seriously out of touch with grassroots political sentiment. By the late 1950s Xuma had become an outsider who had distanced himself from the ANC. Despite this political moderation the government continued to regard him as a political risk.

Gish points out that in some way Xuma’s life ended tragically. He had spent his last years in the political wilderness aware that all the causes for which he had struggled had failed. At the time of his death in 1962 the apartheid state seemed invincible. It was a state that not only robbed him of his rights as a citizen, but even denied him property rights as he was forcibly removed from his Sophiatown home of near thirty years. Despite this seeming failure Xuma’s tireless struggle for freedom in South Africa represents a powerful contribution which must be remembered. Ultimately it was his rebuilding of the ANC in the 1940s that provided the organisation with its durability in the long struggle against apartheid.

Alfred Xuma was a hero and Gish does justice to his life with this balanced, well researched and highly readable biography.

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Rider Haggard is best known for his colonial adventure stories, *King Solomon’s Mines, Alan Quatermain* and *She*, that are widely held to have reinforced the values that promoted British imperialism in the late Victorian period. His heroes are nearly always brave in danger, stoical in adversity, upright in morals, and just when they subdue natives to whom they impart elevating elements of British culture. Blacks, or ‘natives’ are usually seen as violent barbarians and, at best, noble savages. However there are other aspects to the author. In 1875 Haggard came out to southern Africa on the staff of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Bulwer. He accompanied his great friend and mentor, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, when he annexed the Transvaal for Great Britain in 1877. Haggard even helped to hoist the Union Jack on Church Square in Pretoria.

When the Anglo-Zulu War broke out in 1879 Haggard was indirectly involved and many of his friends perished in the battle of Isandlwana. Finally, he settled down to farm at Hillsdrop near Newcastle. But in 1881, after the British defeat in the First Anglo-Boer War he was disillusioned with the constant bloodshed and violence in southern Africa and decided to return to England. Here he set himself up as a gentleman farmer and began to write his famous adventure novels, or romances, his romances as he disparagingly called them.

In the mid-1890s, Haggard began writing scientific books on agriculture and lobbying for the improvement of the lot of poor farmers. This introduced him to public service and culminated in his appointment to the Dominion Royal Commission which was to report on the state of affairs in the British Empire. So it was that early in 1914 after 33 years absence, he was once more in southern Africa. The *Diary of an African Journey* records his expedition.

Haggard’s journey in the sub-continent was strenuous to say the least. After extensive travels in the southwestern Cape, he sailed to Port Elizabeth and then went on to Kimberley, Bloemfontein, Newcastle and Pietermaritzburg. Backtracking somewhat, he then travelled to Pretoria, Mafikeng and Rhodesia via the Bechuana-land Protectorate. While in Rhodesia he visited Bulawayo, Salisbury and the Zimbabwe ruins. The last leg of his tour brought him to Durban, after which he embarked on a 400 mile excursion into Zululand. The closing sections of the *Diary* describe his voyage from Durban up the East coast of Africa to the Mediterranean.

The central theme of the *Diary* way is the way in which South Africa has changed, and this manifests itself largely in
three areas of interest: the economy (principally agriculture and mining), politics (mainly race relations) and personal experiences and anecdotes (including reflections on past events). In relation to personal experiences we see, on the public level, the civil dignitary being feted in Cape Town, the smaller inland cities and numerous farms. On the trip from Newcastle to Pietermaritzburg, he nostalgically visits Hillsdrop, the farm where he began his agricultural career in South Africa. He laments on its decline but is pleased to find the spot where he made bricks for the farmhouse – and even some leftover bricks. In Pietermaritzburg he is delighted to find Mazooku, his servant from his young days in South Africa who, on one occasion saved his life. Subsequently the black man accompanies Haggard on his trip through Zululand. In Zululand he meets a young ‘witch-doctor’s whose incantations apparently helped the travellers extricate their car from a flooded ford. The book abounds with such anecdotes and these add considerable interest, but perhaps his account of southern African affairs is more important for the historian.

Haggard is amazed by the changes in the region. In Cape Town he finds cars and trams bustling though the city where previously there had been none. Scientific farming, yielding far greater produce than before, is prominent in the southwestern Cape, as is exceptionally profitable viticulture. In Kimberley he marvels at new machinery that extracts diamonds from the gravel. He goes into great detail about the new harbour built at Durban, the wharves and the whaling station, all quite new from time he had been there earlier. However, there is a more dismal side to his picture of southern Africa. The interior is in the grip of a devastating drought. Some farmers who once had over 15 000 head of cattle now have none. Rhodesia is in an even in a worse plight: hugely expensive dams are empty, although he does notice that in some areas near Salisbury, tobacco is flourishing. Presciently he advocates that this should be the country’s chief crop in the future.

Perhaps the greatest changes Haggard sees are in the area of politics and race relations. But old attitudes persist. While visiting the Zimbabwe ruins, which feature indirectly in King Solomon’s Mines, he still cannot believe that Africans had the technical skills to have constructed them; he endorses the old Sabaen theory of their origin despite the fact that this had already been debunked. In generalising about Rhodesia he wonders whether the territory ‘is a white man’s land’ (p 167). Meditating on the future of the country he notes that whites have only recently conquered the land and muses ‘perhaps one day their [the Matabele] turn will come again, either with steel or bullet, or more probably by sheer weight of numbers and the ballot box’ (p 166). His view of the Matabele has obviously advanced a long way since King Solomon’s Mines.

South Africa offers more intractable problems. Haggard can, at times, display a patronising attitude to blacks, as at numerous indabas between British magistrates and local chiefs where he revels in being called ‘Great Chief’ and treats a Zulu warrior’s Iziqu (which indicates that the owner has killed a man in battle) as a curio – albeit a valuable one. But he also acknowledges to Annie Botha (wife of the prime minister) that ‘the native could no longer be suppressed, or even oppressed: he must follow his destiny … often he was an able and a competent person’ (p 72). The problem, however, lies with the dominant white population because ‘to 99 out of 100 [whites] a native is just a native from whom land may be filched on one pretext or another, or labour and taxes extracted, and who, if he resists the process or makes himself otherwise inconvenient may be shot with a clear conscience’ (p 209). He shrewdly points out the nature of white disregard for blacks in a discussion of white-owned newspapers (which sounds all too contemporary): ‘the amount of real interest taken in natives, their problems and troubles may be mea-
sured, roughly, by the inches of space allotted to them in the local newspapers (excluding reports of crimes and trials). It will, I think, be small’ (p 240). The result of such attitudes is to be found in the 1913 Land Act.

In an interview with John Dube, the first president of the ANC, Haggard reports some of the African views on the legislation:

My points of objection to the Land Act of last year are: (1) I regard the refusal to let us buy land from Europeans as depriving natives of their rights .... You must remember that we natives hold only as native reserves 10 million morgen (20 million acres) out of the 400 million morgen (800 million acres) in the Union. (2) That natives are not allowed to lease land or to farm on shares with Europeans .... (p 227).

For Dube, the solution is firstly, education, and, secondly, some type of ‘organisation to speak for us for we have no representation in the Union parliament’ (p 227). At local level, Dube suggests ‘that in every magisterial division there should be either a magistrate with some more leisure or some gentleman specially appointed to devote himself to native affairs, with whom we could consult on all matters affecting us and our welfare’ (p 227). Haggard so thoroughly endorses Dube’s views on inequitable land tenure, education and co-operation on local levels that these form major themes throughout his travel memoirs. However, he is not optimistic about change because of white intransigence and he foresees some violence because

the native, taking him *en masse*, is probably rising [socio-politically and educationally]. His eyes are not shut; he sees a great deal. His brain is not dull, he learns day by day .... He has wrongs to be righted, which gives him a great moral advantage, a great support in any national struggle (p 239).

The editor of Haggard’s *Diary* does not allude in any depth to the reasons why the writer of apparently racist boys’ adventure stories has become a pro-black polemicist. One of the causes of this oversight lies in the fact that while Coan notes that as a youth in southern Africa, it was ‘Theophilus Shepstone who was to exert the greatest influence on the young Haggard, becoming in effect a surrogate father figure and a mentor’ (p 6), he never really explains the nature of the older man’s influence. Fundamental to Shepstone’s policies about the African people in Natal and Zululand was the idea of ‘indirect rule’. Indirect rule implies that ‘the subject peoples of the British Empire should be allowed “to develop on their own lines”’. Compare this with Haggard’s comments to Annie Botha that the black man should ‘follow his own destiny’. Accordingly, these people would be allowed to retain their own leaders, customs and religions as long as they did not interfere with the economic interests of the Empire. This eventually led to the Protectorate system such as practised in Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana. Indirect rule was an arrangement to limit exploitation of blacks while offering them opportunities of developing on western lines if they so desired. The concept of indirect rule has some similarities to the thinking underlying the conclusion of *King Solomon’s Mines*. In bidding farewell to the three Englishmen, Quatermain, Good and Curtis, Ignosi, the king of the Kukuanas says:

No other white men shall cross the mountains .... I will see no traders with their guns and rum ... I will have no praying men to put the fear of death in their [his people] hearts, to stir them up against their king, and make a path for the white men who follow to run on

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... none shall come for the shining stones [except the British trio].\(^2\)

Ignosi shows a shrewd understanding of the imperial dynamic. He is, however, amenable to Quatermain, Good and Curtis returning to acquire wealth, especially if they remain and selectively improve Kukuana technology so that they can develop along their own lines but not be vulnerable to western incursions. The British men are effectively to act as protectors of a territory which they can exploit commercially while ‘uplifting’ its inhabitants. There is so little racism in Haggard’s thinking that he can make Quatermain say in *Allan Quatermain*: ‘In all essentials the savage and the child of civilization are identical.’\(^3\) However, Haggard is sufficiently a child of his times to assert the western civilization, if properly imparted, can be beneficial and improve the black man.

As expressed in his *Diary*, Haggard’s views had not changed radically but they had developed, probably as a result of his extensive research into the plight of the rural poor in England and his assiduous efforts to improve their lot. But, in South Africa, the rural poor were black and parliament, largely protecting white interests, especially when they clashed with those of blacks, was unlikely to implement the reform measures both he and Dube supported. Despite all the enjoyment and lionising he had experienced in the subcontinent, it was a rather pessimistic man that left Durban for Cairo.

Although Stephen Coan could have put more emphasis on the views of a man who so importantly influenced Haggard and could, perhaps, have examined the novels in a little more detail (after all, his fame rests on them), he has produced a most lavish and scrupulous edition of Haggard’s *Diary*. His endnotes are copious, perhaps a little too copious; for, not only do they distract a reader from Haggard’s main narrative, but there are also some notes that appear rather inflated and superfluous. For example, the notes concerning the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 could have been shortened because Haggard includes much of Coan’s details in his account of the background and proceedings of the war. However, these are but minor quibbles in a book that makes a significant contribution to the literary, social and historical aspects of the period.

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John Laband and Paul Thompson, *The illustrated guide to the Anglo-Zulu War* (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 2000), xii + 201 pp, illus, maps, bibl, index. ISBN 0 86980 972 5 (paperback), 0 86980 973 3 (hardback)

In 1979 when Laband and Thompson’s *Field guide to the war in Zululand and the defence of Natal, 1879* first appeared I bought a copy and its weather-beaten appearance testifies to the use to which it has been put over the last twenty years. It has proved an invaluable companion on numerous explorations of the battlefields of the Anglo-Zulu War. The fact that the *Guide* has been reprinted with corrections and revisions three times since 1979 testifies to its value to others as well.

However, much new research has been done on the War since 1979, not least by the two authors of the *Guide*. Far more is now known of the Zulu side of the conflict while details of battles are clearer now than was the case twenty years ago. Because of this, a complete revision was considered necessary. John Laband undertook this revision and completely rewrote the text, co-operating with Paul Thompson in rethinking the maps. The result is a
