2016

A Writer of Empire? H. Rider Haggard & the Zulu of South Africa

Payton Kyle Jacklin
University of Windsor

A Writer of Empire? H. Rider Haggard & the Zulu of South Africa

By

Payton Kyle Jacklin

A Major Research Paper

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

through the Department of History

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree of Master of Arts

At the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

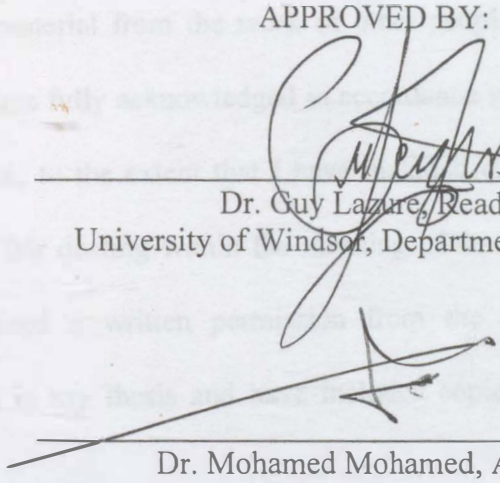
2016

"A Writer of Empire? H. Rider Haggard & the Zulu of South Africa"

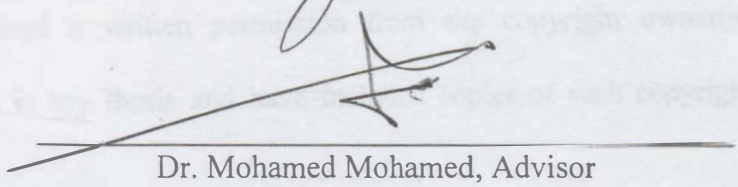
by

Payton Jacklin

APPROVED BY:



Dr. Guy Lazure, Reader
University of Windsor, Department of History



Dr. Mohamed Mohamed, Advisor
University of Windsor, Department of History

September 8, 2016

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby certify that I am the sole author of this thesis and that no part of this thesis has been published or submitted for publication.

I certify that, to the best of my knowledge, my thesis does not infringe upon anyone's copyright nor violate any proprietary rights and that any ideas, techniques, quotations, or any other material from the work of other people included in my thesis, published or otherwise, are fully acknowledged in accordance with the standard referencing practices. Furthermore, to the extent that I have included copyrighted material that surpasses the bounds of fair dealing within the meaning of the Canada Copyright Act, I certify that I have obtained a written permission from the copyright owner(s) to include such material(s) in my thesis and have included copies of such copyright clearances to my appendix.

I declare that this is a true copy of my thesis, including any final revisions, as approved by my thesis committee and the Graduate Studies office, and that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

ABSTRACT

"A Writer of Empire? H. Rider Haggard, the Zulu, and British Imperialism" examines the major nonfiction publications of H. Rider Haggard as they relate to his time in Southern Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This paper engages with arguments made about Haggard by prominent postcolonial critics and attempts to provide a more nuanced examination of his opinions regarding imperialism in Southern Africa and the native peoples colonized by the British government. In doing so, this paper provides an image of Haggard that runs contrary to that of the wider discourse.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for their generous backing of my research. I am also indebted to my advisors, Dr. M. Mohamed and Dr. G. Lazure, for their enduring support and patience over the last year. Finally, I cannot thank my family enough for their emotional support through these last months.

This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada | Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada | Canada

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

The second half of the 19th century was an important juncture in the history of British imperialism in general, and in southern Africa in particular. On a continental scale, the British were competing with other major European powers in what came to be known as "the Scramble for Africa" culminating in the Berlin conference of 1884-1885. In this conference Africa was partitioned into what Basil Davidson has called, "spheres of interest."[1] Modern European Imperialism, as evinced by the Scramble for Africa, was primarily a competition for space. This competition was driven by both ideological and economic factors. The rise of modern nationalism and ideas about race fuelled the ideological fires encouraging European nations to get a piece of what King Leopold II of Belgium called "this magnificent African cake."[2] Conversely, the industrial revolution, the need for raw materials and markets for manufactured goods stimulated the economic motives for acquiring space and the people that inhabited it. However, the justification provided for the acquisition of colonies was nearly always voiced in the language of paternalism, emphasizing the supposedly philanthropic nature of the enterprise. The main focus was on elevating the 'natives' to a level of civilization equivalent with modern Europe should they prove capable. This lofty discourse encapsulated the so-called "Civilizing Mission" which formed the core of the culture of imperialism whose influence is clearly identifiable in the literature of the period.

---

[1] Basil Davidson, *Africa in Modern History: A Search for a New Society* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1987), 76.

[2] Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1999), 58. For more on "the Scramble for Africa" see M. E. Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa* (London: Routledge, 2013).

Of the literature that most clearly demonstrates how central this 'Civilizing Mission' was to the imperial enterprise, none was more emblematic of the self-adulation so firmly intertwined with it than Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden" (1899).[3] It was not until George Orwell's *Burmese Days* (1934) that British authors began advocating for a complete rejection of the idea of the 'Civilizing Mission'. Orwell denounced Kipling as "the prophet of British Imperialism in its expansionist phase".[4] Through this critique, Orwell began the trend in academic scholarship that is responsible for labelling authors with ties to the colonial administration as writers of empire.

Henry Rider Haggard was born in 1856, in Norfolk England. He was the eighth of ten children and the son of a barrister. As a boy and young man, Haggard's performance at school did not impress his father and, as a result, he was forced into the service of the empire. Haggard's father arranged for his son, then nineteen, to travel to South Africa to work for his friend and colonial administrator, Sir Henry Bulwer.

The British imperial enterprise in Southern Africa began with the acquisition of the Cape of Good Hope (eventually Cape Colony) in 1806. The British were able to secure its ownership of the Cape from the Dutch East India Company after briefly acquiring it in 1795. The colony the British acquired was highly racialized. Of these groups, the Boers (Dutch for farmer) were the most difficult for the British to control. The Boers were descendents of Dutch, French, and German Huguenots that had begun settling in the Cape in 1652.[5] Their longstanding ties to the land and exploitation of

---

[3] The opening lines of the poem are "Take up the white man's burden/ Send forth the best ye breed/ Go send your sons to exile/ To serve your captives need." Rudyard Kipling, "The White Man's Burden" (New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1899), 1.

[4] George Orwell, "Rudyard Kipling," in *Critical Essays*, (London: Secker & Warburg, 1946).

[5] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 35.

African labour made the British acquisition of the Cape Colony and their abolition of slavery serious points of contention. The ideological conflicts between the Boers and British resulted in numerous 'Treks' in which the Boers travelled north-eastward and established two republics: the Orange Free State and the South African Republic of the Transvaal.

It was not until 1835 that, on the east coast of Southern Africa, British presence was felt with the development of a trading station at the port of Natal. However, this was not British sovereign territory and it was only annexed, despite many previous requests for annexation by the residents of the station, in 1842. One of the main catalysts for this decision was, according to Leonard Thompson, the defeat of the Zulu by the Boers in the Battle of Maqongqe (1840).[6] The Zulu were an African nation that had only recently become prominent around the turn of the nineteenth century. Their position of power was cemented in 1818 following Shaka Zulu's conquests. Following their defeat in 1840, the Zulu were unable to resist the imposition of British rule in the Natal region. At this time, the published work of British traders Henry Francis Fynn and Nathaniel Isaacs established Shaka, and the Zulu people, as bloodthirsty savages thereby informing British policy against them.[7] In an attempt to exercise control of the Zulu, the Natal government

---

[6] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 93.

[7] Dan Wylie, ""Proprietor of Natal:" Henry Francis Fynn and the Mythography of Shaka," *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 409. Fynn and Isaacs were largely responsible for the foundation of the port of Natal and provide the earliest written accounts of the Zulu. Isaac's *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa* has provided the foundation for the majority of subsequent scholarship on Shaka Zulu. Fynn's personal diary has also had a similar impact, however; both of these documents have been heavily criticized by Dan Wylie and have been shown to provide largely exaggerated or inaccurate information. See Dan Wylie, *Myth of Iron: Shaka in History* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008).

instituted a hut tax that could only be paid in British currency. This forced the Zulu people into work for the colonial government or British settlers.[8]

By the time Haggard arrived in South Africa in 1875, tensions were rising in South Africa due to the recent discovery of diamonds in the Boer republics and attempts by the British to unify South Africa into a single colony. It is in this milieu that the young Haggard arrived to work as secretary to Sir Henry Bulwer (r. 1875-1876), the colonial administrator of Natal and the Special Commissioner for Zulu affairs.

Haggard's position under Bulwer and, later, as a member of the staff of Theophilus Shepstone (r. 1876-1878), the previous director of native policy in Natal provided him with a unique position. Shepstone is largely considered by prolific South African academics, such as Shula Marks, to have developed a system of racialized policies in Natal and Zululand which anticipated what would become known as segregation.[9] Shepstone's goal, according to Norman Etherington, was to secure perpetual cheap labour while simultaneously extending British control, thereby increasing their pool of cheap labour and providing more tax revenue.[10] Shepstone's primary goal was the exploitation of African labour while maintaining peaceful relations with, in this case, the Zulu. Haggard's position in Shepstone's staff afforded him an opportunity to become intimately familiar with the Zulu, their culture, and history. He learnt about the Zulu's own imperial past and what he perceived as their subsequent decline as a result of British administration. He developed an appreciation for the people as well as their

---

[8] Thompson, *History of South Africa*, 17.
[9] Shula Marks, "Natal, The Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 4, no. 2 (1978): 174-176.
[10] Norman Etherington, "Labour Supply and the Genesis of South African Confederation in the 1870s," *The Journal of African History* 20, no. 2 (1979): 238.

seemingly super-sensory connection to the world around them. These attitudes and opinions contrasted sharply with the entrenched and pervasive belief in Zulu savagery among British settlers in Natal. Indeed, it seems that Haggard saw little of the expansionist in Shepstone. Instead, he appears to have seen only the tolerant and philanthropic guise that allowed Shepstone to justify the policies used to ensure the complacency of the Zulu. This idealized image of Shepstone is what the idealistic Haggard came to respect and emulate. His perception of Shepstone as *Sompesu*, the benevolent white chief of all the Zulu, served as his initial prototype for the role the British government was to have in native affairs.[11] It is from this initial conception that Haggard began his lifelong struggle regarding the Zulu and their encounters with the British and the Boers.

Haggard returned to England in 1882 and immediately began writing about his experiences. Within three years, he had published one of the most popular adventure novels of his time: *King Solomon's Mines* (1885); which, in modern academic discourse, thematically and chronologically preceded the work of Rudyard Kipling and Joseph Conrad. By the time of his death in 1925 Haggard had published more than 60 works of fiction and nonfiction as well as many short stories and articles for periodicals and newspapers. Of these, his most popular works were fiction and included novels such as *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), *Allan Quatermain* (1887) and, *She* (1887). It was his time in South Africa but, most notably his encounters with the Zulu, that provided the rich material for his literary career, influencing many of his novels and informing his opinion

[11] *Sompesu* is the honorific title the Zulu, reportedly, conferred on Shepstone.

on subsequent events in South Africa. It is through these many publications that Haggard grappled with the virtues (or lack thereof) of the imperial system and the Zulu people. In this he attempted to reconcile his respect for the Zulu with the reality of his loyalty to the British colonial enterprise.

Postcolonial critics often accuse Haggard of presenting overtly racialized portraits of Africans in his novels as well as celebrating the imperial agenda. Ulrich Pallua argues that "Haggard's depiction of the blacks is a reflection of his prejudiced view of the continent and his racist stance towards people who diverge from his idea of the 'fittest race'".[12] Such assessments tends to gloss over the South African historical context, the ideas presented in Haggard's less popular works, and the pervasive ambivalence that characterized much of his writing.

In this paper I seek to demonstrate that Haggard's opinions of the Zulu and imperialism were much more complicated than many critics suggest. I will argue that Haggard's ambivalence was indicative of an introspective monologue that is visible in his writing. In this cogitation he attempted to reconcile his role within the supposedly philanthropic colonial administration with his critiques of the glaring injustices it perpetrated. His discourse also attempted to resolve the contradictions present between the prevalent racist practices and paternalistic justifications for this behaviour and his own assessments of the Zulu. I will demonstrate, that unlike Kipling, Haggard was not a "prophet of British imperialism." Rather, he subtly challenged the assumptions of the segregationist regime in early twentieth-century South Africa, albeit, from within. To

[12] Ulrich Pallua, *Eurocentrism, Racism, Colonialism in the Victorian and Edwardian Age: Changing Images of Africa(ns) in Scientific and Literary Texts* (Heidelgberg:University of Heidelberg, 2006), 238.

this end I will be using three of Haggard's little-known and underused works of nonfiction: *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours* (1882), *The Days of my Life* (1926), and *Diary of an African Journey* (2000) the last two published posthumously.[13] *Diary of an African Journey* is extracted from Haggard's personal diary of his trip to South Africa in 1914 and *The Days of My Life* was written shortly before he departed for this trip with instructions to be published only after his death. Collectively, these works present the least stylized representation of his ideas and, as such, more clearly reflect his opinions. These works, to varying degrees, have been underused by the academic community, thereby providing perspectives previously overlooked. I have divided this paper into two main sections. The first is a historiographical review which attempts to outline key moments and figures in the development of South Africa and the writing of its history as well. This section also attempts to demonstrate how Haggard has been treated by the academic community in recent scholarship. I have broken the second section into three parts, each of which contains an examination of one of the previously identified works. Finally, the paper ends with the conclusion.

Imperialism of Culture

The relationship between Haggard's deference to Shepstone (1817-1893) and his literary career is emblematic of the connections British literati and political elite shared

---

[13] H. Rider Haggard, *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours or Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal, and the Transvaal* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd, 1902); *The Days of My Life, an Autobiography by Sir H. Rider Haggard Vol. 1 & Vol. 2* (London: Longmans and Green, 1926); *Diary of an African Journey: the Return of H. Rider Haggard,* edited by Stephen Coan (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000).

during this period. Initially, Haggard's desire was to protect his colonial mentor from any criticism brought against him while promoting his policies. A similar relationship can be seen between Rudyard Kipling and Cecil Rhodes (1853-1902). Rhodes, the Prime Minister of Cape Colony and head of the British South Africa Company, was a patron of Kipling's and allowed him to stay in his mansion in Cape Town, encouraging him to write about South Africa.[14] Kipling's role in furthering Rhodes' agenda was most prominent following the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) when, according to Hedley Twidle, "Rhodes, Alfred Milner and their circle were keen to promote [colonial stewardship] after the disaster of the South African War: a reconciliation of Boer and Briton which excluded the African majority and shaped much of the grim century to come."[15] Kipling became the literary mouthpiece for this agenda. Following Rhodes' death, Alfred Milner (1854-1925), a prominent colonial administrator and close friend of both Kipling and Rhodes assumed the political role of unifying white South Africans while exploiting African labour. Douglas Lorimer has identified how the role of the Colonial Office, and that of Milner in particular, shifted away from that of protector for natives at the beginning of the twentieth-century:

> Milner, who as High Commissioner oversaw the reconstruction of the new South Africa [following the Anglo-Boer war], took little notice of this role of protector of African interests. His memorandum to the colonial secretary in 1901 placed priority on the labour needs of the mining industry, and largely replicated the arguments of the employers of African labour.[16]

---

[14] Hedley Twidle, "'All Alike and Yet Unlike the Old Country:' Kipling in Cape Town, 1891-1908--a reappraisal," *English in Africa* 39, no. 2 (2012): 84-85.
[15] *Ibid.*, 85.
[16] Douglas Lorimer, "From Emancipation to Resistance: Colour, Class, and Colonialism, 1870-1914," in *Empire Online*, edited by Julian Martin, Jane Samson, Alan Frost et al. (London: Adam Matthew Publications, 2006). See also Jane Samson, *Race and Empire* (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2005).

The similarities between Rhodes, Milner and Shepstone are significant, as are those of Haggard and Kipling in their relation to these policy makers. However, Haggard's praise of Shepstone never reached the same level as Kipling's praise for Rhodes. This can be attributed to the fact that Haggard was not an author during his time in Shepstone's service, nor was Shepstone his patron. His praise was more akin to that of an apprentice paying homage to a mentor rather than one of a shared political agenda. However, this does not diminish the influences that Shepstone had on Haggard's ideas as a young man.

Since the 1970s, there have been two primary schools of historical thought in respect to the development of South Africa: the liberal school and the radical school. The former focuses on ideology and culture as the primary vehicles for the development of segregation and, eventually, apartheid. The liberal school is tied closely to the research of John Philip (1775-1851), a member of the London Missionary Society. According to Andrew Bank, "Philip used his work as a rallying call for the abolition of legal restrictions fettering the Khoikhoi and for the entrenchment of equal civil rights within the colony."[17] Conversely, the radical school is heavily influenced by Marxist interpretations of history and, as a result, focuses on the economic motivations for establishing a segregated society.[18] Similarly, there are two main lines of thought regarding the genesis of segregation in South Africa. Shula Marks, Maynard Swanson,

[17] Andrew Bank, "The Great Debate and the Origins of South African Historiography," *The Journal of African History* 38, no. 2 (1997): 263.

[18] See Christopher Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past, Major Historians on Race and Class* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1988).

and Norman Etherington have emphasized the role of Shepstone in developing a racially segregated society in Natal. They have argued that the principles of the "Shepstonian system" were used across the colony to establish ubiquitous racial segregation. Alternatively, Richard Parry has highlighted Rhodes' role in establishing a racially segregated society in the Cape Colony.[19]

Although not often referred to as typical, Haggard's publications are almost always examined alongside those of Kipling, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Conrad (or some combination thereof).[20] This is done to demonstrate common elements present in British colonial literature and, in each of these cases, their connections to the colonial administration. Due to the tendency for academics to place some or all of these writers into a single group exhibiting similar characteristics, it is fair to claim that the features and tropes apparently present in these authors' writing are emblematic of a wider set of beliefs central to the imperial enterprise. Oyekan Owomoyela claims that, "The literature of empire (in English) is a byproduct of the imperial impulses and processes that resulted in the imposition of British rule over non-British peoples around the world."[21] In order to delineate Haggard's particularity, it is necessary to examine the themes or ideas presented

---

[19] See Maynard W. Swanson, ""The Asiatic Menace": Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 16, no. 3 (1983): 401-21. And Richard Parry, ""In a Sense Citizens, but Not Altogether Citizens...": Rhodes, Race, and the Ideology of Segregation at the Cape in the Late Nineteenth Century,"*Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 17, no. 3 (1983): 377-91; Shula Marks, "Natal, The Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 4, no. 2 (1978): 172-94; Norman Etherington, "Labour Supply and the Genesis of South African Confederation in the 1870s," *The Journal of African History* 20, no. 2 (1979): 235-53.

[20] Doyle was a contemporary of Kipling and Haggard and is the creator of the fictitious detective Sherlock Holmes. His opinions regarding British interest in South Africa are best found in his account of the Second Anglo-Boer War: Arthur Conan Doyle, *The War in South Africa: Its Cause & Conduct* (London: George Newnes Ltd, 1902).

[21] Oyekan Owomyela, "The Literature of Empire: Africa,"in *Empire Online*, edited by Julian Martin, Jane Samson, Alan Frost et al. (London: Adam Matthew Publications, 2006).

within the works of prominent writers of empire and, even more importantly, the wider culture of imperialism; having been responsible for celebrating or justifying British rule overseas during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

According to Andrew Porter, the culture of British imperialism focused on the "ideas, values, social habits, and institutions which were felt to distinguish the British and their colonial subjects from each other, and which gave to both their sense of identity, purpose and achievement."[22] Consequently, the ideas presented by Haggard, Kipling, and Conrad are considered by postcolonial critics to be responsible for shaping the culture of British imperialism, thereby giving purpose and direction to the individuals that identified themselves as British. Of course, these authors did not write in a vacuum and their ideas were influenced by the dominant culture in which their ideas were formed. Porter goes on to suggest that "critical to ideas of white communal solidarity in these colonial societies … was often less the sense of nationality than the issue of race … [Which] held enormous potential for justifying rule, generating unity, and for establishing practices of political or administrative exclusion."[23] This idea of racial solidarity and, ultimately, superiority in the face of another, is what modern academics find within most colonial writers.

In a similar fashion, Ulrich Pallua talks extensively about the culture of imperialism and the role Africans assumed in the British paradigm: "encounter … led to the predominant assumption that the British Empire as such and the British people in

---

[22]Andrew Porter, "Introduction: Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume 3, the Nineteenth Century,* edited by Andrew Porter (Oxford University Press, 1999): 19.
[23] Porter, "Introduction," 22.

particular were superior to the Africans as they were living in an environment void of technological and social benefits of 'civilisation'."[24] For the British, it was their assumed superiority that prompted what became known as the 'civilizing mission'. Porter also emphasizes that the end of the nineteenth century saw a distinct shift from belief in cultural inferiority to one of racial inferiority: "Assumptions that human nature was everywhere uniform, and that cultures could therefore easily be transformed, were slowly relinquished. Instead there took hold a belief in the underlying reality of permanent *racial* divisions."[25] As such, the cultural assumptions of British imperialism required the placement of Africans in a perpetually inferior state to Europeans, thereby justifying the appropriation of land, resources, and labour while negating the moral imperative to 'civilize' the natives. In the South African context, the paternalism that was so pervasive among the British colonial establishment prior to the Anglo-Boer war was largely abandoned in the interest of economic exploitation of the natives.[26]

It is the absence of Africans, of their voices, names and bodies, their portrayal as degenerate brutes, their elevation to noble savages and the rejection of the possibility of their civilization that best characterises what academics have found to be shared among writers of empire. These characterizations (or lack thereof) litter fiction and nonfiction alike in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, thereby influencing the culture of imperialism present in the British empire. It is these literary tropes and norms that

[24] Pallua, *Eurocentrism,* 7.
[25] Porter, "Introduction," 24.
[26] This coincided with the discovery of large gold and diamond deposits in 1886 and 1867 respectively, thereby galvanizing British economic interests in the colony. Thompson, *History of South Africa*, 110-151.

Haggard both conformed to and subverted in his fiction and nonfiction, thereby making him difficult to classify.

Haggard's intricate opinion of the Zulu, formed during his time in South Africa, makes comments on his conformity to established norms among colonial officials difficult to maintain. This complexity is emblematic of the contradictions inherent within colonialism itself. Indeed, Porter identifies that "the nature of empire is no longer taken for granted, and [recently] historians show a better sense of proportion in assessing its significance."[27] Thereby, an examination of Haggard's publications demonstrates that labelling him as 'racist' or 'imperialist' overlooks the statements and ideas that could classify him as 'unprejudiced' or 'anti-imperialist'. In reality, Haggard was a complicated individual who simultaneously exhibited characteristics of each of these identities, operating in an imperial discourse while challenging its core assumptions.

This complexity can easily be seen when consulting recent publications dealing with Haggard and his imperialist views. Whether implicitly or explicitly academics tend to suggest that Haggard was a racist. Edward Said, Patrick Brantlinger, Paula Krebs, and Ulrich Pallua have identified, in one way or another, Haggard's racialist tendencies and support for British Imperialism.[28] For example, in *Culture and Imperialism* Said has claimed that in Haggard's *She* "we discern a new narrative progression and triumphalism." He continues on and to suggest that *She* "and literally hundreds like [it

---

[27] Porter, "Introduction," 1.

[28] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994); Paula Krebs, *Gender, Race and the Writing of Empire: public discourse and the Boer War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Patrick Brantlinger, *Taming Cannibals: Race and the Victorians* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Ulrich Pallua, *Eurocentrism, Racism, Colonialism in the Victorian and Edwardian Age: Changing Images of Africa(ns) in Scientific and Literary Texts* (Heidelgberg:University of Heidelberg Press, 2006).

are] based on the exhilaration and interest of adventure in a colonial world, far from casting doubt on the imperial undertaking, serve to confirm and celebrate its success."[29] Said has also argued that the main elements of European writing on Africa (notably Haggard, Verne, and Kipling) consisted of ideas about "bringing civilization to primitive or barbaric peoples." He claimed they felt that "'they' were not like 'us,' and for that reason deserved to be ruled."[30] Similarly, Krebs has identified that "[Victorian] jingoism reached a wider public as a result of Haggard and Kipling."[31]

Despite the inclusion of his name in many of these arguments, Haggard is, more often than not, introduced as an afterthought or as one member of a larger group. Therefore, it is not uncommon for critics to associate Haggard with Kipling and Conrad without producing substantive textual evidence to support these claims. For instance, Owomoyela claims that, "European writers have found Africa a fascinating and romantic setting for European adventurers … [that] affords the authors ample opportunities to probe the range of possibilities the European character is capable of manifesting. Typical of such writers is Sir Henry Rider Haggard."[32]

Other academics take such arguments and bolster them by drawing on *King Solomon's Mines* and *She* without significantly addressing Haggard's non-fiction. For example, Krebs argues that "Haggard's role in the creation of late-Victorian Britain's image of Southern Africa is akin to Kipling's role in the creation of an image of India." She also argues that "[The] vision of African self-rule in *King Solomon's Mines* exists

---

[29] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 188-189.
[30] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, XI.
[31] Paula Krebs, *Gender, Race and the Writing of Empire: public discourse and the Boer War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 145.
[32] Owomoyela, "Literature," n.p.

strictly in fiction for Haggard."[33] Her points are made with little support and with no acknowledgement of Haggard's non-fiction. I will presently demonstrate how in *Diary of an African Journey* Haggard actually supported the idea of African self-rule within the British Empire.

In contrast, Brantlinger has approached Haggard with a wider reading of his publications but he still emphasizes the more sensationalist passages while ignoring the caveats and context Haggard provides. He has stated that

> Nineteenth-century observers like H. Rider Haggard often viewed the Zulus as noble savages while shying away from calling them cannibals … Tough often admiring Shaka's organizing, ruling, and military abilities, the accounts of him … (as well as the Zulu in general) portray them as savage killing machines … even while he praised their manly blood-thirstiness.[34]

Despite this emphasis on Haggard's racism, he does concede that "from various remarks about the intrusions of modern Europeans into Zulu country and elsewhere in Africa … it is possible though not convincing that Haggard was actually opposed to imperialism."[35] Pallua echoes a similar sentiment when he claims,

> On the whole, [*King Solomon's Mines]* clearly renders Haggard's own racist attitude towards the inhabitants of Africa as far as the relationship between Europeans and Africans is concerned. The inferiority of the Africans is juxtaposed with the superiority of the British … Even if Haggard's [*King Solomon's Mines*] consolidates the racist image of the Africans among the Victorian readership by affirming the inferiority of the indigenous population, the story at the same time deconstructs the stereotypes.[36]

---

[33] Krebs, *Gender,* 149, 151.
[34] Patrick Brantlinger, *Taming Cannibals: Race and the Victorians* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 15.
[35] *Ibid.,* 164.
[36] Pallua, *Eurocentrism,* 177, 179.

Brantlinger's half-hearted acknowledgement of Haggard's complexity and Pallua's ultimate recognition of his ambivalence are indicative of a more recent shift in the scholarship. Gerald Monsman echoes what is essentially the same statement as Pallua but in favour of Haggard: "Haggard," he notes, "can tell a story, a story that outwardly may conform to Victorian-Edwardian standards but that also fosters a progressive and perspicacious cultural vision."[37] Recent scholarship struggles to label Haggard due to the sheer weight of contradictory statements, ideas, messages, and themes present in his writing. These books and articles demonstrate a subtle shift towards an acknowledgement of Haggard's deviation from what is considered to be the norm for writers of empire.

In comparison to Krebs, Said, Pallua, and Brantlinger, the most sympathetic analyses of Haggard come from Robbie McLaughlin and Gerald Monsman. Despite this, they struggle, like Brantlinger and Pallua, with Haggard's complexity. For McLaughlin, "Haggard's time as a colonial administrator … had instilled in him an ethnographic fascination with, and admiration for, the indigenous tribes of Southern Africa." However, he also claims that Haggard's inability to articulate his true feelings in his publications "imbues his narratives with a loaded ambiguity, and undermines Haggard's subtle, searching criticisms of the imperial enterprise."[38] Similarly, Monsman qualifies his above statement by saying that "Haggard's imperial humanitarianism, however, always predicates the right of the Boers and British to settle Africa."[39] Despite these attempts to give Haggard the benefit of the doubt, McLaughin and Monsman grapple with the

---

[37] Gerald Monsman, *H. Rider Haggard on the Imperial Frontier: the Political and Literary Contexts of His African Romances* (Greensboro: ELT Press, 2006), 42.
[38] Robbie McLaughin, *Re-Imagining the 'Dark Continent' in Fin de Siecle Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 78, 79.
[39] Monsman, *H. Rider Haggard*, 51.

pervasive ambivalence of his work while attempting to label him as something that is simultaneously supported and undermined by the vast majority of his work. In the following sections I will highlight the arguments in Haggard's writing that deviate from the norm while attempting to reconcile these statements with the more typical assessments of and justifications for colonial rule presented.

Challenging an Imperial Discourse from Within: *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours*

Haggard found himself in South Africa at one of its most tumultuous moments. The discovery of diamonds in 1867 in the Boer republic of the Transvaal shifted Britain's priorities in South Africa. The primary shift in policy involved turning South Africa into a settler colony.[40] Between 1873 and 1883 nearly 25,000 British immigrants arrived in this area and the home government began to consider the transformation of Southern Africa into a single dominion. However, President T. F. Burgers of the South African Republic (Transvaal) impeded the talks and Theophilus Shepstone was sent there to evaluate the situation. Having found the Boers bankrupt and belligerent, he annexed the territory in 1877, invoking animosity between the Boers and the Zulu as a threat to maintain order. Following this, Sir Bartle Frere, High Commissioner of the Cape Colony, sent a military force to attack the Zulu in 1879. The British defeat shattered the dreams of confederation. Once the Zulu were subdued, their land was broken up into thirteen

[40] Christopher Saunders and Iain R. Smith, "South Africa, 1795-1910," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, 597-623.

independent chiefdoms. The existential threat of a Zulu invasion of the Transvaal afforded the Boers of the Transvaal with the opportunity to rise up against the British. The next twenty years were rife with conflict between the Boer, British, and African peoples of South Africa. It was only after the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902) that Britain was able to secure control of the space and create the dominion of South Africa in 1910. In the aftermath of Cecil Rhodes' death (1902), Lord Milner became the main advocate for the creation of the dominion and began establishing policies that would ensure white dominance of South Africa and laid the "foundations for the development of South Africa into a racially segregated society."[41]

In 1882 H. Rider Haggard returned from South Africa. His position in Shepstone's staff afforded him the opportunity to raise the Union Jack over Pretoria in 1877 when Britain annexed the Transvaal. His political connections secured him a position as the Registrar of the High Court of the Transvaal in 1878. By then he was barely twenty two years old. Fundamentally shaped by his time in South Africa, Haggard's return to England was immediately followed by the publication of his first book: *Cetywayo and his White Neighbours* (1882). It was a contemporary account of the events which had occurred, and were occurring, in Natal and the Transvaal which was designed to provide a nonfictional account of South African politics and Zulu affairs to English readers. Haggard used the circumstances surrounding Cetywayo (1826-1884), a Zulu king and nephew of Shaka that had been exiled to England, to examine the state of

[41] Saunders and Smith, "South Africa," 606, 620.

affairs in South Africa and the injustices being heaped upon the Zulu.[42] This text was commercially unsuccessful and was not well received in Britain. In the preface Haggard explains,

> I wish to state that this book is not written for any party purpose. I have tried to describe a state of affairs which has for the most part come under my own observation, and events in which I have been interested and, at times engaged. That the naked truths of such a business as the Transvaal surrender, or of the present condition of Zululand, are unpleasant reading for an Englishman, there is no doubt; but, so far as these pages are concerned, they owe none of their ugliness to undue colouring or political bias. [43]

Despite his apparent attempts to remain objective throughout the book, Haggard constantly offerred his own opinions and assumptions. What makes this significant is that many of his comments regarding the Zulu, who featured prominently in the book, contained elements which subverted the prevalent colonial discourse, later popularized by Kipling, only to reaffirm them subsequently.[44]

It is important to recognize that Haggard was very much a product of the ideologically contradictory institution that was imperialism. His complex opinions were formed in an environment in which liberalism, ethnocentrism, and economic exploitation

---

[42] Spelled Cetshwayo more recently, Cetshwayo was exiled to Cape Town in 1879 following a military defeat by the British commander Sir Bartle Frere. In 1882 he was permitted to travel to London where he successfully convinced Lord Kimberly to allow him to return to his throne. He died in 1884.
Cetshwayo kaMpande, "The Coming of the Anglo-Zulu War," in *The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics,* edited by Clifton Crais and Thomas V. McClendon (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014) 141.

[43] Haggard, *Cetywayo*, (lxxviii).

[44]Frequently throughout the book Haggard uses the term 'native' rather than Zulu. When he does this he is speaking about black South Africans in general (including the Zulu). When Haggard specifically addresses the Zulu, he is usually discussing conditions that are more or less unique to their situation or discussing certain traits he had personally observed in them. When he uses the term 'native', he is usually talking about how all Africans are treated in the South African context.
The fact that Zulu interests feature so prominently in the book is anomalous, in and of itself. As European accounts tended to use Africans as set pieces rather than agents.

coexisted simultaneously. He was also greatly influenced by Romantic ideas which, he admits, were instilled in him by his mother, who occasionally wrote poetry and played music.[45] Finally, Haggard's interactions with the Zulu provided him with an opportunity to contrast prevalent racial and imperial discourse with personal experience. It is within this context that I wish to place the apparently contradictory statements made by Haggard in *Cetywayo* in an attempt to provide a more nuanced reading of them.

One of the most interesting passages from *Cetywayo* involves Haggard's personal assessment of the Zulu and their condition under British rule. In the following passage, Haggard articulated an opinion that was in opposition to the practices of the colonial government and the ideology presented by popular writers of empire:

> Personally, I must plead guilty to what I know is ... considered as folly if not worse, namely, a sufficient interest in the natives, and sympathy with their sufferings to bring me to the conclusion, that in acting thus we have inflicted a cruel injustice upon them. It seems to me, that as they were the original owners of the soil, they were entitled to some consideration in the question of its disposal, and consequently and incidentally, of their own. I am aware that it is generally considered that the white man has a right to the black man's possessions and land, and that it is his high and holy mission to exterminate the wretched native and take his place. But with this conclusion I venture to differ. 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.[46]

This passage demonstrates how Haggard was engaging in the same kind of liberal criticism initially presented by John Philip in Cape Town. According to Banks,

> "the liberal interpretation of colonial race relations pioneered by John Philip's Researches fell on stony ground in the second half of the nineteenth century. His narrative of European oppression and the dis-

[45] Haggard, *Days of My Life, vol. 1.*
[46] Haggard, *Cetywayo*, 269-270.

> possession of African indigenes met with little sympathy in an era of strident imperialism and deepening pessimism regarding the African."[47]

It is clear that Haggard's interpretation of events coincide with the early stages of liberalism in South Africa. Comparing Haggard's passage with Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" clearly demonstrates how much these ideas deviated from the norm for those so closely tied with the administration in the colonies. Kipling's poem advocates for Europeans to go out into the colonies so as to elevate the natives from their savagery. Despite this deviation from the colonial paradigm, Haggard immediately invoked the paternalistic justification Kipling later popularized:

> I cannot believe that the Almighty, who made both white and black, gave to the one race the right or mission of exterminating, or even of robbing or maltreating the other, and calling the process the advance of civilisation. 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. (emphasis added)[48]

The most significant return to the fold for Haggard was his provision that an 'equal and just government' be set up for "the natives." It is in this statement that the most paternalistic element of Haggard's views becomes evident. This same sentiment is echoed throughout the book and, based on his criticism of other cultures, seems to be grounded in the perceived superiority of British constitutions and institutions. However, it is interesting to note that Haggard claimed that this was the only way to justify, "*if at all*", British control of Zulu lands. This is indicative of his tendency to be simultaneously

---

[47] Banks, "Great Debate," 281.
[48] Haggard, *Cetywayo*, 269-270.

imperialist and anti-imperialist and exemplifies what Robbie McLaughlin describes as Haggard's ambivalence.[49]

Haggard had many issues with the processes of colonization and condemned them. Primarily, he had difficulty reconciling the theft of African land and their mistreatment by the segregationist regime and British/Boer settlers with the paternalist rhetoric used to justify those actions. A prime example of this would be the Natives Land Act of 1913 by which the South African government prohibited the sale of land between black and white South Africans, thereby making it difficult for Africans to acquire land. Despite this difficulty, Haggard still maintained that, at its most basic level, some elements of the colonization process could be justified if done in the interest of "the native." Statements such as, "wean them from their savage customs" conform to the popular discourse among colonial administrators and demonstrate Haggard's tendency to return to the justifications provided by Shepstone for the exploitation of the African population. This supports Saul Dubow's argument that "There were, of course, always people who questioned the truth of race superiority, but these critics were compelled to argue within the established terms of what amounted to a dominant racial consensus."[50] However, Haggard's statements were often offered as afterthoughts following his scathing criticisms of the colonial agenda. These qualifying statements were likely made in an attempt to give his ideas some credence within the established discourse.

There are a number of distinct departures from a racialist depiction of Africans in Haggard's writing. His belief in the equality of Europeans and Africans vaguely recalls

---

[49] McLaughlin, *Re-Imagining,* 78.
[50] Saul Dubow, *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1.

the prevalent characterization of the "noble savage". However, it is sufficiently different in that a number of the traits he identified do not directly correlate with those common in the trope, namely, the barely concealed condescension present when evoking the innocence that comes from living in an edenic/uncivilized world. Haggard often emphasized the gentility of many Africans (most notably the Zulu), their intelligence and honesty, even identifying them as superior to the average Englishman. This is contrary to the idea of the noble savage in that "the native" is expected to be something less than the European, frozen in time and waiting to be elevated.[51]

Haggard questioned the superiority of the British Empire and attempted to engage with a colonial discourse which he found unconvincing. In fact, many of the apparently racist comments made by Haggard were directly contradicted by opinions he expressed in other places. For example, his comment that "the natives" should be "weaned from their savage customs" seems without conviction when compared to his praise of Zulu customs in the same text. A very notable example of this is his examination of polygamy among the Zulu. He identified polygamy as an important institution among the Zulu which, if it were to be adopted by the British, would likely solve many of the social problems in Britain (such as prostitution and spinsterhood).[52]

Much of Haggard's critique seemed to focus on British interference in Zulu affairs or, at the very least, emphasized the lack of appreciation the British had for Africans. For example, he deemed that "The kings of Zululand ensure population is controlled rather than go out of check like in Natal," in comparison to the "cauldron of

[51] See Ter Elingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2001).
[52] Haggard, *Cetywayo*, 60.

bloodshed, extortion, and political plotts that we [the British] have cooked up in Zululand under the name of settlement."[53] It is clear that Haggard felt that the British did not appreciate the role the Zulu kings played in the management of their people. This coincides with his statement that most Britons were "incapable of appreciating [the Zulu's] many good points."[54]

Cetywayo contains many examples of Haggard's attempts to highlight the discrepancy between official declarations and actual practices of British Imperialism. However, he, almost as frequently, countered his own statements by voicing a racist or paternalistic sentiment typical among British officials in South Africa. For instance, he claimed, in regards to the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 that, "If there were no colonies there would have been no war." He then followed this with the self-aggrandizing statement that "We [the British] are a philanthropic people." He also saw the annexation of Zululand as a form of reparation for the Zulu by offering them a just government: "did we owe nothing to this people whose kingdom we had broken up, and whom we had been shooting down by the thousands?" However, he maintained that it was necessary to prevent further bloodshed among the Zulu.[55] He claimed that "[Their] manners, as is common among Zulus of high rank, are those of a gentleman" only to turn around and say that "The Zulu kaffir is incompatible with civilization."[56]

---

[53] *Ibid.*, 82.
[54] Haggard, *Cetywayo*, 68.
[55] *Ibid.*, 32, 51, 45.
[56] *Ibid.*, 2, 68-69.
Kaffir is a derogatory term the Boer and, then, the British used to refer to black South Africans. It is of Arabic origin and, literally, means "unbeliever."

These messages were also closely tied to Haggard's praise of Zulu military prowess. Interestingly, in *Cetywayo* Haggard praised the Zulu for their ability to defeat the British in a number of battles during the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 (most notably the battle at Isandlwana). He casted the British as being in the wrong and celebrated the victories achieved by the Zulu warriors:

> If the Government of that colony [Natal] was able by friendly negotiation to put a stop to Zulu slaughter [of those Zulu who were perceived to have committed crimes against the king], it was a matter for congratulation on humanitarian grounds; but it is difficult to follow the argument that because it was not able, or was only partially able, to do so, therefore England was justified in making war on the Zulus.[57]

It is clear that he felt the English were unjustified in waging war against the Zulu as they had no authority in Zululand. His claim that "Unless … the affairs in Zululand receive a little more attention, and are superintended with a little more humanity and intelligence than they are at present, the public will sooner or later be startled by some fresh catastrophe"[58] clearly emphasizes English responsibility for the war. This can be seen again, alongside his acknowledgement of Zulu military prowess when he emphasized that

> Cetywayo was never thoroughly in earnest about the war. If he had been in earnest, if he had determined to put out his full strength, he would certainly have swept Natal from end to end after his victory at Isaudhlwana ...He had ample time at his disposal to have executed the manoeuver twice over before the arrival of reinforcements, of which the results must have been very dreadful, and yet he never destroyed a single family. The reason he has himself given for this conduct is that he did not wish to irritate the white man; that he had not made the war, and was only anxious to defend his country.[59]

---

[57] Haggard, *Cetywayo,* 12.
[58] *Ibid,* 1.
[59] *Ibid.*, 34.

It was the military prowess, Haggard claimed, that allowed the Zulu to defeat the English in many of the early battles of the first Anglo-Zulu war. Although unique in his praise of Zulu military prowess when levied against the English, it was not uncommon for English writers to emphasize Zulu warrior instincts and savagery. This is often tied to descriptions of Shaka's violence, ferocity, and military conquests.[60]

The statements regarding Zulu ferocity and military prowess coupled with Haggard's musings on the potential for civilizing the Zulu and the crimes of the British are emblematic of his attempts to balance typical colonial discourse with his own critical assessments and perceptions. Haggard experienced a great deal of dissonance between what he was expected to think and what his experiences showed him. This resulted in the ambivalence that many academics have grappled with and is why prominent colonial ideas are paired with largely subversive assessments of the Zulu and British Imperialism. These are textual examples of Haggard's attempt to reconcile his personal assessments with those of his mentor and the administration he represented.

In anticipation of the argument that Haggard was opposed to the colonial agenda, Brantlinger acknowledges that, "from various remarks about the intrusions of modern Europeans into Zulu country and elsewhere in Africa … it is possible, though not

[60] James Stuart is one of the most notable British colonial officials to focus on Shaka, the founder of the Zulu nation, and his military conquests. In his notes Stuart emphasizes Shaka's ferocity, outlining the Zulu king's tyrannical nature and thirst for blood. His notes have been collected into the *James Stuart Archive*.James Stuart, *The James Stuart Archive,* edited by Colin Webb and John Wright (Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2014, 6 vols). Stuart was a friend of Haggard and they met during his return to South Africa in 1917 (outlined in *Diary of an African Journey)*. Stuart's notes have informed the liberal scholarship on Zulu history. More recently Wylie has questioned the accuracy of Stuart's claims. Dan Wylie, ""Proprietor of Natal:" Henry Francis Fynn and the Mythography of Shaka," *History in Africa* 22 (1995): 409-37.

convincing, that Haggard was actually opposed to imperialism."[61] I would argue that Haggard actively reflected on the nature of imperialism, grounded in a less racialized perception of the Zulu; an exercise which did not reach definitive conclusions. I concur with Porter that this debate is emblematic of the inherent contradictions within British Imperialism.[62] Brantlinger's comment becomes representative of the desire postcolonial critics have to focus on binaries such as imperialist and anti-imperialist. It demonstrates the difficulty these critics have with the ambivalence they encounter in Haggard's writing. The complexity of Haggard's opinions resist such classification.

Cetywayo teems with contradictory statements regarding the Zulu, their culture, savagery, and bravery; as well as the British, their virtue, tyranny, and greed. Consequently, many of the statements which seem to be most offensive are made half-heartedly. It is as if Haggard was paying lip service to the Empire so that his criticisms might be voiced. Taken as a whole, British exploitation of the Zulu, and Zulu reactions to said exploitation, seem to dominate the discourse. Haggard sought to explain the reasons for the usually violent reactions of the Zulu and to provide justification for this type of reaction. In doing so, he often praised Zulu courage and martial prowess compared to the British and the Boers. Haggard's final assessment of the Zulu finds them to be, almost universally, more gentlemanly than the Boers and, more often than not, of higher calibre than most Englishmen: "In short, unlike the Zulu [the Boers] despises, there is little of the gentleman in his composition."[63]

---

[61] Brantlinger, *Taming Cannibals*, 164.
[62] See Andrew Porter's remarks on page 16.
[63] Haggard, *Cetywayo*, 99.

These ideas concerning the Zulu and the effects of imperialism, first made public through *Cetywayo*, formed the core elements of Haggard's lifelong dialogue between ideas formed as a result of his experience and imperialist ideology. *Cetywayo* marks Haggard's entry into this cogitation as well as the point when his connections to the colonial administration exerted the most influence over his opinions. Following *Cetywayo*, Haggard made subtle shifts away from the ideology that influenced segregationist policies in the South Africa. Instead, he began to question these assumptions and, upon reflecting on his time in South Africa, found his experience with the Zulu to run contrary to the messages being popularized advocates of the "civilizing mission". Although these subtle shifts can be tracked through his fiction, it is in his non-fiction that these changes are best articulated. I will presently draw connections between themes present in *Cetywayo* and *The Days of my Life*. My main objective is to demonstrate how Haggard's ideas developed and became more radical following his return to England.

"I Have Spoken": *The Days of my Life*

After a long career as a successful writer of adventure fiction, Haggard began to write treatises on agriculture. He wrote a number of influential examinations of land use in England and Ireland and spent a significant amount of time giving lectures about the colonies and agriculture. Due to his expertise, Haggard was sent back to South Africa in 1914 as an agent of the British Colonial Office with instructions to examine the state of

the land in respect to its agricultural potential. During this time he kept a detailed diary of his experiences and conversations which was subsequently edited and published by Stephen Coan in 2001 as the *Diary of an African Journey*.[64] Shortly before this trip, Haggard finished writing his autobiography *The Days of my Life*, which was published after his death, as he had instructed.[65] As such, *The Days of my Life* presents an image of Haggard's recollection of South Africa after 33 years of writing about it. By extension, the diary is a record of how Haggard returned to find a radically different South Africa than the one that continued to exist in his memory.

These two texts are invaluable because they provide extremely personal descriptions of Haggard's views on imperialism as well as the Zulu. Since *The Days of my Life* was only to be published following his death Haggard sought to avoid any criticism for opinions expressed in it. Most notably, his praise of the Zulu may have discredited him from any future work with the Colonial Office. It is in these texts, some of the last non-fiction written by Haggard, that the least filtered or stylized impression of his opinions can be gleaned. In addition, there are clear connections between the ideas presented in *Cetywayo* and the ideas presented in these later works. These connections demonstrate Haggard's development over the years and the waning influence of imperial ideology on his ideas.

In comparison to *Diary of an African Journey*, *The Days of my Life* is more filtered and stylized. The primary reason for this is that Haggard intended for his

---

[64] H. Rider Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey: the Return of H. Rider Haggard,* edited by Stephen Coan (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000).

[65] H. Rider Haggard, *The Days of My Life, an Autobiography by Sir H. Rider Haggard* (London: Longmans and Green, 1926, 2 vols).

autobiography to be published. Even though he planned for his autobiography to be published posthumously, he was certainly concerned with his image and legacy, even towards the end of his life. It is within this context that we can understand why Haggard presented his thoughts in a much more romanticised way. Although consciously crafted into a work for public distribution, *Days of my Life* is an invaluable record of Haggard's self-reflection of his time spent in South Africa. Although it can be assumed that he had reflected on South Africa in prior years, it is the only record we have of how he viewed the people and places, expressed directly and in his own words and with the advantage of age and experience to colour his remembrances. In addition, Haggard utilized a number of correspondences from his time in South Africa to refresh the memory of his experiences.

Throughout *Days of my Life*, Haggard consistently praised the Zulu. He reiterated many of the same assessments from *Cetywayo* but often left out the caveats of imperial dogma. This demonstrates how the passage of time helped distance him from the rhetoric used by colonial administrators and writers of empire. Early on the description of his time in South Africa he claimed, "from the beginning I was attracted to these Zulus and soon began to study their character and their history."[66] Contrary to popular imperial discourse, Haggard considered the Zulu to possess a history and, more significantly, one he considered worth learning. As Crais identifies, British settlers believed that the Zulu and, indeed, all black South Africans with the exception of the Khoi, had only recently arrived in South Africa at the time of British colonization and, as such, did not possess

[66] Haggard, *The Days of My Life, vol. I.*, 52.

much of a history. British arrogance often lent itself to the idea that without a written language it was impossible for a culture to possess a history.[67]

Haggard also considered the Zulu to be physically beautiful.[68] It was not uncommon for British and Boer men in positions of power to engage in sexual activity with black South Africans, as the existence of the 'coloured' demonstrates; however, it was uncommon for an official to set down on paper his admiration of the beauty of an African woman.[69] On the contrary, it was customary for officials to publicly emphasize their disgust with the physical appearance of Africans. It is clear that even though he engaged in similar activities as his colleagues, his method of indirectly addressing his actions remained completely different. Monsman even claims that "Haggard is now widely acknowledged to have violated the Taboo of miscegenation by taking a native mistress."[70] For Haggard, the beauty of the Zulu is one of gentility, not the dangerous, wild beauty typically evoked by writers of adventure fiction such as Joseph Conrad.

Much of Haggard's fiction contains themes that he addresses in his nonfiction. By juxtaposing works like *Days of My Life* with themes present in his fiction, it is possible to identify how his ideas developed over time. Perhaps most significantly, Haggard's *She* (1887) reverses the traditional colonial depiction of African women. Ayesha, the white ruler of the Amahagger, is described in similar ways to Kurtz's mistress in Conrad's

---

[67] C. C. Crais, "The Vacant Land: The Mythology of British Expansion in the Eastern Cape, South Africa," *Journal of Social History* 25, no. 2 (1991):255-258.
[68] Haggard, *The Days of My Life, vol. 1,* 60.
[69] The group identified as the 'coloured' in South Africa are descendents of Europeans, Asians, and Africans. Despite this, they were treated very similarly to Africans in the era of segregation and apartheid. See Mohamed Adhikari, "From Narratives of Miscegenation to Post-Modernist Re-Imagining: Toward a Historiography of Coloured Identity in South Africa," *African Historical Review* 40, no. 1 (2008): 77-100.
[70] Monsman, *H. Rider Haggard*, 42.

Heart of Darkness. She is identified as mystifying and seductive in her beauty to the point where men became slaves to her will. In contrast, in *She*, Ustane is an honourable spouse who sacrificed her own well-being to protect her betrothed. Conversely, the novel symbolizes the white woman as the evil seductress and adulterer while the African woman is the honourable wife, made even more beautiful due to her devotion to her husband.[71] According to Pallua, when nineteenth-century British authors emphasized the physical beauty of Africans it was usually in terms that evoke savage desire:

> Africa can be equated with the native woman who entices the coloniser to peep into the wilderness; the white traveller is fascinated, but at the same time he is permeated by fear and loathing. The African wilderness and sexuality are tantalising and dangerous in so far as they both seduce the white, mentally stable coloniser.[72]

In juxtaposition, Haggard's admiration for the physical beauty of black South Africans applied to males as well. In *Days of my Life* Haggard reflected upon the person on whom he based Umslopogaas, one of the protagonists in *Allan Quatermain*. Haggard identified him as having been "a kind of head native attendant to Sir Theophilus [Shepstone] … then about sixty … a Swazi of high birth."[73] In reference to a photograph taken the day before the man died, he said, "The face might have served some Greek sculptor for the model of that of a dying god."[74] His praise for the physical beauty of black South Africans diverts from depreciation of African beauty by colonial officials. Whereas the most frequent descriptions celebrating the beauty of Zulu or Swazi men characterised

---

[71] H. Rider Haggard, *She: A History of Adventure* (New York: Modern Library, 2002).
[72] Pallua, *Eurocentrism*, 32.
[73] Haggard, *The Days of My Life, vol. 1*, 75-76.
[74] *Ibid.*, 76.

their ferocity and savagery, Haggard's novels matched closely to the general depictions of royal African men.

Haggard also praised Zulu practices that were otherwise condemned by the colonial administration. Perhaps the most significant of these is Haggard's understanding and endorsement of polygamy. In *Cetywayo,* he grappled with the idea of polygamy, seeing it as a useful institution for the Zulu but he couched his concessions in paternalistic language. However, his praise of the practice of polygamy became even more pointed in his old age, even recognizing how the practice might be useful in the British context.. One of his main reasons for supporting polygamy was that Zulu methods of inheritance and succession relied intimately on it. Coupled with this utilitarian justification, Haggard provided what he held as its greatest humanitarian virtue:

> Further, polygamy absorbs all the women; practically none are left without husbands or fall into the immoral courses which are the scandal of civilised nations. Such a thing as a "girl of the streets" is scarcely known among the raw Zulus. If it were explained to these, for instance, that in this country alone we have nearly two million women who cannot possibly marry because there is no man to marry them, or fulfil their natural function of child-bearing without being called vile names, they would on their part think that state of affairs extremely wrong.[75]

He suggested that the Zulu practice of polygamy may, in some instances, be more utilitarian than British monogamy due to the absence of prostitution and the resulting "production of a race that is physically splendid."[76]

---

[75] Haggard, *The Days of My Life, vol. 1,* 64.
[76] *Ibid.,* 64.

Haggard also applied a similar method of analyzing Zulu practices to a number of violent confrontations between the Zulu, British, and Boer. In his autobiography, he referred back to a letter he sent to his mother in September of 1875, during his first trip to South Africa, about Zulu agitation which he seemed to understand much more than condemn while vilifying the Boer:

> My dearest Mother,-- . . . Our chief excitement just now is the Zulu business. … But I do not think that this is a matter that can be settled without an appeal to arms and one last struggle between the white and the black races. That it will be a terrible fight there is no doubt; the Zulus are brave men ... They are panting for war, for they have not "washed their spears" since the battle of the Tugela in 1856 .... They will come now to drive the white men back into the "Black Water," or to break their power, and die in the attempt … At home you seem rather alarmed about the state of affairs here, and it is not altogether reassuring. The Zulu business hangs fire, but that cloud will surely burst. Luckily the action Sir Henry Bulwer has taken has thrown much of the future responsibility on his shoulders … Our most pressing danger now is the Boers. They really seem to mean business this time. From every direction we hear of their preparations, etc. ... they are going to try to rush the camp and powder magazine and, I suppose, burn the town.[77]

Haggard described the Zulu agitation with little praise or condemnation, simply stating the events as they were occurring. Comparatively the Boers were referred to as "spiteful brute[s]" and are described in ways that emphasize their lust for violence. In this, Haggard described the Boer in a way that was more common among writers describing the Zulu. Coupled with his condemnation of British rule and the resulting tension arising in Zululand outlined in *Cetywayo*, it is clear that Haggard recognized that British rule and the exploitation of the Zulu by the Boers was responsible for the increased animosity between the three groups. He condemned this action in his description of the "cauldron of

---

[77] Haggard, *The Days of My Life, vol. 1,* 111.

bloodshed, extortion, and political plotts that we [the British] have cooked up in Zululand under the name of settlement."[78] His claim that "the native hates the Boer fully as much as the Boer hates the native, though with better reason" further demonstrates this.[79]

Perhaps most significantly, Haggard expressed deep sympathy for Zulu rights, as was seen in *Cetywayo*, and condemned the actions of British settlers and Boer farmers against them. One of the most explicit examples of this occurred in *The Days of my Life* when reminiscing about Bishop John W. Colenso, a rather unorthodox Bishop of the Church of England that Haggard had a great deal of respect for and who shared many of his opinions regarding the Zulu and their practices:

> Colenso ... was unpopular among many colonists … because he was so strong and ... so intemperate an advocate of the rights of natives. I confess that here again I find myself ... sympathy with him. White settlers … are too apt to hate, despise, and revile the aboriginal inhabitants among whom they find themselves. Often this is because they fear them, or even more frequently because the coloured people, not needing to do so, will not work for them at a low rate of wage ... they cannot understand why these blacks should object to spend weeks and months hundreds of feet underground, employed in the digging of ore ... Yet surely the Kaffir whose land we have taken has a right to follow his own opinions and convenience on this subject.[80]

What Haggard is referring to is the mass employment of African labour in the mines. British and Boer interests has been working since 1880 to secure a massive source of a cheap labour for the mines and, through a number of methods, including hut taxes and labour sentences for crimes such as vagrancy, succeeded. In one of the most significant pieces of segregationist legislature, the 1911 Mine & Works Act, a colour bar was

---

[78] Haggard, *Cetywayo*, 82.
[79] *Ibid.*, 100.
[80] Haggard, *The Days of My Life, vol. 1*, 66.

instituted that entrenched a division of labour that reflected the belief that black workers were intellectually inferior to white workers and, therefore, unqualified for positions that promoted mine safety.[81] Reinforcing Haggard's claims, Elizabeth Elbourne has argued that the Colenso's "were a troublesome family, who exemplify the importance of religious imperial networks. J.W. Colenso's cousin, William Colenso ... was a missionary in New Zealand who opposed expanded white settlement ... [and] John William Colenso's daughters Harriette and Frances later became involved on the Zulu side in the aftermath of the late nineteenth-century Zulu-British wars."[82]

Haggard did not sympathize with the complaints of many British and Boer landowners regarding the lack of enthusiasm for manual labour amongst Africans. He acknowledged how undesirable the work was and, in addition, the extremely low wages paid. In this way, he showed empathy towards the labourers. However, this understanding was not merely a rhetorical stance. Following this statement on Colenso, Haggard condemned the widespread mistreatment of Africans based on the racist ideology upon which segregation was founded:

> Also many white men have ... a habit of personally assaulting natives ... They say or said that these would do nothing unless they were beaten. I do not believe it. Where Zulus are concerned at least, a great deal depends upon the person in authority over them. No race is quicker at discovering any alloy of base metal in a man's nature. Many who are called "gentlemen" among us on account of their wealth or station, will not pass as such with them. ... 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

[81] Moitsadi Moeti, "The Origins of Forced Labor in the Witwatersrand," *Phylon (1960-)* 47, no. 4 (1986): 276-84, 278-280. See also Elaine N. Katz,"Revisiting the Origins of the Industrial Colour Bar in the Witwatersrand Gold Mining Industry, 1891-1899," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25, no. 1 (1999): 73-97.

[82] Elizabeth Elbourne, "Religion and Empire, with special reference to South Africa and Canada," in *Empire Online*, edited by Julian Martin, Jane Samson, Alan Frost et al. (London: Adam Matthew Publications, 2006) n.p.

> classes, ... Like others, savages have their gentlefolk and their common people, but with all their faults even those common people are not vulgar in our sense of the word. In essential matters they still preserve a certain dignity.[83]

Haggard continued to combat stereotypes about Zulu work ethic, blaming instead the quality of the employers for whom they were working. Additionally, his statements regarding how widespread Zulu of high character were is unique. Haggard's willingness to place the average Zulu and the average Briton in comparison and celebrate the superiority of the Zulu in his gentlemanly qualities is anomalous in that it was at odds with the prevalent image of the Zulu popularized by Fynn, Isaac, and Stuart. It is worth emphasizing here that he focused specifically on the Briton and not the Boers. He often condemned the Boers, describing them as much more savage than the Zulu.

These statements run contrary to the established norms of writing about the Zulu but still exude the flavour of paternalism and Eurocentrism ubiquitous among Englishman of the Victorian period. Although Haggard defended the Zulu by describing how undesirable the conditions of their labour was and the lack of character the men for whom they were working possessed, he never challenged the assumption that the Zulu should be performing this type of labour. In this way, Haggard conformed to some of the fundamental assumptions regarding the role of black labour entrenched in segregationist legislation and policy.[84] This interplay between Haggard's unique divergences and his

---

[83] Haggard, *The Days of my Life, vol. 1,* 66-67.

[84] See Elaine N. Katz,"Revisiting the Origins of the Industrial Colour Bar in the Witwatersrand Gold Mining Industry, 1891-1899," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25, no. 1 (1999): 73-97; for how racial assumption affected the roles black workers were restricted from in the mines. Also, see Richard Parry, ""In a Sense Citizens, but Not Altogether Citizens...": Rhodes, Race, and the Ideology of Segregation at the Cape in the Late Nineteenth Century,"*Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études*

vestiges of paternalism can be seen in many of his other comments throughout his autobiography. In one instance, he claimed that he personally performed much of the labour on his farm in South Africa rather than hiring Africans to do the work, as was the norm.[85] However, this did not mean that black labour was not present on his farm and that his assessment of their abilities was much better than what was common: "[The] inferior quality of the kaffir labour required incessant supervision. These kaffirs, however, who were most of them our tenants, were in many ways our best friends."[86] Once again, it can be seen that Haggard tended to divert from the typical behaviour of a colonial, having seen fit to perform manual labour alongside African workers. Yet, he retained one of the most basic assumptions present in Imperialism: that the African is inferior to the European (at least, in this instance, when comparing the quality of the work they perform). Despite this, Haggard felt that it was important to work alongside his African labourers, thereby deconstructing (to some degree) the master/servant relationship that had been established as the norm throughout Southern Africa. This demonstrates the conflict between the identities present within Haggard and his attempts to reconcile them.

Haggard was also eager to emphasize the mystic abilities of black South Africans.[87] In one instance, he described a Khoi woman knowing about a battle occurring many miles away: "The natives have … some almost telegraphic method of conveying news of

---

Africaines 17, no. 3 (1983): 377-91; for information on the Glen Grey Act (1984) which forced Africans into the employment of white South Africans and disenfranchised them.

[85] Haggard, *The Days of My Life, vol. 1,* 196.

[86] *Ibid.,* 200.

[87] For Haggard, the mystic abilities of black South Africans took a number of forms. Primarily, he considered their abilities supernatural if they could not easily be explained through logic or scientific reasoning or if the same feats could not easily be accomplished by Europeans. Although these abilities or beliefs would normally be condemned as primitive and superstitious, Haggard admired these traits and lamented their absence in western culture.

important events of which the nature is quite unknown to us white men."[88] A similar example can be seen in a letter Haggard referred to in his autobiography that was sent during his first visit to South Africa in which he described getting lost in the bush and his rescue by a Zulu man. He attributed his rescuer's tracking ability to "unerring instinct":

> [S]uddenly I stumbled upon a Kaffir coming through the bush. An angel could not have been more welcome. ... I knew no Kaffir, he knew no English … following his unerring instinct he at once struck out for the high road from which I had wandered some five miles. Arrived there, he managed by the glimmer of the stars to find the track of the waggons, and having satisfied himself that they had passed, struck away again into the most awful places where anything but the Basuto pony I was riding must have come to grief.[89]

Emphasizing the super-sensory nature of Africans was often a way for colonial officials to distance themselves from these groups. It was a way to emphasize how these people were stuck in a primitive age where spells and supersensory abilities held power.[90] However, for Haggard the perceived mystical abilities that these people possessed were not indicators of their backwardness. Rather, they marked superior abilities that had been lost in the process of civilization. It is for this reason that he emphasized the mystic in both his fiction and nonfiction, praising the perceived abilities that had occasionally saved his life. McLaughlin has noted that "Haggard's multifaceted view of the witchdoctor as both sly fraudster and tenaciously resilient magus is hardly surprising given his own ambivalent position as both a colonial bureaucrat and fledging artist."[91] In

---

[88] Haggard, *The Days of My Life, vol. 1,* 119.
[89] *Ibid., 1,* 58.
[90] At this time, witchdoctors were very common in Zulu culture and often performed 'spells' and ceremonies. Their treatment by European writers often emphasizes the primitive nature of such practices. See Father Fr. Mayr, "The Zulu Kaffirs of Natal," *Anthropos* 2, no. 3 (1907): 392-399; for a contemporary account that corroborates Haggard's claims.
[91] McLaughlin, *Re-imagining,* 79.

fact, Haggard was close friends with Andrew Lang, a member of the Theosophical Society of London which, according to its founder, "[is] the archaic *Wisdom-Religion*, the esoteric doctrine once known in every ancient country having claims to civilization" and promoted the occult.[92] He had even attended a seance. Haggard admired the Zulu for their connection to the super-sensory, seeing it as a superior trait they possessed. McLaughin suggests this was a result of the death of Haggard's son, Jock in 1891: "Jock's untimely demise reawakens in Haggard a fascination with African spiritualism, revenants and reincarnation."[93] But Haggard had acknowledged his belief in the preternatural prior to his son's death: "When I went to Mexico," he wrote, "I knew, almost without doubt, that in this world he [Jock] and I would never see each other more. Only I thought it was I who was doomed to die. Otherwise it is plain that I should never have started on that journey."[94] Haggard's connection to the preternatural had clearly existed prior to his son's death, thereby demonstrating his tendency to project these traits in the African peoples he came across in almost envious ways. The death, however, evidently galvanized this connection and is the point where the romantic descriptions of the Zulu in Haggard's writing become more prominent, becoming the most profound in his later novels.

---

[92] The Theosophical Society was formed in 1875 by Madame Blavatsky. For more information see her first major work,published in 1877. *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of the Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*, (Pasadena: Theosophical University Press, 1960). Also, Helena Blavatsky, "What is Theosophy," *The Theosophical Path* 38, no. 1 (1911-1935): 17-18.

[93] McLaughlin, *Re-imagining*, 80.

[94] Haggard, *They Days of My Life, vol. 2*, 41-42.

One of the most demonstrative examples of the complex nature of Haggard's conflicting opinions of the Zulu can be seen in his reflections upon his departure from South Africa:

> It was sad to part with the place, and also to bid good-bye to my Zulu servant Mazooku. The poor fellow was moved at this parting, and gave me what probably he valued more than anything he possessed, the kerry that he had carried ever since he was a man … It hangs in the hall of this house, but where, I wonder, is Mazooku, who saved my life when I was lost upon the veld? ... were I to revisit Africa to-day, I have not the faintest doubt but that he would reappear … Or if my Mazook should be dead, as well he may be, and if there is any future for us mortals, and if Zulus and white men go to the same place --as why should they not?--then I am quite certain that when I reach that shore I shall see a square-faced, dusky figure seated on it, and hear the words, "Inkoos Indanda, here am I, Mazooku … " For such is the nature of the poor despised Zulu, at any rate towards him whom he may chance to love. I do not know that I felt anything more in leaving Africa than the saying of good-bye to this loving, half-wild man.[95]

This statement demonstrates both the fundamental elements of paternalism as well as a diversion from common themes present in colonial discourse. One of the most striking things that can be seen is the recurring statements that emphasize Mazooku's role as a servant. Haggard occasionally referred to him as "my Mazooku" and claimed that Mazooku's dedication to him would transcend even death. Despite this, emphasis on the master-servant relationship, there is something deeper present in Haggard's words, evinced by his acknowledgment that "I do not know that I felt anything more in leaving Africa than the saying good-bye to [Mazooku]."[96] This passage describes a friendship. The loss of this friendship had a lasting impact on Haggard. In fact, the walking stick Mazooku gave Haggard was one of his most prized possessions and appeared in his story

---

[95] Haggard, *The Days of My Life, vol. 1,* 202-203.
[96] *Ibid.*

"Little Flower" (1921). In McLaughin's analysis of the short story the young girl Tabitha receives a curved umzimbeet wood walking stick of black and white from her old African friend Menzi that closely resembles the one that was given to Haggard by Mazooku). For Haggard, McLaughlin suggests, the stick represented the cultural miscegenation that occurred between Menzi and Tabitha, a miscegenation that was condemned by her father, pastor John Bull (a clear representation of the average Briton). This, McLaughlin suggests was celebrated by Haggard:

> Haggard … offers the characters of Menzi and Tabitha … as embodiment of a genuinely caring morality that transcends Bull's colonial squabbling and narrow-mindedness … Tabitha is the "Little Flower" that has blossomed in a unique climate of cultural miscegenation. The narrative vouchsafes an intricately realised ideology of cultural dialogue and hybridisation, which acts against the critical commonplace of Haggard as the unsmiling custodian of sabre-rattling imperialism. [The walking stick is] … a gift implying that the enduring stability of any imperial structure is reliant upon a sincere commitment to cross-cultural 'conversation'.[97]

Alongside this larger meaning, the stick represents the enduring friendship of two people. As such, the stick Mazooku gave to Haggard was, in Haggard's mind, an enduring symbol of their eternal friendship, a friendship that would continue into the afterlife regardless of religion, race, or culture and one that became an idealized version of what colonial rule should have looked like. It is for these reasons that Haggard's relationship with Mazooku, although appearing to be little more than a master servant relationship, is actually one of eternal friendship that profoundly influenced his literary career. This relationship and its effects provide an image of Haggard that contradicts prominent

[97] McLaughlin, *Re-Imagining,* 90.

critiques of him by demonstrating that he cared for his African friend in a way that should have been incompatible for one so engaged in the colonial administration.

Haggard's life was profoundly influenced by the Zulu people. He appeared to view himself as an intermediary between the British colonial establishment and the Zulu. His admiration for the Zulu, although mired in expressions at times typical among British officials and emblematic of the inherent racism present within the colonial government, clearly transcended the colonial discourse in which he engaged. It is then understandable why, when concluding his autobiography, Haggard used a Zulu statement: "I have spoken!"[98] Having finished his autobiography, Haggard soon found himself back in South Africa, once again in an official capacity. It is during this second tour of duty that he encountered a South Africa that had changed drastically since his last visit. The South Africa he found had entrenched all that he had found aberrant prior to the Act of the Union, thereby creating a system that had continued to exploit the people and land he recalled so fondly.

Haggard, The Return of He: *Diary of an African Journey*

Diary of an African Journey was not written for posterity. It was simply a method Haggard used to ensure an accurate report as a member of the Dominions Royal Commission. By extension, this book is an important window into Haggard's impressions and opinions. *Diary of an African Journey* takes a much less romanticized

[98] Haggard, *The Days of My Life, vol, 2*, 232.

stance than *Days of my Life* . Haggard's return to South Africa for the British government was to analyze the agricultural prospects of north-eastern South Africa (KwaZulu-Natal, Rhodesia etc.). As a result, he was much more candid and analytical in his conclusions since there was no certainty that the notes would be read by anyone else but him and that he needed the clearest possible records from which to compile his report. Despite this, Haggard reached many of the same conclusions about the Zulu as he did in *Days of my Life,* although presented differently. It is within this context that comments regarding African work ethics can be seen as an extension of similar comments made in his autobiography. He claims, "these skilled natives, and some of them are very skilled, [are] the worst treated men in South Africa" and "the native can do what they [white workers] do at half or a quarter of their cost, and is moreover more tractable and often harder working" can be placed.[99] The British government's purpose for sending Haggard to South Africa was one of economic interest and, as such, many of his comments about Africans related directly to this. Finally, Haggard's return to South Africa was during a period in which segregationist policies were introduced, coinciding with the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. As such, his meetings with key figures, like the first Prime Minister of South Africa, Gen. Louis Botha, produced conversations that revolved around African labour and segregationist policies.[100]

---

[99] Haggard, *Diary*, 54-56.

[100] Louis Botha led the Boers during the Anglo-Boer war, which ended in 1902, and became the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. Botha's primary focus was on promoting relations between the English and Afrikaners. Botha's government was responsible for enacting the Natives Land Bill (1913) which cemented segregation as official policy. Officially, the policy emphasized the concept of "separate but equal" but, in reality, was a tool to ensure the inferior status of black South Africans. Harvey M. Feinberg, "The 1913 Natives Land Act in South Africa: Politics, Race, and Segregation in the Early 20th Century," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 25, no. 1 (1993): 65-109. See also Christopher Saunders and Iain R. Smith, "South Africa, 1795-1910," 597-623.

Many of Haggard's notes about native South Africans prior to reaching KwaZulu-Natal were focused on their ability to govern themselves. He observed:

> Certainly it is true also that the various sections of black folk who inhabit Southern Africa are by no means incapable of advance and adaptation to the civilized needs and ideas. In a time to come once more that these will in effect rule in their own land is not at all incredible.[101]

Then, almost as if to justify his own comments he began to discuss India:

> It is high time that the self-governing dominions came to understand that India is a part of their inheritance, as well as that of the United Kingdom, and that its inhabitants cannot be flouted and treated as outcasts merely because its people are dark-skinned, saving and industrious.[102]

It is clear that Haggard was comparing India to South Africa and considered the colonial subjects of both countries, who should not be discriminated against due to their skin colour, clearly possessed the ability to govern themselves.

What is interesting about Haggard's analyses of South Africa is that he tended to present segregationist solutions. However,, the form these solutions took and their justification was not always in line with the prominent ideas presented by its architects. Haggard's main concern was the degenerating influence cities (such as Johannesburg) had on people of low social class. This sentiment is best expressed by Haggard when he suggested that a reserve, of sorts, be set up for "poor whites":

> [W]hat can be done with the poor whites, of whom there are so many in South Africa and especially in Johannesburg. I advocate settling them on the land according to the scheme I set out in my reports to the home government in 1905, where at any rate the children might grow up into useful citizens under charitable guidance.[103]

---

[101] Haggard, *Diary*, 58.
[102] *Ibid*, 58.
[103] *Ibid.*, 133.

The 'poor whites' Haggard referred to were almost universally Boer farmers that had been displaced by the urbanization of South Africa and were being exposed to the 'degenerating' influences of the city. As such, Haggard's suggestion for a white reserve was part of an ongoing debate about what to do with this group.[104] He went on to suggest that Africans be excluded from such a settlement, primarily for the reason that many white South Africans saw Africans as being beneath them. He felt that Animosity would likely grow in a settlement where poor white and black South Africans would be doing the same or similar work.[105] This example demonstrates how, at least occasionally, Haggard's paternalistic ideas are developed in response to economic factors rather than racial ones. When presented in this way, Haggard's ideas support the radical school of interpretation, emphasizing the economic motivations behind segregationist policies.

Despite his tendency to distance himself from the highly racialized policies and ideologies that formed the foundation of South Africa's government, and the fact that this tendency became more prominent as he aged; Haggard's internal conflict continued. Many of his ideas contained seditious elements. However, he would occasionally subvert his own criticisms. In the following passage, Haggard restated his critique of the theft of Zimbabwe and KwaZulu-Natal by white settlers. He follows this by providing a more typical justification for this theft, only to return to a less uniform stance:

> [I]t must be remembered that there is something to be said for the Matabele whose country had been taken from them. Well, by conquest they took and by conquest it was taken from them, since it has been decreed that this world and its dominion is to the strong man armed …

[104] See Susan Parnell, "Race, Power and Urban Control: Johannesburg's Inner City Slum-Yards, 1910-1923,"*Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 3 (2003): 615-37.
[105] Haggard, *Diary*, 134.

> Perhaps one day their turn will come again, either with steel and bullet, or more probably by mere weight of numbers and the ballot box.[106]

Crais suggests that the British believed the Matabele, the Zulu people of Zimbabwe, had only arrived in Southern Africa through military conquest just prior to British settlement and that this belief provided justification for the subsequent military conquest of the Matabele themselves, as they supposedly possessed no right to the land other than as conquerors.[107] This justification for British conquest was used by Haggard, demonstrating that he continued to hold ideas that were seemingly contradictory without feeling the need to acknowledge his own ambivalence. However, Haggard ended his observation by acknowledging that the Matabele (Zulu) were likely to attain the right to vote in the future, thereby establishing their return to power through the vote.

Although Haggard tended to straddle the ideological line between colonial official and hopeful romanti, his treatment of the Zulu in *Diary of an African Journey* is much more sympathetic and more in line with examples taken from his *Cetywayo,* and *Days of My Life*. As his duties took him through Zululand, Haggard observed that

> So far as I could make out about two thirds of the country as I knew it in 1875 has since that date been appropriated by Boers and other white men. If this goes on what is to become of the poor Zulus. And what will happen if they are continually crowded together. I imagine that which happens to a thin glass bottle when compressed air or water is driven into it. Truly their case is sad and they have been ill-treated. First, an unnecessary war in which 10 000 were killed, then all subsequent troubles. And now so I hear from Gibson and on every side … degradation largely brought about by contact with whites. Many of these white men, he and others declare, live with native girls, whom and whose children afterwards they subsequently desert. Miscegenation is going on everywhere and the only education is that given by the mission schools … Frequently too the natives are badly treated by white men. The white population, I was told,

[106] Haggard, *Diary,* 166.
[107] Crais, "The Vacant Land," 255-258.

> is about 100, and the native population about 16 000, yet the whites are supposed to require twice as much land as the natives! This is typical of what is going on all over South Africa.[108]

Haggard clearly vilifies the greed of EnglishSouth Africans in respect to their designs on the Zulu and their land. This, much like many of Haggard's other defences of the Zulu, explains why, in his opinion, the violence often exhibited by the Zulu was usually in response to actions taken by the Boer and British in South Africa. Here we see a continuation of the ideas he espoused in *Cetywayo*. However, at the time of his return to South Africa, the situation for the Zulu had worsened significantly since writing *Cetywayo* and, as such, his criticism was even more pronounced. Haggard often cast the reactions of the Zulu as quite necessary in the face of the injustices perpetrated against them. This was unusual coming from a former colonial administrator in Zululand.

Perhaps the most significant statement found within *Diary of an African Journey* is in a letter Haggard sent to Lord Gladstone from South Africa about the Zulu (April 30, 1914). Following a meeting he had with Rev. J. Dube, a Zulu clergyman and political leader, in which they discussed the current situation of the Zulus, the lack of government support for their education, and the appropriation of their lands. Haggard wrote a letter to Gladstone to make him aware of the situation:

> The justice of many of our dealings with [the Zulu] is open to the gravest question. On every occasion and pretext we take more of their land leaving them the worst and most unhealthy portions. And in return what do we give them? They long to be educated but there is no system of education. The little that is done is the work of the missionaries and sectarian … Again, I think that they should be given representative voice over their own affairs … They have many troubles, many grievances, but their only opportunity of expressing them at present is in the course of a

[108] Haggard, *Diary,* 181, 184.

> visit from the commissioner, necessarily of a hurried nature, or through an interview with the local magistrate. None of them knows what the rest think throughout their wide land; they have no chance of collective speech … Few in Natal take any real interest in the Zulus, or have a sound knowledge of their history, or an understanding of their needs and aspirations, which require to be studied with that sympathetic imagination which enables us to put ourselves in the position of others.[109]

This letter essentially condemned British rule in South Africa and its mistreatment of African citizens. There is little Haggard provides to soften his assessment and we do not see his usual shifts of perspective. Haggard sent this letter to his patron, who was responsible for his continued employment and ultimately responsible for the state of affairs in South Africa at that moment (1914). It is difficult to continue to label Haggard as a typical imperialist given the context and contents of this letter. Indeed, he was of the opinion that,

> The white man has a very heavy bill to pay to the native and certainly he will be called upon it in this coin or in that. Those who persistently sow the wind must be expected to reap the whirlwind. Possibly in the end South Africa will become more or less black … Or, in this fashion or the other, the blacks may attain to political power. At present the physical superiority of the white man is due solely to the superiority of his means of destroying life by the help of highly perfected weapons … On the other hand the native, taking *him* in the mass is probably rising. His eyes are not shut; he sees a great deal. His brain is not dull, he learns day by day. Further, Johannesburg may be a university of vice … but it is also a university of knowledge to the black. He has wrongs to be righted, which gives him a moral advantage, a great support in any national struggle. Most of his land has been seized by the insatiable hand of a million of whites and he knows that it is stretched out towards the rest.[110]

---

[109] Included with the diary Haggard kept during this trip to South Africa, this letter was included in its publication. Haggard, *Diary*, 231.

[110] Haggard, *Diary*, 239

Haggard believed Africans were on a trajectory to rule; indeed, they were deserving of it. His indication that the only superiority that the British possessed was in their ability to exterminate life is indicative of how high in esteem Haggard held the African people of South Africa and the contempt in which he held the "insatiable hunger" of the Briton.

Despite his condemnation of British greed and the imperial agenda in South Africa, Haggard often praised the agricultural accomplishments of British and Boer farmers and advocated for their settlement on much of the land. This was likely due to his own time as a farmer in South Africa and, as such, he felt a sense of camaraderie with the farmers/frontiersmen he encountered on his return. He also spent a great deal of time writing about agricultural practices in Britain and the colonies. Therefore, it is likely that, on a professional level, Haggard considered the endeavours of white farmers in South Africa as being worthy of praise. He congratulated himself for this feat and yet condemned the actions of the settlers/immigrants in Southern Africa. It is this tendency which exemplifies the interplay between Haggard the imperialist, and Haggard the Romantic.

Conclusion

The ideologies that provided the foundation for British imperialism had profound effects on the colonial agents responsible for furthering its reach. In general, the concept of the "civilizing mission" fostered an institutionalized paternalism that allowed the British colonizers to justify the appropriation of land and labour from African peoples.

Perhaps nowhere was this effect more significant than in South Africa. The implementation of state-sanctioned racism as the backbone of its segregationist society allowed South Africa to transcend the paternalist discourse prominent throughout the empire. Cecil Rhodes, Alfred Milner, and Rudyard Kipling are prime examples of how the prominent colonial discourse shaped those involved in the colonial administration and, in turn, how they exerted their own influence on its development. Unlike Kipling, however; Rider Haggard was shaped by his colonial experience in a way that eventually made him vocally sympathetic to the plight of the Zulu. He frequently discussed the events and people of South Africa in typical ways, evoking racist assessments of black South Africans and celebrating the expansion of the colony. These themes, most obvious in his early fiction, coincide with the ideas held by his mentor: Theophilus Shepstone. Despite this tendency, Haggard also began to make significant departures from the racially-segregated society and the ideology that so fundamentally shaped his colleagues. His experiences with the Zulu allowed him to critically examine the tropes of the imperialist regime. These personal experiences and assessment clearly demonstrate Haggard's departure from the ideology of the colonial administration he belonged to. Although certainly still exhibiting racist and paternalistic tendencies, he shifted to a more humanistic outlook that has been glossed over by critics, because of their focus on his novels which was unique for an administrator in the South African context.

Said, Brantlinger, Pallua, and Krebs have all labelled Haggard as an imperialist. However, I have striven to show that doing so is difficult considering his comments condemning the British role in establishing a segregated society while celebrating Zulu

intelligence only to, almost immediately, praise his own role in populating the empire. Haggard often emphasized Zulu traits which modern academics consider to be part of a larger, racist or paternalist discourse prevalent throughout the colonial establishment and the period. However, he often provided subtle challenges to the established discourse despite couching his challenges in a paternalistic language.

Haggard came to embrace the contradictions inherent in the imperial dogma. His ability to simultaneously act as an advocate for and critic of imperialism without dwelling on the inconsistencies or be bothered by them is indicative of the myriad experiences influencing his development within the colonial context. His opinions often ran contrary to prevalent imperialist thought in a way that makes it impossible to identify him as a writer of empire or typical among imperialists. Consequently, he goes into great length describing and justifying the ideas that run in opposition to those popularized by his contemporaries. Haggard defies labelling. He was an imperialist that supported British settlement in South Africa and Anglican antipathy toward the Boer. However, he was also a Romantic that dreamed of a future free from oppression for black South Africans. He did not feel the need to explain how these positions could exist simultaneously as the apparent contradiction was, for him, not irreconcilable. I agree with Monsman's contention that, "Haggard [wanted] to meld the best of Anglo culture … with the best in Zulu culture … But this cross-cultural influence takes place at the level of abstract-utopian synthesis, not in the arena of real men and women."[111] The seemingly incompatible statements Haggard made are indicative of the ideals he had and the reality

[111] Monsman, *H. Rider Haggard*, 97.

he faced, a reality that he felt could one day reflect the ideals. By operating within the imperial discourse and utilizing the common tropes of the time, he was able to begin attempting to reconcile the ideology and experiences that so fundamentally shaped him. This exercise lasted his whole life and manifested itself in a works of fiction and nonfiction that subverted the ideas incompatible with his vision. These works took on the role of bringing his colleagues and countrymen into this discussion in an attempt to have them see the world as he saw it. It is this attempt to make his ideas appealing to a wider audience that is expressed in his writing and defined him not as imperialist but as something more complex than postcolonial critics seem willing to acknowledge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness*. Random House: New York, 2006.

Doyle, Arthur Conan. *The War in South Africa: Its Cause & Conduct.* London: George Newnes Ltd, 1902.

Haggard, H. Rider. *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours or Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal, and the Transvaal.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd, 1902.

Haggard, H. Rider. *The Days of My Life, an Autobiography by Sir H. Rider Haggard Vol. 1 & 2.* London: Longmans and Green, 1926.

Haggard, H. Rider. *She: a History of Adventure.* New York: Modern Library, 2002.

Haggard, H. Rider. *Diary of an African Journey: the Return of H. Rider Haggard,* edited by Stephen Coan. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2000.

Kipling, Rudyard. *Ballads and Barrack-room Ballads.* New York: MacMillan and Co., 1893.

Kipling, Rudyard. "The White Man's Burden". New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1899.

Mayr, Father Fr. "The Zulu Kaffirs of Natal." *Anthropos* 2, no. 3 (1907): 392-399

Stuart, James. *The James Stuart Archive Vol. 1-6.* edited by Colin Webb and John Wright. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2014.

Secondary Sources

Achebe, Chinua. "An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *'Heart of Darkness.'*" *Massachusetts Review* 18, (1977). 782-794.

Adhikari, Mohamed. "From Narratives of Miscegenation to Post-Modernist Re-Imagining: Toward a Historiography of Coloured Identity in South Africa." *African Historical Review* 40, no. 1 (2008): 77-100.

Atrridge, Steve. *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Bank, Andrew. "The Great Debate and the Origins of South African Historiography." *Journal of African History* 38, no. 2 (1997): 261-281.

Blavatsky, Helena. *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of the Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*. Pasadena: Theosophical University Press, 1960.

Blavatsky, Helena. "What is Theosophy." *The Theosophical Path* 38, no. 1 (1911-1935): 17-18.

Brantlinger, Patrick. *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races 1800-1930.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Brantlinger, Patrick. *Taming Cannibals: Race and the Victorians.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Brown, Barbara B. "Facing the 'Black Peril': The Politics of Population Control in South Africa."*Journal of Southern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (1987): 256-73.

Chamberlain, M. E. *The Scramble for Africa.* London: Routledge, 2013.

Clark, Nancy L.and William H. Worger. *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid.* New York: Pearson Education, 2004.

Crais, C. C. "The Vacant Land: The Mythology of British Expansion in the Eastern Cape, South Africa." *Journal of Social History* 25, no. 2 (1991):255-275.

Davidson, Basil. *Africa in Modern History: A Search for a New Society*. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1987.

Dubow, Saul. *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Elbourne, Elizabeth. "Religion and Empire, with Special Reference to South Africa and Canada." In *Empire Online*, edited by Julian Martin, Jane Samson, Alan Frost et al. London: Adam Matthew Publications, 2006.

Elingson, Ter. *The Myth of the Noble Savage*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2001.

Etherington, Norman A. "Labour Supply and the Genesis of South African Confederation in the 1870s." *The Journal of African History* 20, no. 2 (1979): 235-53.

Harrison, Nicholas. *Postcolonial Criticism.* Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2003.

Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1999.

kaMpande, Cetshwayo. "The Coming of the Anglo-Zulu War," in *The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics* edited by Clifton Crais and Thomas V. McClendon, 141-151. London: Duke University Press, 2014.

Katz, Elaine N. "Revisiting the Origins of the Industrial Colour Bar in the Witwatersrand Gold Mining Industry, 1891-1899." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 25, no. 1 (1999): 73-97.

Krebs, Paula. *Gender, Race and the Writing of Empire: public discourse and the Boer War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Lorimer, Douglas. "From Emancipation to Resistance: Colour, Class, and Colonialism, 1870-1914." In *Empire Online*, edited by Julian Martin, Jane Samson, Alan Frost et al. London: Adam Matthew Publications, 2006.

Marks, Shula. "Natal, The Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 4, no. 2 (1978): 172-194.

McCulloch, Jock. *Black Peril, White Virtue: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902-1935*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.

McLaughin, Robbie. *Re-Imagining the 'Dark Continent' in Fin de Siecle Literature*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012.

Moeti, Moitsadi. "The Origins of Forced Labor in the Witwatersrand." *Phylon (1960-)* 47, no. 4 (1986): 276-84.

Monsman, Gerald. *H. Rider Haggard on the Imperial Frontier: the Political and Literary Contexts of His African Romances*. Greensboro: ELT Press, 2006.

Orwell, George. "Rudyard Kipling," *Critical Essays*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1946.

Owomyela, Oyekan. "The Literature of Empire: Africa." In *Empire Online*. 2004, accessed June 13, 2016. http://www.empire.amdigital.co.uk/Essays/Oyekan Owomoyela.

Pallua, Ulrich. *Eurocentrism, Racism, Colonialism in the Victorian and Edwardian Age: Changing Images of Africa(ns) in Scientific and Literary Texts*. Heidelgberg: University of Heidelberg, 2006.

Parnell, Susan. "Race, Power and Urban Control: Johannesburg's Inner City Slum-Yards, 1910-1923."*Journal of Southern African Studies* 29, no. 3 (2003): 615-37.

Parry, Richard. ""In a Sense Citizens, but Not Altogether Citizens...": Rhodes, Race, and the Ideology of Segregation at the Cape in the Late Nineteenth Century."*Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 17, no. 3 (1983): 377-91.

Porter, Andrew. "Introduction: Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth Century." In *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume 3, the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Andrew Porter, 1-28. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Rattansi, Ali. *Racism: A Very Short Introduction.* London: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Robinson, David, and Douglas Smith, eds. *Sources of the African Past.* New York:iUniversal, 1999.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism.* New York: Vintage Books, 1994.

Saunders, Christopher and Iain R. Smith. "South Africa, 1795-1910." In *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume 3, The Nineteenth Century,* edited by Andrew Porter, 597-623. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Saunders, Christopher. *The Making of the South African Past, Major Historians on Race and Class*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1988.

Swanson, Maynard W. ""The Asiatic Menace": Creating Segregation in Durban, 1870-1900." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 16, no. 3 (1983): 401-21.

Thompson, Leonard. *A History of South Africa.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Twidle, Hedley. "'All Alike and Yet Unlike the Old Country:' Kipling in Cape Town, 1891-1908--a reappraisal." *English in Africa* 39, no. 2 (2012): 85-109.

Wylie, Dan. ""Proprietor of Natal:" Henry Francis Fynn and the Mythography of Shaka."

History in Africa 22 (1995): 409-37.

Wylie, Dan. *Myth of Iron: Shaka in History.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008.

VITA AUCTORIS

NAME:	Payton Jacklin
PLACE OF BIRTH:	Pembroke, ON
YEAR OF BIRTH:	1991
EDUCATION	St. Christopher High School, Sarnia, ON, 2009 University of Windsor, B.A., Windsor, ON, 2013 University of Windsor, B.Ed., Windsor, ON, 2014 University of Windsor, M.A., Windsor, ON, 2016