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Mining, social change and literature: an analysis of South African literature with particular reference to the mining novel, 1870-1920

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> government should be a 'benevolent and sympathetic father' as in the 'good old days' of Shepstone and his personal control of native affairs. (8)

Added to this misconception relating to the role of the chief, were others relating to customary law. So, for example, the codification of Zulu law in Natal removed its former flexibility and it began to assume a hitherto unfamiliar rigidity. In addition, new laws, largely relating to the control and movement of labour, that had never been part of the customary law, began creeping in. This codified law also hit particularly hard at the role and power of the hereditary chief removing for example, his former ability to allocate land. Particularly after the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879, hereditary chiefs became deposed in favour of appointed chiefs and 'collaborators' whose hands were strengthened by a despotic control over his subjects. Furthermore, these separatist laws and administration took no cognisance of the stratification that were appearing within African society. Hence the educated Africans were 'administered' along similar lines to their heathen counterparts, a factor which emerged as a sore grievance on the part of the former group.

Alongside these types of attitudes, there also existed a substantial degree of nostalgia. For at a time when tribal institutions were being radically dislocated and reformulated to suit the labour needs of the colony, many people began hankering back to the 'good old days' of pre-imperial African societies, which many lauded as 'well-nigh perfect'. (9) However it must be stressed that this nostalgia often rested on the current distorted view of African societies.

Added to the complexity of white attitudes to the 'rural tribesmen', resting on misconception and nostalgia, was a strand of fear and fantasy within white settler psychology. Often living on isolated farms, these settlers harboured constant fears of attack and hence regarded Africans around them with a mixture of fear and contempt - fear of the unpredictable tribesman and contempt for him as servant.

I have gone into these particular sets of attitudes in some detail, for it is in this ideological milieu of misconceptions about tribal society, paternalism, nostalgia, contempt and fear that the romance/ adventure writer functions. And, in this connection, it is instructive to remember that the two major purveyors of romance fiction relating to South Africa, Bertram Mitford and Rider Haggard were crucially influenced by political thinking in Natal, the colony where these particular attitudes arising from separatism were often strongest. And it was to be writers like Haggard and Mitford, who in this contradictory amalgam of nostalgia, misconception, fear and contempt, could find a sure-fire best seller recipe. Drawing on nostalgia and anachronistic views of African society, they could exploit settler fears and fantasies for those around them, whilst at the same time, provide an implicit buttressing of dominant ideas and attitudes. And again the structural features of the adventure tale could easily be adapted to meet these requirements.

Firstly, the invariable rural setting of the adventure tale provided an exemplification of the supposed 'natural' state of the African. To have a romance set in an urban setting could have been an impossible mixture. The 'noble savage', unlike Jim, never goes to Jo'burg. This particular view of the 'noble tribesman' could then obscure the fact that large numbers of Africans were working in urban centres and being drawn into a common economy, whilst perpetuating the myth of the 'essential kaffir', to take a popular book title from the times. (10)

Into this untouched Africa, the figure of the great white superman could easily be introduced, for whilst he exemplified imperial ideals of manliness, courage and valour, he could also easily elide into the separatist ideal of the paternalistic native administrator or great white father. However, to supply the necessary elements of suspense and adventure, his life has to be beset by threats and dangers. And for this purpose, the contradictory attitude of fear and contempt towards the African could be invoked to create of rural tribesmen, unpredictable and tyrannical savages.

This contradiction finds its fullest expression in the concept of the

'noble savage', that most crucial element of romance and adventure. The history of the 'noble savage' goes back a long way, having roots in Renaissance England, and subsequently finding wide currency during the Romantic Age, which placed great emphasis on the innocence and child-like nature of the 'savage'. (11) This particular portrayal was in turn adopted by colonisers, who found in it a most consoling ideology which made of the powerless, innocent children. Furthermore the concept could also pander to white nostalgia by representing a pre-industrial golden age, when the world was unsullied by the ravages of industrialisation. As one commentator has pointed out, this type of perception made

> a cult of a particular form of primitiveness designed and constructed from the romantic conceit of the oppressor. The 'noble savage' and the 'earth mother' become impotent, self-binding symbols of the qualities the white man in capitalism has destroyed for himself. Nostalgia lingers delicately around the edges of an advanced technology. (12)

Over and above these two traits, the 'noble savage' could also become a self-fulfilling sanctification for white conquest. The 'savage', whilst 'noble', could also be brutal and hence called out to be 'civilised'. Yet, at the same time, the people believed that the 'savage', with his innate 'bloodlust' and 'violence', could never be 'civilised'. And in this guise, the 'noble savage' could become the representative of the reserve economy, since if the 'savage' in him could not be 'civilised', territorial segregation could be rationalised.

This view of the 'noble savage' as the mediation and expression of certain ideological trends needs to be stressed, for it has often been overlooked. Cairns, for example, (13) in his discussion of the 'noble savage', tends to see the concept as an empirical reproduction of 'reality' rather than an ideological one. Hence he puts forward two major points or pre-conditions for the concept of the noble savage to emerge. He maintains that in order for the concept to arise, the coloniser must be in contact with an isolated and peaceful tribe, or as he terms it, an 'African Eden', untouched by white

conquest or internecine warfare. The second prerequisite is that the coloniser must have a certain amount of cultural relativism inherent in his thought. This would then enable him to perceive and see value in certain tribal institutions.

Now whilst this may possibly have a measure of truth, the emphasis possibly tends to be the wrong way around. Natal, for example, which produced from white thinking a long line of 'noble savages', can by no means be described as an 'African Eden'. On the contrary, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, it was extensively affected by both white conquest and internecine warfare. Yet, notwithstanding these conditions of conflict, the 'noble savage' made frequent appearances in white thought. Furthermore, it was largely these particular conditions of conflict that had led certain sections of white society to formulate separatism as a political system which could most profitably ensure its survival and reproduction. And it is as part of this ideology of separatism that ideals of the 'noble savage' arose: hence the concept of the 'noble savage' emerges as an ideological mediation of certain material conflicts which are prior, rather than as an expression of a free-floating idea. Furthermore, Cairns' emphasis on cultural relativism would be part of the same process. Separatist thinkers invariably claimed a 'knowledge' and understanding of African societies, more often than not, a distorted one that had been conditioned by the ideologies of their political philosophy. Hence again, the 'noble savage' and this distorted cultural relativism are materially cognate, the idea is in no sense prior.

Finally, mention must be made of the characteristic ideological geography of romance and adventure tales, and the way in which it could support segregationist designs. In general terms, the interaction of the great white superman and the 'savages' surrounding him, plays itself out in separatist terms. Consequently, the geography of these novels can be characterised as centrist, with the whites in the middle and on the best land, surrounded by 'savages' on the periphery.

This centrist ideal was one that had widespread validity throughout colonial white society, and was used repeatedly as a rationalisation for existing dispensations of power. In certain novels, for example, John Buchan's Prester John, this separatist geography becomes overtly explicit. (14) In others it functions more generally as a fictive rationalisation for the ideals of indirect rule - the great white father in the centre and on 'top' of African societies, subject often to great personal dangers, but ultimately succeeding in controlling the 'recalcitrant children' around him.

1. Bertram Mitford

Alongside Haggard, Mitford emerges as one of the writers who most successfully exploited the romance formula to produce thirty novels over a period of three decades - 1882-1909. In these works he exploited white settler fantasies to the full by working with the mixture of docile tribesmen who could unpredictably turn into violent 'savages'. This perception he, in turn, overlaid with strong doses of nostalgia, a factor that emerges from his self-appointed role of documentor of 'vanishing history'.

> If our narrative deals with history, it is with a vanishing page of the same, and as such we look to it to interest the reader, if only as a sidelight upon the remarkable military power and ultimate downfall of the finest and most intelligent race of savages (the Zulus) in the world, - now, thanks to the 'beneficient' policy of England, crushed and 'civilised' out of all recognition. (15)

The era of vanishing history which generally concerned Mitford was a period of crucial historical change in South Africa - namely, that period when African and other societies, for the last time, were to use open resistance against colonisation. Consequently, his novels recurrently focus on three such phases - the Zulu resistance in the 1870's and the revolts of 1904-1906; the Ndebele-Shona insurrections and the Anglo-Boer War. (16) Mitford correctly perceived this

period as one of 'vanishing history' in so far as it spelt the end of independence and marked a new era of dependency for Africans as the military and economic scales were being tipped in favour of the white polity. But Mitford seems to have been far less concerned with the changes that these wars ushered in, than with perpetuating a nostalgic and artificial view of African society prior to these confrontations. In creating this artificial view, he drew extensively on the current myths of separatism which he secreted into his romances fiction via two codes - the 'noble savage' and the 'great white superman'.

The first of these figures - the 'noble savage' - can best be summarised by quoting a description he gave in his work of non-fiction, Through the Zulu Country. According to this work, the Zulu is 'a picturesque object...tall and lithe as a bronze Apollo; a few fantastic ornaments of beadwork and hide constitute his attire, a long reed snuff box is stuck through the lobe of his ear and in his hand is the inevitable knobkerrie.' (17) From this description, Mitford gained much mileage, and the portrait of the 'noble Zulu' appears in slightly altered form in one of his novels, The Gun Runner.

> The wide and lofty forehead, and clear bright eyes, the expressive features and short beard, the perfectly-proportioned frame, moulded like the figure of a bronze Apollo, the firm muscle showing beneath the satiny skin, the proud yet aggressive bearing, all go to make up a very striking personality - indeed a very ideal of savage manhood. (18)

Like all 'noble savages', Mitford's men are unclad, a state that he believed to be both 'natural' and desirable.

> The Zulu in his normal garb (which is far more decent than that of most savages), his supple limbs modelled like those of a bronze statue, striding along with head erect and light elastic step, is a fine noble-looking fellow; clap a tweed suit and shirt collar upon him...and you turn him into an awkward, ungainly barbarian, looking and feeling thoroughly ridiculous and uncomfortable. Wherefore the question arises - can these people be intended to wear clothes? (19)

This 'thinking' of the 'natural' and 'eternal' state of the 'noble savage' pervades Mitford's work, and he, not surprisingly, attacked any form of change that affected Zulu society. Urban life, for

example, made of Africans

> a thieving, filthy, impudent and worthless set of vagabonds, never reliable and always discontented, spending all their earnings on drink when they condescend to work. (20)

Rather, according to Mitford, these rural tribesmen were best left in reserves, or as labourers on farms where they could be controlled in feudal splendour by white landowners and 'native commissioners'.

Mitford, too, reacted with alarm to any change in class formation that would question this master/serf dispensation. He consequently distrusted all educated Africans, a class of people he invariably portrays unsympathetically in his work. (21) In these portrayals of the African petty bourgeoisie, Mitford unleashed his most fervent prejudices which automatically transformed educated Africans into 'ignoble savages'. As regards the latter, we are provided with a dazzling display of gore and bloodlust that exploits to the full every settler fear that ever existed. A good example emerges from the character of Nanzicele, in John Ames. This Nanzicele is a man of two parts. Firstly he is a policeman, but he is also a part-time savage, for the novel tells us 'from beneath the uniform seeming to tell of discipline and self-restraint the heart of a savage beat hard - the heart of a savage as fierce and ruthless as that which beats in the dusky breasts of those around'. (22) When the Ndebele uprising starts, it is Nanzicele who leads an attack against his former master, Inglesfield. And in this scene Mitford combines crass racial stereotypes with details of gore and plunder in an attempt to create as repulsive a picture as possible.

> A horrible sight they presented, their once smart uniforms filthy with blood and grease, their faces lolling with intoxicated imbecility, their speech thick and their legs tottering...(22)

Having posited the possibility of the 'maddened and uncontrollable savage', Mitford can then easily move on to speak of methods of social

and political control. And at this point, he introduces the figure of the 'great white superman'. These characters invariably maintain order through indirect rule and despotic control; a structure mediating Mitford's belief that the African state had always been ruled by 'autocratic savagery'. If this is how pre-imperial societies functioned, then the institution of white paternal despots becomes perfectly justifiable. This trait of despotic control is further supported by his view that 'savages' were at heart children who need control.

Allied to this common ideological pattern of portraying the powerless as innocent children, is the proclivity for explaining any uprising or discontent in terms of the consoling instigation theory. If Africans were at heart children, then it would be impossible for them to organise large-scale insurrections, and if uprisings do occur, then it must be the work of some inciter swaying the hitherto contented inhabitants to revolt. This instigator theme was, of course, a common one in colonial fiction and most writers portrayed their instigators as black. However, such are the contradictions of Mitford's ideological universe, that his instigators are often white, as in his two novels The Gun Runner and John Ames. These novels deal with the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 and Ndebele-Shona uprising, and are united. fictively, by the figure of the protagonist Lorraine. In the first novel he is a gun runner with considerable sway over Cetshwayo and in the second he appears in the guise of Umlimo, 'the godhead of the Matabele'. (Here Mitford was obviously drawing on the popular belief which imputed the entire uprising to one Mlimo, based in turn on the part that the Mlimo cults had played in the insurrection).

Notwithstanding his renegade status, Lorraine, in broad outline provides the basis for many other Mitford 'supermen' protagonists. Most of these protagonists start their life in England where they are fast losing their wealth and prestige. This loss of status makes them disgruntled with the genteel poverty and overcrowded state of English society, which leaves these men with a feeling of world weariness. Laurence Stanninghame, hero of The Sign of the Spider 'oft times wondered'

> ...how the blank hopeless feeling of having completely down with life could be his, seeing that he was still in his prime. Formerly eager, sanguine, warm-hearted, glowing with good impulses: now how different, sceptical, with a heart of stone and the chronic sneer of the cynic. (23)

To combat this lassitude, the protagonists come to Africa for rejuvenation. Here they realise themselves in a Bacchanalian programme of near self-immolation in the mysterious 'otherness' of the 'dark' African hinterland.

It is interesting to note that many a Mitford protagonist bears some resemblance to the white chief in Natal, John Dunn, for whom Mitford had the greatest admiration. Dunn had involved himself in the war between Cetshwayo and Mbulazi, and despite his support for the latter eventually became one of Cetshwayo's advisers. In return he received land and recognition as a quasi-chief. However, after the Anglo-Zulu war, in which he aided the British, he was rewarded by being appointed a chieftain in one of the thirteen areas created in the Ulundi settlement. In administering his area, Dunn made himself fairly amenable to the authorities by instituting taxes, establishing 'native councils' and appointing magistrates and labour agents. Mitford, who met Dunn, regarded him highly as a person and as a model of good administration, his territory in Mitford's words being, 'as orderly and well-governed as that of any other potentate and a great deal more that those of some'. (24) In addition to Dunn's public office, Mitford also admired his lifestyle.

> If he prefers living in Zululand, and occupying a high position among its people to living in Natal, a unit among his fellow countrymen, it is purely his own affair: I can imagine a man who has led a wild and roving life finding the position of chief, among a brave and superior race like the Zulus, one not unworthy of his ambition. (25)

And it is this model of the white chief that seems to have inspired at least the broad outlines of some of Mitford's protagonists. Lorraine for example, is one of Cetshwayo's advisers, while Dunn's methods of administration provide the model for those used by John Ames, as

'native commissioner'. Protagonists like those in The Sign of the Spider and The Weird of Deadly Hollow, follow Dunn's footsteps in finding African societies more conducive than European societies.

Yet although these protagonists mix substantially with Africans, it is an alternative that Mitford ultimately rejects. It may be rejuvenating for these extreme individualists who, in African society, find a palliative for their lassitude with industrial Europe, but ultimately Mitford comes down squarely on the side of settler society, whose values he affirms again and again, by having his hero marry a white woman. They invariably spend some time wandering around in an African Eden, far from 'civilisation'. After this rejuvenating sojourn, they can return to civilisation to produce more settler children.

Mitford's work was well-received during its time, and consistent with the prevailing aesthetic climate was lauded for its veracity, an impression that has persisted to this day. Hence Snyman praises Mitford for 'his thorough knowledge of the Zulus', whilst his description of native life are said to be 'precise'. Furthermore Snyman maintains that Mitford is 'the most accurate of the South African novelists who wrote on native life'. (26)

However, the point to be made is that Mitford's works were precise only in terms of certain ideological perceptions. Hence the view of African society that he created was one that had been culled from dominant political theory, and he continued to use these formulations by insisting they were 'natural' and 'eternal'. He opposed any changes that would question these formulations and continued to see society in terms of a caste-like dispensation which he, in keeping with the thought of his time, rationalised by social Darwinist assumptions. For Mitford, this constituted an immutable ontology - 'preyer or preyed upon , such was the iron immutable law of life, from man in his highest development to the minutest of insects'. (27)



H. Rider Haggard

2. H. Rider Haggard

In discussing romance, one has, of course, to deal with Rider Haggard, who, although he only spent six years in South Africa, created a spate of commercially successful writing out of his brief experience of the sub-continent.

Given the connection between romance and Imperial ideology, it is not surprising that Haggard should have excelled in that form, for in it he found a genre conducive to his conservative outlook. Part and parcel of his outlook were his views on art, and in this connection he felt that romance was the greatest art form, that could only be be written by great people.

> Really good romance writing is perhaps the most difficult art practised by the sons of man. It might even be maintained that none but a great man or woman can produce a really great work of fiction. (28)

The great man theory of art tied in neatly with the Imperial 'great man' theory of history and throughout his life, Haggard was to produce novels sanctifying the deeds of great Anglo-Saxon man in underdeveloped countries. He not only turned his attention to South Africa, but sent his protagonists on fictive colonising missions to a number of other underdeveloped areas - Mexico, Peru, Spain and the Middle East.

Haggard, like many other aristocratic Englishmen of his time, saddled with an uncertain education and financially ailing father, was packed off to the colonies in 1875 as an aide to Henry Bulwer, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, where he was to spend the next six years. Whilst in Natal, Haggard came under the tutelage of Shepstone and consequently was crucially influenced by his thinking. In the best tradition of Imperial hero worship, Haggard looked up to the 'native administrator' as to a father. During this period in the colonial service, Haggard lived through a time of marked British expansionism, which involved the annexation of Griqualand West, the Transvaal and the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. Consistent with his position in the service, he quickly developed views and ideologies appropriate to that class. Consequently he maintained a vehement belief in British superiority, whilst

harbouring paternalistic contempt for the colonised people both African and Afrikaans. Subsequently Haggard was to become a settler and landowner near Newcastle and he also began to harbour the orthodox views of that class. As an isolated minority occupying twelve million acres of land, these settlers were ever prone to fears and fantasies of a black uprising, fears that Haggard set out in his book on Natal as follows.

> On the one hand, there is a very slowly increasing, scattered and mixed population of about 25,000 whites capable, at the outside, of putting a force of 4 000 men in the field. On the other, there is a warlike native population, united by the ties of race and common interests, numbering at the present moment between 400 000 and 500 000, and increasing by leaps and bounds, capable of putting quite 80 000 warriors into the field and possessing, besides, numerous strongholds called locations. (29)

In positing a solution to the 'problem', Haggard adopted the traditional one of expelling the Zulus in Natal either northwards to Zululand or southwards to Pondoland, a scheme of Shepstone's that Haggard grieved had never come to fruition. However, not all the black inhabitants of Natal should be expelled, and a certain number, according to Haggard, should remain behind as labourers. This plan could be achieved by depriving 'them of their troops of servants in the shape of wives, and thus force them to betake themselves of honest labour like the rest of mankind'. (30)

Over and above these views, Haggard espoused many other Natal orthodox views as regards Africans. For example he manifested a fear and contempt for 'educated Africans' referring to them as 'drunkards and thieves' (31) whilst the 'heathens' in Natal were characterised as follows.

> Savages they are, and savages they will remain, and in the struggle between them and civilisation it is possible that they may be conquered, but I do not believe that they will be converted. The Zulu kaffir is incompatible with civilisation. (32)

Furthermore, he regarded the rulers of African nations as barbarous and despotic tyrants. (33) Living in what must have appeared to Haggard as an ominous and threatening position, he not surprisingly characterised his own and his class position in centrist terms. White settlers, he said, 'bore the same relative proportion that the oases do to the desert or the islands of an archipelago to the ocean that washes their shores'. (34)

Although Haggard left Natal in 1881, he took with him an ideological ballast from which he was later to create a plethora of fiction. Part of this ballast included his ideals of a centrist geography, his fearful contempt for the unpredictable 'savage', a degree of paternalism and a belief in corrupt and power-crazed despots on the basis of the African state. Added to this was a wider frame of Imperialist thought, involving an immutable belief in individual great men, the beneficence of colonisation and the superiority of the Anglo Saxon race. These ideas gain possibly the most direct mediation in his four novels that deal with Natal - Nada the Lily, and the trilogy, Marie, Child of Storm and Finished. In these novels Haggard attempts to trace the history of the Zulu state from the days of Shaka, and, in keeping with romance convention, makes the claim that his words are 'true'. In the preface to Nada The Lily, he says

> The author's aim, moreover, has been to convey in narrative form some idea of the remarkable spirit which animated these kings and their subjects, and to make accessible in a popular shape, incidents of history which are now, for the most part, only to be found in a few scarce works of reference, rarely consulted, except by students...Most, indeed nearly all, of the historical incidents here recorded are substantially true. (35)

The idea of historical veracity has persisted strongly and was to be faithfully reproduced by Haggard scholars. Haggard's biographer Cohen, for example, claims

> The people, the language, the landscape - they all ring true. Zulus could not be otherwise than Haggard pictures them; Africa must have been exactly as he paints it...Haggard has known the black man. (36)

Obviously the works can in no way be a direct reproduction of 'historical reality', but instead are an ideological mediation of the same. And the major structure in this mediation pivots around Haggard's view of history as being individually created. High on the list of the makers of history is of course Haggard's veteran protagonist, Allan Quartermain, colonial servant, virile outdoor man and the apotheosis of machismo. And wherever conflict existed on the sub-continent, there too would Quartermain be, making or breaking entire nations. In King Solomon's Mines, for example, he singlehandedly divides an entire black nation, whilst in Finished, he very nearly stops the Anglo-Zulu War.

In portraying the inhabitants of Africa, Haggard divided them squarely into two camps - the noble and the ignoble. The ideal of the noble emerges in figures like Umbopas and Umslopogaas and by a deft sleight of hand, Haggard, through his ethno-centrism, makes their noble characteristics unequivocally British. So for example Umslopogaas' sense of honour, dignity and fairplay conform to that of the ethos of the Victorian public school. As one commentator has said, 'Umslopogaas is praised by the white men for his great physique and for his manly virtues and fair fighting, which he might have learned on the playing fields of Eton'. (37) Hence Umslopogaas and his like can be admired largely because, in their guise of the 'noble savage', they conform closely to the ideal of the 'noble Briton'. However, these shared qualities by no means imply equality, for whilst they may be 'noble' and worthy of grudging admiration, (38) they remain in racial terms inferior. This racial inferiority tends to be implicitly reinforced by the 'noble savages'' proclivity for faithfulness to the white protagonist. And it is interesting to draw a speculative correlation between the 'faithful savage' and the 'collaborator', a role that Umbopas seems to have played prior to his meeting with Quartermain in King Solomon's Mines (39). For in terms of colonial patterns of conquest and their ratifying ideologies generally, and 'Haggard's own position and ideology specifically, it would be consistent for him to see such 'collaborators' in a sympathetic and favourable light. Those opposed to the imposition of white rule would concomitantly be seen unfavourably.

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In drawing portraits of 'ignoble savages', Haggard could draw substantially on his experience in Natal, where he had seen Zulu society as a threatening unit, inimically opposed to 'civilisation'. Furthermore, in supporting this ideology, Haggard could call on the current beliefs of African rulers as bloody despots. This particular strand emerges transparently in King Solomon's Mines in the character of Twala - a portrayal as Couzens has shown, based extensively on Lobengula. (40) In Haggard's description of Twala his unengaging physical characteristics elide into his office and methods of rule.

> Then the gigantic figure slipped off the kaross and stood up before us, a truly alarming spectacle. It was that of an enormous man with the most entirely repulsive countenance we had ever beheld. This man's lips were as thick as a negro's and the nose was flat, he had but one gleaming black eye, for the other was represented by a hollow in the face, and his whole expression was cruel and sensual to a degree. (41)

Similarly in Nada The Lily, Shaka is seen unfavourably, notwithstanding the ambiguous and grudging admiration Haggard extends to him by calling him a 'colossal genius and most evil man'. (42) The interaction of Haggard's white protagonists, their 'collaborating' 'noble savages' and the 'ignoble savages' takes place, predictably enough, in a dark and inaccessible part of Africa. And in terms of this frame work, 'savage' Africa comes to represent the antithesis to 'Western civilisation', the 'other', the 'opposite' and the 'female principle' - a recalcitrant object which refuses ultimately to reveal all of its secrets, in a similar way no doubt, as the Zulus, according to Haggard could never be 'civilised'. Furthermore, Haggard attempts to give this dual scheme a mythological and teleological gloss. Hence in the novel She, the young protagonist Vincey has his ancestory dating back to Egypt, the 'cradle of Western civilisation' which goes to seek its opposite in Africa. For as the narrator says, 'We come to find new things...we are tired of the old things, we have come up out of the sea to know that which is unknown...' (43) So the 'Apollos' of the West, come to discover themselves in the 'Bacchanalian' darkness of Africa, and, not surprisingly, most of the action takes place underground.

Despite, or rather because of, the reactionary image of Africa and its inhabitants that Haggard created, his work, both during his time and today, remains exceedingly popular. It has been read by all classes, it has been filmed, it has been translated into nearly a hundred languages, it has been prescribed for schools, and secured for Haggard a sizeable fortune. If this popularity shows anything, it points to the strength and longevity of an ongoing reproductive ideology concerning Africa, that still claims many ardent supporters. Not least of these is Haggard's biographer, Morton Cohen, whose claim, that newly independent African states would turn to Haggard as a source of reliable reference concerning African history, leaves one aghast. Cohen puts it as follows.

> As the African nations continue to take their place in the modern world of states, during the late twentieth century and in the twenty-first, their writers will, if they follow the pattern of those in other new or reborn nations, try to portray the glories of their people's past. Among their sources will most likely be found Haggard's work. (44)

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Ampie Coetzee et al. op.cit., p.29
2. Ibid., pp.11-12
3. B.V. Street, op.cit., p.22
4. H.A.C. Cairns, Prelude to Imperialism, (1965), p.148
5. H. Rider Haggard, She, (1891), p.4
6. Ibid.
7. Shula Marks, (1970), op.cit., p.119
8. Ibid., p.13
9. Ibid., p.119
10. D. Kidd, The Essential Kaffir, (1904)
11. For further information on the 'noble savage' see, H.N. Fairchild, The Noble Savage A Study in Romantic Naturalism (n.d.), B.V. Street, op.cit., and H.A.C. Cairns, op.cit., pp.102-119
12. S. Rowbotham, op.cit., p.201
13. See, for this discussion, H.A.C. Cairns, op.cit., pp.102-119
14. Tim Couzens, ' "The Old Africa of a Boy's Dream": towards interpreting Prester John' unpublished paper, mimeo, (1978) pp.2-13
15. Preface to the first edition of Bertram Mitford, The Gun Runner quoted in the reviews printed in the second edition, (1894)
16. The novels dealing with Zulu resistance are The Lost Heiress,(1891), The Gun Runner, (1894), The Induna's Wife, (1898), and The Word of the Sorceress,(1902): those dealing withe the Ndebele-Shona uprising are John Ames: Native Commissioner, (1899), The Triumph of Hilary Blachland, (1901), The Kings Assegai, (1894) and The White Shield, (1896); his novel on the Anglo-Boer War, in Aletta,(1900). Information from J.P.L. Snyman, op.cit., pp.37-38, 47
17. B. Mitford, Through the Zulu Country, (1883), p.80
18. B. Mitford, (1894), op.cit., p.20
19. B. Mitford, (1883), op.cit., p.53
20. Ibid., p.78
21. See, for example, his portrayal of the Rev. Magwegwe in The White Hand and the Black, op.cit.
22. B. Mitford (1899), op.cit., p.15
23. B. Mitford The Sign of the Spider, (1897), p.6
24. B. Mitford (1883), op.cit., p.198
25. Ibid., p.201

26. J.P.L. Snyman, op.cit., p.38
27. B. Mitford, (1897), op.cit., p.172
28. M. Cohen, Rider Haggard His Life and Works, (1960), p.124
29. H. Rider Haggard, Cetshwayo and his White Neighbours, (1888), p.67
30. Ibid., p.69
31. Ibid., p.63
32. Ibid., p.69
33. See, for example, Tim Couzens, "Literature and Ideology: The Patterson Embassy to Lobengula 1878 and King Solomons Mines", ICS, (1974) mimeo, and also Haggard's own discussion in Cetshwayo and His White Neighbours, op.cit., p.65
34. Ibid., p.73
35. H. Rider Haggard, Nada The Lily, (1949), p.ix-x
36. M. Cohen, op.cit. p.229
37. B.V. Street, op.cit., p.56
38. See Quartermain's comment: 'He is, in his savage fashion, the finest general I have met'. Quoted in B.V. Street, op.cit., p.57
39. See, for example, Umbopa's comments concerning his early career. He says that he first fought with Cetshwayo and then 'ran away from Zululand and came to Natal because I wanted to see the white man's way'. Having seen 'the white man's way', he fights against Cetshwayo King Solomon's Mines (1962), p.39
40. Tim Couzens, op.cit.
41. H. Rider Haggard, (1962), op.cit., p.106
42. H. Rider Haggard, (1949), op.cit., p
43. H. Rider Haggard, (1891), op.cit., p.70
44. M. Cohen, op.cit., p.229

CONCLUSION

In dealing with South African literature in this thesis, I have attempted to present a tentative cross-section of this country's writing during a specific historical period, which is, I feel, all one can honestly hope to achieve. For by and large, South African literary studies have been an acutely underresearched area, where one has often to counteract centuries of ignorance, neglect or partial and distorted understanding. Consequently any sense of boundary or fixed meaning must remain tentative, particularly when the process of creating a history of South African literature has only recently started. In such a situation, one must always maintain a sense of shifting perspective, where what is important now, may, in five years time, be of footnote value.

However, lest one create the impression of eternally floundering in a morass, I have attempted to set up certain pointers by which I feel one can begin to chart South African literature meaningfully. And the first of these is a social one - for only through a fully social theory of literature will one be able to begin to approach the complexities of a dynamic culture. Consequently, this thesis has throughout been closely historically grounded, and the material has been organised around the centrifugal vortex that the revolutionary impact of mining capital created at the turn of the century. This radical social upheaval, in turn, saturated the social fabric of South African society - a change which inevitably registered itself upon literary production of all types. Firstly, this rapidly extending hegemony spawned new forms of literature, most apparent, thematically, from the way in which the social image of mining progressively crept into literature, and created its own forms of expression. Furthermore, the new class and social relations that followed in the wake of mining also translated themselves fairly directly into peculiar literary discourses, resting on certain attitudes, which I have attempted to trace in an analysis of the changing perceptions of Africans in South African fiction. Secondly, I would like to suggest in conclusion, that the social effects of mining hegemony, not only created new forms, discourses and thematic concerns, but also tended to influ-

ence pre-existing literary forms, or to remould certain enduring colonial literary trends. Most obvious, here, were the developments within romance, ever the literary handmaiden of Imperialism. And as the industrial economy began to eddy further outward, so too, did certain sections of South African society and their literary ideologues become ever more preoccupied with the ideal of a return to the past, and made of this the supreme instrument of political reaction. Another example of the indirect changes precipitated by mining can be detected within the body of liberal thought that dominated parts of South African political thinking. And within this ideological milieu, I have attempted to show the extent to which liberal writers reacted to the cataclysmic changes brought about by mining.

In utilising these different approaches - part thematic, part formal - I have attempted above all to illustrate the diversity of South African literature. For against the often repeated claim that South Africa has 'no literature' or has only a handful of 'good' writers, it becomes essential to point to the wealth of writing that has existed. And ultimately this question devolves not so much to a matter of fact - what literature is there? - but to a matter of theory - what is literature? For while critics still adhere to a formalistic and value-laden view of literature, large sections of South African writing will forever be overlooked. Rather, one should attempt to see literature as a dynamic process whereby people and specifically classes of people, under specific historical pressures, contradictions and forces, attempt to make sense of their lives. For only from such a point of view will one be able to gain a holistic view of South African literature that will include all classes and all media, be they oral or journalistic.

And at a time when South African literary studies appear to be finally getting off the ground, the point cannot be too strongly made. For frequently many studies of South African literature make recourse to an understanding of literature that narrows the field of enquiry to a few 'recognised' works. This selective understanding, whereby only certain 'good' writers are ensconsed and remembered, is unfortunately often a powerful one that is disseminated through schools and universities. And before such time as this selective tradition becomes

calcified, it has become increasingly necessary to counter it with a more broad ranging vision of South African literature. Williams, in talking of a similar process of selectivity, points both to its dangers and suggests directions for alternatives.

> It is a very powerful process, since it is tied to many practical continuities - families, places, institutions, a language - which are indeed directly experienced. It is also, at any time, a vulnerable process, since it has in practice to discard whole areas of significance, or reinterpret or dilute them, or convert them into forms which support or at least do not contradict the really important elements of the current hegemony. It is significant that much of the most accessible and influential work of the counter-hegemony is historical: the recovery of discarded areas, or the redress of selective and reductive interpretations. But this in turn has little effect unless the lines to the present, in the actual process of the selective tradition, are clearly and actively traced. Otherwise any recovery can be simply residual or marginal. It is at the vital points of connection, where a version of the past is used to ratify the present and to indicate directions for the future, that a selective tradition is at once powerful and vulnerable. Powerful because it is so skilled in making active selective connections, dismissing those it does not want as 'out of date' or 'nostalgic', attacking those it cannot incorporate as 'unprecedented' or 'alien'. Vulnerable because the real record is effectively recoverable, and many of the alternative or opposing practical continuities are still available. (1)

Hopefully this thesis has begun to make some contribution to recover effectively the 'real record'.

FOOTNOTES

CONCLUSION

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