1870s'.

<sup>651</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p.32.

<sup>652</sup> Ibid. p. 40.

<sup>653</sup> Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement'.

'fairly quick shot' Allan prevents the Basuto rushing them, and the Basuto quickly retreat leaving their wounded behind. What follows is an assumption on the part of Allan; he comes across a Basuto clinging to a rock in the river, who has been shot in the kneecap and suggests rather than help the man he shoot him: 'it might have been true kindness'.<sup>654</sup> Haggard's main character's behaviour here is strangely at odds with his behaviour at the start of the trilogy. In *Marie Allan* narrates '[e]ven savages love their lives and appreciate the fact that wounds hurt very much'.<sup>655</sup> Yet in *Finished* Allan is suggesting putting the Basuto down as one would do with an injured animal. This would imply that it is a fickle form of colonialism Haggard advocates, one which is malleable to the main character's whims and is very much against the benevolent colonialism both the author and his main character preaches. I suggest that it is not that Haggard constantly changes his attitudes to colonialism but that his own innate romantic fatalism cannot help but come through in his work. Allan suggests killing the Basuto man as the man's leg is unlikely to properly heal, having been 'shattered above the knee by an Express bullet', and he would not survive for long.<sup>656</sup> Katz notes that in 'the world of Empire, the stoic does what is most important to do under the circumstances of uncertainty: he acts'.<sup>657</sup> Allan suggests acting in a way that is better in the grand scheme of things than that that is best for the individual. The man begs for mercy and says that the Basuto had only attacked because their chief had been warned of Allan and Anscombe's 'coming "by the White Man"'.<sup>658</sup> While Allan is threatening to shoot him, to force the man to reveal who the 'White Man' was, the Basuto faints from loss of blood and vanishes into the river.

Another Basuto hidden in the bushes nearby shouts to Allan: "Do not think that you shall escape, White Men. There are many more of our people coming, and we will kill you in the night when you cannot see to shoot us."<sup>659</sup> Allan and Anscombe have to cross seventy or eighty yards of open ground if they are to make it to the safety of their wagon and again the same fatalistic behaviour is observed. Anscombe, whose injured foot impedes him, says "Let us invoke the Fates. Heads we run like heroes; tails we

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<sup>654</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p.47.

<sup>655</sup> Ibid. p. 47.

<sup>656</sup> Ibid. p. 47.

<sup>657</sup> Katz, *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire*. p. 85.

<sup>658</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 47.

<sup>659</sup> Ibid. p. 47.

stay here like heroes," to which Allan 'stared at him open-mouthed and not without admiration. Never, I thought to myself, had this primitive method of cutting a gordian knot been resorted to in such strange and urgent circumstances'.<sup>660</sup> To return to Katz, Haggard's fiction is predicated on 'a spiritual determinism, or fatalism, which offered the security of a supernatural force even though it seemed to erode, if not deny, consciousness, creativity, and moral responsibility'.<sup>661</sup> Haggard's relatively nuanced understanding of romance here overrides his usual valourisation of the colonial English gentleman. In the same short section Haggard has Allan assume stoic responsibility for the life of a man yet also removes his free will in attempting to escape a dangerous situation.

Allan and Anscombe end up outspanning near to Marnham's land. The following morning they are again attacked by the Basuto and have to seek sanctuary on foot at Marnham's house, known as the Temple due to its odd design and marble construction. Allan says:

Never did I see a small building that struck me more. But then what experience have I of buildings, and, as Anscombe reminded me afterwards, it was but a copy of something designed when the world was young, or rather when civilization was young, and man new risen from the infinite ages of savagery, saw beauty in his dreams and tried to symbolize it in shapes of stone.<sup>662</sup>

This description is particularly interesting as not only is Haggard falling back onto his reliable trope of spiritualism and early noble civilisations, but he also uses the passage to imply that the world Allan inhabits is already old and no longer beautiful. This passage from *Finished* links to Haggard's own particular responses to the First World

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<sup>660</sup> Ibid.

<sup>661</sup> Katz, *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire*. p. 86.

<sup>662</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p.57.



War which, as Tom Pocock shows, were fatalistic and resigned.<sup>663</sup> Haggard saw the British Empire as being in decline in the early twentieth century; he wrote:

I think to two alternative conclusions [about the war]. The first alternative is that the Almighty has had enough of the white races and is bringing about their ruin through their own failings as in past days He brought about the ruin of Rome, proposing to fill their places from the East. The second alternative is that He is pointing out to them their only possible rejuvenation, their only salvation lies in the close settlement of the land which they neglect. Demark have learned something of this lesson.<sup>664</sup>

To suggest that a positive outcome for the British in the war in some way relied on 'close' working of the land shows how strongly Haggard still believed that colonialism, and specifically British colonialism, was integral to the future. He wrote at the end of the nineteenth century that, 'the conventions of a crowded and ancient civilisation tie [the Englishman's] hands and fetter his thought. But in those new homes across the sea it is different, for there he can draw nearer to nature, and, though the advantages of civilisation remain unforfeited, to the happy conditions of a simple, uncomplicated man'.<sup>665</sup>

Haggard's romances seem prejudiced against Western civilisation; he explicitly links a rejuvenation of nation with the individual, against what he saw as the inauthenticity of the late fin-de-siècle, a belief which very much tied in with the early nineteenth century British political approach. A. J. Christopher states that: '[t]he British Government had, after 1832, distinct aims in establishing new "Englands" around the world where the best features of English rural life would be established away from the corrupting influences of industrialization'.<sup>666</sup> The concept politically lost favour quickly due to the financial burden of these new 'Englands', as John Lambert notes, 'new

<sup>663</sup> Pocock, *Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire; a Biography*. p. 186.

<sup>664</sup> Ibid. [p. 159](#); Pocock, *Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire; a Biography*. [p. 159](#).

<sup>665</sup> 'Mr. Rider Haggard as Prophet'.

<sup>666</sup> A. J. Christopher, 'Colonial Land Policy in Natal', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 61 (1971). p. 561.

colonial governments were faced with the problem of financing the administration of annexed peoples'.<sup>667</sup> Haggard's lack of identification with the imperial centre in Britain was perceived by his contemporary critics; J. H. Barron noticed that, '[i]n his scenes of social life in England there is a note of artificiality, if not of constraint, which is entirely absent from the brisk action of his "veldt" stories.'<sup>668</sup> Haggard's texts narrated an Arcadian idyll, but only for the idealized English colonist.

Allan quickly establishes that Marnham and his partner Dr. Rodd are 'blackguards.' He describes Dr. Rodd as 'a man of something under forty years of age, dark, powerful, and weary—not a good face, I thought. Indeed, it gave me the impression of one who had allowed the evil which exists in the nature of all of us to become his master'.<sup>669</sup> Like Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*, Dr. Rodd can be seen as what Chinua Achebe identifies as a 'wayward child of civilisation who willfully had given his soul to the powers of darkness and "taken a high seat amongst the devils of the land"'.<sup>670</sup> As he has to wait until Anscombe is recovered from his injury, Allan sends Footsack, Anscombe's servant, back to Pretoria to get a wagon that might be used to transport Anscombe. It is while they are waiting that Allan discovers the hidden cache of weapons which leads him to realise their hosts are illicit diamond buyers. Searching the quarry where the marble to build the house came from, Allan finds a door, which upon entering:

[T]he floor attracted my attention as well as the roof, for on it were numerous cases not unlike coffins, bearing the stamp of a well-known Birmingham firm, labelled "fencing iron" and addressed to Messrs. Marnham & Rodd, Transvaal, *via* Delagoa Bay. I knew at once what they were, having seen the like before, but if any doubt remained in my mind it was easy to solve, for as it chanced one of the cases was open and half emptied.<sup>671</sup>

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<sup>667</sup> John Lambert, 'Chiefship in Early Colonial Natal, 1843-1879', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21 (1995).

<sup>668</sup> Barron, 'H. Rider Haggard'.p.296.

<sup>669</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p.57.

<sup>670</sup> Chinua Achebe, *An Image of Africa and the Trouble with Nigeria*, (London: Penguin, 2010). p. 10.

<sup>671</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 69-70.

This discovery allows Haggard to contextualise the narrative within the political realities of Southern Africa during the 1860s to 1880s. It is the same textual specificity that Anne McClintock explores in *King Solomon's Mines* (1885); that the 'most important dynamic underlying both Haggard's tale and the emergent economy of the colonial state [was that] Shepstone's policy was based on an intimate sense of the precarious balance of power in Natal and Zululand'.<sup>672</sup> As Allan goes on to note within the narrative:

I slipped my hand into it. As I thought it contained the ordinary Kaffir gun of commerce, cost delivered in Africa, say 35<sup>s</sup>; cost delivered to native chief in cash or cattle, say £10, which, when the market is eager, allows for a decent profit. Contemplating those cases, survivors probably of a much larger stock, I understood how it came about that Sekukuni had dared to show fight against the Government.<sup>673</sup>

Haggard problematizes Marnham and Dr. Rodd. Making them more than just 'disagreeable and depressing' men, he has identified them as part of the fundamental structural problems of colonial Southern Africa.<sup>674</sup> Men who were willing to sell weapons to the highest bidder and were happy to trade in anything of value were not what Shepstone, and Haggard in turn, considered good colonialists. John Lambert shows that 'Shepstone and successive lieutenant-governors recognised that the colonial administration, lacking means of enforcement, could not simply impose decisions on Africans'.<sup>675</sup> In fact:

Without alternative financial or manpower resources, the colonial state retained the position of the chiefs and, under the guidance of Theophilus Shepstone, a

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<sup>672</sup> McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. p. 251-252.

<sup>673</sup> Haggard, *Finished*.p. 70.

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<sup>675</sup> Lambert, 'Chiefship in Early Colonial Natal, 1843-1879'. p. 275.

form of indirect rule developed that was to be adapted in British colonies elsewhere in Africa.<sup>676</sup>

Whilst it is clear to see Haggard's emphasis on the romantic, as McClintock notes, the dynamic that drives the story is the author's very real awareness of the fragility of the political situation within Natal.

Anscombe and Heda, Marnham's daughter, fall in love but Heda is betrothed to Dr. Rodd; it is implied in the story that Marnham has had to barter his daughter's hand in marriage to Dr. Rodd to prevent him from telling the authorities about a murder he committed in Britain. Heda says to Allan: 'The doctor has some hold over him. My father has done something dreadful; I don't know what and I don't want to know, but if it came out it would ruin my father, or worse, worse. I am the price of his silence'.<sup>677</sup> Marnham is poisoned by Dr. Rodd, and in trying to prevent them leaving Dr. Rodd is shot by Anscombe. This returns the narrative to the political situation in the Transvaal, and in planning their escape route Allan says:

There was another difficulty. I had heard that the trouble between the English Government and Cetewayo, the Zulu king, was coming to a head, and that the High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, talked of presenting him with an ultimatum. It would be awkward if this arrived while we were in the country, though even so, being on such friendly terms with the Zulus of all classes, I did not think that I, or any with me, would run great risks.<sup>678</sup>

Allan notes the rising difficulties between the British and the Zulu but suggests his friendship with 'all' Zulus would prevent them coming to any trouble. This passage is highly reminiscent of the munificence Shepstone saw in himself with his relations with

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<sup>676</sup> Ibid.

<sup>677</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 110.

<sup>678</sup> Ibid. p.117.

the Zulu, as McClintock states 'Shepstone clearly felt he had been instituted as nominal found father of the Zulu nation, and he and Haggard made a good deal of rhetorical fuss of his new status as father of the Zulus'.<sup>679</sup> Shepstone, as political agent, and Haggard, as political agent turned author, both emphasize the importance of the colonial relationship with the people subjugated under British rule, particularly that using traditional authorities such as the Zulu Chiefship to rule saved money and 'white' manpower. Lambert notes:

Britain had been subjecting indigenous rulers and incorporating them into her empire before the 1840s, the annexation of Natal saw the Colonial Office brought face to face with the need to accommodate African chiefs into a colonial structure.<sup>680</sup>

Shepstone acknowledged the authority of certain tribal chiefs and in return those chiefs recognised the superiority of Shepstone himself. This colonial approach links back to Chapter one's discussion of the 'other' in imperial fiction.

It is in the mastery of the indigenous people that the coloniser can confirm his own superior knowledge and thus his preordained right to rule. Brown states, 'the encounter with the savage other serves to confirm the civil subject in that self-knowledge which ensures self-mastery'.<sup>681</sup> The interpretation of an encounter within the colonial sphere can serve to validate and confirm the virtue of the Western interloper, or in the words of Joseph Conrad, reflect the 'violence' and 'brute force' of 'conquerors'.<sup>682</sup> To return to two of the early texts mentioned in this thesis, neither Prospero nor Crusoe is overwhelmed by the situations they found themselves in; both, upon being shipwrecked, are able to take control of the situation and turn it to their own good. Haggard has Allan say of Shepstone in *Finished*:

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<sup>679</sup> McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. p.250.

<sup>680</sup> Lambert, 'Chiefship in Early Colonial Natal, 1843-1879'.

<sup>681</sup> Brown, "'This Thing of Darkness I Acknowledge Mine": *The Tempest* and the Discourse of Colonialism'. p. 207.

<sup>682</sup> Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*. p. 10.

Oh! there was greatness in this man, although they did call him an “African Talleyrand,” If it has not been so would every native from the Cape to the Zambezi have known and revered his name as perhaps that of no other white man has been revered?<sup>683</sup>

This certainty and assurance of the British character was evident already in travel narratives from adventurers like Raleigh and Dampier.<sup>684</sup> Foreign lands and their people were unfamiliar and unknown, and the British colonist had to create ways in which the minority could rule the majority. As Edward Tiryakian shows:

Shepstone’s policy of segregation was intended to be one of neither independence nor repression, but rather of mutual cooperation between Europeans and non-Europeans, with the latter working out their destiny along their own lines; he wanted the Bantu to preserve their customs and to evolve gradually.<sup>685</sup>

Haggard’s fiction frequently suggests that ‘native’ people wanted to be ruled by the British. In *Finished* Allan is told that Cetshwayo and his councillors had ‘always been the Queen’s children’.<sup>686</sup> It is this consistent trope throughout Haggard’s fiction which leads me to disagree with Chrisman’s point that Haggard’s move into narrative fiction was ‘as an attempt to resolve his contradictions, which were those of settler-colonial and metropolitan British society as a whole’.<sup>687</sup> In his fiction Haggard repeatedly validates the policies of Shepstone, and propounds a colonial understanding of,

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<sup>683</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 21.

<sup>684</sup>McInelly, ‘Expanding Empires, Expanding Selves: Colonialism, the Novel, and Robinson Crusoe.’ Alexander Selkirk, the inspiration for *Robinson Crusoe* was picked up from his self-requested marooning by the *Duke*, a ship upon which Dampier was the Sailing master. Dampier also being on the vessel which accompanied the *Cinque Ports*, four years previously which Selkirk had abandoned

<sup>685</sup> Edward Tiryakian, ‘Apartheid and Politics in South Africa’, *The Journal of Politics*, 22 (1960). p. 695

<sup>686</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 134.

<sup>687</sup> Chrisman, *Rereading the Imperial Romance: British Imperialism and South African Resistance in Haggard, Schreiner, and Plaatje* p.78.

specifically, the Zulu people, one fundamentally rooted in the issues of land ownership and sovereign rights within the Transvaal and surrounding areas. Haggard engages with ideas of race and 'otherness' but it is based on an understanding or knowledge of the settler-colonial socio-cultural environment. The Zulu people are represented by Haggard as being rightful owners of the land whose primacy is predicated on their political authority; as opposed to being represented as a fictional fantasy on which Haggard pins ideas of imperial domination predicated on the metropolitan imperial centre.

It is only in his twentieth century fiction, specifically the Zikali trilogy, that the vociferousness of his belief in the benefits of colonialism become apparent in the voices of his characters. In fact, it is the character of Zikali himself who Haggard has break the plot of the story to eulogize Shepstone and his place above the Zulu king—Cetywayo—in nineteenth century Zulu politics. Zikali says to Cetywayo:

The winds whisper the demands of the white men, the birds sing them, the hyenas howl them at night. Let us see how the matter stands. When your father died Sompseu (Sir T. Shepstone), the great white chief, came from the English Government to name you king. This he could not do according to our law, since how can a stranger name the King of the Zulus? Therefore the Council of the Nation and the doctors—I was not among them, King—moved the spirit of Chaka the Lion into the body of Sompseu and made him as Chaka was and gave him power to name you to rule over the Zulus. So it came about that to the English Queen through the spirit of Chaka you swore certain things; that slaying for witchcraft should be abolished; that no man should die without fair and open trial, and other matters.<sup>688</sup>

The proscriptive diatribe from Zikali 'others' and reduces the Zulu; they are allowed to be a resistant native culture as they have already been subjugated underneath the 'superior Anglo-Saxon' culture. This particular passage suggests the strength of

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<sup>688</sup> Haggard, *Finished*, p.196-197. [brackets as per original]

Haggard's colonial beliefs being expounded in his fictional work. This is evidenced from his earliest non-fiction work on the Zulu, *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours*, in which Haggard quotes from a letter of Shepstone's to the Colonial office, dated London, August 12, 1879; in it Shepstone points out that he would not 'play with such keen-edged tools as the excited passions of savages are, and especially such savages as I knew the Zulus to be, is not what an experience of forty-two years in managing them inclined me to'.<sup>689</sup> This quotation comes from a dispatch in which Shepstone was defending himself from accusations of misleading the Zulu to attempt war on the Boer.

It had been suggested that Shepstone had fabricated rumours of war to ensure the annexation of the Transvaal. A pamphlet from the time said, '[h]is object, although not openly stated, cannot be else than the extension of British territory by the entrance of the Transvaal into the South African confederation'.<sup>690</sup> A war would ensure Shepstone a valid justification for annexing the Transvaal. Etherington posits that Shepstone wanted to subsume the Transvaal into the British sphere to ensure access to 'a disputed piece of territory between the Transvaal and Zululand which he looked upon as the 'golden bridge' to African empire, a corridor which would carry black labour to Natal and export British imperialism to the far interior'.<sup>691</sup> What is of particular interest in Shepstone's letter is his choice of words describing the Zulu as 'keen-edged tools' and talking of his experiencing 'managing' them for forty-two years. Haggard later goes on to say, in the conclusion to *Cetywayo*, the 'motives that influenced, or are said to have influenced, the Government in their act, are naturally quite unintelligible to savages, however clever'.<sup>692</sup> Returning to *Finished*, this patriarchal hegemony is what allows Allan to appear and re-appear at all the significant nineteenth century Zulu events, in his role as Zulu mentor and guide.

## Quatermain, Shepstone and the Zulu

The Zikali trilogy narrates a native history which complicates the supposition by colonists and civil servants that their influence in Southern Africa was not only beneficent but honourable; in this way Haggard was following the Shepstonian

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<sup>689</sup> Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement'.

<sup>690</sup> 'The Transvaal'. p. 9.

<sup>691</sup> Etherington, 'Labour Supply and the Genesis of South African Confederation in the 1870s'. p. 238.

<sup>692</sup> Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement'.



concept that imperialism would only ever be as good as the Englishman who implemented it. Haggard saw British imperialism as predetermined: 'this is a decree of Providence which we cannot alter; the earth is to the strongest'.<sup>693</sup> Haggard also believed the natives were 'the true owners of the land,' and thus colonial policy should be reflective of that.<sup>694</sup>

It was Haggard's doubleness, redolent of Shepstone's, which made him such an interesting figure; he was both a bold colonial figurehead and perceived by the Europeans to be initiated into the culture of indigenous people in southern Africa. In fact, so closely was Haggard associated with his indigenous characters, a contemporary reviewer wrote, in 1888: 'The ability to portray all the higher qualities of African savage life, and the writer's sympathy, as well as his acquaintance, with Zulu characters, give a reality to his savage heroes which is wanting to the European characters.'<sup>695</sup> Haggard's Dominions Commission Secretary, E. J. Harding, noted he was highly respected for his agricultural knowledge and his 'commitment to the imperial cause':

Probably the most widely known Commissioner was Sir Henry Rider Haggard (1856-1925), appointed not, one trusts, for his qualities as a writer of popular fiction but for his considerable expertise as a practical farmer (in Norfolk), his extensive researches into agriculture in Britain and in Europe (leading to such publications as *Rural England* in 1902 and *Rural Denmark* in 1911), his membership of several previous official inquiries (including a recent Royal Commission on Coastal Erosion and Afforestation), and for his commitment to imperial causes (not least when on the staff of Sir Theophilus Shepstone in the Transvaal in 1877 and subsequently as a prominent member of the Royal Colonial Institute).<sup>696</sup>

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<sup>693</sup> Haggard, 'The Fate of Swaziland'. p. 74.

<sup>694</sup> *Ibid.* p. 72.

<sup>695</sup> 'The Culture of the Horrible: Mr Haggard's Stories'. p. 711.

<sup>696</sup> Harding and Constantine, *Dominions Diary: The Letters of E. J. Harding 1913-1916*. p. 25.

Although Haggard believed he had a connection with the Zulu people, and that he could 'always write' about them 'whose true inwardness I understand by the light of Nature.'<sup>697</sup> It was Shepstone who physically presented this dualistic nature, presenting himself as a conduit between the indigenous people and the British. Shepstone is described by Donal R. Morris as:

[A] large man, with a broad, impassive face, and he cultivated a ponderous dignity that cowed every native—and most of the Europeans—whom he encountered. A chieftain, summoned to an indaba, could expect no casual encounter. Shepstone would be seated on a thronelike chair, and from his shaded eminence would parley with the man squatting in the dusty sunlight before him. Shepstone would listen gravely, take snuff in the native fashion, nod sagely.<sup>698</sup>

Shepstone's colonial mimesis sees him taking on the structures of knowledge and authority of the indigenous peoples he worked with and ruled over, but these behaviours or representations of himself were always rooted in his own role as Secretary for Native Affairs.<sup>699</sup> Graham Huggan states that mimesis '(although its function has always been disputed) usually refers to a wider process of representation that involves the mediation between different worlds and people—in essence, between different symbolic systems.'<sup>700</sup> Both Shepstone and Haggard presented themselves as being in a position of knowledge and authority when it came to translating or explaining the experience of British colonial southern Africa, but this was not necessarily the case. As Etherington notes 'Shepstone often did contend that his autocratic administration profoundly resonated with local African ideas of good government; but

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<sup>697</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 206.

<sup>698</sup> Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*. p. 172.

<sup>699</sup> In this representation I am following on from the explanation of mimesis suggested by Taussig in Michael T. Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity : A Particular History of the Senses*, (New York ; London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>700</sup> Graham Huggan, '(Post)Colonialism, Anthropology, and the Magic of Mimesis', *Cultural Critique*, (1997). p. 93.

there is no need to take him at his word.<sup>701</sup> Similarly Haggard 'spent only three years of his life in Natal, did not speak Zulu, and would have had to depend on his memory for the second-hand versions of whatever stories about Zululand he may have heard from Shepstone, Melmoth Osborn and other members of the Shepstone circle.<sup>702</sup> Haggard and Shepstone—one fictionally and the other in his enactments of political power—present a romantic image of the site of colonial interaction which was strongly based on their own imperial rhetoric, that of the singular heroic imperial figure whose superior British benevolence was recognised by the indigenous people they interacted with. David Ward describes this romantic representation of cultural superiority as:

It is one of the more deadly and subtle strategies of assumed cultural superiority to romanticize the products of another culture, to make a world which is patently *there* into 'a lost world', something which, however 'old', is also new, into part of a past—as epic is for Europe—part of 'that old, old Africa', and self-indulgently to dramatize our own feelings of exclusion from a 'lost' culture—'its stony face turned to the sun'.<sup>703</sup>

*Finished* and the other books in the Zikali trilogy show Allan ingratiated into the last moments of the Zulu nation before it is broken apart by the advancing British colonialism; a colonialism of administrative and political intent rather than one filled with the grandiose rhetoric of both the author and his 'father, Shepstone, 'the great white chief'.<sup>704</sup>

Colonial mimesis is more than mere reflection; it is an exploration of the self and one's sociocultural and geopolitical state. Haggard, whether consciously or unconsciously, examined the interplay between myth and history in his work. It is evident his interest in the Zulu is in part based on what he saw as their imminent extinction as a nation. He drew parallels between the decline and fall of the Roman

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<sup>701</sup> Etherington, 'Zulu Kings, Coronations, and Conversations with Colonial Officials'. p. 229-230.

<sup>702</sup> Ibid. p. 233.

<sup>703</sup> Ward, *Chronicles of Darkness*. p. 42.

<sup>704</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 197.

Empire and the decline and fall of the Zulu Empire, for example comparing Chaka to Nero in *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours*. Southern African people were viewed by imperial writers as evidence of the evolution of humankind. Haggard particularly associated southern Africa kin-groups with races or civilisations that had fallen, ‘the black man, indeed, is doomed; the end may be far off, but it will come; in three more generations few Kaffirs will be left in the richer and more accessible portions of the home of their forefathers’.<sup>705</sup> This belief makes it understandable that he would then see it as the duty of the British imperial power to ‘protect these doomed races from war and injustice, and allow Destiny to do the work in her own gentler fashion’.<sup>706</sup> The evolutionary decline of the ‘other’ due to their primitivism further justified the creation of a narrative in which the African ‘other’ had been pushed out of their own land, leaving a sublime African Idyll in which the European could have ‘manifold adventures’.<sup>707</sup> I suggest that Haggard labels the Zulu with a kind of higher human antiquity, and that he does this to make it easier to mythologise them, rather than fully acknowledge the influence of Shepstonian colonialism in their demise, as a socio-political entity in southern Africa, by the start of the twentieth century.

Chrisman notes that Haggard’s biographer, Morton Cohen assumed ‘Haggard’s attachment to these colonial officials [Theophilus Shepstone, Natal secretary for Native Affairs; Melmoth Osborn, Colonial secretary to the Transvaal; and Sir Henry Bulwer, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal] gave him a clear colonial, as opposed to metropolitan-imperial, perspective on Zuluness’.<sup>708</sup> Chrisman goes on to state, it ‘does not follow that Haggard unequivocally supported their Zululand activities and ideological explanations [...] I want to argue the importance of seeing Haggard’s construction of Zuluness and the Zulu nation as a compound of settler-colonial and metropolitan positions’.<sup>709</sup> Yet neither of these readings fully explain Haggard’s absolute belief in Shepstone’s native colonial policies, his interest in the Zulu and his hagiographic rendering of their history. The camaraderie that Haggard gives Allan with his native counterparts is both progressive in thought and reductive in racial politics. Steibel notes, ‘Haggard, given his deep interest in indigenous South African

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<sup>705</sup> Haggard, ‘The Fate of Swaziland’. p. 74.

<sup>706</sup> Ibid. p. 74.

<sup>707</sup> Haggard, *Finished*.

<sup>708</sup> Chrisman, *Rereading the Imperial Romance: British Imperialism and South African Resistance in Haggard, Schreiner, and Plaatje* p.79.

<sup>709</sup> Ibid. p.79.

culture, is generally tactful on this score, frequently including the “native” name for geographical features’.<sup>710</sup> The regularised use of indigenous names throughout the Zikali trilogy stands out, in marked contrast to other imperial adventure romance authors who, in removing all agency from their indigenous characters would give them nicknames. For example G. Manville Fenn’s, *Off to the Wilds*, in which the central Zulu characters are nicknamed Coffee and Chickory, after the young English character Jack cries, ‘I say, Dick, let’s call them something else if they are going to stop with us, Sepopo! Bechele! What names!’<sup>711</sup> Haggard suggests Allan’s aggressive, almost primitive, manliness through Allan’s ability to empathise with the Zulu yet he also individualises and characterises the native Southern African black characters.

### Quatermain, Haggard: the Author Surrogate

When Haggard wrote *Finished*, he was writing at the true end of the Victorian epoch. Although the whole Zikali trilogy is a paean to the imperial endeavour, it is in *Finished*, written four years after the first two books in the trilogy, that Haggard allows his romantic side full reign. It is only in this book that Haggard’s most successful creation, Allan Quatermain, meets the “author” as a young man and in a somewhat strange manner, and perhaps the most bizarre authorial decision in imperial adventure romance writing has Allan give the “author” his blessing: ‘from that moment I took a great liking to you, my friend, perhaps because I wondered whether in your place I should have been daredevil enough to act in the same way. For you see I am English, and I like to see an Englishman hold his own against odds and keep up the credit of the country’.<sup>712</sup> Haggard as author creates a situation within which his fictional character Allan can admire Haggard’s younger self’s conduct during the proclamation of the annexation of the Transvaal. I use this example not only to highlight how entwined the author was within his own fiction but also to show his desire to recommend himself and his work on behalf of the British Empire and the acclaim and status this brought, or to his mind, should have brought.

Haggard’s secretary on the Dominion’s Commission, E. J. Harding, noted of Haggard’s colonial fervour, ‘I think he is of the temperament which has very ordinary

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<sup>710</sup> Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances*. p. 12.

<sup>711</sup> Fenn, *Off to the Wilds: Being the Adventures of Two Brothers*. p. 10.

<sup>712</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p.19.

Imperial ideas, and thinks they are extraordinary. Perhaps that is the result of being a novelist with a really keen imagination'.<sup>713</sup> It is very interesting in light of this comment, that three years earlier Haggard had written in his autobiography, that he saw his work for the British Empire as a '[h]igh and honourable duty', far much more so than his literary career; which he felt 'as a writer of romantic literature, [is] an occupation that does not dispose the British nation to take those who follow it seriously'.<sup>714</sup> Despite this dismissiveness on his part, and on the part of his colonial colleagues, Haggard continued to write romances, not only for their financial value to him but also, as he writes at the start of *Finished*:

[W]ith the exception of Colonel Philips, who, as a lieutenant, commanded the famous escort of twenty-five policemen [I am] now the last survivor of the party who, under the leadership of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, or Sompseu as the natives called him from the Zambesi to the Cape, were concerned in the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877.<sup>715</sup>

Haggard wanted to 'chronicle' his most significant political involvement with the Zulu, who, thanks to Shepstone's influence, he saw as historically significant and noble people.<sup>716</sup>

In the role of coloniser Shepstone intervened, displaced and dislocated the native way of life. Cornelis Willem de Kiewiet said: '[e]ven so able an authority as Theophilus Shepstone toyed for a while with the idea of clearing Natal of its natives by leading a Great Trek of the entire population into Pondoland'.<sup>717</sup> Having the authority to make decisions that dislocate an entire people from their land demonstrates Shepstone's pivotal role in Transvaal politics. Yet Shepstone was also beholden to his colonial superiors. Tiryakian notes that he 'received sufficient opposition from the Whites (from English colonists in Natal who feared that

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<sup>713</sup> Harding and Constantine, *Dominions Diary: The Letters of E. J. Harding 1913-1916*. p. 65.

<sup>714</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*.

<sup>715</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p.9.

<sup>716</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*.

<sup>717</sup> C. W. De Kiewiet, *The History of South Africa: Social & Economic*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1957). p. 74.

segregation would curtail a plentiful supply of labour) to force Shepstone to curtail his original policy'.<sup>718</sup> Haggard fictionally reimagines Shepstone's colonial history. Positioning Shepstone in the role of colonial father figure Haggard writes him into the adventures of Allan in *Finished*.

In *Finished*, Allan watches the 'author' stand up to some Boer men who were angry at the annexation; embellishing Haggard's own actual role in the declaration of annexation Haggard writes himself deliberately stamping 'on the foot of' a Boer, who would not let him past.<sup>719</sup> Allan says, 'from that moment I took a great liking to you.'<sup>720</sup> Haggard created a different world for himself as the author, and his character Allan Quatermain, in which they were as integral to the history of British imperialism in South Africa as Shepstone. Basing his *mise en scene* in historical fact, Haggard then brings in fictional characters to embellish the romance of specific important historical events.

The intermingling between fact and fiction that Haggard uses in his romances, is nowhere more obvious than in beginning of the novel. When he recalls the annexation of the Transvaal in his autobiography in 1912, Haggard writes:

In front of one of these offices—I remember its situation but not which one of them it was—was gathered a crowd of sullen-looking Boers who showed no disposition to let me pass upon my business. I looked at them and they looked at me. I advanced, purposing to thrust my way between two of them, and as still they would not let me pass I trod upon the foot of one of them, half expecting to be shot as I did so, whereon the man drew back and let me go about my duty. It was insolent, I admit, and had I been an older man probably I should have withdrawn and left the Proclamation undelivered. But I do not think that the incident was without its effect, for it did not pass unobserved. I was but one young fellow facing a hostile crowd which had gathered in the remoter spaces of the square, but for the moment I was the representative of England, and I felt

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<sup>718</sup> Tiryakian, 'Apartheid and Politics in South Africa'. p. 695

<sup>719</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 19.

<sup>720</sup> *Ibid.* p. 19.

that if I recoiled before their muttered threats and oaths, inferences might be drawn.<sup>721</sup>

In *Finished*, written five years later, Allan narrates to the 'author', his watching him from the crowd, during the proclamation of the annexation of the Transvaal.

"Mynheeren," you said, "I pray you to let me pass on the Queen's business." They took no heed except to draw closer together and laugh insolently. Again you made your request and again they laughed. Then I saw you lift your leg and deliberately stamp on the foot of one of the Boers. He drew back with an exclamation, and for a moment I believed that he or his fellow was going to do something violent...At any rate you marched into the office triumphant and delivered your document.<sup>722</sup>

As I suggested in Chapter 1, Haggard saw the British Empire as the creation of individuals who shaped their colonial landscape. More so than during the nineteenth century, in the Zikali trilogy, Haggard was creating a fantasy narrative which allowed him to fully immerse himself in the adventures of his youth, this being most fully realised in the above section of *Finished*. He continues in this same vein of yet more colonial reminiscences, when Allan says to the 'author', that Theophilus Shepstone, 'one of the greatest African statesmen' said 'something which I will not repeat to you even now. I think it was about what you did on the Annexation day'.<sup>723</sup> Haggard noted in his diary, in 1915, that he was occupying 'his mind amidst all these troubles [...] writing stories'.<sup>724</sup> Haggard was occupying 'his mind' away from the War, what he saw

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<sup>721</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 105.

<sup>722</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 18-19.

<sup>723</sup> Ibid. p. 21.

<sup>724</sup> Morton Cohen, *Rudyard Kipling to Rider Haggard; the Record of a Friendship*, (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1965). p. 84.



as 'the terrible anxieties of the World's journey along the bloodstained road by which alone, so it is decreed, the pure Peak of Freedom must be scaled'.<sup>725</sup>

### Colonial Authority: Haggard and the Royal Colonial Institute

In February 1916, a farewell luncheon was given in Haggard's honour prior to his visiting the dominions; his task was to discover their opinion on immigration after the war. He was commissioned to look into the idea of land settlement in the dominions of the British Empire. As Royal Commissioner for the Royal Colonial Institute, Haggard was able to canvas the mood of dominion governments to the idea of mass immigration to their lands. As part of the Government's planning for the end of the war, it was perceived that the thousands of soldiers returning home would expect not only jobs but homes after serving their country. Given that both land and work were already becoming scarce in Britain—and in line with both the Victorian aristocratic, and feudal Norman landowner way of thinking—it was assumed that the returning lower class soldiers would happily be shipped out into the Dominions and continue the promulgation of the British Empire. This perfectly tied in with Haggard's own personal beliefs, whilst also assuaging his guilt at not being able to fight, a point he reiterated in a letter of 1918: it 'is war work [...] & not one that I care much for [...] but I felt it my duty to do what I can and tackle whatever comes along'.<sup>726</sup> Haggard had always maintained that the Empire needed emigration to succeed, since his time in South Africa as a young man when he wrote:

We have only to reflect to see how great are the advantages that the Mother Country derives from the possession of her Colonial Empire; including, as they do, a home for her surplus children, a vast and varied market for her productions, and a wealth of old-fashioned loyalty and deep attachment to the Old Country.<sup>727</sup>

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<sup>725</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. dedication

<sup>726</sup> H. Rider Haggard, 'Personal Correspondence', ed. by Henderson (Thurso, 1918).

<sup>727</sup> Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement'.

The industrialisation of eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain meant families were broken up, people went away from their communities for work, children went away to school and men went off to empire. The First World War signalled the end of the family unit, or rather speeded up the rate of family unit dissolution. The family was replaced by Britain as the triumphant matriarch whose reach stretched around the globe, and the success of the individual was inescapably linked to the success of the British Empire.

Haggard personally thought that many of British society's problems were caused by people moving away from the land, and into industrial areas. He explained his position in a letter to Theodore Roosevelt: 'The problem then is – the Poor in the Cities, & the answer to it should be, the Poor on the Land, where they would cease to be poor'.<sup>728</sup> Haggard said the problem of every 'civilised country' was the 'glutted, foul, menacing cities, the gorgeous few, the countless miserable! And beyond, the empty land which could feed them all & give them health & happiness from the cradle to the grave'.<sup>729</sup> This helpfully tied in with his other *bête noire* that the British Empire would only last if the 'Anglo-Saxon races' inhabited every part of it.<sup>730</sup> He had always advocated mass resettlement of the urban poor, but as Pocock notes, 'these were mostly of poor stock [...] and while [Haggard] had maintained that their children would become the men and women that were needed, it was more likely to be their grandchildren and great-grandchildren'.<sup>731</sup> To Haggard that was too distant a proposition to ensure defence of the Empire from hostile forces, but in soldiers and their dependents Haggard saw as a readymade and self-sufficient population able to colonise all the 'empty' parts of the Empire and ensure the longevity of British Imperial rule. He said in his speech: 'I can imagine that fifty million white people might well find a home in Australia. The world might be filled with Anglo-Saxon people if they would only avail themselves of these stretches of territory'.<sup>732</sup> Yet it was Lord Curzon who more politically stated the aim of Haggard's trip at the luncheon: 'we do not want these men to go to America; we want to keep them as British citizens and thus to add to the economic and industrial strength of the Empire'.<sup>733</sup> It was Haggard's most successful

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<sup>728</sup> MC 32/45 14<sup>th</sup> July 1912 Ditchingham, Norfolk Records Office.

<sup>729</sup> MC 32/45 14<sup>th</sup> July 1912 Ditchingham Norfolk Records Office.

<sup>730</sup> Haggard, 'Cetywayo and the Zulu Settlement'.

<sup>731</sup> Pocock, *Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire; a Biography*. p.195

<sup>732</sup> *Ibid.* p.199

<sup>733</sup> *Ibid.* p. 199

character Allan Quatermain, who embodied this idea of the individual out in the British Empire. Widowed and without family it was only in Africa that Allan found himself. In Africa he had a family group, that of Maurice and Heda, of which he was the patriarch, using his knowledge and experience for the betterment of both the white and black characters within the novel. He does this whilst earning vast amounts of money—‘are you interested in geology?’ asks Dr. Rodd, ‘A little,’ [Allen] replied, ‘that is if there is any chance of making money out of it’,<sup>734</sup>—from the natural resources of Southern Africa. The affirmative colonial propaganda of Haggard’s fiction and its role in asserting Britain’s prerogative to rule Africa, by the early twentieth century, was fading. Haggard’s fiction was part of the imperial ideology that fed into British beliefs about Empire, which towards the early part of the twentieth century slipped as the empire became embroiled in skirmishes and ultimately the First World War. In fact, it was in southern Africa that his texts would have a final significant contemporary influence.

## Conclusion

When Haggard arrived in southern Africa in August 1875, it was at the peak of machinations between multiples groups—such as the Boers, the British, the Zulu and the Bapedi—as they fought in attempts to decide land sovereignty and political supremacy. By the time he returned in 1914, it was a completely different southern Africa: the colonies he knew had disappeared and been superseded by the Union of South Africa. *Finished* is a vivid representation of imperial melancholy: the horror of the First World War reflected in the perceived lost grandeur of the Zulu. Haggard writes at the end of *Finished*, that Cetywayo:

[W]as brought back to Zululand again by a British man-of-war, re-installed to a limited chieftainship by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and freed from the strangling embrace of the black coat. Then of course there was more fighting, as every one knew would happen, except the British Colonial Office; indeed all Zululand ran with blood. For in England Cetewayo and his rights, or wrongs, had, like the Boers and their rights, or wrongs, become a matter of Party politics to which

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<sup>734</sup> Haggard, *Finished*, p.70.

everything else must give way. Often I wonder whether Party politics will not in the end prove the ruin of the British Empire. Well, thank Heaven, I shall not live to learn.<sup>735</sup>

Haggard's narrative of the collapse of the Zulu empire, with his emphasis on the inevitability of its demise, appears a melancholic reflection of the British Empire itself. Yet, his early extreme Darwinism, in which he posited that the indigenous population of South Africa would be wiped out by the twentieth century, had changed into one of civilizational integrity. His recording of Zulu tradition and myth had enabled him to create a historiography which, subsequently, can be seen as one which challenges the notion that imperialism is a force for good.

It is the heroic history in Haggard's Zulu stories that was reappropriated in the early twentieth century flush of native South African self-determinism. On his return to South Africa, Haggard experienced what Boehmer identifies as:

[T]he short-lived heyday of the African 'spokesman'—the political leader and/or journalism. This select group, which included Jabavu and Dube,<sup>736</sup> saw it as their responsibility to mould and modernise African opinion, but also to impress strenuously upon the authorities the educated African's right to self-representation.<sup>737</sup>

Haggard's fictitious recreations of history were reclaimed by the native political movement and claimed as their own history. Cooper shows that 'history can be

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<sup>735</sup> Ibid. pp. 310-311.

<sup>736</sup> John Tengo Jabavu was the editor of the first Bantu language newspaper in South Africa. He also corresponded with Olive Schreiner. Liz Stanley and Helen Dampier, 'I Trust That Our Brief Acquaintance May Ripen into Sincere Friendship': Networks across the Race Divide in South Africa in Conceptualising Olive Schreiner's Letters 1890-1920', *A Working Paper series of the Olive Schreiner Letters Project*, (2010).

<sup>737</sup> Elleke Boehmer, *Empire, the National and the Postcolonial 1890-1920*, (Oxford: OUP, 2002). p. 137.

invoked to project claims backward'.<sup>738</sup> Haggard's imperial adventure romances were not dismissed but appropriated by the burgeoning nationalist movement. John Dube saw Haggard as someone who 'was sympathetic towards the Zulu nation, praising the nation for its overwhelming influence, its strength and its honesty'.<sup>739</sup> Although Haggard had proposed he was writing a history for a 'country which has no history,' in actuality he was appropriating native historiographies which were then subsequently reappropriated to support a national political self-fashioning.<sup>740</sup>

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<sup>738</sup> Cooper, 'Africa's Past and Africa's Historians'.

<sup>739</sup> Coan, 'The Meeting of Two Great Minds'.

<sup>740</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 27.

## Chapter 6: Imperial Adventure Romance and Colonial Literature in early Twentieth Century Culture.

### Haggard, Allan Quatermain and the Zulu

Haggard writes an ambivalent colonial narrative that pursues the story of the Zulu people to a fictional conclusion making them a proud, endangered and mythic race, yet he understands and agrees that it is their right to rule their own land, whilst he simultaneously propounds the legitimacy of the colonial endeavour. What most suggests the ambiguity inherent in Haggard's southern African fiction is that he wrote a colonial narrative which was subsequently pulled out of the arena of imperial discourse and into the realm of minority nation hagiography and national self-determination by the leaders of the South African National Native Congress. Or, that his fiction is used in a national self-exploration of a culture outside nineteenth century European ethnocentric colonial policy.

To better understand why Haggard's fiction was able to be reused by the very people he was complicit in subjugating through his fiction, the force of our interpretation of Haggard cannot solely rest on reading his work in light of those at the British imperial centre. In fact his fiction tells a more complex narrative rooted in colonial structures of power and authority. The competing structures of acknowledged indigenous political authority, and the singular British man embodying all that was best of British imperial ideology, that are evident in Haggard's texts seem to come anecdotally from, the man he repeatedly called his 'father', Theophilus Shepstone.<sup>741</sup> There is a valid representation of colonial history within the Zikali texts when looked at in light of the structures of power and authority out of which the texts were created.

This use of anecdotal evidence and singular events allows the reader to see the Geertzian Thick Description of Haggard's Africa without the stories he narrated being subsumed into the larger whole of colonial southern Africa narratives. Haggard's use of African people such as Umslopogaas, Shaka, and Zikali, gives them agency in

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<sup>741</sup> Haggard referred to Shepstone as his father in *Nada the Lily; Days of My Life, Vol I & II*; in his personal correspondence for example Haggard to Kipling 2 March 1925 18/4 SxMx 38 University of Sussex.

literary postcolonial dialogues.<sup>742</sup> As Patrick Brantlinger states in, *Rule of Darkness*, '[t]he very appearance of indigenous peoples in imperialist discourse, no matter how fleeting or stereotypical, is at least tacit acknowledgement that colonization was no smooth path to utopia'.<sup>743</sup> Haggard engages with the Zulu as a society; although he consistently refers to their self-inflicted, or, as in *Child of Storm* magically inflicted, national breakdown. He writes in his preface to *Nada the Lily*, '[t]hen the Zulus were still a nation; now that nation has been destroyed, and the chief aim of its white rulers is to root out the warlike spirit for which it was remarkable'.<sup>744</sup> In his autobiography Haggard engages with the real person that his character Umslopogaas was created from, Mhlophekazi. When Mhlophekazi was asked if he minded Haggard's appropriation of his name—in books such as *Allan Quatermain* and *Nada the Lily*—he said, 'I am glad that Indanda has set my name in writings that will not be forgotten, so that, when my people are no more a people, one of them at least may be remembered'.<sup>745</sup> Mhlophekazi had been Theophilus Shepstone's native attendant, and was considered a Swazi of high birth having been part of an elite native regiment called the Nyati and the son of 'Mswazi, king of Swaziland'.<sup>746</sup> In some ways the Zulu in Haggard's texts are oppositional to the colonial utopia he proscribed to cure Britain's ills. The Zulu people inhabit the land which Haggard saw as the place within which to solve the problems of British poverty and ill cities. In the letter cited in chapter 5 above, Haggard goes on to say to Roosevelt:

The problem then is – the Poor in the Cities, & the answer to it should be, the Poor on the Land, where they would cease to be poor. What are the bitter fruits of this City Life? A confusion more complete than that which fell on the builders of the tower of Babel; a failure more utter: a mere shattered mass of half dried bricks which will be washed to

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<sup>742</sup> Umslopogaas appears in *Allan Quatermain* (1887) and *Nada the Lily* (1912)

<sup>743</sup> Patrick Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh, EUP, 2009), p. 2.

<sup>744</sup> H. Rider Haggard, *Nada the Lily* (London, Longman's, Green & Co., 1892), p. xi.

<sup>745</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 75-76.

<sup>746</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 74. and *The Natal Witness* October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1897

shapelessness by the rains of heaven & crumbled to powder by its everlasting sun.<sup>747</sup>

The ambiguity of the author's intentions, whether he was writing a heroic validation of the possibilities of colonialism or instead recognising the destructive power of colonialism, is never clearer than in the Zikali trilogy. In the Zikali trilogy Haggard tries to show that there was an inevitability to Britain's elimination of the Zulu Chiefship, but he was perhaps unconscious of quite how intrinsically he had linked that downfall to the character of Allan Quatermain. It was explicitly by working through Allan that Zikali the wizard was able to wreak vengeance 'upon the great House of Senzangacona, bringing it to naught and with it the nation of the Zulus'.<sup>748</sup> In being present at the three politically pivotal events in the Zulus nineteenth century history Allan is emblematic of the British colonial apparatus's progressively increasing influence on the indigenous people and their lands.<sup>749</sup>

Yet, it was not this deeper socio-politically ambiguous context which drove sales of Haggard's imperial adventure romances. As Timothy Brennan notes 'the colonies are a passive fund of good writing material'.<sup>750</sup> The setting of Haggard's stories provided a landscape for the British man to adventure and the inclusion of the Zulu people was strategic in this. The Zulu were part of the 'others' against which Haggard's British characters could prove their greatness. Steibel states that, 'to destroy the source of anxiety is to remove the impetus for the romance in which the hero has to have an Other (land, people, animals) to prove himself against'.<sup>751</sup> Southern Africa and the people in it create a sheer and excessive arena in which the British adventurer can explore.

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<sup>747</sup> H. Rider Haggard, 'Personal Correspondence, 14th July.', ed. by Theodore Roosevelt (Norfolk Records Office, 1912).

<sup>748</sup> Haggard, *Finished*. p. 320.

<sup>749</sup> The three events were the first political negotiations and short skirmish war between Boer and Zulu known as the Great Trek, in *Marie*; the civil war for the Zulu Chiefship between the sons of Mpande, Mbulazi and Cetshwayo, in *Child of Storm*; and the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, in *Finished*.

<sup>750</sup> Brennan, 'The National Longing for Form'. p. 62.

<sup>751</sup> Stiebel, p. 45.



## Haggard's Sublime Africa

The image of southern Africa portrayed in Haggard's novels, as the valorous battleground of British imperialism, is one of the many reasons for the books' success.

Martine Duteil notes:

The popularity of [his] tales amongst the parents who bought them every Christmas for their sons depended in some measure on their desire to instil in their offspring a wish to emulate the Empire builders and the captains of industry who had earned themselves the plaudits of the crowd by being ruthlessly successful in their pursuit of wealth and power.<sup>752</sup>

What made fiction such as Haggard's influential in nineteenth century Britain, was its propagandistic elements which were vital in affirming Britain's prerogative to rule Africa. It was not that Allan Quatermain was an 'empire builder' but that his over-determined sense of duty and morality was evident in every story. By showing the need for the guiding hand of Western civilisation, and the gratefulness of the Africans who received it in his novels, Haggard was part of the shoring of trenchant British colonial beliefs. That he happened to combine this jingoism with rip-roaring adventure tales, or 'thrilling' stories, did nothing to harm his sales.<sup>753</sup> The realistic narratives of authors like Stevenson—with *The Beach at Falesá's* portrayal of the mistreatment of native women by white traders—were not acceptable, being too real. Peter Keating states, 'the strip-teases in which Ayesha periodically indulges and Ustane's public choice of Leo as her husband were acceptable: Stevenson's blunt, sympathetic realism was not'.<sup>754</sup> Financially alone, as Stiebel shows, 'the sales figures of the early African romances indicate that Haggard had struck a deep chord in the late-Victorian

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<sup>752</sup> Duteil, 'The Representation of the Cannibal in Ballantyne's the Coral Island. Colonial Anxieties in Victorian Popular Fiction'.

<sup>753</sup> 'Advertisements and Notices', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, (1885).

<sup>754</sup> Keating, *The Haunted Study; a Social History of the English Novel 1875-1914*. p. 166.

reading public'.<sup>755</sup> His books consistently sold well, although he was never to repeat the sales figures of his first romance *King Solomon's Mines*.

In the Zikali trilogy Haggard ties in historical events with his own romantic ideas, creating a very personal perspective on colonial Southern African history. To expand on this, one of the myriad ways in which a culture manifests itself is through its fiction; Haggard narrates a history which gives strength to the supposition by colonists and civil servants that their influence in southern Africa was not only considerable but honourable. Paul Stevens has shown that the meaning both stated and hidden within Haggard's writing demonstrates how 'literary texts, often in despite of themselves, performed political speech-acts within the larger processes of social agency.'<sup>756</sup> The 'political speech-acts' played out in Haggard's fiction were conscious and unconscious; in part identifiable by his referencing of actual events.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the British still had an image of an African idyll, an idealised and unsustainable evocative place. Fiction such as Haggard's reinforced the idea that the British gentleman could create an exciting life for himself away from the tame and increasingly domesticated society of Victorian Britain. Haggard's most famous fictional gentleman, Allan Quatermain, said:

No man who has for forty years lived the life I have, can with impunity go coop himself in this prim English country, with its trim hedgerows and cultivated fields, its stiff formal manners, and its well-dressed crowds [...] his heart arises in rebellion against the strict limits of the civilised life.<sup>757</sup>

Haggard's characters were indicative of the mind-set which perceived the dominions of empire as places where it was possible to behave with impunity. In 1887 a reviewer of *Allan Quatermain* wrote '[n]ovelty is the charm of Mr Rider Haggard's work. It does

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<sup>755</sup> Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances*. p. 27.

<sup>756</sup> Stevens, 'Pretending to Be Real: Stephen Greenblatt and the Legacy of Popular Existentialism'. p. 493.

<sup>757</sup> Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*. p.12.

not deal with everyday life in English circles, but with savage life in Africa.<sup>758</sup> Tania Zulli shows that 'in a world meticulously analysed by microscopes and revealed in its most remote parts by geographical discoveries, man's wish for marvels was becoming more and more intense'.<sup>759</sup> Haggard's fictions played to the supposed British male lust for adventure, wonder and the strange, and at the same time tap into ideas of the sublime. Meg Armstrong simplifies this concept of the sublime in which it is something distinct between the sexes, the sublime is masculine and dark, she writes: 'beauty : feminine: light :: sublime : masculine : dark'.<sup>760</sup> It is this notion which Haggard's associates most admired in his work, the idea that Haggard's characters are engaged in games and adventures in what are perceived as 'dark' and dangerous lands. Andrew Lang dedicated *In the Wrong Paradise and Other Stories* (1886) to Haggard. In the dedication Lang wrote:

We are all savages under our white skins; but you alone recall to us the delights and terrors of the world's nonage. We are hunters again, trappers, adventurers bold, while we study you, and the blithe barbarian awakens even in the weary person of letters.<sup>761</sup>

Yet the idyll was completely fictitious. It was fabricated in the writings of a group of men—colonial administrators, company agents or those who wished they were—who used phrases such as 'noble savage' and gave the reader in Britain the exotic impressions and word pictures that we have now come to identify with writings about empire. As Armstrong goes on to note the 'dangers of the sublime relate to the active and "the masculine", and the pleasures of beauty to the passive tenderness of "the feminine"'.<sup>762</sup> Africa is seen as an elaborate setting for Haggard's narratives, a place

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<sup>758</sup> 'New Books and New Editions new Books and New Editions', *The Newcastle Weekly Courant The Newcastle Weekly Courant*, (1887).

<sup>759</sup> Tania Zulli, 'Between Body and Soul: *She* and the Aporia of Science and Religionbetween Body and Soul: She and the Aporia of Science and Religion', in *She: Explorations into a Romance*, ed. by Tania Zulli (Rome: Aracne, 2009), pp. 77-95. p. 94.

<sup>760</sup> Armstrong, "'The Effects of Blackness": Gender, Race, and the Sublime in Aesthetic Theories of Burke and Kant'. p. 215.

<sup>761</sup> Lang, *In the Wrong Paradise and Other Stories*. p. v.

<sup>762</sup> Armstrong, "'The Effects of Blackness": Gender, Race, and the Sublime in Aesthetic Theories of Burke and Kant'. p. 216.

which has events acted out up on it. Another early reviewer of Haggard's fiction surmised all his stories essentially contained:

A few very shadowy characters, with a scanty sprinkling of more substantial actors; a description of a sunrise, a sunset, and a storm; scenes from life and sport in southern and central Africa; a battle involving terrific carnage and a desperate single combat described with the minuteness and refinement that would grace the account of a prize-fighting a sporting newspaper,--these, with the architectural details already adverted to, interspersed with agnostic reflections, morbid moralising, and a queer vein of genuine but broad humour, form the warp and woof of these stories.<sup>763</sup>

These renderings create a framework, or way of reading, Haggard's books which denatures them and makes them anodyne, if shallow reading. Etherington suggests that in fact neither 'Haggard nor most of his readers saw the hidden themes with conscious eyes, and in this lay part of the reason for his enormous popular success. In Africa or in ancient Iceland, the beasts which Victorians feared to encounter in themselves could be contemplated at a safe remove'.<sup>764</sup> Yet, what is also missed is the much more conflicting and ambiguous narratives of the socio-cultural colonial encounter which run throughout his southern African romances.

Haggard's imperial adventure romance novels narrated a sublime Africa. There was a consistency in his romances, adventure, beautiful and 'exotic' women and resolved narratives, which was an escapism from the public ills and social unrest in Britain. In talking of British nineteenth-century industrialisation William Morris said in 1887:

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<sup>763</sup> 'The Culture of the Horrible: Mr Haggard's Stories'. p. 708.

<sup>764</sup> Etherington, *Rider Haggard*. p. 50.

It has covered the merry green fields with the hovels of slaves and blighted the flowers and trees with poisonous gases, and turned rivers into sewers; till over many parts of Britain the common people have forgotten what a field or flower is like, and their idea of beauty is a gas-poisoned gin-palace or a tawdry theatre.<sup>765</sup>

The British reaction to such overwhelming industrialisation was to find new examples of their desired idyll, or sublime landscapes in which man could face nature in its most awesome form. Bruce Mazlish suggests ‘their response to modern industrial and scientific society was, in fact, to seek to nullify the irrational, aggressive threats to it in the unconscious by embracing some of those very irrational and aggressive forces’.<sup>766</sup> Accordingly, to Haggard, only in Africa could the Englishman escape ‘the strict limits of the civilised life’.<sup>767</sup> Amber Vogel emphasises how different Africa was to British eyes as everything perceived as already lost in Britain was found there:

The combination of elements – solitude and wilderness, travel and ruin, regret and desire, memory and lament- that form rhetorical patterns put to use by African travellers, commentators and literary artists presenting Africa to a growing, evolving audience. Such deserts, such bleak prospects, fitted what might, adapting an eighteenth-century aesthetic paradigm, be called an African sublime. It was a powerful aesthetic that endured in an unlikely continent.<sup>768</sup>

In Haggard’s fiction the African sublime is evident not only in his descriptions of landscape but also in his emphasis that the land is not the Britain known to his readers:

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<sup>765</sup> Quoted in Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Masculinity and Empire*. p.42

<sup>766</sup> Mazlish, ‘A Triptych: Freud’s the Interpretation of Dreams, Rider Haggard’s *She*, and Bulwer-Lytton’s *the Coming Race*’. p. 743.

<sup>767</sup> Haggard, ‘Allan Quatermain’. p. 419.

<sup>768</sup> Amber Vogel, *African Sublime: The Dark Continent Joins the Grand Tour in Literature and Tourism: Reading and writing Tourism Texts*. (2002) London: Continuum. P. 279-295.

How different is the scene that I have now to tell from that which has just been told! Gone are the quiet college rooms, gone the wind-swayed English elms and cawing rooks, and the familiar volumes on the shelves, and in their place there rises a vision of the great calm ocean gleaming in shaded silver lights beneath the beams of the full African moon.<sup>769</sup>

He uses the African landscape to differentiate the 'other,' a colonial space within which the dominant Western colonial experiences the mythical and sublime Africa. In discussing the African sublime Johan Geertsema states:

The self experiences not only anxiety and displeasure in the confrontation with the infinite, the enormous, or the powerful, but importantly also pleasure. This pleasure arises in the self since the confrontation with the sublime confirms the superiority of reason over the imagination, as well as over nature.<sup>770</sup>

In Haggard's fiction we see the awe inspired by this new, vast and unexplored landscape and also the confidence of his characters to practice an authority over it. Although the sublime implies disorientation and observer vulnerability it is the British mastery over the landscape that became a desired part of the nineteenth-century British colonial sphere. With reference to Edmund Burke's notion of the sublime, Bed Paudyal has said for the reader of late nineteenth century literature 'the pain and danger involved in the experience of the sublime yield to the feeling of delight only' when they 'have an idea of pain and danger without being actually in such

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<sup>769</sup> H. Rider Haggard, *She*, (Oxford, OUP, 1998), p. 48.

<sup>770</sup> Johan Geertsema, *Imagining the Karoo landscape: free indirect discourse, the sublime, and the consecration of white poverty*, in *Literary Landscapes*, Ed Attie De Lange, (New York, Macmillan, 2008), p. 97.

circumstances'.<sup>771</sup> By the mid nineteenth-century an image of Africa had been formed by the British desire to have their sublime landscape. The British pastoral idea of the sublime was a powerful and quasi-religious idea which was felt by some, such as Haggard, to have been taken from them in Britain by the ferocious growth of industrialisation.

This desire for a sublime landscape was closely linked to notions of a chivalric age deep rooted within late nineteenth-century English society. Nigel Yates suggests, 'Many Victorian intellectuals looked to the Middle Ages to provide models of faith, stability and aesthetic unity for a century increasingly marked – some might say afflicted – by the questioning and often ugly process of the Industrial Revolution'.<sup>772</sup> In looking to the Middle Ages people were looking back to an imagined sublime pastoral idyll.

Robinson and Andersen have shown that, 'landscape is not "sublime" in itself but rather has its sublimity bestowed upon it through a process of perception in which not just the location but also the identity of the perceiver is crucial'.<sup>773</sup> An African sublime was enabled by the very nature of defining a landscape as sublime. Yet it is not only the landscape which was sublime for Haggard; Armstrong states that, 'the sublime is also a figure for the terror of images and passions which transgress the "natural" order of society'.<sup>774</sup> In Haggard's writing it is the 'wild' women of Africa that are sublime: Ayesha, Nada, Mameena and Gagool are all examples of unexplainable femininity—'most beautiful', 'most ambitious' and 'most wicked'—women who 'transgress the natural order'.<sup>775</sup> These characters become hyperreal depictions of the 'other' onto whom Haggard can place any characteristic not considered civilised. Andrew Lang called it his 'natural gift for savagery', but it was not just that Haggard wrote the hyper-stereotype of the 'savage other' in a way that the reading public in

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<sup>771</sup> Edmund Burke, A Philosophical enquiry into the origin or our ideas of the sublime and beautiful, quoted in, Bed Paudyal, Trauma, Sublime, and the Ambivalence of Imperialist Imagination in H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds*, in *Extrapolation*, Vol. 50, No. 1, p. 107.

<sup>772</sup> Nigel Yates, 'Pugin and the Medieval Dream', in *Victorian Values: Personalities and Perspectives in Nineteenth-Century Society* ed. by Gordon Marsden (Harlow, Pearson, 1998), p. 65.

<sup>773</sup> Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, *Literature and Tourism*, (London, Continuum, 2002), p. *xxi*.

<sup>774</sup> Armstrong, "'The Effects of Blackness': Gender, Race, and the Sublime in Aesthetic Theories of Burke and Kant". p. 214.

<sup>775</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 3.

Britain wanted. Despite his racial and sexual stereotyping there is a subtle but noticeable consideration for all the characters in his fiction not just the British.<sup>776</sup> In discussing Haggard's representations of the African landscape Stiebel points out that 'Haggard exhibits the tensions and contradictions of his age, for at times he supports the "empty land" myth by his lyrical descriptions of vast, seemingly uninhabited, lands,' yet he references and details the life of the native people throughout his books.<sup>777</sup> Haggard's role in the promulgation of British imperialism is interesting as, as this thesis has shown, his personal opinions were both archly imperial and yet morally sympathetic to the plight of Zulu and their desire to maintain their own territory. Stiebel observes that:

Within his fictions, beneath the cover of narrative convention and fictional characters, some contradictory part of Haggard is free to show more humanity and humility, more fears and pessimism as to the outcome of the imperial project than the public, imperialist Haggard could allow.<sup>778</sup>

Haggard's narrative is constantly drawn into difficulties by his desire not only to valorise imperialism but in his acute awareness that the 'other' was not a nameless mass. The 'other' were people who were being directly affected by European colonialism being implemented by administrators such as Shepstone, and Fred Fynney.

### Shepstone: 'African Talleyrand'

One of Shepstone's contemporaries, Henry Francis Fynn's son, remembered, 'Shepstone could not bear anyone being looked upon as anything greater than himself'.<sup>779</sup> Morris describes Shepstone as:

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<sup>776</sup> Andrew Lang, 'Personal Correspondence', ed. by H. Rider Haggard (1890).

<sup>777</sup> Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances*. p. 15.

<sup>778</sup> *Ibid.* p. 32.

<sup>779</sup>Weir, 'King Shaka, the Diviners and Colonialism'. p. 02.8



[S]hrewd, infinitely patient, laborious, courageous—and ambitious. He had the temperament of a trained diplomat and he was inordinately fond of secrecy. His department was small, and he shared neither his plans nor his responsibilities. He deliberately fostered the notion that his province was an arcane one in which none might interfere'.<sup>780</sup>

Yet despite the generally negative views of Shepstone, Haggard perceived, with the confidence of one who had extracted 'the pith from a mass of blue-books,' that Shepstone understood the complexities of colonial government in that it demanded a more nuanced approach than simple "blood and thunder", or guns and warfare.<sup>781</sup> Haggard through his fiction ultimately reified Shepstone's ideas on British colonialism in southern Africa. As McClendon has shown in *White Chief, Black Lords* the negations and concessions of Shepstone's colonial policies were turned into a coherent whole, and reflected in the imperial adventure romance fiction of Haggard.

Africa was for Haggard an Arcadian colonial landscape. At the beginning of the twentieth century there was still a desire for an image of an African idyll, an idealised and unsustainable evocative place. Fiction such as Haggard's reinforced the idea that the British gentleman could create an exciting life for himself away from the tame and increasingly problematic society of early twentieth century Britain.

In the mid nineteenth century Shepstone wanted to create indigenous enclaves; he felt, according to McClendon that the natives 'were increasingly corrupted and oppressed by the settler presence' in Natal.<sup>782</sup> The idea of indigenous people being corrupted by the colonial settlers is a notion Haggard explores within his late nineteenth century story *Allan Quatermain*. When the character Henry Curtis is asked what he will do with the land he has become ruler of, he says:

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<sup>780</sup> Morris, *The Washing of the Spears*. p. 172.

<sup>781</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 47.

<sup>782</sup> McClendon, *White Chief, Black Lords: Shepstone and the Colonial State in Natal, South Africa, 1845-1878*. p. 27.

I cannot see that gunpowder, telegraphs, steam, daily newspapers, universal suffrage, etc., etc., have made mankind one whit the happier than they used to be, and I am certain they have brought many evils in their train. I have no fancy for handing over this beautiful country to be torn and fought for by speculators, tourists, politicians and teachers, whose voice is as the voice of Babel.<sup>783</sup>

The assumption of right of leadership and to do so in a manner which he saw fit is one of the overarching stereotype of the British coloniser abroad. As Robinson shows, the British 'were not the first, nor were they to be the last people, to project their own image as the universal ideal, nor to mistake fortunate trends of national history for natural laws and bend foreigners to obey them'.<sup>784</sup> What makes Shepstone particularly interesting as an important historical figure in the history of Natal is the incongruity of his running of the colonial department for Native Affairs with his immersion in the local African culture. Haggard's fiction always suggests Shepstone's ease with, and embeddedness in, southern African culture.

As I have mentioned in chapter two, Haggard was impressed by the regard Shepstone was held in by local people: 'Sompseu (sic), a song has been sung in my ears of how first you mastered this people of Zulu'.<sup>785</sup> By attempting to maintain the social fabric of the native African way of life and thus his ability to manipulate them, Shepstone hoped, in the words of Thomas McClendon, 'to recast colonial others as useful and unthreatening imperial subjects, redeemable through wage labour and Christianity'.<sup>786</sup> For Haggard, Shepstone was the lynch-pin within southern African history, an idea most likely he took from Shepstone himself.

Haggard is ambivalent in his imperialism. He is both recorder and creator of a specifically colonial history, he bewails the demise of the Zulu Kingdom whilst validating the importance of the role of the white British man; his main characters are

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<sup>783</sup> Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*. p. 310-311.

<sup>784</sup> Robinson, Gallagher, and Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*. p. 2.

<sup>785</sup> Haggard, *Nada the Lily* (London, Longmans, green, and Co., 1892), p. vii. [brackets as per original]

<sup>786</sup> McClendon, *White Chief, Black Lords: Shepstone and the Colonial State in Natal, South Africa, 1845-1878*. p. 32.

steeped in bloodshed yet they have strongly didactic behaviours; he is often discourteous about indigenous groups, particularly the ‘Hottentots’, within his books yet privileges the Zulu people.

## Conclusion

In the early twentieth century Britain was still reeling from her losses and lack of fitness in the Zulu and Boer wars, and aware of the political unrest in Europe which would ultimately lead to World War One. It was during this time that Haggard began work on the trilogy in which he would examine the events which were integral to the collapse of the Zulu nation, writing his alternative version of South African history. His focus was on the cultural and geo-political history of the Zulu people. The Zikali trilogy, starting with *Marie*, tells the story of Allan Quatermain from a child to his first marriage at 17 to Marie Marias, a Boer who is killed at the end of the book by her cousin; in *Child of Storm* Quatermain is 37 and becomes tied up within the machinations of tribal Zulu politics and falls for the ‘extremely beautiful’<sup>787</sup> native character Mameena;<sup>788</sup> to his final significant interaction with the Zulu aged 62 at the start of the 1879-1915 South African Wars in *Finished*. The Zikali trilogy are Haggard’s most revealing books in that they challenge the notion of Haggard as being only a jingoistic imperial writer. In the books the complexity of the socio-cultural colonial encounter can be read, and importantly within the imperial adventure romance framework of the Zikali trilogy the depths of Theophilus Shepstone’s influence on Haggard’s colonial beliefs are visible.

Haggard’s Zikali trilogy clearly evidences that the Zulu is both seen and scene of the British imperial body politic. They become the people onto which he can project the grandeur of mythology whilst also validating the intervention of Shepstonian colonialism. The history that Haggard writes about in his fiction is neither collusive nor consensual with the peoples he writes of: it is a subjective construction of the Zulu nation and Natal history. Yet, ultimately it did not matter that he had taken a history which was not his own—and reshaped it into a series of imperial adventure romances—as his works were reappropriated by the descents of those he wrote about when they looked to tell their own history to politically unite. Haggard’s fictional history

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<sup>787</sup> Haggard, *Child of Storm*. p. 3.

<sup>788</sup> Zikali says to Quatermain in *Child of Storm*: ‘your white pride would not suffer you to admit that black fingers were pulling at your heartstrings.’ Ibid. p. 324.

of the Zulu nation is part of a cross-cultural appropriation and re-appropriation of culture and identity, one in which Haggard's Zikali trilogy is a representation of black agency in British imperial literature.

Haggard's novels formed a specific societal construct firmly rooted in the patriarchal father to son and in the imperial relationship of colonist to 'other'. He was an imperialist whose avocation of empire was vociferous, as Martin Hall says, 'there can be no doubt that he believed passionately in the British Empire'.<sup>789</sup> Yet, his awareness of the Zulu as a maimed nation unable to successfully resist the changing times shows a lack of xenophobia more clearly than previous evidence, which focussed on citing his 'frequently including the "native" name for geographical features'.<sup>790</sup> If Haggard's trilogy suggests one thing it is that colonial narratives are dialogues which become the building blocks of the creation of an African image by those at the centre of the Empire. Haggard identified, labelled and categorised people and place for Western consumption. What makes his particular narrative so interesting is that he did not just define the 'other' but also the Western interloper and their role.

Haggard fluidly moved between fact and fiction in his novels; whether critically or not, he created a different world for himself as the author and his character Allan Quatermain in which they were as integral to the history of British imperialism in southern Africa as Shepstone. The depth of Haggard's affection towards Shepstone cannot be understated. The natural warmth and affection of Shepstone's character appealed to Haggard, as much as Shepstone appreciated his eager young disciple. Haggard called him, 'of all men the most spotless and upright in character'.<sup>791</sup> Shepstone embodies Haggard's ideal of British colonialism in Africa. Even though Shepstone died nineteen years before the first book in the trilogy was published Haggard was still idealising Shepstone's concept of the benevolent British man who would rule the colonial masses. Haggard's Zikali trilogy is an imperial adventure romance history of the southern African colonialist experience. The trilogy is shaped by the ideology of a young Haggard who only saw the world that could have been, an idealist of Britain's colonial African empire. Ultimately the Zikali trilogy draws on the

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<sup>789</sup> Hall, 'The Legend of the Lost City; or, the Man with Golden Balls'. p. 188.

<sup>790</sup> Stiebel, *Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances*. p. 12.

<sup>791</sup> Haggard, *The Days of My Life*. p. 144.

ambiguity of dependence that the British colonial interlopers had on the indigenous peoples they interacted with. The socio-cultural site of the colonial encounter is rendered both complex and destructive in the imperial adventure romance trilogy of *Zikali* by H. Rider Haggard.

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