

SPIRITUALITY IN THE FICTION OF HENRY RIDER HAGGARD

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ABSTRACT

Neither an unquestioning support for British imperialism nor a personal pre-Jungian philosophy were the driving forces behind Rider Haggard's beliefs or his literature. These two concerns were secondary to the author's fascination with the supernatural, a theme prominent in his era, but less so in our own. A declining faith in European religion provided the dominant focal point in Haggard's work. Although there are important overtones of imperial concern and indeed points of Jungian significance in the texts, these are generally subservient to an intensive wide-ranging spiritual discourse. The place of Haggard's work in history and its literary merit are thus misunderstood when his spiritualism is not taken into account. No analysis of the author's work can be complete without first coming to terms with his spiritual ideas and then with their impact on other topics of significance to both the author and audiences of his day.

The spiritual or religious aspect of his writing has been largely ignored because of its subtle nature and its relative unfashionability throughout most of the twentieth century in the critical and intellectual climate of the Western world. However, in the Victorian era, under the materialist impact of Darwin, Marx and industrialization, Europe's Christian God was pushed from centre stage, creating widespread spiritual hunger and anguish. In the resulting religious vacuum Haggard's overtures were of particular significance to his audience. In fact, when considered in terms of his immense contemporary popularity, the pervasive presence of spirituality throughout Haggard's works and in his personal writing gives some indication of the subject's enormous importance not only to the author, but to late Victorian society as a whole. In light of this Victorian significance, the spiritual element rises, by its constant presence and persistent foregrounding, to subvert not only the imperial and the Jungian, but even Haggard's overt adventure text by dealing directly with the underlying metaphysical crisis in Western society.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

Henry Rider Haggard is often considered little more than an imperialist whose interests lay with the maintenance of the British Empire in Africa. Haggard's biographers, for the most part, have been concerned with his attitude towards empire and, more recently, with Jungian interpretations of his work, overlooking what should be central to any study of the man, namely, his early and continuing concern with the supernatural. Rider Haggard, as he is popularly known, lived and wrote in a world suffused with mystery and its elusive meanings. Inexplicable spiritual forces cast about in his works as commonly and powerfully as do ordinary earthly energies and phenomena. Religion is evident in almost every aspect of his writings: in the mouths of witchdoctors, predictions of the future, haunted places, and in justice meted out by the heavens. The tension and excitement of the netherworld thus created infuses the reader with a feeling of mortal, and indeed perhaps immortal danger tapping into humanity's mystical sense.

Before beginning any further discussion of Haggard's religious views it is necessary to define several terms which will be used extensively throughout this work and to point out some limitations to the scope of this study. The most important of these terms are "spirituality" and "spiritualism". "Spirituality" will refer to the spirit regarded in either a religious or intellectual aspect as it concerns the existence of an incorporeal supernatural essence. Spiritualism, on the

other hand, refers to the tendency towards or advocacy of a belief that the spirits of the dead can hold communication with the living, or make their presence known to them. Haggard's belief in reincarnation and the occult aspects of his writing fall into this category. From a definition of these terms it becomes apparent that much of the focus of this study is on the spiritualist aspects contained within Haggard's works. Consequently it is not within the scope of this study to discuss specifics of colonial society or Christian doctrinal history directly, nor is it an attempt to mitigate imperialist aspects of the author's work. Rather, the purpose is to relate Haggard's works to the complex linkages between spirituality, society and fiction. Nevertheless, various aspects of both church history and the post-colonial debate will be touched upon as they relate to spiritual themes and representations within the author's works over the course of his lifetime.

The spiritual and spiritualist aspects of Haggard's writing have been overlooked principally because of their subtle nature and relative unfashionability throughout most of the twentieth century in the critical and intellectual climate of the Western world. Elisabeth Jay, for example, emphasizes the secular indifference of the twentieth century, differentiating it from the fervour of doubt present in the nineteenth century works of authors like Eliot, Hardy and Browning.¹ In the Victorian era, under the materialist impact of Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology, published in 1830, which directly refuted the Biblical account of creation, followed by Darwin, Marx and industrialization, Europe's Christian God was pushed from centre stage, creating widespread spiritual hunger and anguish. In 1835 the publication of Das Leben Jesu, by Friedrich Strauss, translated into English by Mary Ann Evans (George Eliot) in 1846 provides a good example of the concurrent Biblical criticism which sowed the seeds of such religious doubt for many. In her translation George Eliot describes Biblical narrative as myth, "which may be

¹ Elisabeth Jay, Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain (London: MacMillan 1986) 101.

considered not as the expression of a fact, but as the product of an idea”.² In addition, Darwin’s Origin of Species documented strong evidence in support of natural selection, contradicting the biblical account of a single God who created humanity in its own image. Doubt was created surrounding the sacrosanct Christian belief that we are a divinely favoured species. There were two major consequences to Darwin’s theory in particular for Haggard’s spiritual beliefs. First, if one believed the theory, one could not reasonably believe in an individual soul or spirit, at least not in the Christian sense. Second, a consequence of a world governed by natural selection with no higher power or spiritual sanction was absolute moral relativity – a world governed by the laws of nature. Haggard’s spiritualism could accept neither consequence of such a naturally governed world, in reality or in his fictional representations.

Within a growing religious vacuum in the late Victorian period Haggard's spiritual explorations were of particular significance. They coincided with the widespread growth of spiritualist societies and publications throughout the world. In fact, when considered in terms of his immense contemporary popularity, the pervasive presence of spirituality throughout Haggard's works may have helped popularize the subject with late Victorian society as a whole. The purpose of this thesis is therefore to demonstrate the central position of spirituality and the influence of Haggard’s spiritualism within his writing. This will be done by chronologically demonstrating the development of spiritualist concepts and motifs in the author’s writing. At the same time the important influence of this spiritual element on other significant themes including the imperial, proto-Jungian, and overt adventure themes which hold prominent positions in many Haggard works will be investigated. The focalization of thematic elements through the lens of spiritual interrogation significantly differentiates this work from other writing about Haggard. Such a focalization reveals the importance of Haggard’s writing as a response to

² D.F. Strauss, The Life of Jesus Critically Examined trans. G. Eliot (London: Sigler Press, 1846) Vol. I, 86.

the shift in theological paradigms towards accommodating scientific discovery in the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras. It exposes Haggard's writing as much more than purely imperialist because the author's responses to spiritual matters directly influence his representation of imperial policy and practice. It also distinguishes Haggard's writing from the dominant realist and naturalist genera of the late Victorian era via a revelation of his pessimistic representation of their underlying rationalism.

Indeed, there is little doubt that Haggard sought to escape the realism and naturalism which held sway in the literary landscape of England by the end of the nineteenth century. He was, in some sense, the product, but also antagonist of an age pervaded by a growing rational materialism, of which Darwinism is a prime example. It had evolved to embrace the metaphysical world as well as the physical, in which scant room remained for God or a belief in anything which could not be explained by science. Such beliefs limited the justifiable field of metaphysical fictional representation to purely earthly matters. From naturalist authors the public learned that their God was false and their hope of eternal life vain. Yet metaphysical questions were not answered by science and readers' passions were not satisfied by the careful studies of humanity undertaken by the great literary figures of the late Victorian realist genera. They would, however, be addressed by a writer of their own time period, Rider Haggard, whose metaphysical journey reflected the religious concerns of the late Victorian era, concerns which the realists by their very nature could not address.

In this thesis the spiritual aspects of Haggard's life and work are taken in chronological order as they develop throughout his various writings. It begins by looking at the early novels where there are only bold, bland, spiritual statements interspersed in the story line, normally in the form of asides addressed to the reader. A typical example is, "Truly the world is full of

ghosts, not sheeted churchyard spectres, but the inextinguishable elements of individual life, which having once been, can never die,"³ from King Solomon's Mines. As his writing develops, reflecting events in his life, so Haggard's spiritual views develop to form a more mature, concrete philosophy. In the early novels, references to Zulu religion are frequent, and often out of place. In King Solomon's Mines, elements of such religion are somewhat awkwardly thrown in to advance the plot or heighten the aura of mystery and suspense. This apparently haphazard approach takes on more coherent form in his later novels, where plots are woven around spiritual ideas, which are no longer interjected at random.

Spirits begin to make regular appearances in Haggard novels, including Allan Quatermain, Allan's Wife, The Ancient Allan, The Brethren, Child of Storm, Cleopatra, Doctor Therne, Eric Brighteyes, Fair Margaret, Lysbeth, The Mahatma and the Hare, The Way of the Spirit, Nada the Lily, and many others. Ultimately, in novel after novel, Haggard includes spiritual elements each developing some aspect of its predecessors. In Dawn Lady Bellamy seeks immortality, in King Solomon's Mines Gagool has supernatural powers, in She Ayesha possesses god-like qualities, in Montezuma's Daughter Aztec spiritualism is explored, the plot of Joan Haste came to the author while he stood over the grave of an individual whose life it resembled, Allan Quatermain and The Wizard deal with Zulu supernatural powers, Stella Fregelius deals with attempts to contact the dead through prayer and meditation, as do The Way of the Spirit and The Wanderer's Necklace, both of which concern contact with ancient spirits. These illustrations demonstrate the variety and volume of incidences or spiritual references which reveal the development of Haggard's literary spiritual representations. They equally demonstrate a pattern

³ H.R. Haggard, King Solomon's Mines (1885: London, Cassell, 1962) 130.

of responses to events in the author's own life and to late 19th century theological doubt surrounding the tangible existence of a spiritual world.

Haggard's generation grew up doubting its parents' religion and searching for a concrete basis on which to found its own beliefs. Some turned to the very rationalism which generated their spiritual crisis, endorsing the philosophies of Marxism, Fascism and Positivism and according them the same reverence previously accorded traditional religion. Others sought new assurances that their old beliefs were not vain, hoping only their dogma was erroneous, not their philosophy. Haggard was among these. He began life in the shadow of death and developed a strong interest in the power which so nearly took his young life. Beginning with his childhood interest in Egyptology, the search for an alternative to the utter finality of death, through contact with the dead, became the driving force behind his life. His interest places him within a movement whose roots stretched back past the Essays and Reviews debate into the 18th century.

The teachings of the Swedish savant Emanuel Swedenborg are generally credited with providing a focal point around which coalesced the quasi-religious belief that living persons could converse with the spirits of the departed. After Swedenborg's death in 1772 something of a religious sect developed around his teachings. Over the next half century the Swedenborgians spread across Northern Europe, Britain and the United States. The latter country in particular became a fertile ground for the growth of new and unconventional religious movements, including Mormonism and Adventism, which sprang up during the period 1830-31. Popular movements including the trance-like Mesmerism were used on both sides of the Atlantic to facilitate spirit communication in the early part of the nineteenth century, particularly in the increasing tendency for mesmerised

clairvoyants to teach revelations attributed to various spirits. One of the better known instances was the case of Andrew Jackson Davis of Poughkeepsie, New York. He allegedly received teaching from Swedenborg himself and, although formally unschooled, published several books including one (Principles of Nature, 1847), which was reprinted thirty-four times.⁴ The stage was thus set for a sequence of events that launched one of the most remarkable religious movements in the modern Western world: spiritualism.

In Britain, the dominance of empiricism, consolidated by evolutionary science, found itself reflected in the declining hegemony of the Anglican Church in the latter half of the century. The search for spiritual fulfillment expressed itself largely in efforts to find a compromise between the orthodoxies of science and religion. "The thing is," wrote Matthew Arnold in Literature and Dogma (1873) "to recast religion".⁵ Through the process of a dialectical balancing of the potential and the factual, Victorian critics of culture and religion hoped to amass truths untainted by error and to weld them into new and eclectic creeds.⁶ George Eliot, like Arnold, wanted to present her age with a Christian essence and ethics, but rejected Christian metaphysics.⁷ Samuel Butler, initially a Darwinian, moved from science to pseudo-science in order to regain the teleology of his lost belief.

⁴Richard S.Broughton, Parapsychology: The Controversial Science (New York: Ballantine, 1991), 57.

⁵Matthew Arnold Literature and Dogma (London, 1873) 142. For an exploration of Arnold's view, see Douglas Bush, Matthew Arnold: A Survey of His Poetry and Prose (London: Macmillan, 1971), 172-181.

⁶U.C.Knoepfmacher, Religious Humanism and the Victorian Novel: George Eliot, Walter Pater, and Samuel Butler, (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1963) 203. The following pages draw heavily on Knoepfmacher's studies of the late 19th century.

In his efforts to impose design on the evolutionary universe of Wallace, Darwin and Huxley, he created scientism, a substitute rational order refining heritage into heredity.⁸ Walter Pater's aestheticism fell between the Continental humanism espoused by Eliot and the rational order of Butler. He believed in the validity of the impression of the physical senses along with the need for maintaining the morality of Christianity.⁹ As a result he turned to ritual and religious art as a source of moral impression.¹⁰ Thus it was that the Victorians brought a new dimension to the English novel. Actual creeds, George Eliot's humanism, Pater's aestheticism, and Butler's scientism, all attempted to plot a new spiritual course, whether secular or religious, in the wake of advancing rationalism.

Similarly, Haggard wanted to present his age with his concept of Christian virtues; but rather than rejecting its metaphysics, as Eliot, Butler and Pater did, he included it within his own metaphysical framework. Like Eliot, Haggard valued the pervasive Christian morality of his youth, but he was not willing to forego the hope that it was metaphysically grounded in spirituality. In particular, Haggard sought to defend his belief in the individual soul. Pater's aestheticism attempted to maintain the Christian ethic, but replaced Christian spirituality with sensation rather than an alternative spirituality. Butler's attempt to rely purely on the rational world for a secular explanation for morality equally avoided supernatural explanations. Haggard's presentation of a wide

⁷Knoepfmacher, 203. Also see, Knoepfmacher, Nature and the Victorian Imagination (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1977), xxi.

⁸Knoepfmacher, Religious Humanism 209.

⁹Knoepfmacher, Religious Humanism 210, and Nature and the Victorian Imagination 413-414.

ranging spirit world ultimately based on what he called universal love was his contribution to the profusion of new creeds. Unlike those who developed purely rational creeds, Haggard maintained the supernatural element in his religious conceptions, attempting only to find some rational substantiation for his belief. In the process he expanded his concept of spirituality to accept aspects of many religions rather than rejecting entire belief systems simply because some aspects might be disproved by scientific discoveries.

However, creeds like Haggard's were not entirely new, as the Romantics, followed by the Symbolists, had begun the search generations earlier. The same metaphysical problems that bothered Haggard bothered both the Romantics and Symbolists. Yeats said of Blake, "he was a man crying out for a mythology, and trying to make one because he could not find one to his hand."¹¹ Yeats wrote in Trembling of the Veil, "had not Europe shared one mind and heart, until both mind and heart began to break into fragments a little before Shakespeare's birth? The mission of the true artist is to restore the fragments to a condition of wholeness, at least among his own people."¹² Conrad's "the Horror, the Horror" in Heart of Darkness is such an attempt at a whole vision, analogous with Haggard's desire to keep the white man's religion out of Africa in Allan Quatermain. Like Yeats' "true artist", Haggard is expressing his conviction as to the failings in Victorian society, represented

¹⁰Knoepfmacher, Religious Humanism 213.

¹¹Cited by David H. Fischer, "The Braided Narrative; Substance and Form in Social History," The Literature of Fact: Selected Papers from the English Institute, ed. Angus Fletcher (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1974) 114.

¹²Cited by Fischer 114.

in Conrad's case by Victorian London,¹³ in Haggard's by white missionaries in Africa. However, Haggard's vision, unlike Conrad's, operates on two levels: first to point out the catastrophic results of the moral failure of orthodox religion (religious dogma) in the face of rationalism and alien cultures, and second to create a new inclusive creed replacing the old dogma. In other words, Haggard wanted to restore the state of wholeness which Yeats had conceived, but presented his metaphysical ideas as fiction.

Carl Jung appreciated this concern when he read and later recommended Haggard's work She to his clients as the original treatment of the anima symbol. Jung recognised underneath the overt adventure story the essence of what he considered to be a subconscious search for the spiritual. That Jung saw the subconscious at work in Haggard's tale is unsurprising as the author's own conscious philosophy of writing involved an attempt to tap into the greater spiritual senses of humanity by a mystical creative process which involved transcribing his works directly and rapidly from the subconscious. He believed himself to live within the separate mental world of the text during its creation and then let it go as a direct window into his subconscious and thus his spirituality. Jung's recognition of the success of Haggard's attempts in this regard places the latter in a unique position as an author by making his work a part of the ongoing debate surrounding the nebulous role of spirit in the human psyche.

What Haggard attempted to portray in fiction Jung later incorporated into an authoritative series of notes published in his own collected works. These notes are filled with references to Haggard, particularly to the Ayesha series, providing strong evidence that Jung was heavily influenced by the author. Even though Haggard wrote fiction and Jung psychology, the mystical

¹³Keating, The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel 1875-1914 (London: Secker&Warburg, 1989) 312. Keating notes that from the mid-1880s onward British novelists developed a greater interest in what he terms "slum novels" and that this trend was widely recognized in the publishing industry.

theme in Jung's writing and Haggard's fiction is in fact very similar. The difference between fiction and psychology became evident, however, when Haggard attempted to make sense of his ideas in a systematic way. Haggard was more influenced by emotion and tradition than scientific methodology. What he created was not a theory but an inconsistent spiritual creed -- he became a pre-Jungian Jung as it were, minus the psychological insight. In the end it gave him few answers and little satisfaction, a fact evident in his later correspondence with Kipling.

The African dimension to his spiritual search provided just the avenue Haggard sought in which to explore and indeed to find new hope of a spiritual existence for humanity. At the same time it functioned to introduce an admittedly "Haggardized" but still potent vision of African spiritual power into the literary spectrum of the era. Even if the African religion reported in his stories is far from what we would recognize as anthropologically authentic today, it has had a significantly positive impact on the literary tradition surrounding African religion. In Haggard's texts the notion that there was something real to the spiritual side of shamanism comes through clearly, particularly in its opposition to European religious doctrines and practices, which appear weak and corrupt by comparison. This is not to say that Haggard's portrayal of African religion was in any sense a simple presentation of a noble binary opposite to European beliefs, for it was not. In fact he presented a complex hierarchy of political and spiritual concepts underlying African beliefs and practices to his readers. However, in fictional contexts where religion is pitted against religion, European beliefs are invariably the losers, reflecting the metaphysical insecurity of the author back to his European audience. Furthermore, by enhancing the status of African religion Haggard interrogates the Christian missionary status of European imperial power in Africa with a sceptical eye.

Adding to this moral complexity in his literary representation of other peoples, Haggard held a strong belief in the inter-relatedness of races through reincarnation. Each journey and every experience in foreign lands brought the author a greater scope, adding to his catalogue of

adventures and his knowledge of the occult and its place in the imperial world. He believed that he discovered previous incarnations of himself, or at least traces of past lives, in Africa, Egypt and Iceland. These discoveries would begin as no more than an affinity for a place or people, then become a part of a sense of being, and ultimately appear in his African, Egyptian and Norse tales. From them he would recreate his past identities and place them into fictional scenarios. He believed that these identities were not entirely fictional but formed a mixture of fiction and dream or memory: a partial recreation of some past life which, in the process metaphysically linked colonizer, colonized and all living beings on a spiritual plane. In this context Haggard intertwines the spiritual with the imperial and the Jungian into the powerful nexus that became romance writing, and earned him the title "King Romance".

The more tangible origins of this nexus are located in the author's youthful experience of a declining gentry culture's attempt to maintain a semblance of social importance against the economic realities of *laissez-faire* capitalism and a rising bourgeois society. When the destruction of agrarian wealth among the gentry was ensured by both the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the advent of the steam-ship, that class's social importance and land tenure were undermined. This forced many of its young men, indirectly including Rider Haggard, into the colonies in an attempt to regain social standing and amass new wealth. Loss of social prestige and economically enforced exile were in this sense one of the main social forces behind Haggard's brand of romance writing. This exile had the additional effect of separating young men and women at exactly the age at which their interest in each other would normally flower. Such circumstances also aroused interest in the possibility of homo-erotic shades in some of Haggard stories, particularly evident in Allan's Wife where the plot revolves around an implicit lesbian romance.

Accordingly, the heroes of Haggard's first novels are dispossessed, sceptical young men

with high social aspirations. They roam the empire seeking proof of a spiritual challenge to serve as a repository for their unrequited love. Many of Haggard's heroines are, on the other hand, tragic figures, young brides duty-bound by their families to marry wealthy bourgeoisie suitors in order to protect financially drained estates. These unfortunate marriages are a catalyst for the heroes' spiritual quest. Thus the author's personal experience with separation from home and loved ones formed another of the bases underlying the powerful fantasies that would one day fuel his literary creations. His stories repeatedly present the concept of physical love, transformed by separation, to exist only on a spiritual plane for young men cast out into the empire. Sexual desire is translated to spirituality as the empire becomes, by its sheer size, a destructive influence, separating couples and ending youthful romance, and coincidentally placing young men in close and constant company. Haggard himself developed a very close relationship with Arthur Cochrane when the two lived together in Pretoria, which proved to be the basis of a life-long companionship. Arguments have been made suggesting a homo-erotic overtone in some of Haggard's works by, among others, Joseph Bistow in Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World.¹⁴ The homo-erotic aspect of Haggard's work begs further exploration, but lies outside the immediate scope of this work.

This union of the spiritual with the sexual can be further traced through the development of the character Ayesha whose quest is another important symbol in Haggard's novels, representing, as it does, the rational materialist side in humanity's universal quest for a guiding principle of spiritual behaviour. Haggard, not content with the conventional wisdom of Christianity, wants to know more about God and, by extension, the limits of his own existence. Ayesha exemplifies many aspects of a larger philosophy which is present in all his works. Developed over years, this philosophy encompasses such diverse elements as reincarnation, racial spirituality and a

4. Joseph Bristow, Empire Boys: Adventure in a Man's World (London: Harper Collins 1991).

universal sense of God. Beginning with the original work, She, and further emerging in Ayesha and in Wisdom's Daughter, questions of immortality and occult existence are posed to the reader, and the complex moral questions surrounding eternal life, imperial power and a godless universe are explored. It will be useful to trace her career briefly at this point for two more reasons. First, the evolution of the character Ayesha is, in essence, the element within Haggard's search for spiritual meaning and eternal existence that represents rationalism, and second because Ayesha has attracted interest as an example of Jung's anima projection.

Thus a broad Jungian analysis of Haggard is useful in that Haggard's Ayesha was seminal to Carl Jung's concept of the unconscious mind. In the character Ayesha, Haggard fictionally creates in female form an entity similar to the symbolic Jungian other or anima representing the demonic powers of rational atheism he feared would overwhelm his faith in an afterlife. Her story is the story of Haggard's search for spiritual unity within himself and for his era. In studying Haggard's work, Jung is important because many of Haggard's symbolic creations anticipate aspects of Jung's archetypes. Specifically, the concept of Anima is inextricably connected to the female representation of Haggard's interior battle with rationalism and consequent search for evidence of an afterlife.

Carl Jung called this the process of individuation. He believed that the process of individuation is achieved by analysing and compensating for the demonic powers that threaten psychic stability.¹⁵ For Haggard, those demonic powers were, exactly as Hume surmised, rationalistic advances in social, religious and scientific thinking. Jung surmised that for children the conflict is external, with parents and society, but for the adult, as in Haggard's case, it is internal. Many mature men are unable to form a significant self because they are unable to come

¹⁵C.G.Jung, The Collected Works of C.J. Jung, trans. R.F.C. Hull, (London: Routledge, 1977) Vol.2, 471.

to terms with the threatening shadow aspects of their unconscious self. For Haggard the interruption of this process posed by rationalist criticism of religion resulted in existential doubt, which in turn became the central "shadow aspect" of the author's unconscious self. His reaction was to reflect on to his fictional writing. Consequently the central quest of his fiction became an attempt to overcome that doubt by reconciling it with his faith in an afterlife, thus forming, within the author, a reasonable likeness of Jung's notion of the significant self.

In She the spiritual element begins to take shape in an allegorical dialectic that develops between the author's personal religious exploration and atheist rationalism. As in King Solomon's Mines, the story is a spiritual journey involving one of Haggard's doppelgangers. Moreover, from She onward, Haggard begins to define the spiritual element of his fiction in opposition not only to atheist rationalism but also to the traditional religions he believed failed to vanquish it. The ground work for the spiritual side of this dialectic is laid in his first three fictional works, Dawn, The Witch's Head and King Solomon's Mines, where setting and characterization specifically reflect the supernatural search underlying his stories. Ayesha builds from that ground work an opposing rationale. From her initial inspiration until her demise in the last Ayesha story, she becomes a metaphor for Haggard's inner doubt and a symbol of his own latent rationalism, an entity similar to the symbolic Jungian other or anima.

Conversely, Morton Cohen in Rider Haggard, His Life and Works claims that She is in fact "A Freudian quest for a universal guiding principle of life and spiritual behaviour...the quest for the feminine universe."¹⁶ In She it was Ayesha's sexual passion that governed her eternal existence, her desire for Leo clearly demonstrating the connection between the sexual and the mystical; but Haggard does not, like Freud, attribute all religious belief to sexuality.¹⁷ By no

¹⁶Cohen, Rider Haggard 224.

¹⁷Andrew R.Fuller, Psychology and Religion, Eight Points of View (New York:

means does he affirm Freud's Oedipal thesis of religion as a universal compulsive neurosis. Instead, Haggard argues that sex is an important part of spirituality fundamentally underlying the continuance of the human race and thus a part of God's plan and a part of religion. In Haggard's later autobiography the author explicitly outlines the important role of sexual partnership which is implicit in his fiction. Cohen describes Ayesha as "the goal of a quest...both physical and spiritual,"¹⁸ however, she does not, in the end, prove to be a spiritual goal so much as a didactic metaphor for power devoid of spiritual awareness.

Moreover, Freud's attribution of the Christian religion to the Oedipal complex would have troubled Haggard, especially the contention that God was no more than a subconscious recreation of the father resulting from a conscience guilty of patricide. In Freud's Oedipal complex the son wishes to kill the father in order to possess his mother. In Freud's chauvinistic vision of Christianity, humanity's response to its subliminally desired patricide is the recreation of the father figure as god. Furthermore, Freud associated religion with childhood and thought that as society progressed it would abandon religion, which had failed, and adopt rationalism and intellect as a guiding principle, a thesis at odds with Haggard's spiritualism.

However, in one sense Morton Cohen is right. Haggard, consciously or unconsciously, anticipated some of Freud's thesis in Ayesha while embodying Olive Schreiner's atheist rationalism in her character; he feared that her assertions might be correct. By pitting his protagonists against these beliefs he sought to prove both Schreiner and his own pre-Freudian psychoanalytic vision of spiritual belief wrong. What makes Ayesha so interesting is that the heroes do not overcome her arguments and in the end can only affirm with Haggard himself that, "It may be that the fault lies within us -- because we are underlings: that the entire scheme of

University Press of America, 1977) 72.

¹⁸ Cohen 224.

things is perfect, if we could only see it so. Anyhow we cannot whose vision is so short."¹⁹

Jung's theory, on the other hand, is not so detrimental to Haggard's spiritualism. Jung believed that Freud had simply replaced traditional religion with sexuality as his personal symbolic religion, and also points to the development of "isms" -- communism, imperialism, socialism and the rest as substitute religions.²⁰ Haggard's spiritualism could easily be added to this list, but Jung did not thus include spiritualism, considering it far healthier to call religion by its traditional religious name of God or spirit than to put some new metaphysical entity in its place.

Furthermore it is significant, from a Jungian literary perspective, that Ayesha takes a female form, as Jung insists that the "other" or dark side of the male psyche is necessarily female. Jung's thesis is particularly relevant to this study because the figure of the powerful female protagonist, the assertive "new woman" who could only exist outside the bounds of patriarchal religious structure emerges as a literary prototype from Haggard's murky, confused and repressive Victorian sexual morality. When Leo expresses anger towards Ayesha she simply stretched out her hand and he "went staggering back...and would have fallen." Such was Ayesha's power over him that he felt "utterly cowed, as if all the manhood had been taken out of him."²¹ Hardy's Bathsheba Everdene in Far from the Madding Crowd and Edna Pontellier in Kate Chopin's American novel The Awakening are two very different examples of powerful female characters following Haggard's She, demonstrating the wide impact of such prototypes on all forms of literature.

¹⁹H.R.Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 22 Aug. 1922.

²⁰Fuller 2-3,30-32.

²¹H.R. Haggard She 151.

Jung notes that the anima, as projected in Ayesha, attaches itself to a particularly historical feeling, in Haggard's case an association with ancient Egypt, and that this feeling always has the quality of "momentousness and fatefulness and therefore leads directly to the problems of immortality and divinity."²² Much of Jung's later work on the anima was based on Haggard's fictional creation Ayesha, which he recognized as "altogether a psychological document of the first rank."²³ The Ayesha story, as a Jungian dialectic, intertwines with the spiritual and has its roots in Haggard's pre-African experience, therefore preceding and thereby shaping the imperial discourse in his novel. The Ayesha novels will be dealt with more fully in the chapters detailing her story.

Haggard states that he began She with the idea of an immortal woman inspired by an immortal love: "All the rest shaped itself round this figure."²⁴ As it came to him, its shape was that of his own fear of death and of loss of faith, reflected in the moral apathy of his own society. For Haggard, these fears needed to be addressed. Thus, in his story, he places a heroic, or chivalric figure, himself, as the characters Holly and Leo, in Africa coincidentally exposing the colonial dimension to European moral insensitivity. The mission of these characters is to traverse the depths of fantasy and report back what truth could be found concerning humanity's lost spirituality in the face of a rational onslaught. As in King Solomon's Mines Haggard's

²² Jung Vol.10, 144.

²³ Jung Vol.10, 144.

²⁴ H.R.Haggard, The Days of my life Vol.I, 246.

heroes again fail to bring back conclusive proof of an afterlife or even a coherent theory as to why it should exist. Thus the search continues into the next stories.

Another problem arises regarding Haggard's religion, in that it had two distinct sides. To those around him, he seemed an upright, orthodox Church of England gentleman. Yet in his novels he exposes his mystical persona, weaving the tapestry of a world where humans and spirits abide together. Ultimately this led him into the realm of spiritualists where he found at least partial answers to his quest and, like others of his day, came to believe that he had stumbled upon a realm as yet only imperfectly explored. Haggard's novels reflected his mystical preoccupation with a domain ignored or denied by orthodox Christianity.

Haggard's mystical musings accordingly inspired him to challenge the strictly traditional religious beliefs taught to him as a child by his mother in particular. Although her pious but limited views influenced Haggard, they did not precisely suit him. Instead, he sought a wider understanding of his universe. He began early with a strong interest in spiritualism and various ancient Egyptian beliefs, especially reincarnation. Eventually, he came to the conviction that he had, in a previous life, been incarnated as an Egyptian, a Norseman and a Zulu. In the last case, Haggard's literary treatment of the supernatural becomes interesting for an altogether different reason; it acts as a discourse wherein African religion impacts positively on Western literary culture, uplifting both the African fictional profile, particularly the image of the Zulu people, and its importance as a dynamic force in English literature.

The young Haggard's education was to provide him further impetus simultaneously towards spiritualism and Africa. Not particularly successful in school, Haggard was sent to London to attend a foreign service finishing school, Scoones. There he encountered others who shared his ideas regarding the spirit world and, most significantly, his belief in reincarnation. He soon attended seances which moved him to believe more deeply in the occult. Haggard at this time

experienced a profound, though inexplicable, sensation causing him to believe he possessed a gift of special insight. This gift would enable him, as he believed, to explore the spiritual netherworld and report back on its workings.²⁵

While Haggard's early spiritual musings were ultimately instrumental to his success as a writer, they did not provide him an immediate means of livelihood. Instead, his father, a rural Norfolk justice, secured him a position with Sir Henry Bulwer's entourage in South Africa. Haggard departed for Cape Town in July, 1875, without finishing his studies. His experience with Africa rounded out his education, providing the cultural backdrop for many of the adventure stories he would subsequently write. It also put him in direct contact with the indigenous peoples of Southern Africa, whose deep sense of the supernatural so impressed him that it later became a central element in many of his plots. African beliefs not only supported Haggard's own views on the occult, but supplemented them with new and insightful dimensions. They fascinated him, and blended well with his own ideas to form the new and vital brand of spiritualism found in his novels.

Ultimately, Haggard's spiritual beliefs fostered a scepticism concerning the theological underpinnings of imperial practice and administration which is reflected by Haggard in potent images of African spiritual power and its weak European correlative. Haggard's scepticism arose not so much out of the African spirits he may have hoped existed, but from the fact that their presentation, even if only in popularized fiction, emphasized a lack of European counterparts. By representing the African people as gifted with powerful spiritual insight, Haggard highlighted the European imperialists' lack of similar insight, something particularly evident among his unscrupulous missionary characters, whose presence questions the moral right

²⁵ Morton Cohen, Rider Haggard, His Life and Works (London: Macmillan, 1968) 224.

of Christianity to impose its beliefs in Africa. This in turn questioned the ethical foundations on which some forms of imperialism functioned, by suggesting the spiritual and moral superiority of the Africans while emphasizing the morally bankrupt and conceited nature of European Christian claims on Africa. This is not to suggest that Haggard did not in many respects support the imperialist project, but rather to point out that this support was ambiguous and sceptical towards both European morality and its supposed benefits in the African context.

Moreover, Haggard was deeply affected by the events of his life, especially events which took place in South Africa. There is evidence to suggest that Haggard had an illegitimate child with a married woman during his sojourn in Johannesburg. The child died after only a few months, apparently without the woman's husband ever suspecting Haggard's involvement in her birth. In November 1879, Haggard's friend Arthur Cochrane wrote to Haggard telling of the sudden death of "my young God Child and of your –? Yes, the poor little thing is dead and perhaps it's a good thing for all concerned."²⁶ Although the incident had no obvious immediate effect on the author, in his posthumous autobiography Haggard states only that he "draws a veil" over the incident indicating his unwillingness to come to terms with the event even in later life. In 1890 his son Jock, born in Natal, died at age ten, during Haggard's absence in Mexico. This constituted both a tragic and a mystically moving experience for the author. Haggard had premonitions that he would never see his son again, but presumed it would be himself, destined for a distant and dangerous land, who would die. Following the death of Jock, Haggard's beliefs in the supernatural were strengthened; he became determined to see his son again, sure that his spirit waited just beyond the grave. He held on to the belief that Jock's temporal innocence would stand him well in the after life, where they would again be united.

²⁶Victoria Manthorpe, Children of the Empire: The Victorian Haggards (London: Victor Gollancz, 1996) 92.

I stood by my son's grave and read what I had carved upon his cross: 'I shall go to him.' Now that I am growing old these words are full of comfort and meaning to me. Soon, after all these long years of separation, I shall go to him and put my faith to proof. If it be true, as I believe, then surely my spirit will find his spirit, though it must search from world to world.²⁷

The death of his second child had an equally marked impact on the spiritual views presented in the novels. The event pushed Haggard away from a dialogue on the rationality of eternal life, evident in She, towards a more direct attempt to dispel his own doubts of its validity. A marked decline in the spiritual debate begins to appear, from the interesting attempts to tap the unconscious mind in She, towards inconsistent and half-hearted effort, in later works typified by Stella Fregelius, to substantiate empirically, at least at the meta-textual level, the principle of a spiritual existence. Characters begin to act and think in a manner contrived to produce situations demonstrating the likely existence of a spirit world. The author's developing pseudo-philosophy in the character Ayesha is pressed into service projecting an assumed lack of faith in the spirit world, and a "common-sense" approach is fictionally created which leads the reader inevitably towards spiritualism. Despite these efforts, quite evidently a major question of faith remained unanswered for Haggard. Regrettably, the death of his second child ultimately drove him back towards the more conventional side of his beliefs, the public side, where his explorations were stifled by tradition and dogma.

Consequently Haggard eventually did in religion as he had done in a number of other important areas. He began with radically new ideas but ultimately retreated to the security of convention however uncomfoting that refuge may have been. In romance, he loved one young woman passionately but ultimately married another, perhaps sensibly, but always entertaining some regrets. In politics he stood as a candidate for the Conservative Party on the issue of agricultural reform, and narrowly lost, only to retire from the political fray permanently. With

²⁷ H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life (London: Longmans, 1926) Vol.2, 43.

religion it was to be the same: a radical beginning; disappointment, beginning with the deaths of his daughter and son; and a resort to the relative security of conventional religion. As in his political and romantic life, with age he became less inclined towards radical innovation, leaving the ideas of his youth to be expanded and worked out by the likes of Carl Jung.

The resolve to return to conventional Christianity remained weak, however, until near the author's death. In 1910, Haggard decided to write his autobiography, The Days of My Life, in which he included a "Note on Religion" but provided for it to be sealed until after his death. In this note he sums up the basis for his unusually broad religious beliefs. The document exemplifies his dual persona, public and private, in terms of religion. Publicly, he remained a committed Christian attending church every Sunday. Privately, he harboured deep misgivings about the narrow and limited nature of his public worship. The "Note on Religion" is the beginning of an attempt to reconcile the two selves, which would continue to his death in 1925. By ensuring that the work was published only after his death, Haggard avoided much of the controversy which would have surrounded him had he pronounced his belief publicly while he lived and wrote. While subdued publicly, his beliefs flourished vividly in his fictional world.

In fact they flourished so strongly that the spiritual discourse in Haggard's work emerges to intertwine intrinsically with all of the other major discourses in his work. Although the Jungian position asserts itself most fully in the Ayesha series where Ayesha becomes Jung's Anima playing out Haggard's fictional alter-ego, and the imperial discourse is overt in the adventure stories, where the civilizing virtue of the empire is extolled, only the religious theme is consistently present. Moreover, Haggard's spiritual beliefs play an ongoing role in the development of both the imperial and Jungian discourses. Thus in analysing these three main underlying discourses in Haggard's work -- the imperial, Jungian, and spiritual -- it becomes

evident that the spiritual predated and is of inherent significance to the other two.

On the previously mentioned meta-textual level, theoretically, according to Haggard, in their understanding of the text an audience would largely reconstruct what the author had left for them to construct via his conscious and subconscious textual instructions. "At the best [the] reader must help him [the author] out, must be the possessor of a certain receptive power and able to fill in a thousand minutiae of character and so forth."²⁸ It is when these encoded textual instructions are contextually decoded that a spiritual sub-text emerges to question the seemingly overt imperialism of the adventure stories. Within this spiritual sub-text the larger implications of Haggard's writing then become evident, implications observed by Jung and no doubt perceived among a wider audience of the author's era; namely the implicit search for spiritual truth, Haggard's sense of the moral bankruptcy of Western society, and the admiration of alien, particularly Zulu, occult powers which are revealed as the driving forces behind his writing. All of these tend to detract from rather than support simplistic imperial readings of his work. The weight of evidence suggests, instead, that Haggard's concerns were primarily focused on the waning assurance of spiritual contact offered by the orthodox Christianity predominant in his day, and the possibility of its augmentation by Zulu spirituality.

The effect of Haggard's obsession with spiritualism was nowhere more evident than within Haggard's lifetime when he began to misread the public's ever-changing mood. As public interest shifted away from the spiritualism that pervaded the late nineteenth century, the author's popularity dropped considerably. After the 1890s the messages encoded in his texts no longer attracted the interest they once had with his own generation. Even the messages themselves changed to a certain extent, shifting away from the interesting Jungian perspective which still held some sway over public opinion, to an increasingly less interesting discourse attempting to prove to the reader an undeniable spiritual presence.

²⁸ H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol. 2, 94.

In the 1920s Haggard's extensive spiritualist search for a sound religion ironically brought him full circle back to Christianity, but along the way he took his enormous audience to exotic places of the mind and introduced them to concepts they almost certainly would never have known had it not been for his romances. He acquainted them with Africa and the spiritual world of late Victorian London. On the other hand they also learned to blame the Pope for many of the problems facing modern Christianity and to blame organized religion for the evils wrought on Africa by missionaries. As a best selling novelist, Haggard had access to an audience that Blavatsky and Cardec (discussed in Chapter Two), despite the thousands they could number among their adherents, could never hope to attain. He represented Umbelazi as Umslopogaas, Indaba-Zimbi and Zikali, positive depictions of Zulu shamans he had encountered who would otherwise never have been known to European audiences. Through the author, hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of readers had access to Blavatsky and Cardec, African spiritualism, a particular cast of anti-establishment thinking and all of Haggard's other explorations made in the name of religious insight. However, by the time Haggard himself came round to accept Christianity once more, he had lost most of his former public. They hardly heard the voice of the later, more or less reassured, Christian Haggard, only the earlier questioning and searching -- they experienced only an exposure to occult alternatives to atheism. Haggard's main contribution to modern popular philosophy, therefore, was less as an imperialist, and more as a proponent for the acceptance of a wider spirituality and a willingness to explore alternative religions open-mindedly. He placed alien spiritual philosophy and romance hand in hand and they have remained so ever since.

Accordingly, if one is to study Haggard's work in the broad contemporary context of changing political and philosophical beliefs, then the imperialist epithet begins to fold back to reveal a more general Victorian literary inquiry into the meaning of life itself where the imperial

component is brought into question by the spiritual, and, in the late nineteenth century, the sexual context. It is an exploration of the thoughts and the anxieties of one Victorian author, but also a reflection of all Victorian society as the assigned roles and boundaries between societies and individuals began to break down. What becomes evident in Haggard's spiritualism is the discomfort he felt without the clear role or the well-defined boundaries that the church had once provided for his parents. The consequent attempt to negotiate a changing world is thus the real sub-text to his adventure and imperial idealism. It takes the form of a spiritual monologue in which Haggard addresses issues of life and spirituality trying to relate them in some sensible pattern, although, with each new attempt at rationalization or reconciliation, the underlying inconsistency and confusion of his age becomes more apparent. In Haggard's time, as in our own, no clear answers to spiritual questions were forthcoming.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE ORIGINS OF SUPERNATURAL INTEREST

1856 to 1876

The decline in the authority of orthodox religion is not necessarily accompanied by a decline of faith or hope in the unknown, exactly the opposite would in fact seem to be the case: individuals turn to the occult in such circumstances with vastly enhanced interest, partly because the conventional prohibitions no longer deter them, but also because of their concern to find reassurance of personal survival which the churches are no longer able to provide convincingly.¹

Haggard begins his autobiography, *The Days of my Life*, by mentioning his death, or at least a rumour of it. He writes not in Christian, but in more general terms of his "place in the world knowing him no more", and the "elemental forces surrounding us all sweeping him away." This was the context in which he saw his death and indeed his life. As a child Haggard sensed the workings of transcendent forces around him without understanding them. Not accepting the explanations of conventional wisdom or the dogma of organized religion, Haggard sought a personal explanation for his universe. He struck out on his own quest for understanding, the starting point of which can be found in his youthful experiences. In this sense Barkley St. John's dictum at the top of the page characterizes the young author's life. Haggard's youthful experience with and interest in the occult would strongly influence his literary endeavours. There its presence is felt directly as supernatural occurrences and as a response to the author's own loss of religious faith, fear of atheist rationalism and, less directly, in its influence on the imperialist aspect of his romance writing.

¹Glen Barkley St. John, *The Anatomy of Horror: The Masters of Occult Fiction* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1978) 10.

Haggard was thus an exemplar of the late Victorian age, an era pervaded by a growing rationalism, a good example of which can be found in the Darwinian rationalist outlook, in which there was a diminishing belief in God or in anything which could not be explained by the physical sciences. It should be noted that “Darwinism” has come to stand for the much wider social and theological debate in which evolutionary theory and rational atheism were located in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a debate whose “impact on popular opinion was considerable.”² Haggard could be said to be numbered among those freethinkers who found merit in the religious moral teachings of the Bible but, influenced by criticism of the Bible made popular by German scholars, acknowledged contradictions in Christianity as defined by traditional creeds, particularly where such creeds contradicted scientific evidence. Humanists went a step farther and saw themselves as in transition to a secular state freed of supernatural sanction and reward, a state governed by a totally new kind of ethical structure.³ Rapid evolution towards this structure resulted in a form of societal hypocrisy which, it could be argued, directly afflicted the young Haggard's remaining Christian sensibilities and spiritual yearnings.

It was out of the clash between mid-Victorian idealism and the reality of the late Victorian inheritance that there developed the now received image of the Victorians as hypocrites. Unless they could be regarded as innocent to the point of imbecility, how else were the blatant contradictions in their lives to be explained? How could they believe in the teachings of Jesus and brutally beat their own children: idealize their wives as angels in the house and yet tolerate, and often use, the prostitutes who made up a

² Robert Young, “The Impact of Darwin on Conventional Thought” The Victorian Crisis of Faith ed. Anthony Symondson. (London: S.P.C.K., 1970) 31. In fact, the author speculates that “the most dramatic confrontation between religion and science occurred in the nineteenth century, and the Christian community remains uneasy about the problem of man’s place in nature which became so acute in the Darwinian debate.”

³Peter Keating, The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel 1875-1914 (London: Selter & Warburg, 1989) 4.

sizeable proportion of the city populations?⁴

Such Victorian reality was exposed, in literary terms, by the predominant rationalist philosophy which limited the legitimate field of enquiry to humanity itself, precluding the possibility of exploring anything beyond earthly life. The rationalist view was fostered in the genres of realism and naturalism. From Thomas Hardy, Henry James and Emile Zola, readers learned only that their God was false and their hope of eternal life vain. Haggard was unsettled because his own youthful experience of existence had neither confirmed the assertion of a finite life postulated by the rationalists nor affirmed his spiritualist yearnings. His questions were not answered by materialism or science and his passion for proof of an afterlife was fulfilled by neither the scientific nor the fictional studies of humanity undertaken by the great authors of the era. From their determinism he sought escape to romance, to foreign lands, philosophies and religions that might offer an opportunity to believe once again that there was more to humanity than flesh and blood.⁵ Thus Haggard would later criticize the naturalist genre as a study of the inner workings of brothels and worn-out debauches, and praise romance writing for its aspirations towards an afterlife whose existence was denied in a materialist world but whose presence validated Judeo-Christian morality, a concept inextricably linked to the gentry value system into which he was born and in which he ultimately believed.⁶

⁴Keating 104.

⁵H.R. Haggard, The Days of My life Vol.1, 162. Referring to a series of letters from his friend Justin Sheil in which the author's reading of Hegel and Comte are discussed, Haggard states that he cannot believe that all mankind are the "victims of a ghastly delusion, or led forward by mocking marsh-fires of self-evolved aspirations to be lost in some bottomless gulf of death." In his earlier article, "About Fiction", Haggard writes of romance writing as a means to escape the naturalist writers of the late nineteenth century. "About Fiction," Contemporary Review, 51 (Jan.1887) 172-180.

⁶Rider Haggard, "About Fiction" 174.

Henry Rider Haggard was born on June 22, 1856. His family lived fairly comfortably on a country estate called Bradenham near Norfolk. His mother, Ella, was born in Bombay, possibly of mixed Indian blood, and his father in St. Petersburg, the son of a banking family. Apparently of Russian Jewish descent, his paternal grandmother was credited with contributing a sense of mysticism to the family. Haggard himself was born in a small cottage on the family estate in England, while the main house had been let out.⁷ From the moment of his birth, death stalked him; he was a weak child, "sickly with jaundice" and not expected to live long.⁸ But he beat the odds, as he would many times, to survive and become one of the greatest adventure writers the world would ever know.

Haggard believed the Haggard or "Ogard" family was of Norse derivation, tracing their ancestry back to the Guildenstjernes of Denmark, a supposition based in part on the family's coat of arms, which was of Danish origin. Whether true or not, Haggard believed himself to be of Norse stock and thus felt a strong affinity for Norse traditions. He felt within himself a cumulative sense⁹ of the history of the Norse people which played a role in his novel Eric Brighteyes. Such feelings formed part of an immortal, mystical ethnicity he sensed, binding his race and ultimately humanity together.

Still it is a fact that some men have a strong affinity for lands and periods of

⁷Norman Etherington, Rider Haggard (Boston: Twayne, 1984) 5-16, and Lilius Rider Haggard, The Cloak that I Left (Norwich: Northumberland, 1951) 126.

⁸Tom Pocock, Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1994) 2.

⁹This "sense" was similar to the Jungian collective consciousness, and was particularly strong during a trip to Denmark (1910), as well as in the writing of Eric Brighteyes in (1891) and The Wanderer's Necklace in (1914). For a detailed discussion see: Morton Cohen, Rider Haggard, 247-250, and Norman Etherington's introduction to The Annotated She.

history, which, of course, may be explained by the circumstance that their direct ancestors dwelt in those lands and at those periods. Thus I love the Norse people of the saga and pre-saga times. But then I have good reason to believe that my forefathers [sic] were Danes.¹⁰

Many of Haggard's characters were drawn from early childhood. One famous name derives from memories of Rev. Graham's rectory school in Garsington, near Oxford (Haggard changed schools several times), where he was greatly impressed with a local farmer by the name of Quatermain. Although Haggard maintained that his fictional character Quatermain was, "Only myself set in a variety of imagined situations"¹¹, he acknowledged his source of inspiration -- as he readily did for another of the characters in King Solomon's Mines, Capt. Good, who was in reality based on his own brother, John Haggard.

From the mouths of such familiar characters would come the spiritualist monologues which characterize Haggard's stories. Beginning with his first success, King Solomon's Mines, his characters profess their beliefs in a spirit world, offering numerous justifications for its existence and their role in it. Haggard's later life experiences tended to confirm rather than weaken his early convictions. Even his stories were sometimes inspired, he maintained, from beyond the grave. In one instance, he conceived the plot of the romance Fair Margaret, while standing in a graveyard. Later, he discovered the substance of his novel matched the life of an army officer recently buried there; he surmised it was somehow transmitted by the deceased.¹²

¹⁰H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 255.

¹¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 85.

¹²H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, Vol.2, 164. Also see H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life, Vol.2, 99-101, which outlines a letter on the subject in The Spectator (19 Oct. 1907) by Haggard.

Even as a child Haggard was noticeably sensitive and easily open to suggestion of a supernatural sort. Sometimes this worked against him. For instance, a particularly horrible looking rag doll which frightened Haggard was used by the family housekeeper to terrify him into doing just about anything she wanted done, usually to get him quietly into bed. Critics have made much of this doll whom Rider named, "She who Must be Obeyed". In her work "The Search for the Beloved", Nandor Fodor argues that this doll was the imaginative source for the famous character Ayesha in Haggard's novel She.¹³ Haggard himself maintained that such creations came to him unconsciously from some unknown inner source, but acknowledges the doll's influence in naming the story.¹⁴

Tom Pocock, in his biography Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire, suggests another source for the famous 'She', arising from Haggard's youthful imagination. The neighbouring estate of Didlington housed an excellent collection of Egyptian antiquities which Rider visited. Among the statues and mummies there was said to be "the sweetly serene painted face of a maid servant which caught Rider's eye."¹⁵ Pocock suggests that the exotic house held a strong erotic charge for the adolescent Haggard, fuelling sexually creative fantasies which led to She.¹⁶ The

¹³Nandor Fodor, "The Search for the Beloved," Encyclopaedia of Occultism & Parapsychology (N.Y.: Hermitage,1949), argues that there are psycho-sexual connotations to the doll's name arising from the author's childhood. However, it is likely the doll was named later on, as the collocation "who must be" is used often by Haggard in the Zulu context, e.g.: He who should never have been born, in The Wizard. Callaway and Bird record the use of similar names in Zululand (See Henry Callaway, The Religious Traditions of the Amazulu and Bird's Annals of Natal) making it likely that Haggard acquired the naming style in Africa, well after his youth, lessening its relative psycho-sexual importance.

¹⁴Lilias Rider Haggard 28.

¹⁵Pocock 11.

¹⁶Pocock 11.

abundant appearance of his youthful experiences in the author's later fiction demonstrate the influence this period had on his writing.

The years spent in South Africa make up another period of great influence on Haggard. For example, a more concrete source for the elusive 'She' can be traced to Haggard's experiences in Natal. Lawrence Richardson, a contemporary of Haggard's, recounts the story of Modjadje, 'Rain Queen' of the Lovedu (Bolobedu near Duivelskloof) people who died in 1896. She was an African queen north of Zululand whom no white man had ever seen and, like Ayesha, was beautiful with almost white skin.¹⁷ Another of Haggard's contemporaries, Senator G.G. Munnik, repeats the tale of the Rain Queen, defining her as Haggard's acknowledged source.¹⁸ In fact, his version of her story matches Haggard's 'Ayesha' so well that there can be little doubt about the Rain Queen being the original 'She'. But, even if Richardson and Munnik are right, no doubt Pocock is also right about the potency of Rider Haggard's early mysterious influences. Chapter Five will examine the story of Ayesha in-depth.

As Pocock points out, Haggard had a great and continuous interest in Egyptology. After his early experiences at the Didlington house he pursued this interest avidly, spending many hours in the Mummy or Egyptian room of the British Museum. He studied the Egyptian mores and doctrine concerned with death and rebirth into this world, eventually coming to believe he had once been an Egyptian, reborn in several different incarnations. This is important because concepts of reincarnation were strongly established in Haggard's thinking long before he was concerned with politics or colonial affairs. Considering his fondness for things Egyptian as

¹⁷Arthur M. Davey, Lawrence Richardson Selected Correspondence (1902-1903) (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1977) 168-169.

¹⁸G.G. Munnik, The Hon., Memoirs of Senator the Hon. G.G.Munnik (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1934) 141-143.

evidence of past incarnations, he believed he wrote as if through the hand of one who had been there:

However these things may be, with the old Norse and the old Egyptians I am at home. I can enter into their thoughts and feelings; I can even understand their theologies. I have a respect for Thor and Odin, I venerate Isis, and always feel inclined to bow to the moon! Whatever the reason, I seem to myself to understand the Norse folk of anywhere about 800 A.D. and the Egyptians from Menes down to the Ptolemaic period, much better than I understand the people of the age in which I live.¹⁹

In his memoirs Haggard recalls how, at the young age of nine, he became aware of his own mortality and its meaning. One night while lying in bed he recalled saying to himself, "I must die," at which he writes, "my body must be buried in the ground and my spirit hurried off to a terrible, unfamiliar land which to most people was known as hell".²⁰ Face to face with his destiny for the first time, he was both frightened and intrigued. Pocock writes, "This dread never left him; nor did the seeking of an alternative possibility to the unthinkable obliteration of the human spirit. It became the quest of a lifetime."²¹ But Haggard did not just fear death; rather he sought a greater perception of life, a larger concept which included not only people but animals as well.

Shortly after realizing his mortality Haggard went out shooting and killed a missel thrush in its nest. The experience haunted him, foreshadowing his later belief in animal spirituality. Filled with guilt for his indiscretion in killing so soon after realizing his own mortality, young Haggard began to consider the possibility that all life had a spiritual element. It was not until disturbing events surrounded the death of a family pet many years later, however, that he gave

¹⁹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 255.

²⁰H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 29.

²¹Pocock 7.

up hunting altogether and asked, "Why deny the continuity of life to animals? ... I have known dogs better than me that, given the chance, might rise to equal the intelligence of man." This is followed by the strange comment, "Burnham assures me that dogs try to pray in an elementary fashion."²²

Haggard's interest was often caught in this manner by experiences related to the afterlife, human or otherwise. He particularly recalls a vacation in the Swiss Alps where a young chambermaid took him with his brother to a mortuary where she showed them the skull of her father and proceeded to polish it. This experience was evidently so strange and strong that Haggard made special mention of it among general recollections of his older brother's departure for India. He had never confronted a more graphic representation of extinction and, to a person of his preoccupations, a more powerful reason to repudiate it.

Haggard's turbulent education was to take yet another turn towards the spirit world. Having denied him the gentleman's education afforded his brothers, his father decided he was possibly fit for the foreign service and sent him to study as a clerk at a foreign service school called Scoones. Here, by chance, he was introduced to others who shared his mystical beliefs and it was not long before he delved deeper into the occult world. One of his friends, known only as Arthur L., would shortly die from what Haggard describes as a religious mania, while another, Justin Sheil, became a Trappist monk, something Haggard tried to dissuade him from.²³

²²H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, Vol.2, 360. Burnham was a friend and fellow adventurer of Haggard's who had been raised by American Indians in California, and worked in what is now Zimbabwe and in Mexico as a mining prospector; they evidently discussed American Aboriginal Animism as Haggard refers to him as an authority on the subject, although Haggard does not directly mention such a discussion. For animism also see The Days of My Life Vol.1, 166-7.

²³H.R.Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 146-160. Haggard records a series of letters between Justin Sheil, later Brother Basil, and himself.

Years later, upon finishing his autobiography, he attached a memo: "Whenever I can find the opportunity, I wish to add a note on religion". He added such a note to the work before it was sent to his editor and publisher C.J. Longman on January 24, 1913, with the added proviso that it not be published until after his death. Accordingly, it remained sealed in the company's safe until 1926 when it was opened by Longman, in the presence of one of his executors. Evidently Haggard thought the topic important enough to issue such specific instructions. Like other prominent men of his day, he may well have feared that his dabblings in the occult would jeopardize his public career if their full extent were known. Such concerns clearly point to the importance Haggard attached to spiritual matters. We will return to Haggard's "note on religion" in Chapter Ten.

Haggard arrived in London at 18 years of age, with a clearly expressed interest in the supernatural. In the metropolis he encountered a flourishing spiritualist movement. This movement was inspired and to some degree guided by personalities such as Allan Kardac and Madame Blavatsky who were apparently true believers. Haggard, like Conan Doyle, approached the supernatural with an open mind, believing that there were unexplained forces in the world worthy of investigation. In coming to London when he did, Haggard stepped into one of the great intellectual debates of the late Victorian age, centred on the question of whether or not there exists a consciousness greater than the chemistry of our bodies. Spiritualists maintained that humans have spirits not bound to this world, nor terminated by death. Haggard already possessed a natural interest in this controversy, and like many others of his generation, turned to psychical research for reassurance and insight.

In order to understand fully Haggard's interest in the phenomenon one must first examine the source of spiritualist beliefs of the late nineteenth century. The Victorian age was a period

of great concern about and some curiosity in religious affairs. In broad terms this constituted a reaction against the secularization brought about by the onslaught of nineteenth century science with its bleak mechanistic principles and materialism. Christian theology had suffered at the hands of what Walter Arnstein refers to as “higher Criticism of the bible made by German scholars”,²⁴ agnostics and atheist philosophers. In an effort to counter or move into the void of metaphysical insecurity left by thinkers like Strauss, Lyell, Darwin, Huxley, Marx and others, a considerable number of late Victorian and Edwardian intellectuals sought solace in experience which could not be explained by science.

There arose in London an esoteric movement centred on the belief that human-kind were part of a greater spirit world which included the spirits of the deceased. This movement came originally from America, where it began in the mid-1840's with reports of spirit apparitions and communication from beyond the grave in the North-Eastern States. In America the movement drew in such varied and eminent people as William James and Thomas Edison, who invented a machine supposedly to talk with the dead. It quickly caught a sector of the public imagination and exploded into a large and influential force.²⁵ Numerous groups were founded when this movement swept into Europe. In England these included the Theosophical Society, to which William Butler Yeats belonged, and the Society for Psychical Research led by Sir Oliver Lodge and patronized by some eminent literary figures among them Conan Doyle and Andrew Lang. The movement was broadly named Spiritualism.

²⁴ Walter Arnstein, Britain Yesterday and Today: 1830 to the Present (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1992) 93.

²⁵For the information in this section I am much indebted to a study of spiritualism in late nineteenth century England by Janet Oppenheim, The Other World, Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England 1850-1914, (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985) in which the spiritualist movement of the late 1880s is outlined.

By the time spiritualism reached England in the mid-1860's, it had already divided into three main ideological camps: the positivists or atheists like K.W. Clifford; the Theosophists and those leaning towards Eastern religions, led by Madam Blavatsky; and the Christian spiritualist movement, founded in France by Allen Kardac, which in England revolved around figures like Lady Caithness and Sir Oliver Lodge,²⁶ also a leading figure in the world of physical research.

The first of these camps, the atheist, held little appeal for Haggard with his strong Christian background and fascination with mythology. He could not find common ground with those who believed there was no God or greater power. The atheist view, argued by Clifford, was that theistic belief is a vain comfort to those who profess it: "We have seen the spring sun shine out of an empty heaven, to light up a soulless earth: we have felt with utter loneliness that the Great Companion is dead."²⁷ In literary form such beliefs were present in James Anthony Froude's Nemesis of Faith, where the character Markham Sutherland's end is described as follows: "amidst the wasted ruins of his life, where the bare bleak soil was strewn with wrecked purposes and shattered creeds; with no hope to stay him, with no fear to raise the most dreary phantom beyond the grave, he sunk down into the barren waste, and the dry sands rolled over him where he lay; and no living being was left behind him upon the earth, who would not mourn over the day which brought life to Markham Sutherland."²⁸ Haggard's Christian upbringing, however much he strayed from it, always remained with him too much to allow acceptance of such candid atheism.

The second possibility was one of the most important theological movements to appear in the late 19th century, namely theosophy. Attracting an international following, it first took shape

²⁶Oppenheim 141.

²⁷Oppenheim 145.

²⁸ J. A Froude, Nemesis of Faith (London: Chapman, 1849) 227.

in America, where adherents claimed to have recaptured some of the ancient wisdom of the East. Led by Madam Blavatsky, the movement loosely followed Hindu and Buddhist teachings seeking a universal brotherhood through spiritual ecstasy, direct intuition, and special individual relations with supernatural forces.²⁹

Blavatsky's followers, like their mentor, held a variety of beliefs over the years. During Haggard's youth Blavatsky was vaguely Buddhist, claiming direct mystical contact with the divine. She advanced to a more philosophical (she called it "theosophical") position in the late 1860's, in which she considered herself a medium with direct links to a supreme deity. Her followers, rejecting the idea of individual reincarnation as Haggard understood it, opted for a vision of spiritual perfection through progressive steps of being, of which this world was but one.

Although Haggard exhibited great interest in Eastern religion, he eventually rejected it on the grounds that it held no hope for the individual soul, only the promise of joining the 'great void' as he called it. He wished to merge with no such collective soul. Indeed the idea contradicted his own convictions concerning individual reincarnation. Ultimately he concluded that beliefs not his own may only represent other paths to God: "God's truth is like the light from a many sided gem in varied flashes upon men's hearts, the colours change but the gem remains the same - God is one but religions are many - in a way they are all true."³⁰

This left only the Christian spiritualist movement, which was more in keeping with his background and temperament. Its theology was based on the ideas of a Frenchman, Leon

²⁹Oppenheim 145.

³⁰H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard Collection, Norwich Norfolk Public Records Office, 4694.2.2. The lines are pencilled in a notebook written c. 1882.

Denizard Rivail, better known under the pseudonym Allen Kardac. His theories centred on a doctrine of spiritual progress through personal reincarnation. He combined Christian and spiritual beliefs in an interesting form of theosophy not nearly as alien to Christianity as Blavatsky's. He held that the spirit world did in fact exist and that Christ was the absolute proof. In Reason and Belief for instance, Sir Oliver Lodge, himself a Christian spiritualist, tells his readers that, "Christ did not spring into existence as the man Jesus of Nazareth. The Christ spirit existed through all eternity. At birth he became incarnate."³¹

Kardac's followers included Marie, Countess of Caithness, who frequented the same spiritualist circles and on occasion the same seances as the young Haggard, held at 20 Hanover Square in London. He noted that she wore a necklace of enormous diamonds. When the lights were turned down these diamonds were the last objects visible. Haggard continues:

I think it was Lady Caithness who made a remark [about the spirits present being upset]when, in the course of my investigation of certain phenomena that were happening underneath the table ... I landed her a most severe kick upon the shins.³²

Caithness's publication in 1876 of Old Truths in a New Light appeared after the concept of theosophy reached Europe from America through Blavatsky. She highlighted a belief in "the succession of existences, or of earth-lives, as the established means of purification and progress for the spirit." Haggard held very similar although not such clearly stated views about reincarnation. He believed he had been reincarnated in several forms, which included an Egyptian slave master, a Norseman and a Zulu. In 1881, on the death of her husband and long after Haggard's departure for Africa, Lady Caithness retired to Paris where she was rumoured to

³¹J. McCabe, The Religion of Sir Oliver Lodge (London: Watts, 1914) 199, 386.

³²H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 37.

believe herself to be the reincarnation of Mary Queen of Scots.³³

Another name that appears in Haggard's diaries from this period is that of Leonora Piper, a reputedly brilliant medium from Boston, later studied by William James. She claimed to be able to speak for the dead while in a trance, through her spirit controller, a phantom named Phinuit. James could not determine for certain how Piper gained detailed information about her sitters, which she could not otherwise have known. She also had the unnerving ability to make flowers wilt on sight.³⁴

Haggard was not a follower of a particular philosophy or psychic medium. He was more of a detached observer, reflecting on the merits of each school of thought. He remained closest in belief to the Christian spiritualists, and became friendly with Sir Oliver Lodge. Haggard thought he could trust Lodge for an impartial analysis in matters of the spirit. He regarded him as a psychical researcher rather than a spiritualist by faith, and therefore a legitimate authority. It was Lodge, more than anyone, to whom Haggard looked for guidance in occult matters.

In his autobiography, Haggard makes admiring reference to Lodge, identifying him as the leading scientific figure to argue publicly in defence of spiritualism. In particular, Haggard was impressed by his mentor's article in the Gentleman's Magazine, May 13, 1876, wherein he defined spiritualism as the "higher order of preternatural experience, communication of the

³³Oppenheim 164.

³⁴Piper would have persons unknown to her sit while she told them things about themselves and deceased relatives, many of which she could not possibly have known. William James surmised that it might be some sort of mind reading but could not explain her other telekinetic abilities leading him to conclusions similar to Haggard's: that there was some unexplained force responsible.

individual soul still resident on the Earth with others that have passed from us". Haggard writes that Lodge was "both an eminent man of science and a great student of such hidden matters."³⁵

Lodge had, amongst other things, rewritten the Book of Common Prayer so that its religious content could be founded on scientific criteria. He quoted both Thomas Aquinas and Francis Bacon to explain his scientific theology, and to justify the existence of a universal order. He surmised that, based on the order of nature, order must exist in all things. He cited Aquinas: "Things which have no perspective can only tend towards an end if directed by a conscious and intelligent being. Therefore there is an intelligence by which all natural things are ordered." By the same token he notes approvingly Bacon's dictum on atheism and superstition: "I would rather believe all the folly of the Legend ... than that this universal frame is without a mind."³⁶ Lodge makes the straightforward assertion that the laws of science presuppose an agent as part of their order.³⁷ The essence of his belief is that man's spirit really and fundamentally exists and so will not cease with death. He argues: "Nothing worth keeping ever perishes in the universe."³⁸ The spirit becomes something else, cleansed of nerve and tissue, but survives in its new form as a part of the universal order. His Prayer Book revision was not accepted by the Church of England.

As a psychical researcher, Lodge compared himself to an explorer discovering a new continent and, on returning to the known world, being greeted with incredulity. Critics pointed out, however, that his beliefs were not based on laboratory data, but on his vision of universal

³⁵H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 165.

³⁶McCabe 204.

³⁷McCabe 131-146, 194.

³⁸McCabe 144.

continuity and refusal to concede that death held power over the soul. Haggard, like many who sought solace from the onslaught of science-based atheism, turned a blind eye to such criticism when it contradicted his views. He was able to ignore the perceptible faults in his own beliefs because the fact remained that Lodge, an eminent scientist and Nobel Prize winner, maintained that there was more to the world than ordinary science had discovered. As such, he and his controversial views suited Haggard and became the basis of their friendship in later life.

Haggard admired Lodge for another reason as well. Most spiritualists of his era rejected the idea of reincarnation. Instead they favoured a vision of eternal progress through spirit worlds similar to those described in Blavatsky's Eastern religious philosophy, but this vision was not interrupted by repeated visits to this world in the physical form. Haggard already believed himself reincarnate, and so preferred what he took to be Lodge's more open-minded approach to the matter.

This broad-minded approach was based on continuity as a universal circumstance. The two main tenets of the belief were that there is no empty space in the universe, and that nothing ever perishes. Matter may change through time but is never lost. Lodge believed this second tenet to apply to spirit as expressed in personality as well. He posited that,

Not merely does personality persist, but that its continued existence is more entwined with the life of every day than has been generally imagined: there is no real breach in the continuity between the dead and the living; that the methods of intercommunication across what has seemed to be a gulf can be set going in response to the urgent demand of affection [sic].³⁹

Lodge's theory fits directly into Haggard's belief on several levels. First, that the dead do

³⁹J.Arthur Hill, Letters from Sir Oliver Lodge (London: Cassell, 1932) 183,383.

still exist and can be communicated with; second, that reincarnation is possible; and third, that the power of emotion, particularly affection, holds great sway in the universe. On this last point they were indeed in particular accord. Haggard, in his personal diary, argues against A.C. Benson's orthodox views expressed in Thy Rod and Thy Staff⁴⁰, stating that there is nothing on earth more powerful than love. According to Haggard: "Love compelling rebirth is the sole sanctification," and contends that through the strength of such emotions our spirit is passed on from generation to generation.⁴¹

Haggard's later correspondence with Lodge indicates the seriousness with which he took the latter's scientific arguments in favour of spiritualism -- so much so that he sought his advice on the matter of a prescient dream concerning the death of his daughter's dog, Bob. Haggard awoke one night after seeing the dog drowned in a dream. He thought nothing of it until the dog did not return in the morning and, as he later discovered, had really drowned. Haggard wrote to Lodge asking him for a scientific analysis of the dream and its meaning. Lodge wrote back supporting Haggard's conjecture that spiritual communication with animals was possible.

When his father sent him to London in 1875, Rider's particular experiences with the supernatural deeply affected his sense of spiritual consciousness. Vivid descriptions of occult experiences pervade his writing about this period, during which he and various friends frequented seances. One of these friends was his French tutor, a friend of his sister's and a rather liberal spiritualist. This man's mis-matched Plymouth-Brethren wife thought he was headed

⁴⁰A.C. Benson (1862-1925) was Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and son of Edward White Benson Archbishop of Canterbury. Haggard strongly protested Benson's promotion of celibacy in his book Thy Rod and Thy Staff.

⁴¹H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, Vol.2, 352-358.

straight for hell; and he, that it would be some consolation if she were not there. Haggard sided with his tutor and, together with school companions, pursued his supernatural interests.⁴²

Haggard and his friends began their venture into the occult on a light-hearted note, without too much concern for serious consequences. His first seances were with a woman he refers to as "old lady Paulet" at No. 20 Hanover Square, who gave Haggard his entree to the spiritualist society of the day. She held seances for a fee, which caused Haggard to wonder about her claim to legitimacy as a serious medium. He mentions another lady, a Mrs Guppy, whom he and a friend played jokes on. They threw rose buds at her during seances and moved the table with their knees, simulating a ghostly presence.⁴³ At first it all seemed like quite innocent fun, and would have remained so had it stopped there.

Matters became a little more serious when Haggard visited a young lady on Green Street. She did not request any remuneration, which impressed Rider Haggard and his friends. Haggard considered the seance his first genuine experience with the occult, and it had a profound effect. During the seance two young veiled women appeared, "one dark and one fair", in a fully lighted room. Haggard asked one of them if he could touch her. When she agreed, he did so, and found her skin firm and cold. Suffering a brief relapse into his light-heartedness, he then asked if he could kiss her. The apparition agreed and lifted her veil. At first she was bald, but then suddenly exhibited long blond hair. Soon she said she was tired and shrank away, with her body disappearing except for her head which, "remained elongated and fell backwards and vanished."⁴⁴ Haggard was not convinced that spirits had anything to do with the appearance. He

⁴²H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 36-37.

⁴³H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 39-41.

⁴⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 39-40.

was equally convinced that no form of trickery could account for the events which had taken place. Lacking a more explicit interpretation, he simply concluded them to be the result of unexplained forces.

Lilias Rider Haggard, his daughter, writes: "All this often inexplicable phenomena [sic] in the end he dismissed, not as illusions, but as harmful and unwholesome, an unknown force which has nothing to do with spirits, as we understand the term."⁴⁵ He wondered if perhaps the real origin of the apparitions was in his own mind. The next seance experience was to wipe such doubts away. It was with a Mr Edwards, and took place in what Rider Haggard describes as a neutral surrounding -- that is, in the flat of a friend. This time Haggard and his friends decided to make sure there could be no fraud involved. When the medium arrived, two of the young men grabbed and held him fast for the duration of the seance. Nonetheless, the table began to "skip like a lamb", and lights floated about the room. Cold hands picked at the studs on their shirts while a feathered fan on the mantle piece floated to and fro. A struggle ensued when the young men tried to grab the fan which was held back by an invisible force until it broke.

When the lights were switched on again the fan was mysteriously repaired. Heavy articles of furniture had been moved about the room. There were two massive chairs piled up on the dining room table and on top was the china chandelier. Yet during the whole time, all present had been sitting around the dining room table. After such a harrowing experience, Haggard concluded that there was something to all this, but that the whole mischievous business should best be left to the inquiries of those who knew what they were doing.

⁴⁵Lilias R. Haggard 31.

Thus exposed, during his formative years, to the company of spiritualists through Lady Caithness and Madame Paulet, he would later integrate his experiences into his fiction. Andrew Lang, an expert on myth, and Haggard's editor and friend, knowing of his hankering after the occult, later suggested (in 1897) it be used in a novel based on the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. He further ventured it could be about a white man in native service who learned the natives' magic,⁴⁶ a fictional plot, it will be argued, that comes remarkably close to the author's own spiritual quest.

Although these experiments with the occult began on a light-hearted note, they were without doubt the most significant influence on Haggard during his stay in London. From the people he met, Caithness, Paulet and others, he gained a knowledge of the spirit world and his supposed place in it. From such personal experience he acquired a deep respect for the powers and apparent presence of spirits in his own "every day" world. He consequently brought to South Africa a predisposition towards the supernatural element found in indigenous beliefs which he was inclined to view with interest and sympathy. Whatever the reality was, or appeared to be, such beliefs would in any event later provide excellent material for romantic fiction. The environment of the author's youth evidently played a major role in giving spiritual beliefs a central place in his thinking.

⁴⁶Andrew Lang, letter to the author, 5 March 1897, Lockwood Collection, Lockwood Memorial Library, University of Buffalo.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE INFLUENCE OF AFRICA

1876 - 1882

The historical encounter with late nineteenth century Africa, particularly with regard to Zulu people, shaped Haggard's character, views and most importantly his imagination. During several years in South Africa, he gained an intimate knowledge of, and great respect for, the Zulus, prior to the retrocession of the Transvaal in 1881 experience which, it could be argued, moves his writing beyond the boundaries of what Hammand and Jablow see as the very limited Africa of Victorian imagination: beautiful, open, sun-drenched – a golden land.”¹ His respect was inspired by the men, both black and white, with whom he lived and worked. The influence on Haggard of this period, and of these men, cannot be overestimated. Although many of the stereotypes associated with Africa are present in Haggard’s works, his view of religion took a different course. It was profoundly changed, transcending the limited nature of the “manifest Africanism” of scientific enquiry or the “Latent Africanism” of popularly believed notions identified by Lindy Stiebel,² it was a change that provides a key to understanding the spirituality of his writing. The transformation in Haggard’s views is powerfully demonstrated in the process whereby the romanticized vision of English missionary altruism he had known as a child changed into a sincere respect for the colonized people's cultural values and religious beliefs. He records this change in his memoirs:

It is terrific to think that all these hordes were deluded by a faith which we know to be false, as are the multitudes of India and China, by other faiths which we know to be false....If this inference were true, their lot was terrible

¹ D. Hammond and A. Jablow, The Africa That Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing about Africa, (N.Y.: Twayne, 1970) 157.

²Lindy Stiebel, Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard’s African Romances, (London:Greenwood, 2001) 6.

indeed. But I for one do not believe it to be true. I look upon religion from the lowest savage up to that of the most advanced Christian as a ladder stretching from earth to heaven.³

Tom Pocock writes, "For Haggard ... the highest qualities were those of the gentleman -- good manners, generosity and courage."⁴ Matthew Arnold described a gentleman as "Christian, manly, and enlightened."⁵ Haggard recognized these genteel qualities in the Zulus and instantly extended the rank of gentlemen to the entire nation, whose values he admired. However, he clearly eliminated the first criterion of Christianity in the Zulu's case, as indeed he found Christian theology of dubious distinction on the African continent. In fact, referring to the Boers, Haggard states that they "delight in the stories of wholesale butchery by the Israelites of old; and in their own position they find a reproduction of that of the first settlers in the Holy Land. Like them, they think they are entrusted by the Almighty with the task of exterminating the heathen native tribes around them and are always ready with a scriptural precedent for slaughter and robbery."⁶ In granting the Zulus the elevated status of gentlemen, Haggard unreservedly endorses their character to his readers as being of the highest moral standard, higher indeed than most Englishmen. Such an elevation of the non-Christian Zulus was, in some sense, recognition of the loss of Christian-based moral ethics that Haggard so feared. It should be pointed out, however, that Haggard did not necessarily extend this admiration to all alien or even African cultures.

³H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Dairies" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, Vol.V, 762.

⁴Tom Pocock, Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1994) 51.

⁵Robin Gilmour, The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel (London: George Allan & Unwin, 1981) 8.

⁶Pocock 50.

Haggard arrived in Africa strongly versed in gentlemanly virtues, and this endowed him with a respect, sensitivity and concern for those placed indirectly under his charge. Moreover, in granting the Zulus the rank of gentlemen he demonstrates his sincere respect by assigning them the rank to which he himself aspired. Such aspirations, coincidentally, reveal another reason for Haggard's respect and sympathy with these people. Anthony Trollope, in discussing the virtue of gentlemanly behaviour, reserves the hottest room in hell "for the heartless, those with lack of principle and selflessness."⁷ Haggard believed that the British had failed in their gentlemanly duty in the Transvaal and wrote to Sir Bartle Frere that "the natives are the real heirs to the soil and surely should have some protection and consideration."⁸

Haggard's understanding of the social divisions that led to a British abrogation of duty in the Transvaal is well described by Matthew Arnold's 1868 report for the Schools Enquiry Commission on Upper and Middle Class Education. Arnold states: "We have amongst us the spectacle of a middle-class cut in two" with a professional class which "identified with the aristocracy but without the idea of science and an emerging business class cut off from the aristocracy and the professions, and without governing qualities."⁹ It was largely this second group whom Haggard placed beneath the Zulus in moral and social standing, specifically for the "lack of governing qualities" which became apparent in the British handling of the Zulu peoples under their control during the retrocession of the Transvaal. Haggard may well have considered Arnold's division to exemplify the split between English Conservative and Liberal politics. Haggard summed up a wider British lack of concern for the African peoples thus:

⁷Gilmour 155.

⁸John Martineau, The Life and Correspondence of Sir Bartle Frere (London: John Murray, 1895) Vol.2, 415.

⁹Gilmour 98.

The writer on Colonial affairs is naturally, to some extent, discouraged by the knowledge that the subject is an unattractive one to a large proportion of the reading public. It is difficult to get up anything beyond a transient interest in the affairs of our colonial dependencies; indeed, I believe that the mind of the British public was more profoundly moved by the exodus of Jumbo (the circus elephant), than it would be were one of them to become the scene of some startling catastrophe.¹⁰

Long before developing such pointed opinions, in 1875 Haggard, young, open-minded and somewhat naive, left London for Cape Town, whence he steamed on to Durban, and then went overland to Pietermaritzburg. He was initially in the employ of Sir Henry Bulwer, then Governor of Natal, being later attached to Sir Theophilus Shepstone's special mission to the Transvaal. Haggard became an admirer of Shepstone, and of his right-hand-man in Native Affairs, Melmoth Osborn. This esteem is especially noticeable in Haggard's admiration for their declared policy of ruling through native custom. He thought Shepstone had acquired many of the admirable characteristics of the Zulu people amongst whom he lived: Haggard described him as, "my beloved chief and friend"¹¹ whose policy was to "maintain the tribal system of the natives, under the supremacy of the British Crown."¹² Haggard further explains that Shepstone was himself named a Zulu king, "who stood in the place of Chaka"¹³, Shepstone's intention being to integrate into the native ruling structure without disrupting it, or interfering with native religion or customs.¹⁴ Haggard repeatedly proclaimed his unreserved admiration for his superior and his methods, noting that the natives greeted Shepstone with the royal salute, "Bayete", calling him "Sompseu".¹⁵ More recently, it has

¹⁰H.R. Haggard, preface, Cetewayo and his White Neighbours (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1900) 1.

¹¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 68.

¹²H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 69.

¹³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 60.

¹⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 69.

¹⁵Prof. Peter Mtuze of the Department of African Languages, Rhodes University, says the name is a rough phonetic translation of the name "Shepstone", and does not have a specific meaning in any South African language as reputed in various biographical accounts.

been argued that the name "Great Hunter" in fact mocked Shepstone, because of his fear of elephants,¹⁶ and Shepstone's administration was not nearly so benevolent as the youthful Haggard naively assumed.¹⁷

Haggard was influenced in these early days by another great figure in contemporary South Africa, the renegade Bishop of Natal, J.W. Colenso. Colenso and Shepstone shared some important views on African affairs, but they eventually differed as administrative policy forced Shepstone into repressive action against local people during the Langalibalele rising.¹⁸ Colenso would not condone any such actions as justified by the circumstances. Haggard thought Colenso to be "in advance of his generation",¹⁹ believing that the Africans were better left to their own customs and beliefs. As Colenso had been a rector in Norfolk, Haggard's family was acquainted with him some time before they were re-introduced on Haggard's arrival in Pietermaritzburg.²⁰

¹⁶Mary Fadeke Adewumi, "Radical Attitudes in the European Literature of Africa from H. Rider Haggard to Joyce Cary," diss., Arizona State University, 1977, 45.

¹⁷Jeff Guy, preface, The Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom (The Civil War in Zululand, 1879-1884) (London: Longmans, 1979) xx. Some of Haggard's contemporaries were equally unconvinced of his sincerity. An anonymous letter, in reference to a speech by Haggard, appearing in the Sentinel reads "Mr. Haggard expressed his desire to see the English flag again floating at Pretoria where, he said, it used to be; but he omitted to mention that the reason it no longer flaunts there is because the British Government proved itself utterly incompetent to do anything in the shape of governing beyond paying the salaries of idle ornamental officials of whom Mr. Haggard was one. It is a significant fact that the people who profess the most ardent yearning for the extension of the sphere of British influence....are men of the Haggard type who get something out of it." {Anonymous Letter, Sentinel 29 July 1896: taken from English in Africa, 5.2 (Sept. 1978): 11}.

¹⁸Jeff Guy, preface xx.

¹⁹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 63.

²⁰H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 56.

Bishop Colenso and Haggard had occasion to further that acquaintance on Easter Sunday 1876, and subsequently became good friends. Haggard describes him as "a tall, able and agreeable man with a most interesting face, but one who was desperately at loggerheads with everybody."²¹ He lacked popularity among many of the colonists, not because of his religious views, but for his advocacy of the rights of natives, who called him Usobantu, or "Father of the People".²² Colenso's championing of Africans' rights seemed to echo the thoughts of Haggard, who did not hesitate to write: "White settlers...are apt to hate, despise, and revile the aboriginal inhabitants among whom they find themselves...and fear them...frequently because they will not work for them at a low rate of wage. Yet the Kaffir whose land we have taken has a right to follow his own opinions and convenience."²³ Haggard asserts that many would like to force aboriginal peoples to work and implicitly asks his readers what right we have, who have taken their land, to force them to work? In sympathy with Colenso, Haggard found many of the Zulu customs well suited to South African conditions, taking exception with those whose ambitions were to change them. For example, in defence of Colenso's stand on polygamy he wrote:

There is much to be said on Colenso's side. Many people find it difficult to understand why it is more essentially immoral to marry several wives than to marry one, provided that they are married and, except for good reason of divorce, supported to their lives' end. Particularly can this be argued where natives are concerned whose very intricate laws of property and succession are closely interwoven with this custom of polygamy, to which the women are, or were, as devotedly attached as the men. A Zulu woman does not as a rule wish to be obliged to bear all a man's children or do all the work of his household.²⁴

²¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 63.

²²H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 67.

²³H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 66.

²⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 64.

He also noted that polygamy absorbs all the women of a society, creating additional benefits by ensuring the absence of prostitution.²⁵ Already Haggard's South African environment, like his youthful experience in London, had begun to influence his views – this time towards the radically open-minded Anglicanism of Colenso.

With his British background, Haggard had naturally been brought up to believe in the Christian tradition of the monogamous patriarchal family. But in South Africa where he encountered polygamous, matriarchal families, he saw this indigenous situation as an alternative life-style, not altogether reprehensible or evil and commented that "the result is a race that is physically splendid."²⁶ He also remarks that many whites considered this custom disgusting and immoral. Haggard passes no such judgement, instead observing that Zulu social customs are wrapped up in this practice:

Violent anti-polygamists make a strong point of the cruelty imposed on women by this custom...but the Zulu women are much attached to the custom, nor would they as a general rule consent to marry a man who only proposed taking one wife. More wives mean more wealth.²⁷

Haggard later expressed his feelings on the subject in a dissenting speech to the African Missionary Congress, the essence of his position being that Christianity would never successfully compete with Islam in Africa, for the simple reason that the Muslims may keep their wives but no alcohol.²⁸ All Christianity could offer was alcohol as a consolation for having a single wife. Haggard observes that the white man's vices, especially alcohol, are more congenial to Africans than his virtues. Apparently there was a tradition of temperance

²⁵H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 65.

²⁶H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 64.

²⁷H.R. Haggard, Cetewayo and his White Neighbours 64.

²⁸H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 65.

in the Haggard family, as Haggard was known to have been instrumental in closing down many of the public houses in his home town of Ditchingham.²⁹

He further observes that Christian missionaries made little real progress among the Zulus on whom they attempted to impose unsuitable and sometimes destructive beliefs. "Islam preaches a god and says; 'You may keep your wives, but you must give up spirituous liquor.' Christianity also preaches a god but says, 'You must put away all wives save one, but spirituous liquor is not forbidden.'"³⁰ Haggard continues asserting that among peoples "who are asked to abandon practices which their forefathers have followed for thousands of years, one can guess which line of reasoning is likely to be accepted".³¹ Haggard's adoption of these views plainly indicates a questioning of the dogmas of missionary Christianity. He admires the keen intellect of the Zulus, who question every biblical point, eventually fermenting doubt in the mind of Bishop Colenso. Through Colenso, Zulu scepticism eventually became widespread influencing thousands of others, presumably including Haggard. With mentors like Shepstone, Osborn and Colenso, it is not a surprise that the young Haggard came to sympathize with, and to some extent fall under the influence of, Zulu beliefs.

Haggard's growing positive feelings for Zulu people and their beliefs would, alongside the doubts he harboured about Christianity, become an important ideological root for his eventual literary questioning, through the agency of Zulu religion and gentlemanly morality, of the ethical bases for colonial imperialism. He supported British administration in Zululand only as a lesser evil -- the damage had been done by colonization and British interests could no longer be extricated without doing greater harm. Haggard attempted to publicize this

²⁹Cmdr. Mark Chayne, interview, "the Grandson of H.R. Haggard," Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 8 Feb. 1995.

³⁰H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 65.

³¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 65.

view in his first literary work, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours, where he states that the difference between annexation proper and protectorate was that the protectorate "would have presented few difficulties, and have brought with it many advantages. White men could have been forbidden to settle in the country...not for many years has England missed such an opportunity of doing good."³² He continues with an extensive dialogue subversive of imperial interests while maintaining throughout a generally positive portrayal of Zulus and an often negative presentation of colonists.

The origins of these formulations can be found as early as December twentieth, 1876, when Haggard moved from Pietermaritzburg to Pretoria, along with Shepstone. He picked up Zulu tales, often of the hardship endured since colonization, from long evenings spent around the camp fire between the two places. Many others came from M'hlopekazi and F.B. Fynney, Shepstone's chief translator, an old Africa hand with a good command of local languages, and from Melmoth Osborn, another character with years of South African experience. Osborn had been present at the Battle of Tugela in which Cetewayo defeated Umbelazi, his Zulu rival, in 1856; Haggard later used his account of the battle in several novels.

However, Haggard's Zulu characters did not succumb to the noble savage motif; they were not uniformly good, savage or noble. Gagool, a witch in Haggard's first romance, King Solomon's Mines, is a political agent for the usurper king, Twala, who employs ceremonial witch dances to rid the kingdom of his enemies. Her character comes directly from accounts of witchdoctors, told to Haggard by his friends: "These persons are largely employed in Zululand to smell out witches who are supposed to have bewitched others, and are of course very useful political agents."³³ Fynney was once present at a smelling-out on a large scale,

³²H.R. Haggard, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours 45.

³³H.R. Haggard, introduction, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours xxxiv.

and describes it as a very curious and unpleasant event:

The men of whom there were some thousands were seated in a circle as pale with terror as Zulus can be. Within the circle there were several witchdoctors who amidst their incantations would now and again step forward and touch some unfortunate man with a forked stick. The victim was instantly led away a few paces and his neck twisted....such instances will show how dark and terrible is the Zulu superstition connected with witchcraft, and what a formidable weapon it has become in the hands of the King or chief.³⁴

Fynney's account of the terrible witch dances and Osborn's account of the Battle of Tugela were later combined with Haggard's personal experiences of such events to formulate the plot in Nada the Lily, one of his early Zulu novels involving extensive witchcraft. "From him [Fynney] I gathered much information as to Zulu customs and history which in subsequent days I made use of in Nada the Lily and other books."³⁵ There the reader may find an account of the doings of these witchdoctors. "Often I have wondered whether they are merely frauds or whether they do possess, at any rate in certain instances, some share of occult power. Certainly I have known them to do the strangest things, especially in the way of discovering lost cattle or other property."³⁶ On one occasion, Haggard remembers that a witchdoctress discovered an article he thought had been lost; and he later included this incident in many novels.³⁷

Haggard's fictional portrayal of his belief in the potential capabilities of the Zulu witchdoctor became readily apparent in Nada the Lily, where Moopi, a young practitioner of the art, demonstrates his ability to find cattle. Although some of the witchdoctors in the story

³⁴H.R.Haggard, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours 22.

³⁵H.R.Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 56.

³⁶H.R.Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 57.

³⁷H.R.Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 56-57. The lost article to which he refers was a small knife given him by his brother Jack which he kept until his death.

are ultimately exposed as impostors, one witchdoctor's powers, like Moopi's, are presented as indisputably genuine within Haggard's fictional realm. When, in a smelling-out, he points out Chaka as the vandalizer of his own dwelling, he demonstrates the capacity to see hidden truth, and the reader realizes he is in fact prescient. Haggard no doubt heard the story from Fynney and took the details from John Bird's Annals of Natal on which he comments, "many strange tales can be found in the account",³⁸ evidently believing them to be true. Zulu tales of spiritual potency were often repeated in Haggard's fiction with accompanying editor's notes verifying their authentic origins. For example, one such note in Allan's Wife reads, "For some almost equally remarkable instances of Kaffir [sic] magic the reader is referred to a work named 'Among the Zulus,' by David Leslie, - ED."³⁹

His own experiences impressed him still more. Recalling the occasion of the Battle of Isandhlwana on January 22nd, 1879, Haggard relates his tale of a Zulu woman in Pretoria who dreamed of a great plain in Zululand where many English troops were camped. In her words, "Snow began to fall on the plain, snow that was blood-red, till it buried it and the troops[sic]. Then the snow melted into rivers of blood".⁴⁰ Stranger still, one day later, his washer-woman was particularly perturbed, reporting that a terrible thing had happened in Zululand. The "Rooibatjes", [redcoats] "lay upon the plain like leaves under the trees in winter, killed by Cetewayo."⁴¹

Haggard knew it was impossible that the news of such an event could have travelled in excess of two hundred miles overnight, but the woman insisted on its accuracy, although she

³⁸H.R. Haggard, Nada the Lily (London: Longmans, 1892) 84. Also see The Days of My Life for an account of Haggard's relationship to Bird, Vol.1, p.68. In addition in the preface to several editions of Nada the Lily Haggard cites Leslie, Bird and F.B. Fynney as his sources for various aspects of the tale.

³⁹ H.R. Haggard, Allan's Wife (London: Griffith, Farran, & Co., 1895) 192.

⁴⁰H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 118.

⁴¹H.R.Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 119.

refused to explain her certainty. Haggard was concerned enough to relate the story to the government office in Pretoria. Twenty hours later the news came of the massacre at Isandhlwana. Haggard never could discover how the woman knew long before the white man and strongly considered the possibility that supernatural forces might be involved.⁴²

On another occasion the remarkable tracking instinct of the Zulus greatly impressed him when Haggard was separated from a group headed for Pretoria and hopelessly lost. Haggard had been mounted on horseback and strayed miles from the main party, when he was finally rescued by an unmounted Zulu tracker. Such events impressed him with the almost uncanny powers possessed by the indigenous people of South Africa. "Some instinct lost to us but still remaining to the savages led him towards me."⁴³ Musing about such strange powers afforded his fertile imagination an abundance of ideas around which he would later fashion adventures. Such incidents, occurring in the author's immediate environment, farther influenced his growing belief in the presence of supernatural powers, particularly among the Zulu, and are reflected as spiritual manifestations in his fiction.

In his memoirs his admiration can also be observed when he writes of the Zulus, describing them as "bronze coloured, noble-looking men and women clad only in their moochas, whose herds of cattle wandered hither and thither."⁴⁴ Writing of these noble people, Haggard recalls that "From the beginning I was attracted to these Zulus and soon began to study their character and their history."⁴⁵ He makes mention of a great war dance he attended while accompanying Sir Henry Bulwer on a tour up-country -- this in an article entitled, "A Zulu War Dance", which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1876. He

⁴²Morton Cohen, Rider Haggard, His Life and Work (London: Macmillan, 1965) 48.

⁴³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 140.

⁴⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 52.

⁴⁵H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 52.

recalled it as "the first thing I ever wrote for publication."⁴⁶ In the article he quotes Cetewayo as saying; "A Christian may be a good man in his way, but he is a Zulu spoiled."⁴⁷ Haggard likewise felt Christianity undermined a martial aspect of the Zulus that he plainly admired: "When death comes, he meets it without fear, and goes to the spirits of his fathers boldly, as a warrior should."⁴⁸

Haggard held the Zulus in high esteem, for in their characters he saw much that was superior to that of the Christian European. He was most impressed by Zulu certainty in their spiritual faith and therefore fearlessness in the face of death, and indeed, his own fears of mortality seemed strangely reassured by such bravery in facing the afterlife. This was one of the primary attractions these people held for Haggard. He writes admiringly of the Zulu reaction to a threatening Boer parade in Pretoria:

Then they melted away, we thought to their work. Presently however we heard the savage notes of a Zulu War Song swelling and falling in a thrilling monotone...in fact they fully expected a fight with the Boers, their hereditary enemies. There is nothing a Zulu likes better than a fight, the bloodier the better. He is absolutely reckless of his own life.⁴⁹

In another story of bravery from the unpublished manuscript, "Camp life at Pretoria", dated May 3rd, 1877, Haggard relates the tale of two Zulu mail carriers; one, a victim of extreme cold, was left to die while the other carried the mail. The first awoke in the morning and, finding himself still alive, continued on until he found the other frozen to death. He

⁴⁶H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 57.

⁴⁷H.R. Haggard, "A Zulu War Dance" Gentleman's Magazine 241.1759 (Dec. 1876) 94-107.

⁴⁸H.R.Haggard, "A Zulu War Dance" 105.

⁴⁹H.R.Haggard, "Camp Life in Pretoria," unpublished manuscript, Brenthurst Collection, Johannesburg, 1876, 7.

retrieved the dispatch bag and continued the journey, delivering it to Pretoria. In oral tradition, fate and prophecy play an important role in the stoic acceptance of death, particularly in battle, among the Zulu people. Such legends of bravery impressed Haggard and later enhanced the mythical quality of the Zulu characters in his novels. Already by 1879, Haggard was clearly expressing the beginning of a sense of Zulu moral superiority. His admiration of Zulu bravery and ingenuity would provide yet another foundation for the questioning of colonial power in his fiction, and underlay his representation of the Zulu people as gentlemen. This sense of Zulu moral superiority appears repeatedly in the author's later fictional work, indicating Haggard's particular concern with the idea.

Ironically, the most memorable figure Haggard acquired from his African experience, Umslopogaas, based on M'hlopekazi, Sir Theophilus Shepstone's head African attendant, was not a Zulu. A man of perhaps sixty years of age and of high Swazi birth, he served as a model for many of the author's African characters, particularly in the Allan Quatermain series. Haggard writes in his memoirs that M'hlopekazi had, in a fight, killed ten men using his battle axe, Groan Maker. In Umslopogaas, he combined all that he saw as noble in the Zulu character in one persona, while clearly extending the positive image of African peoples beyond the Zulu nation.

Haggard's admiration for Zulu bravery would later figure strongly in his most popular stories. Moreover, that bravery was in essence based on their firm spiritual conviction in fate⁵⁰, a fact not lost on the impressionable young Haggard. He was deeply influenced by their acceptance of fate and later adopted it as an element of the spiritual universe in his early tales and considered it an influence in his own life. Such firm belief in an afterlife and its consequent moral code was precisely what he felt lacking in his own society.

⁵⁰ H.R.Haggard, "A Zulu War Dance" 105-6.

Haggard adopted the Zulu beliefs in prophecy and fate, believing they played a role in his own life, while appropriating them as literary devices for his stories. He attributed many things to the workings of fate, including one occasion, when, returning from Secocoeni's kraal, he convinced his party to take an alternative route and thereby, as it turned out, avoided an ambush by a group of rebel Boers. Even before the visit to Secocoeni, he had planned to resign his post, as Shepstone's assistant, and return to England to marry a girl with whom he had fallen in love years earlier. However, on March 13th, 1877, he received a letter from his father telling him to stay in South Africa and not to resign solely to pursue a romance. Initially upset, he was later convinced that his father's letter had been another act of fate:

Moreover, I repeat my belief that the finger of fate was at work in the matter how and why perhaps we should have to go back, or forward, ages or aeons to explain. Years ago I came to the conclusion that our individual lives and the accidents which influence them are not the petty things they seem to be, but rather a part of some great scheme whereof we know neither the beginning nor the end. The threads of our destinies in the black or in scarlet or in sombre gray, appear and disappear before our mortal eyes, but who can figure out the tapestry that they help to weave? That picture lies beyond our ken or even our imagining.⁵¹

However, Haggard's belief in fate was only one part of his complex vision of humankind's destiny. Stiebel points to another in his "concern with the primacy of the land in developing a people's character."⁵² Haggard had grown up in a rural environment and no doubt was partial to the rural environment in which he spent much of his time in South Africa. In some way this must have mitigated the harshness of his father's rebuke. From his South African experience he further developed a belief in the benefits of the rural life-style led by the Zulu and indeed many of the European residents of South Africa. Moreover, his South African experience developed in him an aversion to the urban decay he witnessed while in London, causing him to wonder about the future of his own urbanized race. He later wrote to

⁵¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 100.

⁵²Stiebel, 7.

Theodore Roosevelt,

How will it [urbanization] end? That is the interesting point; my opinion is that in the absence of some unforeseen and unexpected turn of this tide it will involve the practical destruction of the white peoples, and that within a measurable time, say, two or three centuries.

In the same letter the author praises rural life,

The town women do not have many children...only on the land are the children welcomed...that is if the land is owned by their parents, who find their labour valuable.⁵³

In his correspondence with Roosevelt it becomes evident that Haggard believes cities to be one of the greatest evils facing modern civilization. He speaks of the two-fold evil of the love of pleasure and the love of wealth being most easily gratified in cities. "Doubtless the Golden Calf is the most popular of all gods ancient or modern, and he does not build his shrines amongst woods and fields. Moreover his worship becomes ever more facile, since during the last century a new code of morality has matured in these matters."⁵⁴ Although Haggard may have been party, to some degree, to the widespread rural nostalgia common among urbanized first-world societies, the association he made between spirituality and rural life held a greater significance for him. His farm, Hilldrop, gave Haggard a place among the Zulu people he admired and a firm hold on the mystical quality of their rural life. He continues his correspondence with Roosevelt, alluding to possible spiritual explanations for the urban decay afflicting his own people.

But all these arguments [arguments concerning the evils of urbanization] are commonplace to you. The question is, whither do they lead, supposing them to be accurate? I think, to two alternative conclusions. The first alternative is that the Almighty has had enough of the white races and is bringing about

⁵³H.R. Haggard, Letter to Theodore Roosevelt, 5 Sept.1911, Haggard Collection, New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Microfilm, reel 2. Many of the Letters between Roosevelt and Haggard are reproduced in Haggard's autobiography, The Days of My Life, Vol.2, pp.182-184.

⁵⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 182-184.

their ruin through their own failings as in past days He brought about the ruin of Rome. The second alternative is that He is pointing out to them that their only possible rejuvenation, their only salvation lies in the closer settlement of the land which they neglect.⁵⁵

In light of the arguments put to Roosevelt in 1911 an important although subtle reason for Haggard's admiration of the Zulu people, the same reason behind his unusual change of career from civil servant to farmer, becomes apparent. The Zulus essentially rural agrarian society incorporated many of the virtues Haggard would later preach for his own race. In fact this fits well with one of the aspects of the "Africa-as-paradise" view, elaborated by Stiebel: "that Africa can be a haven, a tonic, for the world-weary Englishman in an industrial age."⁵⁶ Haggard's mystification of the Zulus makes perfect sense in terms of their close connection with the land because it put their lifestyle closer to "God's plan" for humanity, according to Haggard in his letter to Roosevelt. However, behind such thinking lurks the possibility of a subtle racism characterized by a willingness to mystify the Zulus only so long as they retained their rural heritage and remained close to God's 'politically docile' plan by not posing a threat to white settlements. Haggard also saw appropriation of colonial land as a means of resettling urban European people in this same African agricultural landscape. Thus his thinking necessarily encompasses a problematic relationship between the idealized rural Zulu culture and the European settlers he often disparages as they compete for the same land; interestingly, he provides no practical solution to this problem.

Karl Marx believed the opposite when he wrote in The Communist Manifesto that Communism, urbanization and industrialization had "rescued the lower classes from the idiocy of rural life."⁵⁷ It is thus not surprising that Haggard later ardently opposed

⁵⁵H.R.Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 184.

⁵⁶Stiebel, 58.

⁵⁷Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," The Marx-Engels Reader, 2nd ed., ed. R.C.Tucker (N.Y., Princeton, 1978) 480.

Communism. However, individuals as diverse as Robert Baden Powell and General Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, worked under the same general assumptions as Haggard in that they tried to place people in closer contact with the land and rural environment as a means of salvation. Haggard, seeing a superior mystical quality in the Zulus, who lived a life he sought for his own society, looked to them and not to Europe for spiritual wisdom. However, despite his personal beliefs Haggard was forced to return to England, where he began a long involvement in agricultural affairs and later established another more successful farm at Ditchingham which still operates today.

The Haggards, now including wife Louisa and son Jock, returned to England in 1881. It was during this time that he wrote Cetewayo and His White Neighbours. Determined to make it as accurate as possible an account of the wrongs committed by the imperial administration, he rounded up relevant editions of the government 'Blue Books' as source material.⁵⁸ Although he was not immediately able to find a publisher for the work, he eventually paid Trubner and Company fifty pounds sterling and an edition of 750 copies was printed in 1882. For the most part, the book deals with the history of the Transvaal and its retrocession, and defends Shepstone's maintaining of native institutions, highlighting the plight of Cetewayo and his people *vis-à-vis* the British. In his letter to the publisher, Haggard alludes to the upcoming visit of Cetewayo to London as a selling point.⁵⁹

Cetewayo and His White Neighbours is a collection of Haggard's impressions and opinions reconstructing the events that occurred in the Transvaal, Natal and Zululand between 1875 and 1881. The author saw European interest in and support of Cetewayo as a source of continuing negative colonial interference in the Zulu way of life and an assault on

⁵⁸Haggard records in Cetewayo and his White Neighbours the Blue Books as containing testimony received by commissions of enquiry which he used in the composition of that book, although he does not record the exact volume or date of such testimony.

⁵⁹H.R.Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 204.

their spiritual wellbeing. Under Cetewayo, Haggard believed the Zulu people were becoming domesticated and urbanized by a king who thought and acted under the influence of the colonizers, in the process separating the people from their land. He asserts that Cetewayo is a tyrant who mercilessly slaughtered his own people and insists that it would be ill-advised for the British to return Cetewayo to the throne. Morton Cohen notes that Haggard “criticises severely the way the Government handled the settlement of this [Zulu] war.”⁶⁰ However, Haggard’s political bias shows again where his criticism of the British handling of the Zulu War pales in comparison to his scathing attack on the Boer republic’s treatment of the Zulus. He describes the history of the Boer republic between 1852 and 1876 as consisting of “attacks on native tribes, and encroachment on native territories.”⁶¹ In each case Haggard sympathizes with the Zulus, basing his objection to Cetewayo on British mismanagement, and his criticism of the Boer republic on their encroachment onto Zulu land. Although his position is shrouded in partisan politics, and Haggard favoured the Conservative Party that supported Shepstone’s policies, it is nonetheless incongruent with the sense of moral certainty implicit in European imperialism. After all it was Haggard who later wrote of British military conduct in South Africa as discreditable, incompetent, treacherous and shameful. Lloyd Siemens notes these words among a litany of colonial blunders and cruelties running through Haggard’s diaries where Haggard states: “The white man has a very heavy bill to pay to the natives and certainly he will be called to discharge it in this coin or that. Those who consistently sow the wind must expect to reap the whirlwind...these [the Zulus] are a people who have been broken and not mended...the ultimate argument was the gun.”⁶² Haggard’s moral sensibilities were evidently offended by white European treatment of the Zulu people, a reaction providing further support for the argument that he ultimately found white European morality lacking.

⁶⁰ Cohen 69.

⁶¹ Cohen 70.

⁶² Lloyd Seimens, “Rider Haggard’s Neglected Journal: ‘Diary of an African Visit’” *ELT* 37:2 (1994) 157.

During the time on the farm, Haggard had taken the opportunity to advance his sceptical vision of British imperial policy. He saw at first-hand the effects of colonial war on the Zulu people as they came through his farm as refugees. Some years later he records in his History of the Transvaal the letters of Dinizulu taken from the Blue Books dated August 4th and 5th 1886 to A.E. Havelock, Bulwer's successor as Governor of Natal. Haggard mentions that the first of these letters deals with the sad state of the Zulus and quotes from the letter as follows: "We [the Zulus] are wandering from place to place having nowhere to plant....We shall die and the country will be desolate." Haggard continues documenting that the Zulus complain of being beaten, tied up, robbed, and accuse the government representatives of being untruthful in land dealings.⁶³ Haggard's exasperation at the plight of the Zulus, whom he felt had been abandoned by Britain, was acute. He writes, "It will be seen from all this [the letters quoted from the Blue Books] that the relations between the Usutu chiefs and their 'representative and adviser' have become a little strained. He [the advisor] is now a 'torpid snake', and a person not too particular about the exact truth."⁶⁴ "It became more and more clear to the English mind how ill-judged, I might almost say how unjust, was the Zulu war."⁶⁵ Haggard goes on to comment on the misguided and unjust restoration of Cetewayo describing in detail the massacres incurred in the process. "Well might the Zulus cry out, as they afterwards did bitterly enough, and more especially the Usutu portion of them. 'Save us from our friend,' our friend [England] who countersigned a proclamation that robbed us forever of our birthright."⁶⁶ Again, the author's growing sense of a lack of British morality, this time in their indifference towards the Zulu, is evident. Here it is in connection with land ownership,

⁶³H.R.Haggard, introduction, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours xxxviii. Also in Haggard's A History of the Transvaal (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Trubner, 1899) 38-45, where the author quotes testimony from victims of alleged slavery occurring in the Transvaal c.1881.

⁶⁴H.R.Haggard, introduction, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours xxxviii.

⁶⁵H.R.Haggard, introduction, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours xiii.

⁶⁶H.R.Haggard, introduction, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours xxxv.

another issue close to the author's heart.

His defence of Zulu institutions and land claims was more than a matter of temperament and taste; it was based on protracted association and personal experience. It is significant that his view was shaped by both Bishop Colenso and Shepstone, two colonial figures of an earlier era. In fact "Haggard sustained a remarkably constant construction of Africa, perhaps because of, rather than despite, a changing political climate at home. At odds, post-Shepstone, with Britain's handling of territories in South Africa and the changing policy particularly towards the Zulu people, Haggard drew a largely nostalgic landscape even from his earliest African romance."⁶⁷ But, in spite of this nostalgia and his imagination and sympathy with Zulu institutions, Haggard was not disposed to sentimentality. He rejected outright the current fashion in England to look on Cetewayo as a noble and tragic savage. In Haggard's view, Cetewayo was a misfortune which afflicted the Zulu community and led them to disaster. Although the English public understood Cetewayo within the motif of the noble savage, Haggard saw him as a corrupt and inept political leader responsible for the deterioration of his once proud nation. Thus the Zulu people under Cetewayo's leadership were losing not only their contact with the land but with their spirituality as well. In this sense the Zulu's plight influenced Haggard's later report to the Dominions Commission on the resettlement of veterans after World War I in which he emphasized the need to place returning soldiers in rural areas as a means of avoiding accelerated urban decay.

Haggard also saw Cetewayo as a mass murderer of his own people, and although the politicians argued for diplomacy in dealings with him, the author steadfastly viewed the question of Cetewayo as a simple moral one of right and wrong. Regarding Frances Colenso's contemporary sympathetic history of Zululand⁶⁸ Haggard remarks: "Has

⁶⁷Stiebel, 54.

⁶⁸Frances Ellen Colenso, My Chief and I, or Six Months in Natal After the

philanthropy a deadening effect on the moral sense...that the people who champion for the unfortunate Zulu King ...cannot get on their hobbies without becoming blind to the difference between right and wrong?"⁶⁹

Colenso's praise for Cetewayo did not sit well with Haggard. After all, Cetewayo had been tainted by his dealings with European powers. Despite holding such negative views of the Zulu king, however, Haggard's overall respect and sympathy for the Zulus dominates his book. He points out that on laying down their arms the Zulus fully expected to be under the British and not the Boers. But this proved not to be the case after retrocession, and Haggard later writes of the retrocession as a betrayal.⁷⁰ In an introduction to Cetewayo and His White Neighbours written some years after its original publication, he added, "Whether the civilized man with his gin, his greed, and his dynamite, is really so very superior to the savage is another question, and one which would bear argument".⁷¹

His experiences in Africa had not only provided him with the material and background for stories, but instilled in him a lasting sense of the damage Europeans had inflicted on Zulu people, taking from them their land, their religion and ultimately their dignity. This sense became acute on seeing the upheaval and dislocation of the once proud Zulu nation on his return to South Africa some years later. He noted that the Zulus who had adopted Christianity seemed to be the worst examples of this social abasement, an observation reflected in the lack of Christian converts among his African heroes.

Langalibalele Outbreak (Pietermaritzberg: Univ. of Natal, 1994). Originally published under the pseudonym Atherton Wylde.

⁶⁹H.R. Haggard, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours 14.

⁷⁰H.R. Haggard, letter to Lord Chevron, 5 March 1882, Haggard collection, Grahamstown, National English Literary Museum.

⁷¹H.R. Haggard, introduction, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours 2nd ed., (1900).

It could be argued that such a view reflects a subconscious racism in its insistence on keeping indigenous people in a “natural” state. However, Haggard’s condemnation of Christian Zulus is not a condemnation of all Westernized Africans. He particularly admired Zulus who adapted to European society without giving up their heritage. Good examples of such individuals can be found in Haggard’s servant Mazooku, and M’hlopekazi “who acted as a sort of head native attendant for Sir Theophilus”⁷², whom the author deeply respected, and the Reverend John L. Dube, first president of the African National Congress, whom Haggard met in Durban. This admiration is also evident in Haggard’s character Umslopogaas who understands and tolerates Quatermain’s European ways, but prefers to retain his own customs and religious heritage. Thus Haggard envisions the Christian Zulu as reflecting a morally inferior “social abasement”, while favourably viewing other Europeanized Zulus.

When Haggard begins writing, what he creates is an allegory in which the European desires the Zulu "other" to impose on European culture his "otherness" through the agency of spiritually instructive encounters. In his later fiction the moral authority of the colonizer is characteristically based on a bankrupt religious structure negating its claims to superiority over its Zulu counterpart. The constant repetition of this theme in the author’s private and public writing not only affirms its importance to him, but provides additional evidence of its central position in his works.

For Haggard, Zulu people, untouched by economics or cities, are not overly removed from nature and therefore God. This theme, with its obvious roots in Haggard’s Norfolk upbringing, is not simply a repetition of the noble savage motif for it is not the ‘savage’ in whom the author is directly interested. Instead, when Haggard found himself admiring the Zulus and impressed with their spiritual sense and apparent abilities, he sought reasons to explain how his people had lost these senses which the Zulus still possessed. The most evident reason was the Zulus continued affiliation to the landscape. If Haggard had to a

⁷² H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol..I, 74.

degree, consciously or unconsciously, incorporated a conflation of Zulu/native as a metaphysical part of the landscape into his thinking, it would explain to a significant extent the overriding Zulu affiliation with spirituality in his literature. In Haggard's belief the Zulu connection to the landscape is a desirable quality to be emulated by Europeans and therefore does not have as strong a marginalizing effect on their representation as it otherwise might. The fact that the Zulu are connected to the landscape, in the author's view, elevates the spiritual dimension of their presentation. In fact, the assertion that colonial writers participated uniformly in the marginalization of Africans by presenting them as a morally and intellectually inferior part of the landscape, is brought into question in Haggard's fiction by dialogue in which oneness with the landscape is a desirable quality.

In Child of Storm Haggard again praises the Zulus and refers sarcastically to European Christianity, evidently blaming the abysmal conditions under which the Zulus lived on poor administration in the colony and lack of concern at home rather than on any intrinsic moral failings among the Zulu.

They [the Zulus] have, or had, their king, their nobles, and their commoners. They have an ancient and elaborate law and a system of morality in some ways as high as our own and certainly more generally obeyed. They have their priests and their doctors; they are strictly upright and observe the rites of hospitality.

Where they differ from us mainly is that they do not get drunk until the white man teaches them so to do, they wear less clothes, the climate being more genial, their towns at night are not disgraced by the sights that distinguish ours. Of course there remain their witchcraft and the cruelties which result from their almost universal belief in the power of magic. Well, since I lived in England I have been reading up on this subject, and I find that quite recently similar cruelties were practised throughout Europe -- that is in part of the world which for over a thousand years had enjoyed the advantage of the knowledge and profession of the Christian faith.⁷³

⁷³H.R.Haggard, Child of Storm (London: Longmans, 1913) 74.

Haggard felt a deep sense of shame for having participated in undermining the freedom and social integrity of a people he so admired. "Of course the piled-up slaughter of thousands of unoffending human beings did not do this [end Cetewayo's warring in Zululand], at any rate not in a sense that was likely to find expression at the English polling-booths...and yet we have heard of 'blood-guilt'....Her Majesty's Government very well knew, all slaughter could have been stopped [but this] however would have involved responsibility."⁷⁴ Later, he would use this theme in Allan Quatermain where the central characters discover an African nation and interfere with its administration and religion. On departing from the land they decide not to colonize it because the African nation was better off without the white man's interference or religion. Haggard's feelings of colonial guilt, dislike of cities as centres of corruption, and the distrust of Christian missionary work fostered in him by Colenso, weakened the foundations on which his faith in the imperialist system had been founded. His experience with and consequent admiration for African people and their institutions had awoken in him a skepticism concerning the benefits of Christianity and colonial administration.

Nevertheless, in a direct political sense, his experience immediately served to reinforce the naively positive view presented of Shepstone's administration combined with criticism of the immorality of British administrative motivation under Gladstone's Liberal government, in the non-fiction work, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours. However, his latent scepticism and concern with the spiritual aspect of all colonial ventures is reflected strongly through his fiction where the overt imperialism in the adventure stories is continually thwarted by the intrusive power of African religion and spiritual knowledge. In novel after novel, European imperialists and missionaries are subjected to the powers of African shamans, powers that, although beyond their understanding and control, often control them.

⁷⁴H.R.Haggard, introduction, Cetewayo and his White Neighbours xxv.

In this sense, the discourses of imperialism and religion begin to clash. In the context of this clash Haggard's sense of guilt, along with a desire for a new post-Christian spirituality in Europe, combine to create a fiction of African religious hegemony, a fiction which ultimately questions the imperialist theme apparent on the surface of his literature. However, while questioning the imperial theme, Haggard cannot be entirely freed from the accusation of harbouring a desire to usurp African religious power. Indeed it could be argued that, at a less transparent and more insidious level, he seeks to expropriate that power as a replacement for the weakened spiritual potency underlying the values and mores of Western society. Quite obviously the lack of spiritual strength Haggard felt in his own society would be nicely compensated for by the mastery of apparent African spiritual potency, hence the appearance of this fantasy in his literature. Once expropriated, it could function as a moral basis to justify European technological hegemony and imperialism in Africa. However, in itself, the expropriation of religious power is not equivalent to taking African land; no one is dispossessed.

Exposure to the damage European imperialism had done to the Zulu people was only one aspect of Haggard's experience there. South Africa had a number of important influences on Haggard. Among them were his mentors Shepstone, Colenso and Mazooku. Each contributed to the author's broad ethical education and had a direct impact on his spiritual beliefs: Shepstone and Colenso, through their apparent respect for other beliefs and cultures, and Mazooku, along with the Zulu people, by imparting to Haggard a sense of their deep spiritual beliefs. These African acquaintances conferred on Haggard the ability to disengage his spiritual sense from Christian priests and Eastern mediums in Europe and move it to Africa where his experiences with African people, and the Zulu in particular with their close connection to the land and nature, provided him with a new and wider sense of spiritual life, a theme that casts a dark shadow over any positive image of imperialism in his literary works. In this context Haggard's African stories often demonstrate the lack of moral foundation he felt existed in white European Christians. This sentiment is one of the major foundation

blocks from which his spiritual representations are constructed.

CHAPTER FOUR:
THE SPIRITUAL WORLD
OF THE FIRST BOOKS

1882-1884

The great quest of Haggard's young life, and consequently an emergent theme in his early writing, was to prove the existence of a spirit world and to exorcise his lingering doubt about the afterlife. He sought it in the spiritualist salons of London and experienced it in the mysterious powers of Zulu witchdoctors, but it continued to elude his best efforts at definition. When he returned to England from South Africa in the autumn of 1881 and began writing, naturally his productions assumed a supernatural dimension. His first romance, Dawn, was meant as a warning to those who considered dabbling in spiritualism, his own encounters having frightened him considerably. Dawn was followed by The Witch's Head which, like his first best-seller King Solomon's Mines, attacked orthodox Christianity and promoted personal religious exploration.

These early romances are replete with a variety of allusions to the supernatural. However, these allusions are diverse and appear in random fashion representing a variety of the author's as yet unrelated mystical themes. Various conceptions the author alludes to include: a gothic element, immortality, immortal love, Buddhism, reincarnation, an anti-clerical theme, African religion and spiritualism. Some of these themes, including Buddhism and the gothic element, eventually disappear in the author's writing, but the remainder develop into a spiritual theme which begins to shape other thematic elements, including the imperial, into a persistent debate between spiritual and rational atheist conceptions of existence.

Horace Walpole's The Castle of Otranto (1765), the first of the novels of terror which came into vogue during the latter half of the eighteenth century, in some ways anticipates Haggard's early works. Walpole's work featured portraits coming to life and walking about, claps of thunder at suitable moments, and a variety of other "stage tricks" designed to produce an atmosphere of terror.¹ Similar incidents are used to indicate a supernatural presence in Haggard's first novel, Dawn; when Philip Cranshaw lies, his father's corpse moves; and strange opportune breezes chill the scene at appropriate moments, blowing out candles and terrifying guilty consciences. It is important, however, to distinguish between Haggard's early use of Gothic settings to create a mystical air in Dawn and The Witch's Head and the development of complex spiritual entities like She in later stories. However, Haggard's imitation of the gothic genre is another indication that the author was attempting to represent the spirit world, but as yet had not developed his own unique style. Dawn and The Witch's Head are in their Gothic aspect virtually ghost stories and, had he stopped there, Haggard might well have become known merely as a writer of that genre, more akin to Mary Shelley and Walpole than Henty and Kipling.

Much of Haggard's original literary impetus towards the supernatural was imitative of Sir Walter Scott. Haggard follows Scott's example by incorporating a gothic element without immersing his stories in Gothic detail. His first two stories, Dawn and The Witch's Head, borrow extensively from The Bride of Lammermoor (1819) and Haggard later incorporates elements of The Talisman and Ivanhoe into his medieval romances, recreating the mystical atmosphere of Scott's earlier works. Another trait, noticeable in both Haggard and Scott, is the presence of a chivalric figure as the protagonist -- an individual of superior insight and morality who is invariably on a quest. In Scott's work the best example of this is Ivanhoe. In

¹A.C. Ward, Foundations of English Prose (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1931) 96-97.

Haggard's work the first such figure is the character Angela, in Dawn, interestingly a woman, then it reappears in Ernest Cranshaw, and is later immortalized as Allan Quatermain. However, unlike Scott's, Haggard's chivalric protagonists are on a quest of Jungian proportions throughout the empire, seeking an understanding of their very connection to the universe. Once again such a quest links Haggard's protagonists directly to a sense of European moral emptiness and lack of spiritual connectedness fundamental to Haggard's spiritual beliefs.

Such a fictional chivalric figure (a paragon of gentry values) was necessary to complete Haggard's mystical exploration fantasy: someone who was not corrupted by the greed and capitalism of a purely mechanistic world. Moreover, Haggard's chivalric hero was not to be a dogmatic missionary Christian, or even a strictly military man at the beck and call of the very society which had lost the virtue of spirituality. The chivalric figure in Haggard's work needed to be stoically aware, but personally free, of the corruption which had wrought the downfall of the Christian world, in every sense the enlightened gentleman, or, as in the case of Haggard's first novel, gentlewoman. Thus Haggard crafts more than a heroic figure on a mystical quest. His characters address deep spiritual issues and elaborate Haggard's personal religious concepts.

Haggard's first romance, Dawn, introduces a number of mystical themes, including the chivalric figure. Angela, the principal character of Dawn, "is a Christian, but her Christianity is included in a wider religion of her own."² In her, Haggard develops a rationale for a supernatural universe in which love's immortality is the major tenet. The love between Angela and the hero, Arthur, transcends all

²H.R. Haggard, letter to Agnes Barber, 21 Feb. 1884, Haggard Collection, New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Microfilm, reel 1.

efforts to destroy it, including Angela's marriage to another man. Even Lady Bellamy, an evil spiritualist described as "the spirit of power", fails to eradicate their affection. This immortal love theme dominated the original manuscript in which the heroine dies, as does just about everybody else, making it rather macabre. The ending, borrowed for its Gothic ambience, paralleled Scott's Bride of Lammermoor where Lucy Ashton stabs Budlow, her unwanted suitor, and dies shortly afterward herself.

The ending was changed on the advice of his first editor Cordy Jeaffreson,³ an established critic, who thought it too sombre to sell.⁴ This was done even though Haggard's supernatural viewpoint mitigated the gloominess of the original, as the lovers were to be reunited beyond the grave. Certainly concepts of immortality, spiritual growth and rebirth were on Haggard's mind when he wrote Dawn. His diaries and notebooks of this period are filled with evidence of a literary search for morality and religious meaning. His ideas for stories include "Reflections on the condition of the World when religion has died out of it...the idea of a dual identity or transference of the spirit...Witch story....Raising the dead, and the story of the devil -- mesmerism -- to trace the spirit of man after the death of man."⁵ All point to his preoccupation with the spiritual and moral relevance of life, and immortality. However, at this early stage in his writing career Haggard deferred to Jeaffreson's experience and changed the ending, although he still eventually intended to write

³Haggard sent the manuscript of Dawn to Jeaffreson for advice prior to attempting to have it published. Jeaffreson suggested a rewrite changing the macabre ending.

⁴H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, MC 32/7. Also see The Days of My Life Vol.1, 208-214, for Haggard's editing of Dawn.

⁵H.R.Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, MS 4694\2'2.

about the supernatural regardless of the wishes of his editor. When the book finally appeared, George Saintsbury, one of the most influential literary critics of the early twentieth century, said it was "infused with a strong element of occult arts and astral spirits, and other devices after the manner of the late Lord Lytton, which are perilous stuff to handle."⁶

In Dawn, Lady Bellamy is similar to Sir Walter Scott's Lady Ashton, also a character in The Bride of Lammermoor, in that she lives apparently without remorse for her evil endeavours. Lady Bellamy weighs the possible consequences of her "black art" (spiritualism) as she attempts to gain immortality by committing suicide: "I shall know what all the panic-stricken millions madly ask, if there is a hell!"⁷ In her character, evil and the desire for spiritual power are inextricably linked, very much as they are in Haggard's later character She. Her words, "Oh night, whom I have ever loved... my vital part will start upon its endless course, will find the font of knowledge... and drink and drink and glow like a god...such are my hopes,"⁸ explicitly show her divine aspirations and association with evil. Likewise foreshadowing another of Haggard's strong female characters, Cleopatra, Lady Bellamy declares: "Afraid, I am not afraid, I have immortal longings....spirits like mine wear their life only so long as it does not gall them."⁹ Her suicide is a failure and she is paralysed, a fate clearly intended to be worse than death, while the reader is left to think that Lady Bellamy most definitely should have been afraid of the

⁶George Saintsbury, "Essay" 1884, Twentieth-century Literary Criticism ed. E. Pupart et al. (Kansas City: Gale, 1985) Vol.2, 237. Also, Review of Dawn in The Academy Vol.25, no.620, 22 March 1884, 200.

⁷H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 248-290. In his "Note on Religion", Haggard outlines a concept of evil as one half of a dualism governing humanity, the other part being good.

⁸H.R. Haggard, Dawn (London: Herst & Blacklett, 1884) 84.

⁹H.R. Haggard, Dawn 84.

consequences of her own actions. Lady Bellamy offers the heroine, Angela, the "secret to her black art", but Angela refuses, fearing the loss of her soul.

Angela, who would rather die than marry someone other than her true love, introduces Haggard's immortal love theme. Her sentiment is reflected upon by Haggard in a letter to his sister, Ella, discussing the book in 1884: "Death is undoubtedly a good thing to have done with and yet life is dear to us. Still it is remarkable how as we grow older our interests here seem to become fainter and those of the further land more vivid."¹⁰ Lady Bellamy is clearly focused on the afterlife, a sign of her spiritual awareness; but for the wrong reasons. She, like Haggard, has become more concerned with the afterlife as she ages. However, her desire for divine power on earth -- her desire to usurp it -- causes her demise, instead of spiritual growth. Angela, on the other hand, desires death only to enhance her spirituality through true love, thus making her desire acceptable and even noble, a desire for progression not usurpation.

The idea of such usurpation or illicit appropriation later becomes important in relation to African religion where the author faces the problem in the form of his protagonist's desire to use African spiritual potency for his or her own ends. There Haggard deals with the problem of usurpation by having the character's access to that potency mediated through the sage witchdoctor figure, himself a strange mixture of Haggard's own moral judgement with its censorship of European immorality, and a historical rendering of his experience with such individuals. In so mediating his European character's access to African spirituality Haggard demonstrates an awareness of the problematic nature of this process when undertaken by the

¹⁰H.R. Haggard, letter to Ella Haggard, February 8 Feb. 1882, Haggard Collection, New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Microfilm, reel 2.

colonizers, particularly because of the colonizer's inferior moral character. At this time the author's efforts in this direction were distracted by his interest in Buddhism, but it was a problem to which he would return many times.

In the early 1880s, the young author was particularly interested in Buddhism and its belief in cycles of growth and rebirth. He writes to his sister-in-law Agnes Barber in 1882 with respect to Buddhism:

It is most interesting to me [to see] the vastness of the ideas including as they do our endless or practically endless passage from sphere to sphere, from activity to rest and from rest again to activity, from incarnation to incarnation and from lower incarnation back to higher incarnation. Are we to look at these merely as monuments of human intellectual aspiration almost overpowering in their grandeur? – But this book Esoteric Buddhism¹¹ unfolds, I confess, the most reasonable explanation of the mystery of life that I have yet come in contact with. It offers a clue that the human mind can without violence to its common sense accept as more or less satisfactory the why and wherefore of things. It presents a panorama of gradual development from small beginnings to infinite ends of the inheritance in each succeeding incarnation of the good or evil worked in the former incarnation egos sins [sic] -The preservation too of the identical spiritual ego intact through all the countless excate [sic] of each of the renewals or immediate recovery of knowledge of every incident of each existence is a very remarkable theory -- I do not think, as I understand it, that Esoteric Buddhism necessarily comes into antagonistic conflict to our religion since in all this vast system of lives lived by the same individual monades or souls upon different planets and through different periods whose lapse must be measured by millions of our years there must be a supreme directing will.¹²

Two years later the ideas discussed in this letter took root as Haggard began to develop a unique mixture of Christian and Buddhist beliefs in Dawn where the heroine Angela says "Christianity may well be a sketch map perfectly correct as far

¹¹The book referred to is A.P. Sinnett, Esoteric Buddhism (London: Trubner, 1883).

¹²H.R. Haggard, letter to Ella Haggard, 8 Feb. 1882, Haggard Collection, New York, Columbia University, Microfilm, reel 1.

as it goes -- it may also mark out the division of spiritual existence with something approaching accuracy."¹³ However, it is clear that despite referring to Christianity as "our religion",¹⁴ Haggard had not decided in favour of any particular creed at this point. The lack of decision is still evident in the diversity of supernatural themes in his next romance, The Witch's Head, which likewise demonstrates how a storyline is used to present Haggard's personal philosophy, working in his fictional world.

The Witch's Head, published in 1884, combines a number of diverse supernatural themes, incorporating everything from reincarnation, Gothic and African elements, to a circuitous censure of organized religion. The censure links back to Colenso's outspoken stance on the historical inaccuracy of the Bible and forward to Haggard's later overt attacks on the Catholic Church. Individualized religion fares well, on the other hand, as does the spiritualist philosophy of Sir Oliver Lodge. This theme similarly links back to Colenso's broadminded stance where scripture was concerned, and forward to later literary representations of individualized religious beliefs in Haggard's fiction. The story takes its name from an embalmed head found by four young people at the base of a sea cliff near an old graveyard, continuing the Gothic ambience established in Dawn.

The first supernatural element to be introduced in the story is reincarnation. It emerges as a theme through the similarity in appearance between the witch's head and that of the heroine's evil sister, Florence. Tom Pocock suggests that Haggard's interest in reincarnation resulted from a fear of death, haunting him from childhood.¹⁵

¹³H.R. Haggard, letter to Agnes Barber, 30 Jan. 1884, Haggard Collection, New York, Columbia University, Microfilm, reel 1.

¹⁴H.R. Haggard, letter to Ella Haggard, 8 Feb. 1882, Haggard Collection, New York, Columbia University, Microfilm, reel 1.

¹⁵Tom Pocock, Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1993) 6.

Morton Cohen also mentions reincarnation in relation to Haggard's childhood realization that he would one day die, confirming it as a long-time interest. In The Witch's Head the protagonist, Ernest Cranshaw, assures Eva Cestwick that their love will survive death into future incarnations:

Oh my sweet I believe that nothing can dissolve it [our troth] and that Death itself will be powerless against it. I believe that with each new and progressive existence it will re-arise as surely as the flowers in spring. Sometimes I think that it has already existed for countless ages.¹⁶

Again we see Haggard mixing his own ideas of love with Buddhist principles of reincarnation. This mixture of love and reincarnation emerges later as the central quest of She, where Ayesha awaits the reincarnation of her lover and then appears repeatedly in Haggard's novels thereafter. Dorothy, a plain but intelligent character and a more sensible love interest for Ernest, expands the idea, sounding like Sir Oliver Lodge,¹⁷ whose article on reincarnation Haggard mentions reading in his earlier years:

Nothing is lost in the world as old Alliston used to say and it is impossible to suppose that all the grief and suffering are alone wasted; that they are the only dull seed that will not, when their day comes, bloom into beautiful life. They may seem to be intangible things now; but, after all, the difference between tangible and intangible is only a difference of matter. We know that intangible things are real enough, and perhaps in a future state we shall find that they are the true immortal parts. I think so myself.¹⁸

¹⁶H.R. Haggard, The Witch's Head (London: Hurst & Blacklett, 1885) 127.

¹⁷A. McCabe, The Religion of Sir Oliver Lodge (London: Watts, 1914) 132-133. McCabe discusses Lodge's importance as a supporter of the scientific approach to spiritualism. Those who followed the spiritualist movement in London, as Haggard did, would have known Sir Oliver Lodge as the Chairman of the Society for Psychical Research and a leading proponent of the existence of spirits.

¹⁸H.R. Haggard, The Witch's Head 287.

Similarly Lodge argues that energy is never lost, only transformed, in the universe. Hence if energy is not lost, then why should emotional energy be lost?¹⁹ Dorothy uses Lodge's temporal argument in support of the eternal existence of the spirit, by equating the tangible with the intangible, but gets no further towards proving her case. Thus she supports Haggard's concepts of reincarnation and eternal love, but, like Haggard himself, despite the assurances of Lodge and his study of Buddhism, can only hope for proof.

Later in the romance, a discussion occurs in which the character Alliston also links love and religion. First, he makes a comparison between religions, equating their value: "Religion? Which religion? There are so many. Our Christian God, Buddha, Mohammed, Brahma, all number their countless millions of worshippers. Can all of these be true religions?" He continues,

Look here, Ernest, a man can do no more than he can. When I got to the age of discretion, which I put at eight and twenty -- you have hardly reached it yet, my boy, you are nothing but a babe -- I made three resolutions; always to try and do my duty, never to turn my back on a poor man or a friend in trouble, and, if possible not to make love to my neighbour's wife. These resolutions I have often broken more or less,...[but]... I have done my best!....and when fate finds me, I shall meet him, fearing nothing, for I know he has wreaked his worst upon me and at the worst can bring me only eternal sleep, and my vanity is not sufficiently strong to allow me to believe in the intervention of a superior power to save so miserable a creature from the common lot of life.²⁰

Through the voice of Alliston, a wise older mentor similar to Osborn, Shepstone and Colenso, Haggard's mentors in Africa, he produces a mixture of his own spiritual ideas and the wisdom he gained from association with these men. Alliston presents a religiously liberal view, which embodies both Haggard's naive view of the philosophy

¹⁹McCabe, 131-137.

²⁰H.R. Haggard, The Witch's Head 255-56.

of Shepstone's "rule through African custom" and Colenso's toleration of African religious and social custom. There is even a suggestion of the absurdity of European monogamy in Alliston's somewhat humorous resolution, "if possible, not to make love to my neighbour's wife." Haggard's fictional representation of his mentors' views clearly demonstrate their importance in the development of his thinking. However, it is interesting to note that the words he puts into their mouths also embrace elements of his own religious misgivings.

Further, Haggard, through his character Alliston in The Witch's Head, equates all religious conviction with romantic love. Interestingly, Haggard speaks of a man's religious belief being "emasculated," hinting at the link between sexuality and spirituality. It is a theme elaborated at length in Haggard's diarized disagreement with A.C. Benson discussed in Chapter Eleven.

If his faith in women is destroyed, [by being jilted not for love but for status or money] his religion often follows his belief in the other sex, for in some mysterious way the two things are interwoven. A young man of the nobler class of mind in love is generally for the time being a religious man; his affection lifts him more or less above the things of Earth, and floats him on its radiant wings a day's journey nearer heaven. The same thing applies conversely. If a man's religious belief is emasculated, he becomes suspicious of the "sweetest and best"; he grows cynical and no longer puts faith in superlatives. From atheism there is but a small step to misogyny, or rather to that disbelief in humanity which embraces a profounder constituent disbelief in its feminine section, and in turn, as already said, the misogynist walks daily along the edge of atheism.²¹

The heroine, Eva, is sexually overcome in Ernest's absence, as was Haggard's own first love, Elizabeth Archer,²² and marries a scheming misogynist, Mr Plowden.

²¹H.R. Haggard, The Witch's Head 232.

²²Lilias R. Haggard, The Cloak that I Left (London: Northumberland, 1951) 31-32. Lilith and Rider Haggard were engaged to be married before he left for Africa. His father had prevented his returning to marry her, and she married her family banker instead. Eventually she contracted syphilis

Plowden is the first clergyman in a Haggard story and he is presented as a most unpleasant individual. This later becomes a tendency that Haggard builds upon to form a negative image of the clergy and religious dogmatism in general. The distrust of conventional clergy, already seen in his admiration for Colenso, the renegade South African bishop, takes literary root in the characterization of Plowden as the earthy and sensual antagonist to the heroic Ernest. Haggard, returning briefly to the Gothic, describes in great detail the varicose veins on Plowden's forehead making the sign of the cross, and notes, "The Plowden children of both sexes had been painted and gilded into admirable imitations of gentleness but decidedly were not gentleness."²³ The anti-clerical theme is picked up and strengthened in subsequent works, particularly in the manuscript of She where questions of evolutionary science are raised and in Montezuma's Daughter where it turns anti-Catholic, a view later reiterated in his memoirs where he refers to Catholics as bigoted and intolerant.²⁴ Thus Haggard begins to relate European organized religion to an anti-love theme of misogyny and opportunism.

The South African section of The Witch's Head was what critics thought set the work apart from Dawn, foreshadowing Haggard's future success in romance writing. The Athenaeum called it "a lively story", while the Graphic said it had "never a dull moment".²⁵ Ernest's narration is the first occasion on which Haggard uses the device of the stoic narrator, an evolution of the chivalric figure first apparent in Dawn, that would later make his character Allan Quatermain so famous. As did Haggard himself, Ernest encounters mysterious events, inexplicable to the white European, for

from her husband and died in 1909.

²³H.R. Haggard, The Witch's Head 120.

²⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 235.

²⁵Morton Cohen, Rider Haggard (London: Macmillan, 1968) 83.

which a spiritual presence is a conceivable explanation; and, like Dawn, The Witch's Head is partly autobiographical, blurring the line between the fictional and the real world, deliberately leaving the reader to wonder what is true and what is fantasy.

Continuing the original immortal love theme introduced in Dawn, Ernest, like Haggard, is physically separated from his love by Africa. Africa becomes both the physical cause of separation for men and women, and a symbolic ground on which love develops on a spiritual plain in the absence of a lover. The intermingling of the romantic with the spiritual becomes noticeable in this imperial context, as the empire itself separates young lovers through distance. Their love can only develop on the spiritual plane, that plane being, in Haggard's case, Africa. Through the protagonist and stoic narrator, Ernest, Haggard introduces his concept of separation and love mingled with African mythology²⁶ when Ernest travels to Africa.

The stoic narrator in Haggard's African stories becomes the figure of chivalric proportions originally developed in Angela. He (Haggard's heroes in Africa are all male) ventures beyond the realm of the known, accepted world and into alien mythology on a quest to discover and retrieve information of a spiritual nature. Ernest is one such character. He travels to South Africa exploring the nature of romantic love as a source for spirituality. Haggard's protagonist returns empty handed although enriched by his excursion, having learned that earthly love has a definite, if not entirely spiritual, value. Later Allan Quatermain becomes the most prominent of Haggard's chivalric figures, continuing Ernest's African quest.

The chivalric figure later becomes important in understanding the connection

²⁶Again it must be pointed out that Haggard's concept of the African supernatural is by no means an accurate portrayal of his subject. He simply represents his own personal understanding of the African beliefs he encounters.

between the imperial, religious and Jungian dimensions in Haggard's fictional world. In his fiction only such a specially gifted figure could explore the empire seeking spiritual fulfillment, and only an individual who has achieved such spiritual fulfillment could administer the empire benevolently. His own generation, sullied by capitalism and urbanization, lacked the necessary spirituality and were thus incompetent imperial administrators. The Africans themselves, however, while fictionally represented as equally diverse and impure, in many aspects reflecting European society, nonetheless in certain individuals retain, unlike their European chivalric counterparts, a union with spiritual forces. The Europeans, however, at best retained only the memory of union with such spiritual forces, hence the quest to regain that lost union.

Interestingly, the basis of these chivalric spiritual memories appears to be rooted not only in the spiritual upheaval of the Western world but, for Haggard, a non-inheriting member of the minor British gentry, in the landed economic base of the gentry class to which he aspired. His spiritual crisis is therefore compounded by an economic crisis in the landed or gentry class in general. In a very real sense it was this crisis which was pushing the young men like Haggard off landed estates and into the colonies. Moreover, the spiritual values of English landed society, those instilled by the Church of England since Henry VIII, were directly tied to a divinely sanctioned right to own and administer the land -- land they no longer possessed.²⁷

²⁷Tracts from the Elizabethan era onward provide for the ordering of society by land tenure based on ecclesiastical and natural law as laid out in the Bible. Richard Hooker argues, in 1558, that ecclesiastical law is based on natural law and *vice versa*; Adam's first duty was "the maintenance of life" by land cultivation, Abraham "commanded his sons and household" in obedience to God's laws. Thus it is with societies, who tend naturally toward disorder. "We all make complaint of the iniquity of our times...but compare them with those times wherein there were no civil societies, with those times wherein there was as yet no manner of public regiment established...and we have surely good cause to think that God hath blessed us exceedingly... to take away all mutual grievances, injuries, and wrongs...there is no way but only by...ordaining some kind of government

When possession of the land disappeared, as had the authority of the church, so did any claim to the right to impose the values or morality that had been associated with ownership of the land, on the society occupying it.

Thus a loss of economic status was in part responsible, compounded with Darwinian refutations of the basic tenets of Christian belief, for placing Haggard as a member of the upper classes into a spiritual crisis, both temporal and existential in character. Neither the author's sense of the primacy of Christianity nor his belief in the moral superiority of the European survived this double blow. What did survive was passed on to the chivalric figure as a guiding sense formed by that lost morality, a morality that had developed under Christian guidance and the tutelage of the landed gentry. What changed was that the beneficiaries of this system of morality no longer possessed the authenticity of political power or divine sanction to enforce it. Their belief system had lost both its spiritual and temporal underpinnings in the real world, conceivably explaining its reappearance as fantasy in the realm of fiction. Haggard's protagonists seek to reassert a spiritual potency, whether it be Egyptian, Buddhist, or African, for that lost morality. Ultimately this desire becomes the quest of all Haggard heroes.

Such a quest is easily misunderstood if it is analyzed outside of its historical

and by yielding themselves subject thereunto...by them the peace, tranquillity, and happy estate of the rest might be procured. (Taken from Richard Hooker, Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, 1585, Book I, Chapter X). Similarly the Anonymous "An Homily Against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion" (Taken from The Book of Homilies, c.1547-63) argues God has ordained that obedience is due to the king by his subjects, wives to their husbands and servants unto their masters. It also affirms that "He by his whole word did constitute and ordain in cities and countries several and special governors and rulers, unto whom the residue of the people should be obedient." Such Biblical arguments were the foundation upon which gentry social status and economic power were built. The growing questions, in the early 19th century concerning the authenticity of the Bible itself, directly questioned the validity of such assertions.

context which necessarily brings the protagonist to the colonial world and into contact and conflict with fictional representations of indigenous people.²⁸ The chivalric figure must contact other peoples, not to prove those people's inferiority or, conversely, European superiority, but because of the possibility that they may possess some degree of spiritual potency with which to revive European faith. When this context and its historical significance are removed, all that is left is an apparent questioning of indigenous religion and morality by a European protagonist. Through his chivalric protagonist Holly/Leo in She, for instance, Haggard tells the reader that, "it is very curious to observe how the customs of mankind...vary in different countries, making morality an affair of latitude and religion, and what is right in one place wrong and improper in another."²⁹ Holly/Leo's moral and religious relativity provides a good example of the openness Haggard's chivalric characters possessed towards other cultures. Such openness is a key factor in their quest to discover African spiritual potency, a quest that would be pointless had they believed all of Africa to be spiritually and morally inferior to Europe. It also coincidentally brings Haggard's protagonists into the problematic realm of land conflict between indigenous peoples and European settlers, where the author seems to suggest, at least in some instances, European exclusion.

In keeping with the dislike of religious dogmatism developed in Plowden's character, Haggard has Ernest address the reader with very Protestant, evangelical views:

Providence starts us in the world with a full inherited or indoctrinated

²⁸In a post-colonial deconstruction of such conflicts between colonizer and colonized the indigenous peoples are necessarily unvoiced or misrepresented as the authors are invariably European. Thus the author commits an act of representational, epistemic violence on them.

²⁹H.R. Haggard, She (London: Longmans, 1886) 81-82.

belief in a given religion. That is not what providence understands by faith. Faith, perfect faith, is only to be won by struggle, and in most cultivated minds by the passage through a dim, mirage-clad land of disbelief. The true believer is he who had thrown down disbelief, not he who had run away from it.... When we have entertained Apollyon, and routed him in the plain, then, and not till then, can we say with guileless hearts, Lord, I believe, and feel no need to add the sadly qualifying words, help Thou my unbelief.³⁰

The essence of this argument is repeated some thirty years later in The Days of My Life, where Haggard argues against a monastic existence, contending that life in an "iron box"³¹ is no substitute for struggling to do good in a world of evil where man lives "sinning and lamenting his sins."³²

The Gothic element appears again towards the end of The Witch's Head when, after being blinded at the Battle of Isandhlwana,³³ Ernest returns to England to find Eva married to Plowden, whose children have the "little crosses" on their foreheads. The literal witch's head comes back into the story when it is suddenly smashed out of its case by an armoured gauntlet falling off the wall, and "seems to look about for someone."³⁴ At this point a minor character, Atterleigh, bewitched by the head, kills off several characters and gallops away to his death in a pit of quicksand, ending the story and completing the supernatural presence in the text. As in Dawn, the story mirrors Gothic elements of The Bride of Lammermoor, where Scott's character Edgar also meets his end in quicksand.

³⁰H.R. Haggard, The Witch's Head 235, also appeared in his "Note on Religion", The Days of My Life, Vol.2, 259.

³¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 150.

³²H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 151.

³³H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, MC 32/53. Haggard feared blindness and, like Milton, he began to go blind from working long hours in poor light.

³⁴H.R. Haggard, The Witch's Head 338.

Despite its many facets, the supernatural plays an inconsistent role in The Witch's Head; its appearance is sporadic, consisting of elements, like the head itself, not always central to the plot. However, the supernatural presence is established and expanded from its origin in Dawn, and begins to develop into a major thematic element in Haggard's stories. The limited usefulness of the Gothic representations led to their eventual demise in Haggard's works. It was a simplistic imitation of Scott, and Haggard did not accomplish the genre as well as his mentor. Although he retained Gothic elements in King Solomon's Mines, for the most part they were later dropped in favour of a more sophisticated pursuit of complex spiritual ideas which were more his *forté*.

Haggard was still a young attorney when, in 1884 on a challenge from his brother, he decided to try and match Robert Louis Stevenson's adventure story Treasure Island with one of his own. The attempt took him only six weeks and after it appeared in 1885 became one of the most successful adventure stories of all time, King Solomon's Mines. It captured the public imagination and made Haggard a wealthy man, although this, like many other things, he attributed to fate.³⁵ He aimed for and hit the same market which had read Treasure Island and Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, a public eager for adventure and ripe for a suggestion of the exotic. Haggard wrote for another market as well, one ready, not only for strange places, but for a world filled with supernatural forces. King Solomon's Mines embraced magic, witches and African mythology, playing on one another and the reader's imagination as well as her or his sense of adventure. It sold 31,000 copies in its first year, easily

³⁵H.R. Haggard, Days of My Life Vol.1, 231-233. While waiting to sign the contract for King Solomon's Mines, Haggard had determined to sell the story to Cassell outright for 100 pounds sterling. However, a Cassell clerk approached him and told him to settle for a deal giving him a royalty instead. As it turned out it was one of the wisest moves of his career.

making it a top seller.³⁶

One does not have to look hard in the novel to find a soliloquy on the after-life. The protagonist, Allan Quatermain, speaks of his "immortal longings" with Sir Henry Curtis before an upcoming battle. "Truly the universe is full of ghosts, not sheeted churchyard spectres, but the inextinguishable elements of individual life, which having once been, can never die, though they blend and change, and change again for ever."³⁷ Quatermain, according to Haggard, was "only myself placed in a variety of imagined circumstances."³⁸ In Haggard's belief the survival of the individual spirit was far more important than the "oneness" he supposed to be the object of Eastern religion. The concept of the individual person as a place-holder in the world is often repeated; in fact in his autobiography Haggard refers to his own place knowing him no more, just as he refers to the Zulu warriors' places knowing them no more in The Witch's Head.³⁹ Quatermain's conversation with Curtis confirms his belief in ghosts, connecting the character's spiritual beliefs with those of the author.

Kathryn Hume points out in Fantasy and Mimesis that because of the shift in scientific and social thinking in the late 19th century, "where once we were sure of the importance of the individual and of mankind...we now live with a society and sciences in which the individual is a negligible statistic."⁴⁰ For many of that era such a lack of meaning caused depression and alienation, and this is reflected in the peripheral

³⁶Norman Etherington, Rider Haggard (Boston: Twayne, 1984) 16.

³⁷H.R. Haggard, King Solomon's Mines (1885; London: Cassell, 1962) 130.

³⁸H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 85.

³⁹H.R. Haggard, The Witch's Head 121.

⁴⁰Kathryn Hume, Fantasy and Mimesis: Responses to Reality in Western Literature (London: Methuen, 1984) 42.

literature of the late 1900s. Hume states that the peripheral literature of that period also reflects "the blindness of the authors, their class outlooks, their moral assumptions"⁴¹ and names Haggard among such peripheral writers of alienation and depression, but does not analyse his writing in greater depth. What Hume fails to mention is that the very sense of alienation that fuels Haggard's writing, it could be argued, fuelled the progression of literature towards modernity. Dan Wylie also notes that the shift to the peripheral in literature may be a move to "something like the centre of culture."⁴²

Hume focuses on the "blindness" and class limitations of Haggard as a peripheral writer but Haggard's spiritualism is anything but blind. Rationalism may have demythologized the world, but as Hume points out, the "world shorn of both divine and demonic, was not entirely true to human experience."⁴³ Fantasy has a function in exploring "the more alien realms of experience,"⁴⁴ and in Haggard's writing fantasy was a method of analysis and compensation for his own uneasiness with received religion and unsettling sense of rationalism. Haggard placed his hopes of eternal life in the unknown mythological realm of the spirit and used fantasy to work out its detail in literary form. Thus Haggard reaches towards the modern in his expression of alienation but, unlike his modern counterparts, attempts to overcome that alienation through fictionalized mythological exploration.

This alienation was the other major factor responsible for the later formation of the character Ayesha. Its foundations can be traced to Haggard's original crisis of

⁴¹Hume 42.

⁴²Dan Wylie, "White Writers and Chaka Zulu," diss., Rhodes Univ., 1995, 116-123.

⁴³Hume 43.

⁴⁴Hume 43.

faith but more immediately to the separation of European men and women in the imperial world. The development of spiritual love and its connection to religion are thus far, for the author, the only source of hope against the inevitable earthly betrayal, the same hope for heavenly restoration that fuels his hero's quest. Likewise, Margaret Atwood correctly points out that the real quest of Haggard's characters in King Solomon's Mines is not for wealth, but internal, to rediscover lost elements of themselves.⁴⁵ Haggard's Africa, like Joseph Conrad's, is a special psychological terrain in which European humanity confronts its deepest fears. Henry Curtis in looking for his brother searches for his own true self.⁴⁶ In the same way Haggard's doppelganger,⁴⁷ Quatermain, searches from behind a Christian mask for a new morality that can withstand the onslaught of the post-Darwinian relativism which had damaged Haggard's faith in Heaven.

The doppelganger figure, already well established in the 1880s by Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde, appears in a new form in King Solomon's Mines, representing the duality in Haggard and Victorian society: the upright Christian outer face, and the inner doubt and search for meaning. For Haggard, the African landscape represented a chance to explore the effects of that duality in fictional characters. To do this the author creates a series of doppelganger figures, all representing various aspects of his own confused ideas. Some, like Quatermain, represent the author's mixed feeling, others, like Capt. Good and Henry Curtis, represent various alternative aspects of the author's thinking

⁴⁵Margaret Atwood, Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature (Toronto: Anansi, 1972). Atwood discusses the concept of identity and wilderness in H.R. Haggard.

⁴⁶ Etherington Rider Haggard 44.

⁴⁷In Haggard's works the doppelganger figure is used to represent the author himself in a unique way. It separates the author from his work and allows him to demonstrate his exploration of various aspects of his own spirituality.

on specific issues.

The role of spirituality is nowhere more important than in Haggard's seeming ambivalence towards Africa. At points he repeats the image of Africa as a place of wholesale slaughter and savagery while at other points recognizing spiritually aware cultures, especially the Zulus. Many of his texts are thus virtually polyphonic in their representation of Africa, containing elements of the imperial and counter-imperial voice as well as a reflection of English domestic political considerations. Delineating the role of spirituality among these polyphonic discourse therefore requires some study of its impact on the understanding of these other voices, and of the degree of reflection from them onto the spiritualist discourse.

In Kukuanialand, the veneer of Christian civilization is stripped away, leaving Haggard's fictional others, the Mr Hydes, to explore his new universe unrestrained by Christianity.⁴⁸ There, Haggard through his characters, can play Mr Hyde. Defying conventional religious belief, he experiments, fumbling for a new grounding for his uncertain spirituality, and in the end hides behind the Christian mask again. Jung insists that such internal conflicts, although damaging, are necessary to spiritual development. The energy developed as a result of tension between opposite selves creates movement towards resolution.⁴⁹ In the violence for which Haggard's stories were reputed, and in the uncertain religious beliefs expressed by Quatermain, including his acceptance of African witchdoctors, Haggard puts aside his

⁴⁸John Carey, The Intellectuals and the Masses, Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1939 (London: Faber, 1992) 17-22. Carey makes a similar argument for the writing of Virginia Woolf's Mrs. Dalloway, where the character Doris Kilman is a failure because she "seeks comfort in Christianity" and thus sacrifices her intellectual integrity. Haggard's characters by venturing beyond the pale of Christianity regain that intellectual integrity in the process of discovering their true selves.

⁴⁹C.G. Jung, Collected Works of C.G. Jung Vol.7, 298-9.

conventional religion and becomes the de-Christianized Hyde in the hope of replacing his lost Christian spirituality with something primordial from within himself. Through Quatermain and the violence he and his companions perpetrate, the author attempts to explore that side of his own character normally repressed by Christian morality. The Quatermain character maintains a distance between Haggard as Christian moral self, and the events perpetrated by his characters, including Quatermain, that allows an exploration of un-Christian instincts as a potential source of lost spirituality, and the possibility of movement towards the type of resolution Jung suggests.

Conversely the attempts by fictional Europeans to maintain civilized standards in the African jungle, like Conrad's chief accountant in Heart of Darkness, or Haggard's Henry Curtis in King Solomon's Mines, maintaining his clean uniform intact in a case to be put on when savagery was about to overcome him, serve to demonstrate the inner emptiness of the individual within a rationalist catechism. For Haggard as for Conrad the metaphorically significant clothes of their characters provide a reminder of the inner emptiness of their own spiritually and morally bankrupt society. The clothes act as a sort of symbolic armour or shell with all the outward appearance and form of civilization, but no real content. It could be argued that the ritual and dogma of European religion have the same sort of symbolic function in Haggard's stories. The authors differ, however, in that Conrad's treatment of Africa as a dark reflection of Europe⁵⁰ is laced with irony, whereas Haggard sees Africa as a continent where some of the indigenous people possess a superior spiritual awareness, and thus hope.

Haggard's openness to African religion was based in part on an antagonism within the established church around dogmatic belief in scripture. Bishop Colenso's

⁵⁰Chinua Achebe, "An Image of Africa," Research in African Literatures *Spring*, 9 (1978) 9.

dismissal and subsequent reinstatement entailed the questioning of fundamental scriptural beliefs. The High Church Movement, which was gaining ascendancy in the latter half of the 19th century, attempted to elevate belief through ritual⁵¹ while Colenso thought the Bible consisted largely of myth, particularly where it contradicted scientific evidence. As long as the established Anglican Church remained problematically uncertain of its own theology it appeared to reflect the inner emptiness Haggard feared, and he remained unconvinced of its theology. He, in the meanwhile, explored the spiritual awareness of the Zulus. Oliver Lodge reacted to the same problem by rewriting the Prayer Book to suit contemporary scientific thinking. Moreover, behind both the High Church emphasis on ritual and Lodge's suggested changes to the Prayer Book lay the fear of atheist rationalism and the nagging doubt that the Christian faith in general was perhaps no more than a collection of myths that could not demonstrate any physical sign as proof of its theology. That same fear drove Haggard to see the Zulus as spiritually superior to Europeans in part because, in Haggard's experience, they could demonstrate inexplicable phenomena. Correspondingly, unlike Conrad who allows no hope, Quatermain maintains faith in a spirit world he believes superior to this one, and therefore maintains hope for humanity.

Haggard explores this hope from within the consciousness of his character questioning the traditional beliefs and values of his society and exploring alternatives, all the while attempting to maintain those same values but not necessarily the beliefs on which they are founded. Thus Quatermain acts as Haggard's primary doppelganger while various other characters enact minor roles as doppelgangers, representing miscellaneous aspects of the author's successive ideas, as they journey

⁵¹Kenneth Hylson-Smith, High Churchmanship in the Church of England; From the Sixteenth Century to the Late Twentieth Century (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993) intro. vii-xv & 170-173.

into Africa. Conversely, on their departure from Kukuaneland, King Ignosi warns Quatermain and his companions that no white men should return there.

Let all white men know my words. No white man shall cross the mountains, even if any live to come so far. I will see no traders with their guns and rum. My people shall fight with the spear, and drink water, like their forefathers before them. I will have no praying-men to put fear of death into men's hearts, to stir them up against the king, and make a path for the white men who follow to run on.⁵²

The king's stance against the subtle methods of imperialism clearly recognizes the subjugating role of the supposedly altruistic European vanguard in Africa, and again suggests European exclusion as the solution. Henry Curtis makes a similar statement on the departure of his companions from Zu-Vendis, "There is one more thing that I intend to devote myself to, and that is the exclusion of all foreigners from Zu-Vendis....I have no fancy for handing over this beautiful country to be torn and fought for by speculators, tourists, politicians and teachers."⁵³

This is not to suggest that Haggard does not present Africa in the manner it is often depicted in Victorian imperial romance literature as the shadowy reflection of Europe, the Id, Jungian Shadow, or dark side, or that Haggard did not, in many respects, support the imperialist project. Although Chinua Achebe particularly criticizes Conrad for this portrayal of Africa as the other world (the "antithesis of Europe" and therefore of civilization), "a place where man's intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality",⁵⁴ the criticism can be applied equally to Haggard's works. Certainly Africa brings out the warlike side in Capt.

⁵² H.R. Haggard, King Solomon's Mines (1885: York, Oxford, 1991) 306.

⁵³ H.R. Haggard, Allan Quatermain (London: Longmans, 1887) 277.

⁵⁴ Achebe 1-15.

Good as he stands beside Umslopogaas in a fight. It arouses the same spirit even in Quatermain on occasion in the heat of battle. But unlike Conrad's Kurtz who only discovers a dark reflection of his own society in Africa, Haggard's heroes, like Marlow, already sense the darkness of their own world. They have felt the spiritual emptiness that drives Conrad's Congo profiteers and do not wish to bring that to Africa. They have seen through the illusion of sanity that Marlow in the end seeks to maintain, and come to Africa, among other purposes, searching for spiritual enlightenment from its people and cultures.

While it is true that Haggard's heroes look for gold and seek wealth in Africa, that search is incidental to their purpose, and always a minor element or afterthought in their story's solution. For example, King Solomon's Mines centres on the adventurer's interaction with the people of Kukuanialand and their conflict with Gagool, and despite the novel's name, the diamonds are only incidentally mentioned in the last chapter as easy to carry and providing for the characters' futures. Likewise, Allan Quatermain is frequently depicted as an ivory hunter, but the ivory and consequent material wealth are never central to the story. Instead, Allan is constantly embroiled in dealings with witch-doctors the likes of Umbopa and Indaba-zimbi around whom the plots of Allan Quatermain and Allan's Wife are woven.

What they truly desire is to re-establish the lost unity of mind and morality, represented by the separation of the doppelganger self; to recreate the Jungian mandala that had been destroyed in Europe by Darwin, Huxley and, later, Freud.⁵⁵

⁵⁵Jung surmised that one of the most basic human needs on a societal level is for completeness, which he symbolized by the mandala or circle. The mandala of European society was disrupted when rationalism and its attending atheism and humanism brought the doctrine of the Christian Church into question. However, according to Kathryn Hume in Fantasy and Mimesis the new philosophy did not completely satisfy the human spiritual sense and thus led to a search for an alternative with which to re-establish societies lost sense of wholeness. Details of Jung's theory are

Although they may seek gold, Haggard's heroes associate not with miners or traders but with witchdoctors and rainmakers, partaking of their wisdom and experiencing their secret powers: powers Haggard through Quatermain describes as lost in the decay of European society.

In separating himself from European society, Haggard's Quatermain becomes more like Conrad's Marlow than he is like Kurtz. As with Marlow's lie, Quatermain maintains "the illusion" of civilization while knowing it to be illusion. Insecure in his religion and therefore culture, Quatermain is cut adrift from a previous philosophical basis of Christian faith and looks desperately for a new foundation on which to base his faith in an afterlife. While Kurtz came to Africa and realized the spiritually bankrupt nature of European morality, Allan Quatermain has already learned of it and seeks a new spiritual underpinning for his morality. Kurtz gave up the search and went mad, Marlow looked over the edge and came back, but as a changed man. Quatermain has been converted to Marlow's way of thinking but attempts to progress beyond the despair apparent in Marlow. The progressive element is unusual considering that Quatermain predates Marlow by some years.

In this sense Haggard's character is both late-romantic in attempting to maintain traditional values, and modern in his questioning of the foundations of those values. Important elements of Marlow are present in Quatermain but the latter has not fully adopted Marlow's humanist stance. In this sense, Quatermain, as a character, and Haggard, as an author, represent a transition point between late-romantic and modernist writing in terms of their spiritual component, a point that links the two directly during a period in which literary realism is considered the most important harbinger of change.

This link is significant because its existential element is largely missing in the realist and naturalist writing of the same period. Instead romance writing, and Haggard's in particular, provides the direct philosophical link between romantic and modern writing. Thus a major literary transition takes place through peripheral writing, like that of Haggard, and not through the realist metropolitan genre generally considered more consequential. The popularity of contemporary "peripheral" romance writing only serves to prove its importance in addressing the existential needs and ideas of late-19th-century society. However, because romance literature is largely overlooked in the current literary canon, this link is missed in the assumed transition from romance to realism to modern writing.

Haggard does not, however, transcend the boundaries of his Victorian era as James Joyce's Stephen Dedalus does in A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, by replacing religion with the artistic vocation. Thus Haggard does not, like Joyce, extend the boundary between art and reality in the search for personal spirituality. Instead, he relies on convention to express his questioning of traditional ideas, without attempting to transcend the art-form itself. However, the expression of the author's own multifaceted spiritual personalities in fictional form exhibits the beginning of a shift in thinking that leads from early romantic spiritualism to modern writers like James Joyce in terms of existential thinking.

Nonetheless, the reasons behind Haggard's search are not those of Joyce or Modernism. He does not attempt to transcend religious or social values, only to reassert a new foundation for them. Despite seeing their shortcomings, Haggard maintained many elements of European religious tradition with which Joyce later dispensed, and in creating Quatermain Haggard embodied what he thought still valid from European religious thinking in his character. Quatermain reads the Bible,

subscribes to Judeo-Christian morality and believes in Christ, if not exclusively, at least as his own personal representation of God.

Through Quatermain's narrative Haggard fictionally tested and developed his own philosophy including those remnants of Christianity via Quatermain's encounters with other faiths. Thus, to Quatermain, Africa is no longer the dark other, Achebe's "reflection of Europe" but a source of potential enlightenment for darkest Europe. In fact Haggard does not refer to Africa as the dark continent; rather, he saves that term for America. He refers to Africa as the place "where man comes closest to God."⁵⁶

In King Solomon's Mines Haggard's conclusions are pessimistic: Captain Good ceases to insist on proper dress, while Curtis becomes narcissistic and assumes African dress. But more important, they all engage in and enjoy battles replete with gore and slaughter, peeling away layers of moral dogma, ultimately realizing that "All is flux and matter...there is no God and no moral law."⁵⁷ This was Haggard's true demon - the hypothesis that this life was only what it appeared to be. If true, then all was indeed flux and matter, as Darwin and Huxley hypothesized - the spirit was only an imaginary entity. It amounted to the same philosophy of rationalism that inspired his literary disapproval of the realist movement, whose philosophy Haggard despised.⁵⁸

Haggard's literary doppelganger is thus an embodiment of his inability to reconcile the rational and the spiritual within himself. In these early and limited appearances Haggard separates Lady Bellamy, Ernest, then Quatermain and other characters, from himself to make a brief exploration of forbidden realms of

⁵⁶H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, MC 4694-2-22-17.

⁵⁷Etherington, Rider Haggard 44.

⁵⁸Etherington, Rider Haggard 44.

spirituality. Stripped of conventional European religious beliefs, they embody the objectivity of Haggard's rationalism tempered with a willingness to explore the realm of mythology and spirits in an attempt to reconcile the two. By the conclusion of King Solomon's Mines Haggard's doppelganger is well established but has made little progress towards the goal of transcending his own scepticism. In his next story She, scepticism is again personified, this time in female form, in the highly developed character of Ayesha, who has since captured the imagination of critics and psychologists alike.

The imperial discourse is thus subsumed into a dialogue about the separation of men and women which, for Haggard, created a crisis of existential faith when juxtaposed with the crisis in European belief; this in turn created a search for spiritual grounding of Jungian proportions, and incidentally provides an explanation for the inclusion of female body images in the form of topography and maps within the psychological terrain of Haggard's stories. This search overtakes any desire to dominate the Zulu other, as the other becomes an object of the search, not a mirror of European concerns or an inferior version of humanity to be dominated. In fact, Haggard's first novel, Dawn, does not involve the imperial at all, only the spiritual search. When Europeans, like Haggard's character Lady Bellamy, possess spiritual power, it is devoid of both morality and supernatural sanction, unlike that which Haggard's chivalric characters seek in Africa.

Thus far Haggard had unwittingly begun to create the fictional strands of one of the most complex webs of fantasy and reality ever woven. He constructed an alter-ego out of a subconscious fear of European spiritual frailty and crossed it with his own romantic longing for lost love -- fashioning a tantalizing nexus of sexuality and the supernatural -- and placed himself, as a character, at its heart. By doing so he pitted himself against his own subconscious fears in a desperate fictional search for

spiritual potency within Africa, the very colonial context which caused his separation from Europe and his first lover.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STORY OF SHE

1884-1885

Haggard's texts produce fictive landscapes ideologically, but they do so under the shadow of contradiction and neurosis. The figure of Woman in the colonial text seems to me the point at which most of the contradictions become visible.¹

The contradiction and neurosis of which Bunn speaks is at the heart of Haggard's creation Ayesha in his next book She. The protagonist has been interpreted as many seemingly contradictory things: new woman, sexual motif, the Other, fascist, and Madonna, and my own addition, imperialist. The neurotic, it will be argued, comes in part from the fictive division of the author's own spiritual anxiety into two parts, Ayesha the rational atheist and imperialist, Haggard's Jungian Dark Mother figure, along with Leo, being the physical and Holly, the intellectual side to the human spirit together comprise Haggard's attempt to overcome his own latent rationalist fears with conventional religious and spiritualist arguments, written as an adventure tale. However, Ayesha is not completely shorn of hope, she is like Eve cast from Eden for the sin of seeking spiritual knowledge and power on Earth, and has therefore turned against her own spiritual side. As Dawson states, "adventure in the modern sense is balanced between anxiety and desire."² Thus the central figure, the desirable goddess-woman, paradoxically represents the balanced possibilities of both latent

¹ D. Bunn, "Embodying Africa: Women and Romance in Colonial Fiction." English in Africa (15)1: 1988: 23.

² G. Dawson, Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities. (N.Y.:Routledge, 1984) 45.

religious/spiritual truth and eternal life or the overt nightmare of death and oblivion, the legacy of her rational science, which surrounds her.

In the overt actions and words of Ayesha, Haggard embodied his fear of atheist rationalism. The war between Genesis and genealogy, begun by Darwin, culminates in Ayesha's atheist rational point of view. Inspired by Olive Schreiner's particular brand of atheism, an inspiration explained later in the chapter, Haggard began to draw together his own theological uncertainties into an entity against whom he could pit his spiritual hopes and arguments. He does this through the voice of Holly, an old mentor figure (his charge and alter-ego is Leo, a god-like youth) whose role is, in many respects, similar to that played by Shepstone and to some extent Colenso for the young Haggard in South Africa. The author fictionally divides himself into two opposing viewpoints, the overt atheist rationalism of Ayesha, representing Haggard's atheist doubt, and the uncertain hopefulness of Holly/Leo representing Haggard's criticism of atheist rationalism and his hope for eternal life. In essence both are doppelgangers representing the conflicting sides of Haggard's own metaphysical thinking. Quatermain, established in King Solomon's Mines, contained both sides of Haggard; Ayesha now divides from him to become an ongoing metaphor for Haggard's dark side or Jungian other whom he, through his various heroes, struggled against until the end of his life. This side is reflected in her "hellish" subterranean surroundings filled with images of death and decay metaphorically emphasizing the danger she represents. Interestingly, although both men are physically attracted to her, Holly is attracted by her metaphysical discussion, while Leo is bound to her by the predestine physical connection they share.

She thus continues the doppelganger persona Haggard created in his earlier works, except that Ayesha is overtly the ultimate Mr Hyde in Haggard's fiction; Leo and Horace Holly together are the Dr Jekyll of She. In Ayesha, Haggard's negative imagination runs wild, working out nightmare scenarios of a rational utopia of torture, murder and

cannibalism, dwelling on his darkest fear, the obliteration of the individual. Holly, the primary narrator, provides a sense that this is what humanity could expect in a purely rationalist world while admitting he has no adequate argument against such a world.

I felt it was hopeless to argue against casuistry [sic] of this nature, which, if it were carried to its logical conclusion, would absolutely destroy all morality, as we understand it. But her talk gave me a fresh thrill of fear; for what may not be possible to a being who, unconstrained by human law, is also absolutely unshackled by a moral sense of right and wrong?³

Although enticed by the abstract idea of such a being, Haggard sees danger in Ayesha's implementation of such a world. "In the end she would, I had little doubt, assume absolute rule over the British dominions, and probably over the whole earth, and, though I was sure that she would speedily make ours the most glorious and prosperous empire that the world had ever seen, it would be at the cost of a terrible sacrifice of life."⁴ The confusion of desire and fear is explicit in Holly's "fresh thrill" and "terrible sacrifice", but the nightmare sacrifice of many individual lives is the visualised end result of Ayesha's rational utopian imperialism, not unlike Haggard's description of British administration in Zululand under Gladstone. Haggard disliked the Gladstone administration's policies in South Africa, and was alarmed by the utilitarianism he believed was employed therein; he feared the apparent underlying atheist philosophy in part because he thought it might be correct. Liberal politics in the imperial context are thus metaphorically linked to this nightmare vision of Ayesha's godless realm.

Haggard casts his story as a journey to Africa, in essence separating his character from

³ H.R. Haggard, She 180.

⁴ H.R. Haggard, She 224.

the European environment that fostered his fear, but also protected him within a cocoon of Eurocentric myth. Thus there is a separation within a separation: the author is separating the site of his narrative from the source of his anxiety, Europe, just as he has separated himself into two sides within his text, further demonstrating the internal conflicts within himself – and in Victorian society itself. In *Ayesha*, Haggard puts aside his conventional religion and becomes the debased Hyde in the hope of resolving these internal conflicts by finding his lost spirituality. Through *Ayesha* he pits his own rational scepticism against the best spiritual arguments he can muster, but again in the end he hides behind the Eurocentric Christian mask, unsure of his conclusions, and like Holly afraid of a world from which morality has vanished.

The paradox of *Ayesha* is nowhere more apparent than in the accusation by Walter Besant⁵ of the "confused and shallow philosophy"⁶ presented in *She*, which stems from Haggard's own confused ideas at this early stage. He places both his worst fears and his hope of salvation into one feminine character, creating a seeming contradiction, causing some critics to read this confusing connection of spirituality with sexuality and imperialism as adolescent fantasy.

This confusion is evident in Holly's dialogue on the subject, typified by his first reaction to *Ayesha*. Haggard's doppelganger asks; "How is it possible that I, a rational man, not unacquainted with the leading scientific facts of our history, and hitherto an absolute and utter disbeliever in all the hocus-pocus which in Europe goes by the name of the supernatural, could believe that I had within the last few minutes been engaged in conversation with a

⁵Walter Besant was one of Haggard's earliest literary acquaintances. Their friendship is recorded in a series of letters dating from October 1885 to May 1892 contained in the Huntington Collection; *Literary World*, Li (May 31, 1895) 515.

⁶Morton Cohen *Rider Haggard, His Life and Work* (London: Macmillan, 1965) 97.

woman two thousand and odd years old?”⁷ He speculates that it must be a hoax, yet still asks the rhetorical question, “but if it were possible that a woman could exist for two thousand years.... anything might be possible. I myself might, for aught I knew, be a reincarnation of some other forgotten self.”⁸ Ayesha has already encouraged him along these lines by divulging her philosophy of nature as spirit,

Nature hath her animating spirit as well as man, who is Nature’s child, and he who can find that spirit, and let it breathe upon him, shall live with her life, He shall not live eternally [sic], for Nature is not eternal, and she herself must die, even as the nature of the moon hath died. She herself must die, I say, or rather change and sleep till it be time for her to live again.⁹

Ayesha’s philosophy includes the sexual element established in Haggard’s earlier stories, here presented alongside the repeated semi-pornographic image of Ayesha undressing (an image repeated 5 times in the pen and ink drawings included in early editions of the story), emphasizing her connection to nature and therefore to sexuality, death and rebirth. “I who have even for a while overcome Change, that ye call Death, - why, I say, oh stranger, dost thou think that I herd here with barbarians lower than the beasts?... Because I wait for him I love.”¹⁰ The physical nature of her desire becomes apparent when She meets Leo, her long-lost love. “Now for thee I loose my virgin zone; and come storm, come shine, come good, come evil, come life, come death, it never, never can be undone.”¹¹ Even the misogynistic Holly comments that “the fruit of her wisdom was this, that there was but one thing worth

⁷ H.R. Haggard, She 141.

⁸ H.R. Haggard, She 142.

⁹ H.R. Haggard, She 135.

¹⁰ H.R. Haggard, She 143.

¹¹ H.R. Haggard, She 249.

living for and that was Love in its highest sense.”¹² Again, Haggard heightens the confusion between spirit and sex when Ayesha’s physical desires are juxtaposed with Holly’s reference to “its highest sense”, which is surely spiritual. However, the fragmented themes and warnings contained in She are in fact a stage in a decades-long attempt to establish a coherent theological philosophy based on a mystical dimension Haggard felt existed in sexual union. This philosophy emerges over years of writing, and eventually surfaces in Haggard's Note on Religion, in which he explains his personal religious beliefs in detail.

At this early stage, in She the author's fictional personality split allows his spiritual ideas to begin taking a specific shape, as a reaction against atheist rationalism which is now embodied in Ayesha, however uneasily alongside hope of reincarnation. Once Haggard has exorcised Ayesha's atheist characteristics from his heroic character, then that character takes on broad chivalric proportions as he battles against the forces of darkness -- rationalism and atheism -- the predominant social forces of the late 19th century as described by Kenneth Hylson-Smith.¹³ Rationalism and atheism, problematically clothed in feminine form are now joined to hope. This association of female with evil/death/rationalism is reproduced in the

¹² H.R. Haggard, She 213.

¹³ Kenneth Hylson-Smith, Evangelicals in the Church of England 1734-1984 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989) 123. Also, Jeffery Cox, The English Churches in a Secular Society (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982) 6-12. Jeffery Cox describes the Weberian theory of secularization: "Bits and pieces of the theory of secularization may be found scattered about in the writings of Max Weber." He argued that Western society was increasingly organized according to the principles of instrumental rationality, of a means\ends rationality which placed the greatest value upon the adaptation of means to ends without reference to any particular hierarchy of values. (Max Weber, "Economy and Society: An outline of Interpretative Sociology," New York: 1968) The crisis of modern society, Weber argued, emerged from the conflict between instrumental rationality and value-oriented or substantive rationality. Instrumental rationality, both as an intellectual principle and as a principle of social organisation, undermines all substantive rationality, all hierarchies of value. Among those hierarchies of value are the great world religions, which are mankind's most systematic attempt to explain the meaning of life.

Hellish landscape of Kor, Ayesha's mystical nation,¹⁴ where her hopeful dimension is clearly dormant. In the same chivalric spirit of Holly/Leo, the author felt himself to be spiritually gifted and believed it his social responsibility to fathom the uncertain spirituality of the rationalist world and return with what truth he could discern for his audience, the romance reader. His literary representation of this exploration is drawn from both his youthful disappointment with the opposite sex and his experiences in South Africa.

In the chivalric figures of Leo and Horace Holly the sexual or romantic and the spiritual are thus drawn together to create a spiritual/sexual sub-text in the context of empire, one which, like the spiritual alone, repeatedly questions elements of the imperialist discourse. Holly, the ugly old misogynist, for example, stands up to Ayesha's rational argument to murder Ustane with his Christian arguments, but feels defeated in the end and falls in love with his antagonist who "may be the old man himself" (the Devil) according to Holly's servant Job, again associating She with hell.¹⁵ Ultimately this forms a part of the Jungian component of the Ayesha allegory, where this alignment of the sexual with the spiritual fashions a literary character out of a strong motivation to justify a spiritual dimension in relationships between lovers separated by the empire. The Ayesha character in this sense represents the female other, the abandoner, who is associated with materialistic and physical desire and, in turn, atheism, because she does not participate in the maintenance of spiritual love. She becomes a focal point for the author's own latent atheism, providing a literary image of what Jung termed anima. To face this figure, and resolve the spiritual dilemma, Haggard creates the chivalric stoic narrator in She, Horace Holly and his young charge, Leo.

The absence of a feminine heroic character in the foregoing is noteworthy, as is the fact that the same sense of spirituality is not generally developed in Haggard's fictional women

¹⁴ Lindy Stiebel, Imagining Africa: Landscape in H. Rider Haggard's African Romances (London: Greenwood Press, 2001) 85-89.

¹⁵ H.R. Haggard, She 198.

who remained in England. They were free to entertain other suitors, suitors who were able to remain at home because their families, unlike the landed gentry, profited under the free-market system. In Haggard's own life, just such a suitor had won over his lover Lilly Jackson, placing her on a spiritual plane beyond hope of earthly reunion. For Haggard's women, being "left at home" oddly gave them a choice of suitors, both local and distant, that their male counterparts did not have. This consequently removed from them the intense motivation to maintain the faith in love on a spiritual plane, fundamental to male characters in Haggard's imperial romance. Their male counterparts, like the author himself, were left in the relatively masculine world of the empire expressing a longing for distant loves, attainable only in imagination, in relationships maintained not on a physical level but only on the spiritual plane.

Anne McClintock has pointed out a supporting element of sexual politics present in many Victorian texts, including Haggard's. In King Solomon's Mines, for example, a relationship between maps and overt sexual fantasy is at work in both the story and the landscape in which it is set. The map and landscape for Ms McClintock are representative of the female body, its geographical features bearing names like Sheba's Breasts, and the language used in the tale being that of female sexuality. Her contention is that Victorian colonial men may well have suffered from overheated imaginations because of physical separation from their partners, thus explaining sexual imagery arising in all sorts of unexpected places.¹⁶ The interconnectedness of Haggard's complex web of spirituality/sexuality/imperialism becomes evident in a combination of research works supporting McClintock's contention. JanMohamed notes that the works of Edgar Wallace and H. Rider Haggard are geared towards adults –“about Europeans battling dark, evil forces;

¹⁶Anne McClintock, "Maidens, Maps, and Mines: The Reinvention of Patriarchy in Colonial South Africa," The South Atlantic Quarterly,1 (1987) 151-189.

the story utilizing Africa as an alluring, destructive woman” – including Haggard’s She and Nada the Lily.¹⁷ Again this motif appears in Stiebel as “it is no wonder that Victorian England, locked into a straitjacket of middle-class sexual repressiveness and decorum, found the apparent sexual licence and supposed sexual opportunity of some of its colonies both attractive yet fearful” and Stiebel quotes Schaffer: “Animated by man’s desire, it [the land] takes on the seeming attributes of woman, whether described as passive landscape or promise or of threat... It presents the fantastic possibilities of a spiritual quest and vision and also the nightmare fears of madness and death.”¹⁸ It accordingly would not be a stretch of the imagination by any means to believe that young men could entertain such fantasies, or that they could be translated subconsciously into textual features or woven into plots.

In She it is easy to recognize this sexual topography at work. Norman Etherington notes that “the narrow passes between the beautiful shrubbery suggest the loins of a woman. The two extinct volcanic mountains where most of the action occurs suggest breasts standing up from the broad African plains.”¹⁹ The landscape begins to reflect female anatomy more closely and take on sexual connotations as the characters approach the climax of their journey, climbing a jutting rock formation to reach a narrow cave entrance, which leads “down to the very womb of the world.”²⁰ Clearly McClintock’s suggested reflection of overt sexual fantasy in Haggard’s landscapes is dramatically intensified in She where Haggard’s heroes pit themselves against the combined forces of sexuality and rationalism embodied in Ayesha. Moreover, the reader becomes aware of Haggard’s larger vision of the moral and

¹⁷ A. JanMohamed, “The Economy of Manichean Allegory: the Function of Racial Difference in Colonist Literature.” Critical Inquiry, 12 (Autumn 1985) 71.

¹⁸ K.Schaffer, Woman and the Bush: Forces of Desire in the Australian Cultural Tradition, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990) 51.

¹⁹ Norman Etherington, introduction, The Annotated She, by H.R. Haggard (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1991) xxxiv.

²⁰ Etherington, introduction, The Annotated She xxxv.

political implications, and their linkage with the female image, behind Ayesha's philosophy when it is combined with her vast power. The dark mother/new woman, in combination with the explicit sexuality of Ayesha and her environment, emphasizes the Darwinian rationalist side of the strange nexus of spirituality at the heart of the novel.

In She, the nexus of sexuality and spirituality rests on the shoulders of the hero Horace Holly, as he battles the rationalism which confounds Haggard's hope of spiritual reunion with his true love, lost on this earth, but not irrevocably, if there is another reality. This explains that lack of spiritual love reflected in Ayesha's virulent atheism, and absence of concern for her subjects, who are symbolically similar to the author himself. This side of Ayesha is reflected in many of Haggard's women – disconnected from the spiritually oriented love felt by the European male of Haggard's Africa. This same lack of concern, by extension, is juxtaposed with that of all imperialism, when allied to rationalism -- the result being inhumanity. Thus the author in a convoluted manner identifies with the subjugated under the heel of ruthless atheist rational imperialism, an imperialism without gentlemanly values.

The same rationalism, in the author's eyes, was at work within English politics, where domestic uncertainty took precedence over colonial affairs. No heed was paid to the fate of the colonial peoples, particularly in terms of the retrocession of the Transvaal in 1884, which Haggard saw as the immediate cause of the Zulu people's demise. Had the British government adhered to the gentlemanly morality espoused by Haggard through his character Holly and disparaged by Ayesha, they would not have abandoned the Zulus whose misery they had caused, but attempted to make amends. However, imperial policy did not subscribe to Haggard's sense of justice; instead it provided the author with yet another moral imperative for locating a source of spiritual potency to reinstate some sense of morality - indeed, to save the Zulu nation he so admired from the Ayesha-like policies with which the British government of the day were destroying the Zulus.

However, for feminist critics Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar the imperial romance is chiefly an allegory of the fear of the feminine. “More particularly the emergence, in the late nineteenth century, of the frighteningly independent New Women in the British metropole, together with the development of (frequently female-associated) spiritualism (representing, it is argued, an Other form of knowledge, mysterious and destabilising to patriarchal/imperial masculinity),...all these converge to constitute the immediate context and object of Haggard’s anxieties, expressed in the figure of She/Ayesha herself, a component of all (it is argued) that is alien and threatening to imperial masculinity.”²¹ More than this, it is not only Haggard’s imperial anxieties but his anxieties about imperialism that are embodied in the character She. When Ayesha speaks as queen of the Amahagger her words are not subversive of imperialism, in fact she herself is the sort of imperialist Haggard associated with the Gladstone administration: “‘My people, speak not to me of my people,’ she answered hastily; ‘these slaves are no people of mine, they are but dogs to do my bidding till the hour of my deliverance comes; and, as for their customs, naught have I to do with them.’”²² In fact events transpiring at home in England, and the resulting consequences for the Zulus, were what Haggard truly feared. Specifically he distrusted the Gladstone administration’s unwillingness to contest the Boers’ desire for independence, epitomized by the Treaty of Pretoria (5 April 1881) in which the South African Republic was given independence from Britain, and the restoration of Cetewayo as king of the Zulus in the face of opposition by many Zulu chiefs. Haggard not only associated the image of the New Woman with a destabilization of imperial morality, but used this image directly to represent what he saw as a refutation of morality by the Gladstone government and hence England. Again the image he creates is tainted by Haggard’s Conservative Party political affiliation. Here again we see

⁷Laura Chrisman, “The Imperial Unconscious? Representations of Imperial Discourse,” *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader* ed. Patrick Williams, Laura Chrisman (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994) 501.

²² H.R. Haggard *She* 103.

the linking of negative imagery and the powerful female. Gilbert and Gubar are, moreover, observant in assuming that the source of Haggard's fantasy encompasses a threat to masculinity via the New Woman, a white European woman who, having moved beyond the bounds of patriarchal religion, now turned against the religion, and its incumbent morality, which had oppressed her.

Perhaps Ayesha, in her aspiration for power, attempts to appropriate the male side of the spiritual union, as well as the female. In doing so she overreaches herself. She seems to be attempting to create a Jungian utopia of personal completeness, a completeness impossible in Haggard's sexually divided universe and alien to her own passions, therefore within the author's fictional realm, evil. Such a completeness would be akin to discovering the source of life, an objective rational science seemed to be attempting to achieve via evolutionary theory, here reflected in Ayesha's social Darwinism.

Anxiety is evident in the narrator when Ayesha's imperialist ambitions stretch beyond the domination of Kor. She suggests to Leo that they return to Europe to rule England as well.

'And now tell me of thy country – 'tis a great people, is it not? With an empire like that of Rome! Surely thou wouldst return thither.... and then shall we journey to this England of thine, and live as it becometh us to live. ... For thou shalt rule this England.'
'But we have a queen already,' broke in Leo, hastily.
'It is naught, it is naught', said Ayesha; 'she can be overthrown.'²³

Holly mentions that her method of murder would be unlawful in England, to which she replies, "The Law", she laughs at him and provides an appropriately Social Darwinian

²³ H.R. Haggard She 224.

response, “the law! Canst thou not understand, oh Holly, that I am above the law.”²⁴ By this she seems to refer both to the laws of nations and of nature, wherein lies her downfall. The episode continues with an interior monologue from Holly explaining:

The terrible She had evidently made up her mind to go to England, and it made me absolutely shudder to think what would be the result of her arrival there. What her powers were I know, and I could not doubt but that she would exercise them to the full.... She would, if necessary, and if the power of her beauty did not unaided prove equal to the occasion, blast her way to any end she set before her, and as she could not die, and for aught I knew could not even be killed, what was there to stop her?²⁵

Next, Holly sets out a scene of what he clearly sees as an undesirable future for the world under Ayesha’s rule: “Ayesha strong and happy in her love, clothed in immortal youth and goddess beauty, and the wisdom of the centuries, would have revolutionised society, and even perchance have changed the destiny of Mankind.”²⁶ The element of revolutionary change imagined by Holly is strangely set in opposition to “destiny”, suggesting that the laws of nature include a predestine plan different than Ayesha’s. Written at the height of British imperial power, any British plan would necessarily include a gentlemanly representation of England in the world, not Ayesha’s social Darwinism, or perhaps Gladstone’s handling of the Transvaal. Again, Holly explains her untimely demise as caused by insubordination to the laws of nature, “Thus she opposed herself against the eternal law, and strong though she was, by it was swept back to nothingness –swept back with shame and hideous mockery!”²⁷ She is not only struck down, but shrivels into a monkey-like shape in a Darwinian regression through evolution.

²⁴ H.R. Haggard She 224.

²⁵ H.R. Haggard, She 224.

²⁶ H.R. Haggard, She 258.

²⁷ H.R. Haggard, She 258.

In the earlier stories, Haggard found Hinduism and Buddhism more compatible with evolution than Christianity and, like many of his contemporaries, fictionally offered various aspects of those beliefs as a deliverance from the rational atheism he associated with the New Woman. Souls, like Angela or Lady Bellamy in Dawn and Eva in The Witch's Head, would advance through spiritual stages according to their merit, much as humanity advanced through evolutionary stages; in fact much of the late-nineteenth-century Western interest in Buddhism may well be related to its seeming compatibility with evolutionary theory. However, Haggard did not accept the ultimate goal of Eastern religion, which he believed like evolution involved absorption into a vast nothingness, and thus he unconsciously weakened the spiritual philosophy presented in these stories. Haggard had not as yet consciously attempted to deal with his own lack of faith. Reviewers complained that Haggard "served up a shallow and confused philosophy"²⁸ even in She, clearly reflecting this uncertain start to Haggard's spiritual journey. The uncertainty of the journey was equally fuelled by the rapid development of the rational-new-woman motif presented in Ayesha for which Haggard found no answer readily at hand.

Ayesha herself has been called everything from a parody of the Victorian obsessive fear of sex and savagery, to a female goddess spouting fascist philosophy.²⁹ Kathryn Hume in Fantasy and Mimesis refers to Ayesha as a fictional example of repressed Victorian fears, while Norman Etherington in Rider Haggard sees Ayesha as a Diana in Jackboots. The variety of responses to Haggard's character demonstrates the fundamentally encompassing yet elusive nature of his creation.³⁰ She was in essence all these things in that she

²⁸Anonymous letter, The Pall Mall Gazette 4 Jan.1887, also commented on in: C.S.Lewis, A Case for Christianity (London: Oxford, 1939) 100-102.

²⁹Kathryn Hume, 42-43, and Norman Etherington, Rider Haggard 64.

³⁰Theories abound as to the origin of the Ayesha story. Norman Etherington includes the interesting possibility that She is an imitation of Edward Bulwer-Lytton's A Strange Story where the conclusion is also a ritual fire scene presided over by a veiled woman named Ayesha or borrowed directly from Jules Verne's

represented Haggard's response to the central shift in the scientific and social paradigm of the late Victorian age, which was in literary terms the beginning of modernism. However, the immediate inspiration for Ayesha appears to have had two local South African connections, further complicating her character.

Her African origins in themselves are a complex hybrid of African and imperial, spiritual and rational, making her neither completely African nor European. She retains a latent spiritualistic potential but it is overpowered, at this stage, by her rational side. The African influence on She turned on two powerful female figures. One, Olive Schreiner, provided Haggard with Ayesha's rationalism and the other, Modjadje, Rain Queen of the Lovedu people representing Africa itself, inspired her mythic dimensions. Lindy Stiebel delineates this sort of representation of Africa and calls it "Africanism", which is a collection of popularly believed notions of what the "essential" Africa might be like.³¹ From Schreiner, Ayesha gained her intellect and willful purpose, but it is from Modjadje that she derived hope of eternal life in the later sequels Ayesha and Wisdom's Daughter.

Just prior to writing She, Haggard read Olive Schreiner's The Story of an African Farm, which disturbed him, playing on his spiritual insecurity. He felt compelled to meet the author of a story which demonstrated such powerful similarity to his own crisis of faith, however different her views might have been from his own. In fact, Norman Etherington contends that Haggard's character Jess in his book of the same name is based on Schreiner's character Lyndall, emphasizing the authors' mutual concerns. On meeting Schreiner, what impressed Haggard most was her intelligence and her complete atheism. He wrote to his brother in February 1885:

Journey to the Centre of the Earth. Other contemporary critics attempted to name all manner of classical sources for Ayesha.

³¹ Stiebel, 6.

I am bound to say -- not without humiliation, that in the presence of that woman I feel what I have never felt before with any other woman, that I have met my intellectual superior. Her insight into human nature is keener & clearer than my own; her reasoning power is stronger & the cast of her mind more original.³²

Haggard and Schreiner had a long argument on the subject of religion in which they were both keenly interested. "I frankly admit that they [Schreiner and a friend of the same cut] got the better of me. It is so much easier to argue from their point of view."³³ However, Schreiner did not convert him. Rather, she crystallized Haggard's determination to fight rational materialism, and the resulting secularism. Of Schreiner he writes:

It is I believe a very common phenomenon among women of genius to which class she most undoubtedly belongs. Their minds over-reach themselves. They succeed after passing through mental agonies in shedding the wrappings which faith, instance & tradition have woven round us & come out in a bright new skin of their own. They reason the whole question out & in the scale of things can find no room for a God. Everything is, they consider, satisfactorily accounted for by the machinery of nature...such is Miss Schreiner's creed.³⁴

It is easy to discern the similarity between Haggard's rendition of Schreiner's creed, and that postulated by Ayesha. Considering that the authors' meeting took place just prior to Haggard's writing She,³⁵ it no doubt influenced him greatly. Haggard's fictional verdict on

³²H.R. Haggard, letter to his brother Jack Haggard, 17 Feb.1885, Haggard Collection, Johannesburg, Brenthurst Library.

³³H.R. Haggard, letter to his brother Jack Haggard, 17 Feb. 1885.

³⁴H.R. Haggard, letter to his brother Jack Haggard, 17 Feb. 1885.

³⁵It is evident that Haggard and Schreiner met on May 17th, 1885 as Schreiner writes to Havelock Ellis that day noting Haggard's visit. Therefore Haggard's visit with Schreiner could have influenced both King Solomon's Mines (KSM) published late in 1885 and She serialized in The Graphic from October 1886 to January 1887. Although he does not recall the exact dates on which he wrote the texts, KSM was written over the period during which Haggard met Schreiner, and She shortly afterwards, beginning respectively about March and October 1885, and finishing before the end of March 1886. She we know from letters mentioning

followers of such a creed appears in his fittingly Darwinian end for Ayesha, his fictional believer in a purely natural world: she reverts to her evolutionary beginnings, ““Oh, look!” – shrieked Job, ‘she’s shrivelling up! She’s turning into a monkey!’ and smaller she grew, and smaller yet, till she was no larger than a monkey.”³⁶ Although Etherington argues that Ayesha is based loosely on Schreiner's character Lyndall, Haggard’s character likely contains elements of both Lyndall and of Haggard's impression of Schreiner herself. Moreover, Haggard predominantly used Schreiner's arguments in presenting Ayesha, rather than those of her character Lyndall.

Although more extreme, Ayesha's rationalization to Holly for the murder of her followers was similar in many respects to Haggard's understanding of Schreiner's rational atheism. Like Schreiner, Ayesha does not believe in God. Because there is no higher being than herself Ayesha feels that she is not subject to any moral code besides one of her own choosing. To Haggard, Ayesha's arguments are a version of Schreiner's worked out in a negative formulation to their logical conclusion as fictional fantasy: the natural “machine” at work. In fact the most remarkable element of Haggard's Ayesha is her atheism. Everyone from Lang to Cohen and Pocock has commented on it.³⁷ Her desires are entirely earthly and secular and by the same token she denies a higher power. She exemplifies the principles of life in a world dominated by natural selection. When Holly asks her why her rival Ustane is to be executed, she replies with a classic Darwinian justification.

Is it then, a crime, oh foolish man, to put away that which stands between us and our ends? Then is our life one long crime, my Holly; for day by day we destroy that we may live, since in this world none save the strongest can endure. Those who are weak must perish; the Earth is to the strong, and the fruits thereof. ...We run to place and power over the dead bodies of those who fail and fall; ay, we win the food we eat from out of the mouths of starving

the Manuscript was in Lang's hands on March 6, 1886.

³⁶ H.R. Haggard, *She* 256.

³⁷ Cohen 222-225.

babies. It is the scheme of things. Thou sayest...that a crime breeds evil, but therein thou dost lack experience; for out of crime comes many good things, and out of good grows much evil. The cruel rage of the tyrant may prove a blessing to thousands who come after him, and the sweet-heartedness of a holy man may make a nation slaves.³⁸

Given her social Darwinist philosophy, it makes sense that she awaits not a god, but the gratification of having her long-lost lover. Gagool articulated the first such rationalist utterances in King Solomon's Mines and Ayesha expands Gagool's original thesis of self-centred rationalism but uses Schreiner's arguments. Haggard, writing to his brother, sums up Schreiner's arguments as follows:

Schreiner is as complete an atheist as ever walked this earth....Life is they admit a mystery but they can see no reason to attribute it to a God....But do you know it gave me quite a turn to sit opposite to that attractive young person & her clearly demonstrate in her own peculiar & picturesque language, that she was nothing but a bubble who floated a little, & sparkled a little & reflected the lights & shadows of the gay world for a while. But who most certainly wd. presently burst & be gone(,)dissipated, lost, ended, for ever & ever [sic].³⁹

Haggard himself does not share Schreiner's views, and later in the same letter he writes to his brother that, "It is a dreadful view to take of existence & if one thoroughly believed it, one would surely find it difficult to face life at all,"⁴⁰ also confirming his negative view of Schreiner's rationalism and, thereafter Ayesha's representation of it. Holly answers Ayesha much as Haggard answered Schreiner, by professing the hope of immortality in a vaguely Christian sense. To Ayesha's contention that; "perchance, thou seest with the eye of Faith, gazing on this brightness, that is to be, through the painted glass of thy imagination....I could tell thee --,but there, what is the use? Why rob a fool of his bauble?" Holly asserts: " "for I do

³⁸H.R. Haggard She,179.

³⁹H.R.Haggard, letter to his brother John G. Haggard R.N., nicknamed (Jack), 1885, Haggard Collection, Johannesburg, Brenthurst Library.

⁴⁰H.R.Haggard, letter to his brother John G. Haggard R.N., nicknamed (Jack), 1885, Haggard Collection, Johannesburg, Brenthurst Library.

hope for an immortality to which the little span that perchance thou canst confer will be but as a finger's length laid against the measure of the great world; and mark this! The immortality to which I look, and which my faith doth promise to me, shall be free from the bonds that here must tie my spirit down'and so, I added sadly, 'do men seek [the secret of life] to this very hour, but they find not; and, as this Scripture saith, nor shall they; for in Death only is Truth found.'"⁴¹

The same lines are repeated on a plaque that Holly sees on the statue of Truth located in the center of Kor, which he describes as having "human and yet spiritual beauty,"⁴² equating Truth with the female spirit world, a female world where living males were not welcome. He continues the description of the woman standing in a globe, "Her arms were outstretched like those of some woman about to embrace one she dearly loved....Her perfect and most gracious form was naked, save – and here came the extraordinary thing – the face, which was thinly veiled."⁴³ Ayesha taunts Holly that the statue represents, "Truth standing on the World, and calling to its children to unveil her face."⁴⁴ However, the inscription on the base of the statue warns against such an act:

Is there no man that will draw my veil and look upon my face, for it is very fair? Unto him who draws my veil shall I be, and peace will I give him, and sweet children of knowledge and good works."

And a voice cried, "Though all those who seek after thee desire thee, behold! Virgin art thou, and Virgin shalt thou go till Time be done. No man is there born of woman who may draw thy veil and live, nor shall be, by death only can thy veil be drawn, oh Truth!

⁴¹H.R.Haggard, She 176.

⁴² H.R. Haggard, She 232.

⁴³ H.R. Haggard, She 232.

⁴⁴ H.R. Haggard, She 232.

And Truth stretched out her arms and wept, because those who sought her might not find her, nor look upon her face to face.⁴⁵

Thus Complete Truth appears blind, as female virgin (similar to Ayesha), and it is only an impossible union of life in death, female with male that can unveil Truth. Distinct sexual overtones surface in the idea that sexual union, creating life, is somehow bound up with female spirituality. Ultimately, if female truth was discovered by the male adventurers, this would lead to self-knowledge, the completion of the Jungian Mandala. The converse appears to be true for women, as Ayesha's death points out. Ayesha also seeks this Truth; she describes it as "the Spirit – the Eternal Thing that doth beget all life, from whom it ebbs, to whom it doth return again." However, she has failed to acquire eternal spiritual truth through her immortality and is willing to give up immortality in the hope of finding a lesser, worldly truth in sexual union. She informs Leo that: "in this first most holy hour of completed Womanhood", when their sexual union is complete, she will "abandon Evil". The evil she will abandon is the seeking of the male component to "Truth", and she will instead "cherish Good" - the union of male and female."⁴⁶ Here again Haggard fictionally presents the idea that there are things living people are not meant to know, an idea he will return to many times as a possible explanation for his own failure to prove the existence of a spirit world.

However, as punishment even this earthly union is not to be, for Ayesha has already sought after and attained some of this truth, and its knowledge has made her powerful. Holly finds that his Christian hope is indefensible against Ayesha's assertion that "man himself must work out his own salvation...and not cast himself before the image of some unknown God, modelled like his poor self."⁴⁷ Reflecting Gilbert and Gubar's contention that Ayesha

⁴⁵ H.R. Haggard, She 233.

⁴⁶ H.R. Haggard, She 232.

⁴⁷ H.R. Haggard, She 180-181.

represents Christian fears about the challenges posed by alternative theologies and the redefinition of female power,⁴⁸ Holly feels as though Ayesha is more likely to convert him, than he her; and so it is “best to leave the matter alone.”⁴⁹ Again, he nevertheless admits his fascination with her logic.

I felt it was hopeless to argue against casuistry [sic] of this nature, which if it were carried to its logical conclusion, would absolutely destroy all morality, as we understand it. But her talk gave me a fresh thrill of fear; for what may not be possible to a being who, unconstrained by human law, is also absolutely unshackled by a moral sense of right and wrong, which, however partial and conventional it may be, is yet based, as our conscience tells us, upon the great wall of individual responsibility.⁵⁰

The similarity between Holly's response to Ayesha and Haggard's to Schreiner leaves little doubt that the central encounter of She is in fact based on the argument presented to the author by Schreiner.

Haggard's encounter with Olive Schreiner, an attractive, intelligent, atheist woman, no doubt cemented the association of woman and rational atheism in his mind. To his thinking she may well have been a living example of the new woman. From that peculiar association he created a female entity to represent rational ideas including evolution that neither he, nor traditional Christianity, could answer entirely within the framework of any established beliefs. That entity is the part of Ayesha that is beautiful, intellectual and a rational atheist. Schreiner contrasted so strongly with Haggard's other inspiration for Ayesha, Modjadje, that the two were virtual opposites in terms of their influence of Haggard and fundamental to the contradiction inherent in Ayesha.

⁴⁸ S.Gilbert and S.Gubar, “Heart of Darkness: The Agon of the Female Fatale.” In No Man's Land , Vol.2: “Sexchanges” (New Heaven: Yale Univ. Press, 1989) 35.

⁴⁹ Etherington, introduction, The Annotated She xxix.

⁵⁰ H.R. Haggard, She 180.

With two such different and powerful influences the story of She's African origin is a long and twisted one indeed. A contemporary of Haggard's, Lawrence Richardson, writes that Du Toit, his driver, reminisced about Modjadje, as the "original of Rider Haggard's She", who was head of a tribe⁵¹ just east of the road between Pretoria and Pietersburg. Du Toit stated in 1903 that Modjadji had died only six or seven years before, aged over 100. He saw her himself and said she was white with European features and had evidently been a very beautiful woman,⁵² an unmistakably similar character description to Haggard's Ayesha.

A more complete version of this story is available in the memoirs of Senator G.G. Munnik. He writes that Modjadji was the "rainmaker" for all the people in South Africa, even those of the Cape Colony and Rhodesia.

During the first occupation of the Transvaal by the British under Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the author, Rider Haggard, was Native Commissioner of Zoutpansberg, and he founded his novel She on Modjadje. Her tribe was the only one in the whole of Africa where a woman ruled. Women were allowed to have slaves and other rights which one did not find elsewhere in Africa. The Chieftainess lived in a sacred bush, and no one ever saw her except her ten indunas who used to go there and discuss matters of state with her.⁵³

Munnik recounts how he was sent on a mission to reprimand the warlike Modjadje and, after waiting several days for her appearance, was treated to a ruse. Instead of Modjadje, her sister appeared, or so he was told by a local missionary.⁵⁴ In the end a commando was sent from

⁵¹Lawrence Richardson, Selected Correspondence 1902-1903, ed. A.M.Davey, (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1977) 168.

⁵²Modjadje, The Rain Queen of Lovedu died in 1896. The name Modjadje is spelt a number of ways in various texts. This is Richardson's spelling, and is the one used by the Southern African Dictionary of National Biography.

⁵³Munnik, The Hon. G.G., Memoirs of Senator the Hon.G.G. Munnik (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1934) 141.

⁵⁴Munnik 141-144.

Pretoria to wipe out her people. The men were killed or fled in battle and the women and children were force-marched back to Pretoria, many dying along the way. The survivors were indentured as servants, or what Haggard referred to as slaves, for in his opinion that is how they were treated.⁵⁵

The Rain Queen's spiritual importance would not have been lost on Haggard; she was a "good" witchdoctor, the rainmaker for all of Southern Africa. Haggard wrote repeatedly about the importance of rainmakers, who possessed a special spiritual understanding of the universe, one repeatedly emphasized in his stories, one indeed he sought for himself. Ultimately the fictional Ayesha overcomes her rationalism to become a rain-queen, a good witchdoctor like Modjadje, but not in this story. In She her rational side triumphs over her dormant African spirituality just as Schreiner triumphed over Haggard's spiritualism with her atheism.

Etherington rightly argues that Haggard presents a "hash of Eastern mysticism", as he had in earlier books, as a way to escape from a godless universe ruled by chance. Haggard nevertheless eventually rejected Eastern religion, as he saw Buddhist and Hindu beliefs as a desire to join a collective void, thus implying a loss of the individual spirit, something he could not envision. Although he does not entirely defend Christian beliefs, neither does he take up Eastern philosophy whole-heartedly in She or later sequels. Instead he continues to explore and to develop the Christian ideas of Kardac and loose African spiritualism, rejecting Blavatsky and the Easternists. Holly's lack of an answer to Ayesha is closer to Haggard's true state of mind. He did not respond with Eastern philosophy, but reserves judgement as She is incinerated in the eternal flame.

⁵⁵H.R. Haggard, introduction, Cetewayo and His White Neighbours (London: Trubner, 1900) xxxiv. The introduction is a substantial addition to this later edition of Haggard's first book.

Haggard, like Holly, has no complete answer as yet for Darwin, or secularism. What he begins to offer, however, is a vague and distant god like the Zulu god Umkulunkulu⁵⁶ with whom one has contact through spirits and departed relatives, as Leo does in She through his ancestor Kallikrates, and Ayesha through her many incarnations. C.S. Lewis calls it a "vaguely Christian, theosophical and spiritualistic notion, trying to say something about that fatal subject, life."⁵⁷ Coincidentally, Haggard's convictions are nearer to Lewis's than to Blavatsky's Theosophy. He incorporates both the Egyptian belief in individual reincarnation and the less specific Zulu belief in the role that ancestral spirits play in earthly life within an essentially Christian mythology.⁵⁸ Thus Haggard turned, once again, to his formative years in South Africa for spiritual guidance in formulating an answer to European rationalism.⁵⁹

The seeds of African spiritual "truth" which ultimately bear fruit for Haggard some forty

⁵⁶H.R. Haggard, preface, Nada the Lily. Haggard relates to his reader that, "For this divine personage, therefore, there is authority and the same may be said of most of the supernatural matters spoken of in these pages." He later states that, "The exact spiritual position held in the Zulu mind by the Umkulunkulu -- the Old, Old -- the Great -- the Lord of Heaven, is a more vexed question, and for its proper consideration the reader must be referred to Bishop Callaway's work, The Religious System of the amaZulu."

⁵⁷C.S. Lewis, "Haggard Rides Again," Time and Tide 3 Sept. 1960, Vol. 41, No. 36.

⁵⁸Haggard often mentions his belief in the existence of an individual spirit or Egyptian Ka. See The Days of My Life, 254-255 and Henry Callaway's The Religious System of the amaZulu, (Prudery, 1967) provides insight into the workings of Zulu spiritual beliefs. Ancestral spirits appear and act regularly in the lives of their living relatives, motivating a system of ritual contact and appearance. Haggard also notes stories in Bird's Annals of Natal concerning African Magic.

⁵⁹In this manner the story of She served to sound out many of the most disturbing questions in Haggard's mind. Ayesha reflects modern society and its drive towards secularism. The heroes, Holly and Leo, rebel against her rationalism and hedonistic philosophy in favour of a less clearly stated belief in an afterlife. Their philosophy is somehow related to morality, similar to the position C.S. Lewis begins from in A Case for Christianity, justifying spirituality by the existence of morality, almost seventy years later in 1943.

years later are, however, present in this story. Holly and Leo's lack of answers for Ayesha is in fact an answer. The heroes travel to the statue of truth, a veiled woman, in the centre of Kor to find it. At the base of the statue is inscribed "By death only can thy veil be drawn, oh truth." That truth, whether there is an afterlife or not, was at the heart of Haggard's search, and at the end of his life, he would come back to this same statement, but with a fuller understanding of his own spirituality within the rationalist world presented in She.

Haggard's reaction to Schreiner focused his attention on the need for a spiritual dimension to existence, without which society, like Ayesha, has no higher aspiration, no destiny. In She Haggard focuses on sexual union, exemplified by the union of Ayesha and Kallikrates, as an earthly substitute for that higher purpose. Still, the union is only the means to an end; for through that union its members regain a lost mystical understanding and faith which was previously accorded them by religion. In She, as in King Solomon's Mines, the conclusions are pessimistic; the union of Ayesha and Kallikrates-Leo does not take place. Even if it had, it might not have provided a conclusive answer to the dilemma posed by rationalism. Nonetheless, at this stage any creed which could withstand the forces of doubt, even temporarily, was better than nothing. It was Haggard's view that if he had to choose between the nothingness offered by the rationalists, and life without hope of eternity offered by the atheists, he would choose nothing,⁶⁰ and paradoxically this confused creed was slightly better than nothing, providing at least an attempt to synthesize rationalism with spirituality. Perhaps the body tropes delineated by Gilbert and Gubar, Chrisman, Stiebel and others are a symbolic metaphor for what Haggard's male adventurers should be seeking, a spirituality in sexual union. It is as if the landscape of Africa itself is providing Haggard's answer to Europe's Christian spiritual weakness in human form.

Moreover, the original story set in Africa has some direct bearing on the imperial

⁶⁰H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, MC 32/45.

dimension of the three-dimensional nexus (imperial-sexual-spiritual) formulated in the earlier romances. The story makes Ayesha the colonialist, a white usurper queen in Africa, suppressing a eugenically bred⁶¹ African people in a ruthless manner; a ruthless manner Haggard sees as the ultimate desire of a colonizer with no spiritual underpinnings, no sense of immortal consequences resulting from a lack of religious morality, and hence having no morality at all. She is in this sense the personification of the attempt to play god in the colonies, but like Kurtz she is a miserable failure, resorting to the basest of human instincts to kill and torture as a means of governance through sheer force and terror. When her subjects attempt to kill the protagonist's party, Ayesha punishes them with torture and death, not so much for attempting to murder her guests, as for their disobedience. When Holly protests against Ayesha's cruelty to her subjects, Ayesha asks Holly, "how thinkest thou that I rule this people? I have but a regiment of guards to do my bidding, therefore it is not by force. It is by terror. My empire is of the imagination. Once in a generation mayhap I do as I have done but now, and slay a score by torture."⁶² Thus she serves as a didactic example of the possible excesses of cruelty within a purely rationalist imperial society. Without the restraint of gentlemanly morality, something Haggard felt equally lacking in the British government's resolution of the Zulu war, there is nothing to prevent such excessive cruelty towards subjugated peoples.

Similarly in the sexual nexus she is the female, the betrayer of spiritual love, the worshipper of material, accessible things, and men -- like the men in England -- and hence comes to represent betrayal and immorality on a political level as well. Her love of Kallikrates is perhaps best explained as Haggard's wishful revenge fantasy -- to be the man who denies the wanton materialist woman his love, which she then comes to value above all

⁶¹Norman Etherington, introduction, The Annotated She xxvii. Etherington points out that Ayesha has "personally demonstrated the mutability of the human race by experiments in selective breeding -- what the Edwardians would call eugenics -- by breeding 'a race of giants' as well as the deaf mutes who serve her."

⁶² H.R. Haggard She 118.

things. The story is in fact narrated by an avowed misogynist who had experienced early rejection by a woman. Thus it is that Andrew Lang sees Leo as little more than a fine animal - if indeed that is not all he is, a fine animal to be denied to the woman who broke spiritual faith with the colonial men.⁶³ Horace Holly is here Haggard's doppelganger, and the chivalric figure in this story much more than Leo. It is with Holly that She converses and reasons, not Leo, and he who narrates the story. Thus She is a complex manifestation of the author's subconscious, many things combined in one, a symbol of the very complexity governing the interwoven nexus of sexuality, spirituality and empire: Haggard's anima demonstrated in clear Jungian proportion, well before Jung proposed such an entity. It constituted an important part of the third and less tangible dimension of the nexus, the spiritual, which ultimately influenced Jung.

Haggard had experimented with expressing his spiritual ideas through various characters in his first three stories. Each had brought forth some aspect of the supernatural in which the author had an interest. In Dawn, Lady Bellamy toyed with spirits, in The Witch's Head Ernest found inspiration in Africa, and King Solomon's Mines featured both a metaphysical journey into Africa and the witchdoctor Gagool. Although the spiritual presence in Haggard's early work developed as a reaction against the growing secular rationalism of the late 19th century, none of these stories sought to establish a metaphysical framework or fictional cosmology advancing any justification for the world of spirits infused in his fiction. That distinction was reserved for She.

Haggard stated that he began She with the idea of an immortal woman inspired by an immortal love: "All the rest shaped itself round this figure."⁶⁴ As it came to him, its shape

⁶³ Joseph Bistow, Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World (London: Harper Collins, 1991) 141-148. Bistow argues that Haggard presented a negative view of all women and in particular African women in his writing.

⁶⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My life Vol. I, 246.

was that of his own fear of death and of loss of faith, reflected in the moral apathy and spiritual questioning of his own society. For Haggard, these fears needed to be addressed. Thus, in his story, he places an heroic, or chivalric figure, himself, as the characters Holly and Leo, in Africa, coincidentally exposing the colonial dimension to European moral insensitivity. The mission of these characters is to traverse the depths of fantasy and report back what truth could be found concerning humanity's lost spirituality in the face of a rational onslaught. As in King Solomon's Mines Haggard's heroes again fail to bring back conclusive proof of an afterlife or even a coherent theory as to why it should exist. Thus the quest continues into the next stories, buffeted by the author's own traumatic life and shaped by his era. The She saga thus presents yet another manifestation of the centrality of spiritual issues to Haggard's writing. It is the story of a supernatural being whose principal desire is power usurped from the spiritual realm which in turn gives her power over earthly subjects.

**CHAPTER SIX:
TOWARDS THE SPIRITUAL**

1886-1890

The contemporary post-colonial critics Abdul JanMohamed and Gayatri Spivak base their analysis of colonial literature on a binary opposition between colonial writers and their "native" subject, the latter being viewed broadly in terms of the former's belief in white racial superiority. The colonial writing process is thereby characterized as epistemic violence, wherein the native is disarticulated through the agency of the author and thereby collapsed into the landscape. However, Haggard's work does not completely fit this characterization as his concerns were not so much with the otherness of Africans, particularly Zulus, as with their equality, and perhaps superiority as far as a societal exchange of spiritual knowledge is concerned. Moreover, the search for Zulu spirituality in his fiction in fact questions the position of European Christianity in South Africa, a situation equally at odds with the concepts of marginalization and disarticulation.

Haggard did believe spiritual heritage to be passed on from generation to generation in tradition and custom but, more importantly, also to be inherited as part of a spirit or soul in each member of a culture. This spiritual element of a society is represented in myths and stories as a dynamic force, each generation adding to but not taking away from its whole. Thus when writing as a European, Haggard did so within the framework of such a direct cultural transmission. He believed that when writing as a Zulu or Egyptian it was from a similar spirit sense, only transmitted from a past incarnation into his present life through his

spirit or soul. It was in part this spiritual sensibility which gave him the faith to continue his fictional search for the afterlife.

Haggard's acceptance of reincarnation across racial and gender lines also required of him an understanding that spiritual equilibrium between races and sexes existed, which in turn necessitated an underlying belief in social equality. Within the limitations of his late-Victorian cultural values this understanding caused Haggard's works to stand out from other, purely euro-centric and to a lesser extent paternalistic, romance writing. Such a belief led to the positively portrayed, three-dimensional characters in the purely African novel Nada the Lily alongside the Egyptian novel Cleopatra and the Icelandic novel Eric Brighteyes, and ultimately to the portrayal of African supernatural superiority where Europeans and the African "other" fictionally converge in Allan Quatermain and Allan's Wife. Here a more balanced, heterogeneous picture of Haggard as a man deeply concerned with the disintegrating religion and morality of his own society emerges in conflict with his role as an agent of imperial policy.

Indeed, Haggard's questioning of European beliefs, in a search for something that could withstand the ravages of rational atheism, is more than a search to define the self better by a projection of what he sees as valuable onto another culture. It is a recognition that other cultures contain knowledge and ideas outside of European philosophy. Haggard recognized the limitations of his own culture and sought to broaden its understanding by seeking out responses to rationalist atheism in other cultures. Young notes that "many colonial novels in English betray themselves as driven by desire for the cultural other, for forsaking their own culture: the novels and travel-writing of Burton, Haggard, Stevenson, Kipling, Allen, or Buchan are all concerned with forms of cross-cultural contact."¹ In this respect, Haggard's aim was not to make everyone the same as himself or define others by their difference, but to

¹R. Young, Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race , (N.Y.: Routledge, 1995) 3.

make himself more similar to others through an understanding of their spiritual beliefs. Similarly, his fictional characters encounter strange supernatural forces which operate outside the logos or understanding of European culture and science reflecting the element of supernatural knowledge the author hoped existed in other cultures. In recognizing the weakness of his own culture within its spiritual dimension, he raises the possibility of superiority in other societies. His European characters are not the masters of all things, indeed they are repeatedly mastered by the spiritual potency of African characters, from whom they in turn seek knowledge. Thus Haggard's "white logos" is not an entity with fixed characteristics of ethno-centricity and self-reference, but a changing dynamic which seeks to grow by integrating ideas from other cultures, not simply reflecting European ideas towards them. His belief in his personal sensitivity to the supernatural augmented his desire to seek it out in other peoples.

Haggard believed that he was inspired by previous incarnations, and by mystical transmissions from past generations. He befriended committed spiritualists like Andrew Lang and Oliver Lodge and wrote privately about the theological ideas which he fictionalized in his stories. At the same time, as an Anglican, he attended church regularly, unlike his contemporary Conan Doyle who openly renounced Catholicism as a teenager to investigate spiritualism. Instead, Haggard continued to develop his writing as a forum for his views on the supernatural, all the while investigating elements of reincarnation.

In his article "About Fiction", published in 1887 in the Contemporary Review, which he later regretted because it caused him to be ostracized by much of the writing community,²

²Morton Cohen, Rider Haggard, His Life and Works (London: Macmillan, 1968) 124-125. In the article Haggard attacks other authors for "polluting the public taste and obscuring the true end of fiction." In particular he accused Naturalism of being an "accursed thing ...whatever there is that is carnal and filthy, is here brought into prominence, and thrust before the reader's eyes." He further argued that Romance alone satisfied the requirements of good fiction.

Haggard emphasizes the need to write from the inspiration of some deep unknown inner muse. Romances should be written "rapidly and, if possible, not rewritten....it should be remembered, also, that the writer of a romance must, so far as it is possible, live during its progress in an atmosphere quite alien to that of everyday life....it is therefore desirable that the actual period of evolution be short....the author must be able to see the events with an almost trance-like quality."³ Haggard claimed to have written King Solomon's Mines in six weeks, and She, Jess, and Allan Quatermain all in less than a year,⁴ with little revision going into any text. A review of the manuscripts proves this to be true, for with the exception of She, from which some dialogue was dropped, most have few changes.⁵

The author stated that he wrote "in a white heat," creating his stories from within, which has caused both Freudians and Jungians great delight in attempting to decipher the meaning of his work.⁶ They understood Haggard to have dredged up concepts from deep within his own psyche, whereby the expression of late Victorian theories of evolutionary psychology and anthropology contributed to the potency of his fiction. Stiebel writes that "where Haggard becomes interesting is in the way he seemed to be symptomatic of his age; hence his popularity among readers who perhaps felt the same pressures in an age on increasing industrialization."⁷ In support of this contention she quotes Millman: "The speed is, I think, the clue to why the adventure tale for Haggard becomes almost a confessional form,

³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 92.

⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 243-44.

⁵Norman Etherington, introduction, The Annotated She, by H.R.Haggard (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1991) xxxi. Also, H.R.Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office. An examination of Haggard's hand-written manuscripts reveal few major changes to any of these manuscripts except She where lines and in some cases paragraphs are added or dropped.

⁶H.R. Haggard, "About Fiction," Contemporary Review Jan. 1887, *LI* 172-180.

⁷ Stiebel, 43.

revealing the prejudices, as well as the mind of his generation.”⁸ The stories would operate on the surface as entertainment with a simple moral point, but at another level deal with Victorian subconscious symbols.

Haggard's "white heat" is reminiscent of the automatic writing common among spiritualists of his time. The phenomenon occurred when an individual wrote or drew through the direct inspiration of an unknown force, presumed to be a spirit. There were numerous examples, often with people writing in languages to which they had not been exposed, or explaining things they could not rationally know. Amongst those involved in automatic writing was Conan Doyle's second wife, who took up the pursuit after World War One.⁹ Haggard's writing exhibited some of these characteristics in that it was inspired and unstoppable: he said "it came faster than my aching hand could write it down"¹⁰, and he claimed to be influenced by some ancestral consciousness stemming from previous lives, which he thought enabled him to write as though he were in fact his own characters. Haggard's daughter Lilius described it as "a dream world from which grew scenes and beliefs which he himself put down to many causes – shadows cast by previous incarnations – racial memories of events that happened to remote forefathers, or merely subconscious imagination."¹¹

It was Andrew Lang¹², an influential critic, classical scholar and expert on mythology

⁸ J. Millman, Rider Haggard and the Male Novel, What is Pericles? (D.phil., thesis, Rutgers, 1974) 40-41.

⁹ Janet Oppenheim, The Other World, Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England 1850-1914 (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985) 62.

¹⁰ H.R. Haggard, "About Fiction" 172-180.

¹¹ H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 90-96. Haggard discusses the inspiration for his romantic writing.

¹² Andrew Lang (1844-1912) was one of Great Britain's pre-eminent men of letters during the closing decades of the nineteenth century. He was among the chief proponents of Romanticism pitting himself against the defenders of

and religion, who first recognized a mystical quality in Haggard's work. He saw the potential in King Solomon's Mines and later formed a close friendship with its author. They became acquainted in 1882 when Lang wrote to Haggard telling him King Solomon's Mines was one of the most incredible stories he had ever read.¹³ Lang was interested in Haggard because he believed Haggard's writing supported a literary theory he had developed. Lang believed that ancient works like those of Homer were the products of a primitive mind¹⁴, an idea which led him to a study of the Zulus through Henry Callaway's writing.¹⁵ When he read King Solomon's Mines, he thought it brought the Zulu presence into English literature in much the same way that Homer's primitivism had invigorated ancient Greek.¹⁶

Lang theorized that the transmission of pagan myth under the surface of Christian art was also responsible for works like Haggard's Eric Brighteyes and Nada the Lily. He started a school of thought tracing the pagan elements in Christian art from medieval France into the Renaissance in Italy, and then back to France and England in the eighteenth and nineteenth

Naturalism and Realism. He espoused a strong preference for the romantic adventure novels of such authors as Haggard and Kipling over the works of Henry James or Émile Zola.

¹³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 226-227. Haggard transcribes several letters from Andrew Lang and others about King Solomon's Mines.

¹⁴Lang theorized that Homer's works invigorated ancient Greek literature by injecting an element of primitivism into the highly refined canon of Greek writings. (Cohen 185) Robert Louis Stevenson did compare The World's Desire, co-authored by Lang and Haggard, to Homer. However, Lang related to Haggard that Stevenson "Thinks it too steep, bars Od(ysseus) killing so many enemies." Morton Cohen concurs with Stevenson's criticism and disparagingly calls it "Haggard piled on Homer." (Cohen 186). Haggard transcribes several letters from Andrew Lang and others about King Solomon's Mines in The Days of My Life, Vol.2, 72-82.

¹⁵Lang studied Callaway's Religious System of the Amazulu, to gain a better understanding of African impact on western myth. {Andrew Lang, "Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism" E. Pupard et al. ed. (Kansas City: Gale, 1985) Vol.16, 249}.

¹⁶"Andrew Lang," Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism Vol.16, 250-251

centuries as a sort of evolution. Conversely, Lang's belief in the potency of primitivism was compatible with Haggard's reincarnation concept. It provided a basis for Haggard's philosophy of mystically transmitted knowledge and therefore his self-concept as a writer. Moreover, in singling out Haggard, Lang placed romance writing at the pinnacle of cultural development, an idea with which most contemporary critics were at odds, but one in which Haggard understandably believed.¹⁷ Haggard supported Lang when he wrote, "Homer and others bring such supernormal [sic] life into the circle of our own surroundings and vivify it by contact or by contrast with the play of human nature."¹⁸ Finding Lang's views complementary to his own, Haggard dedicated She to Lang, and they eventually collaborated on a novel, The World's Desire, published in 1890.

Haggard's beliefs were, nonetheless, more radical than Lang's. Unlike Lang, he suggested that reincarnation was a part of the direct transmission of culture through the ages: a sort of mystical link bearing some resemblance to Carl Jung's later concept of the collective unconscious.¹⁹ Haggard theorized that individual incarnations played leading roles in the creation of each of his stories. For instance, in the African novels his Zulu incarnation dominated as in Nada the Lily; in Eric Brighteyes, it was the Norse; and in Cleopatra, the Egyptian. None interferes with or modifies another's inspiration, but each acts individually

¹⁷Lang's expertise in the fields of foreign languages and literature led him to discover that the folk tales, myths and legends of primitive societies were not only quite similar from culture to culture, but that this similarity could not always be explained as the result of direct transmission of one culture's traits to another. ("Andrew Lang," Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism Vol.16, 250-251).

¹⁸H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 90.

¹⁹In attempting to explain certain recurrent dreams of his own, Haggard raised the possible explanation of "racial memories" and described them as "memories of events that had happened to forefathers", as distinct from "memories of some central incident that occurred in a previous incarnation." Haggard states that he prefers the explanation of subconscious imagination and invention in explaining such dreams but continues to understand them in light of racial memories. H.R. Haggard, Days of My Life Vol.2, 168.

through the author's consciousness as his personal or collective muse. Instead, Haggard believed, they collaborate in creating the variety of mythical elements in his work.

However, the predominant contemporary view of myth directly opposed Lang's and therefore Haggard's personal concept of cultural transmission through what Haggard believed to be the spirit. The accepted contemporary view of mythology, that of Max Muller, held that myths were nothing more than the recent perversion of ancient stories.²⁰ This theory negated Haggard's muse, leaving only a talented author perverting old stories into myth, which is perhaps why Haggard adhered to Lang as a friend and an authority, much as he would later cling to Sir Oliver Lodge, and disregard Muller.

Under the influence of Lang, the reincarnation element of Haggard's spiritualism further developed when he received information about his own previous incarnations, or rather about three of them, from an individual identified only as a "friend of mine who is a mystic of the first water [sic]".²¹ Two of these incarnations were supposedly Egyptian, one as a noble in the time of Pepi II who lived about 4000 B.C.[sic]²², and the second as one of the minor Pharaohs.²³ In the third, Haggard was "a Norseman of the seventh century, who was one of the first to sail the Nile",²⁴ after which the writer says he "slumbered for twelve hundred years until my present life."²⁵ He was unable to trace any earthly evidence of an Egyptian ancestor for "if such existed at all it is too long ago",²⁶ but he continues to say that:

²⁰ "Andrew Lang," Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism, Vol.16, 248-250.

²¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 254.

²²In fact Haggard had the date wrong, Pepi II reigned in the 6th dynasty from 2315-2175 B.C.

²³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 254.

²⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 254.

²⁵H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 255.

²⁶H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 255.

Whatever the reason, I seem to myself to understand the Norse folk of anywhere about 800 A.D., and the Egyptians from Menes down to the Ptolemaic period, much better than I understand the people of the age in which I live. ...I have the greatest sympathy with savages, Zulus for instance, with whom I always got on extremely well. Perchance my mystical friend has left a savage incarnation out of his list.²⁷

Although the last line may seem to suggest that Haggard was not entirely serious about the topic, his observations concerning the supposed incarnations prove otherwise. He believed that, although reincarnation cannot be proven, people have inexplicably strong affiliations with certain lands and periods of history. However, it is worth noting that all of Haggard's supposed incarnations fall within periods of history he had studied extensively, a factor he seems to have ignored when assessing their validity. Haggard's understanding of the subconscious was not as developed as Jung's and consequently he does not appear to have considered potential sources for his inspiration, other than past consciousness. Indeed Haggard's long-time interest in Egyptian, Icelandic and African history should have caused him to wonder if the interest had in itself caused these fantasies. He spent many hours pondering the subject, studying and travelling to the countries in question in essence immersing himself in their histories in order to write his stories.

The first story written from the point of view of one of his "reincarnations" was Cleopatra. It clearly demonstrates Haggard's need to appear accurate in every detail to maintain the integrity of the reincarnated persona. He wrote Cleopatra after fulfilling a life-long ambition, a journey to Egypt, in January 1887. A great deal of care was taken to ensure the tale's historical and geographical accuracy including extensive consultation with Lang and other experts in antiquity, making its minute details as authentic as possible. Haggard went so far as to use his own Egyptian experiences -- for instance, recalling the hundreds of

²⁷H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 255-256.

bats that haunted the tombs at Aswan -- and recreating them as the great spirit bats in Cleopatra.²⁸ Another event he included in his story occurred in one of the newly-opened tombs into which Haggard had climbed alone; he was nearly buried alive when the roof collapsed. These explorations and his attention to detail all reinforced his ability to write accurately as though inspired by past incarnations.²⁹ The autobiographical element further unified the author with his character through their mutual experience.

From within the reincarnated persona of Harmachis Haggard explored Egyptian mystical ideas, a subject which had long fascinated him. The story of Cleopatra begins with Harmachis remembering a dream in a temple:

Alone in the holy place with the things which are not of this earth I prayed, and then I knew things were not as things had been....The air around me began to stir, bright eyes gazed upon me, strange whispers shook my soul, now I was afloat upon an aura of glory. Death grew near to me and his shape was silence....Shapes, changing, mysterious, wonderful, rushed up to meet me, and bore me down till I seemed to stand upon another earth.³⁰

In his dream Harmachis, like Haggard, comes into contact with his mystical past. Haggard notes in the original introduction to Cleopatra, later dropped, that the reader must "bear in mind that it is told from the standpoint of an Egyptian priest of royal blood, no mere beast-worshipper."³¹ Thus any doubt as to the character's true spirituality is removed and his

²⁸H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, c. June 1889.

²⁹Haggard's attention to detail was always meticulous. His letters to Lang are often related to obscure details of mythology or archaeology. The same is true of his recollections of Mr. Carter, curator of the Cairo Museum. Haggard went as far as to contact his old school master for Greek and Latin references, all in the interest of assuring accuracy in every detail of his romances. (The letters to Lang referred to here are in the "Haggard Collection," Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library; more on this subject may be found in The Days of My Life Vol.1, 261-264.)

³⁰H.R. Haggard, Cleopatra (London: Longmans, 1900) 63.

³¹H.R. Haggard, "Manuscript of Cleopatra," Haggard Collection, Norwich,

connection to the author reinforced, as Haggard believed himself to have been such an individual in a past life.

The story, while relating Haggard and Harmachis through Haggard's Egyptian persona, follows roughly the same plot as Shakespeare's tale of Antony and Cleopatra. However, significant differences arise in the addition of the protagonist, Haggard himself as Harmachis, who must kill Cleopatra in order to assume his rightful throne. Instead, he falls in love with her and robs the ancient tomb of Menkau-ra, his ancestor, to win her favour. Cleopatra characteristically recognises the immortality of their love in her words "to love is of the Spirit and knows not death",³² linking this to the author's earlier works and complementing the spiritual love theme common to all Haggard stories.

Haggard wrote to M.S. Banks in 1889 that Cleopatra was "his favourite child".³³ However, Lang did not like the book, and after reading the proofs he called it "too long, too full of antiquarian detail and too slow in movement to carry the general public with it."³⁴ He accordingly suggested substantial rewriting. Haggard disagreed, for if he was to be true to his philosophy of inspired writing, he could not rewrite in more modern language or drop any detail from an inspired work.³⁵ Consequently, Lang and Haggard's close friendship began to drift apart. Lang's assessment of the book was apparently right from a literary point of view: the work sold moderately well, but it never achieved the success of its author's earlier

Norfolk Public Records Office, MS 32.

³²H.R. Haggard, Cleopatra 271.

³³H.R. Haggard, letter to M.S.Banks, 1 Aug. 1889, Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, MC.32.40.3.

³⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 269.

³⁵H.R. Haggard, "Manuscript of Cleopatra," Haggard collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, MS\32. Taken from notes to the original manuscript introduction -- also see The Days of My Life Vol.1, 270-271.

romances. More importantly, its relative failure foreshadowed a fundamental reason for Haggard's demise as a writer in that he continued to write about his overriding interest in the supernatural. He insisted on pursuing the subject long after it had gone out of fashion with the reading public towards the end of the century.³⁶

Ignoring Lang's advice, his next book was written from the viewpoint of a Norseman matching another of his mystical incarnations. Haggard made notes in his memoirs on his dreams of himself as a Norseman and included them in the story. He suggests that these memories might be of a past incarnation, racial memories, or imagination. Privately he was inclined to believe the first explanation: "I take a grander view of man than that he is a mere accident...life without some form of reincarnation [would be] a mere pile of fruitless, pointless pits."³⁷ In writing Eric Brighteyes it was Haggard the author, not his character, who believes he inherited a spiritual sensibility from his Danish ancestry enabling him to write his story as if through the eyes of an ancient Dane.

As Eric Brighteyes explores Haggard's Nordic persona, it incorporates the now regular ingredients of the Haggard myth: eternal love, prescient dreams, and spirit witches. However, contrary to his treatment of the Egyptian and Zulu myths, Haggard believed his Norse inspiration arose from his immediate ancestral, racial sensibility. Moreover, Haggard claimed that Eric Brighteyes was inspired by links to Danish ancestors of whom he had

³⁶For a detailed account of the rise and fall of the popular spiritual movement see Janet Oppenheim, The Other World, Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1858-1914. About the time the SPR declared Blavatsky a fraud, in 1888, the public's interest in spirits began to wain. In fact it could be argued that interest was virtually extinct from a literary point of view after the Romantics had dealt with the supernatural in the early part of the nineteenth century. Haggard's editors and publisher warned him against continually writing on spiritualism (both Lang and Charles Longman), but he persisted, with the inevitable result of falling book sales through the early part of the twentieth century.

³⁷H.R.Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks," Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, c.1909, MC-4594-2-2. This note is scribbled and difficult to decipher, the last word appears to be "pits" completing the fruitful metaphor.

visions in dreams through which he not only shared their experience, but also gained a sense of their religion and beliefs. Because of this ancestral sensibility, he still "had respect for Thor and Odin."³⁸ Thus he felt he was able to write convincingly about a Nordic past which was in some sense still present.

Supporting his belief in a reincarnation theory, Eric Brighteyes is filled with Haggard's convincing rendition of rhetoric from the Norse sagas providing a strong correlation between the author's inspired Norse self-concept and his reader's perception of an authentic representation of the saga form. Morton Cohen compares it to Sir Walter Scott's The Pirate, saying "the saga is so convincing that Haggard seems to write instinctively, as though his notion that in some previous incarnation he himself had been a Viking were true",³⁹ further noting that students of Icelandic literature say Haggard's dialogue reminds them of the original saga. Harold Orel notes that Haggard's sense of what was needed to write the story had little to do with conventional notions of scholarship and more to do with Haggard's ability, mentioned in particular by Andrew Lang, to write in the Norse Saga form.⁴⁰

Haggard based Eric Brighteyes on the traditional story of Gunnar and Hallgerda. In 1888 Haggard toured Iceland while collecting information for his new romance, and was briefly shipwrecked off the coast of Iceland, on his return journey, another personal adventure he included in his story.⁴¹ He toured the battlefields of Thingvellir [sic], and nearby Oxara's Stream, spending five weeks surveying the historic site of Njal's Hall, about

³⁸H.R. Haggard, The Days of my Life Vol.1, 255.

³⁹Cohen 130.

⁴⁰ Harold Orel, "Adapting the Conventions of Historical Romance: Rider Haggard's *Eric Brighteyes*", *ELT* 36:1 (1993) 55.

⁴¹On his return journey Haggard's ship, the Copeland, ran aground in a storm off Iceland on June 25th, 1888. The ship was lost but all on board were rescued. For a full account see The Days of My Life Vol.1, 284-291.

whose inhabitants he would write the story.⁴² From these places he hoped to gain a sense of their character, to steep himself in it, heightening his own Nordic ancestral appreciation, but at the same time broadening their potential to influence his imagination.

In this sense Haggard's Icelandic persona involved more than direct reincarnation or even the "automatic" style of writing he describes in his article "About Fiction" as the basis of all good romance writing. It included the more advanced concepts of cultural evolution proposed by Andrew Lang with his own ideas on reincarnation. Lang's assertion of the continued existence of paganism in literature supported Haggard's self-concept as an inspired Norse writer, working the will of some ancient muse. When combined with a belief in reincarnation the end result of this hybrid comes surprisingly close to Carl Jung's concept of the collective unconscious, although represented by Haggard as a theoretical fantasy of spirits and witches. Equally resembling Haggard's self-concept, Jung postulates the existence of a racial collective unconscious, containing what he called primordial images. These images are not inherited themselves but their thought patterns are in a manner similar to that contained in Haggard's presentation of his own dreams.

In Eric Brighteyes Haggard believes he is writing as a member of an imagined Norse culture of which he has an innate understanding. Nevertheless, his tale differs from the narrative which he borrowed in that it reflects a preoccupation with spirituality and religion of the late-Victorian era rather than the Norse religion Haggard sought to recreate. Nonetheless, the attempt to use spiritual inspiration in the crafting of his Norseman saga again demonstrates an awareness on his part of the complexities of writing as the "other" and his unique theories on the problem. His understanding of those complexities is, however, based in the spiritualist debate of his own era rather than the historical context of the Icelandic communities about which he wrote. In fact Haggard had virtually developed a

⁴²Cohen 129.

formulaic plot structure by this point, which routinely involved the supernatural as a primary structural element alongside character elements including a group of male companions and spiritually powerful women.

Apart from the Norse persona, Eric Brighteyes is filled with occult events and encounters, bringing together Haggard's fictional and theoretical supernatural deliberations within a framework similar to Jung's racial collective unconscious. One of the most powerful of these fantasy scenes occurs just before a grand battle pitting Eric and Skallagrim, his faithful companion, against an evil but wealthy suitor to Eric's lover. As they sit by the fire, the souls of the old Norse warriors, some of whom they have killed, appear in the chapter entitled "How Eric and Skallagrim Grew Fay".⁴³ The first to arrive is the "headless wraith of Baresark that Brighteyes had slain",⁴⁴ then all the others, until Eric thought there could be no more. However, there remain three: Eric's dead wife Gudruda comes to sit by him -- like "a loving wife thou art burst thy bonds and come to save me from the company of trolls"⁴⁵ -- and, finally, Eric and Skallagrim's own ghosts greet them round the fire completing their spiritual link to past and future worlds.⁴⁶ Thus they share a bond with their ancestral past, the same bond that links them to the author through an ancestral spirituality; a bond which clearly resembles Jung's collective unconscious.

Contrarily, when writing about South Africa Haggard claimed to do so under the auspices of a remembered incarnation which required great attention to detail to remain believable. Writing from a point of view inspired by an alien culture, even more than a point of view inspired by what he assumed to be his own historical culture, required the author to

⁴³H.R. Haggard, Eric Brighteyes (1891: London: Macdonald, 1955) 285.

⁴⁴H.R. Haggard, Eric Brighteyes 286.

⁴⁵H.R. Haggard, Eric Brighteyes 286.

⁴⁶H.R. Haggard, Eric Brighteyes 291-292.

provide a great deal of accuracy in his text to maintain credibility in his reincarnation persona. He used South African folklore and tradition in weaving his tales giving them that authenticity. The story Nada the Lily, for instance, derived largely from accounts in John Bird's Annals of Natal. In fact Bird's version of one of Chaka's dreams is retold almost in its entirety in Nada the Lily.

Haggard recounts the story as follows:

It befell that Chaka, having dreamed a dream in his troubled sleep, summoned before him certain women of the kraal....whom he named "sisters". Chaka dreamed again that he saw Mopo "give the royal salute of Bayéte to these brothers of mine, and with thy foot didst spurn the carcass of me, thy king."⁴⁷

Mopo, Haggard's Umbopo, realises that he has little time to live after such a dream and steals out and meets with Dingaan, the king's brother to plot Chaka's assassination. In Bird it is rendered:

Chaka had been dreaming, he dreamt that he was dead and that Umbopo was serving another king. On waking, he told his dream to one of his sisters, who within an hour mentioned the circumstance to Umbopo. Knowing that in consequence he would not have many hours to live, he urged the confederates to take the first opportunity to assassinate the king; and this shortly thereafter occurred.⁴⁸

Details found in Haggard's story of Chaka's youth also came from David Leslie's Among the Zulus and Amatongas. For instance, Chaka's mother, whose name was Unando, reviled her husband Senzagakona, and left with her son for the Langeni tribe. "Tyaka[Chaka] was wonderfully powerful and of splendid physique. He remained with Dingisweyo the wanderer

⁴⁷H.R. Haggard, Nada the Lily (London: Longmans, 1892) 178-179, John Bird, The Annals of Natal 1495-1845 (Cape Town: T. Maskew Miller, 1888) Vol.1, 96-97.

⁴⁸John Bird Vol.1, 96. Also David Leslie, Among the Zulus and Amatongas (Glasgow: printed for private circulation, 1875).

who had visited the white men until the death of his father."⁴⁹ Haggard's character Unandi describes herself as follows: "My name is Unandi: I am the wife of Senzangacona of the Zulu tribe", Chaka asks Mopo what tribe he is from and Mopo replies "The Langeni," confirming again the author's careful research and attention to detail.

In yet another instance he uses a Zulu legend, recorded this time by Bird and J.A.Farrer, to frame the reunion of Nada with Umslopogaas. Umslopogaas, fighting another tribe, is faced with Nada and cannot kill her. Instead he allows her to escape. Farrer recounts how, "Once a Zulu soldier on attacking a kraal and killing all its inhabitants spared the life of a young girl because she looked into his eyes and made all the hate leave him; he spared her and allowed her to escape, facing the wrath of the king for this."⁵⁰ Bird records the same legend in his Annals of Natal, wherein he quotes the individual involved as saying: "I came to one girl. As I raised my assegai she looked at me, clasped her hands over her eyes, and said 'Ow umta-ka-baba [oh child of my father, my brother] that was all, and, do you know, I could not kill her Chaka. She had medicine, that girl. I had killed till my assegai was blunt and my arms weary but all the anger seemed to go out of my fingers and bones."⁵¹

Haggard took the time to learn a good deal about local African people, particularly the Zulus whom he greatly admired. An article on People of the Mist (1894) in the Zoutpansberg Review congratulates the author on his "intimate acquaintance with the more secret manifestations of African folklore and beast worship."⁵² His interest in Zulus did not stop at

⁴⁹David Leslie, Among the Zulus and Amatongas Glasgow (printed for private circulation), 1875.

⁵⁰J.A.Farrer, Zululand and the Zulus; Their History, Beliefs, Customs, Military, System, Home Life, Legends etc. and Missions to Them (London: Kerby & Endean, 1879) 120.

⁵¹John Bird 281.

⁵²Zoutpansberg Review 20 Sept.1894., cited from the introduction to People of the Mist (London: Longmans, 1894).

admiration, however, for he studied many aspects of their lives including their social and religious practices. The author writes, "I hope that hundreds of years hence the highly educated descendants of the Zulu race may read it (Nada the Lily) and learn therefrom something of the spirit of their own savage ancestors."⁵³

Haggard's care and attention to detail demonstrate a desire for maintaining the appearance of spiritual inspiration through historical accuracy but by no means implies that he deliberately attempted to deceive his readers. In fact many writers use historical accounts to embellish their stories. In doing so Haggard simply wanted to maintain an ambiguity and uncertainty concerning the role of the author's source of inspiration as part of his reader's sense of suspended disbelief.⁵⁴ After all, as a narrative technique this ambiguity both intrigued his readers and invited them to take his ideas more seriously, which is what Haggard really wanted. The greater the sense that Haggard's stories were plausible or real to the reader, the more he facilitated a degree of credulity in his supernatural overtures.

By creating a fictional society of others Haggard recognized the intrinsic variance among Zulu peoples as individuals. Umbopo and Nada are both good examples of a high-level of character development rather than formulaic representations. Through creation of three-dimensional African, particularly Zulu characters, like Nada and Umslopogaas, Haggard demonstrates a representation of African peoples far from the element of collapsed landscape referred to by JanMohamed. The one-dimensional, ubiquitous "natives" JanMohamed considers essential to imperial literature could never possess the depth of existential awareness to articulate a spirituality in opposition to both an absent missionary Christianity and a hypocritical Zulu clergy in the manner of these characters. In this sense Umbopo and Nada have at least the depth of character afforded Quatermain and Holly with the added

⁵³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 18

⁵⁴Dan Wylie, "White Writers and Shaka Zulu," diss., Rhodes Univ., 1995. Dr.Wylie calls it a "deliberate mysteriousness."

dimension of innate spiritual awareness.

Haggard's attempt to write an all-African story indicates a sympathy with the Zulus and understanding of his own powerful position as author in promulgating the image of the Zulu nation for future posterity. Abdul R. JanMohamed stresses the importance, as does George Lamming, of the literary text as a site of cultural control and as a highly effective instrument for the determination of 'native' literary representation. According to JanMohamed, in imaginative colonial literature "to say 'native' is automatically to say 'evil'". JanMohamed asserts that the writers of such texts tend to fetishize other races when representing them fictionally⁵⁵ while Gayatri Spivak recognizes the difficulties inherent in constructing the speaking position of the "other or subaltern voice" at all.⁵⁶ In essence, Haggard assumes that he is doing what JanMohamed terms the "bracketing"⁵⁷ of the values, assumptions and ideology of his culture but by spiritual means. Haggard recognizes these problems but understands them to be mitigated through his belief in spiritual inspiration rather than a conscious attempt to withhold his own beliefs from the text. Thus the Zulu characters in Haggard's stories are recognized by the author to be problematic but not automatically evil. It is equally difficult to view such complex creations as fetishistic when the characters espouse a dynamic, pragmatic spirituality, to which the author himself aspires.

After Nada the Lily came Allan Quatermain in which Haggard fully develops the narrative technique which he subsequently used to reveal his spiritual ideas over the course of his writing career. To understand adequately the author's practice in this regard, it is

⁵⁵Abdul JanMohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory," Post-Colonial studies Reader, ed. Bill Ashcroft *et al.*, (London: Routledge, 1995) 19.

⁵⁶Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", Post-Colonial Studies Reader, ed. Bill Ashcroft *et al.*, (London: Routledge, 1995) 24-25. Spivak "inspects" the absence of a text that can "answer one back after the planned epistemic violence of the imperialist project".

⁵⁷JanMohamed 18.

necessary to digress briefly and explore Haggard's relation to his character's narrative in order to demonstrate the extent to which the author's views can be said to be represented therein. The difficulty in doing so for the majority of his writings is that everything said within the narrative framework is filtered through at least two sources making it difficult to find the author's voice. First it comes through the narrative of his characters: for example, Quatermain or Holly in She, who have their own position in the text as stoic central narrators. Then the texts are usually presented as surviving relics or manuscripts found at a later date and related by an anonymous primary narrator, and this makes it difficult to name any specific character as the "real" Haggard.

To find the author's voice in relation to spirituality it is therefore necessary to look at two further points. The first is to consider what he says about his narrators. Haggard states that he writes in the company of Quatermain, Holly, Umslopogaas and Eric,⁵⁸ who are, to a certain extent, himself and can therefore be said to represent his views. The second point is more difficult to address. This point is that it is possible for a character to hold the author's opinions on some issues and not on others. Thus it is equally necessary to examine how similar the views represented by these characters are to those privately and publicly expressed by Haggard. In comparing the two sets of views, Haggard's and those of his characters, in the narrow area of spirituality, an obvious set of parallels quickly develops.

Quatermain and Holly express a belief in the supernatural and in reincarnation, and show a propensity to believe in an afterlife, as did the author. Quatermain believes in witchdoctors, Holly meets Ayesha; even Eric Brighteyes befriends the witch Swanchild, all much as Haggard himself encountered spiritual apparitions and witchdoctors in his real world experience. As stoic witnesses to supernatural presence, his fictional characters' ideas parallel Haggard's own stated belief in the supernatural. Through their mediation the reader is brought face to face with the inexplicable world of spirits in which Haggard believed.

⁵⁸ H.R. Haggard The Days of My Life Vol.2, 21,85-86.

Moreover, Haggard brings the reader to this encounter by means of stoic rationalist characters like Quatermain and Holly, not converted believers, thus encouraging the sceptical reader to believe with him.

It was to support his narrator's point of view that Haggard went to great lengths, providing his readers with precise and accurate detail. In King Solomon's Mines he changed the passage in which the heroes are saved by an eclipse because it was pointed out that an eclipse could not have occurred at the time it did in his story. He also contacted classical scholars to confirm details of his maps, foreign languages, personal names and other terms. Conversely, he would obscure a location or time so as to maintain an aura of mystery about his tales: hence his use of underground journeys in She and Allan Quatermain so that characters can no longer give their exact location, thereby making it difficult to disprove his tales. By the deliberate confusing of reality and fiction, Haggard blurs his readers' separation of the two, contributing to his fiction a seemingly realistic origin. Dan Wylie points out that travel literature had been influenced by a vast number of pseudo-fictional texts which fed archetypal patterns and prejudices that would in turn nourish the imperial adventure story in a circular nature⁵⁹ similarly blurring the line between fiction and reality in the mind of the reading public. Peter Keating also notes that "It was frequently difficult in fiction and in life to determine where 'history' ended and 'contemporary' adventure began."⁶⁰

By introducing this confusion of real and fictional elements surrounding spiritualism and Zulu religion, Haggard was able to transcend the boundaries of pure fiction and raise a sense of wonder and questioning in his readers. By confusing himself with Allan Quatermain, or Holly, who like the travel writers of the late Victorian era return with seemingly impossible

⁵⁹Dan Wylie 116.

⁶⁰Peter Keating, The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel 1875-1914 (London: Secker & Warburg, 1989) 353.

tales, he maintained the aura of reality about aspects of his stories. Thus Haggard further builds on the ambiguity he established in Allan Quatermain, She and Eric Brighteyes by affecting verisimilitude.

His narrative is therefore driven by a philosophy which necessitated his mentally becoming his own characters for the purposes of writing. This was easy to do with the character Allan Quatermain precisely because the author based the character on his personal experiences. Even if the story had little to do with spiritual transmission or reincarnation directly, Haggard, believing in his own prescience, thought this story came back to haunt him in a much more personal way. It began:

I have just buried my boy, my poor handsome boy of whom I was so proud, and my heart is broken. It is very hard having only one son and losing him thus, but God's will be done. Who am I that I should complain? The great wheel of Fate rolls on like a Juggernaut, and crushes us all in turn, some soon, some late- it does not matter when, in the end it crushes us all. We do not prostrate ourselves before it like the poor Indians; we fly hither and thither-- we cry for mercy; but it is of no use. The black fate thunders on and in its season reduces us to powder.⁶¹

These first fictional words of Allan Quatermain proved all too true for Haggard some years later. Although he might well have been influenced by the death of his first child, Haggard could not help but feel that somehow he may have foreseen the death of his son Jock, and accordingly he held himself in some way responsible. A pervasive fatalism infects the narrative from cover to cover. Melancholy soliloquies on death appear repeatedly, as in this excerpt from a monologue by Quatermain:

⁶¹H.R. Haggard, Allan Quatermain (London: Longmans, 1887) 1. Thomas Carlyle makes a very similar statement years earlier: "To me the universe was all void of life, of purpose, of volition.... it was one huge, dead, immeasurable steam-engine, rolling on... in its dead indifference to grind me limb from limb, O, the vast gloomy solitary Golgotha, and Mill of Death." (Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, bk. II, ch.7) This indicates Haggard's possible close acquaintance with Carlyle's work.

Nothing can loiter on the road and check the progress of things upwards to Life, or the rush of things downwards towards Death. The stern policeman Fate moves us and them on.... until at last the abyss swallows us, and from the shores of the Transitory we are hurled into the sea of the Eternal.⁶²

Allan Quatermain thus continues the spiritual motif as the hero attempts to fathom the mysteries of life and death, which are further developed in the next story, Allan's Wife.

Another of Haggard's Zulu spiritual characters, Indaba-Zimbi, appears in Allan's Wife. Haggard develops the qualities first displayed in Nout, the spiritual advisor and keeper of the holy flame in She, into the witchdoctor Indaba-Zimbi who becomes Allan's spiritual advisor. Like Nout he is a wise "gate-keeper"⁶³ figure - that is, one from outside Western society who holds the key to spiritual insight for Westerners willing to seek it out. Such a gate-keeper is an important symbol of the spiritual power reposit in alien cultures for Haggard's cosmology. It is both a symbolic representation of the inaccessibility of the spirit world to modern Western thought and science, and a symbol of hope in an afterlife, the exact opposite of the character Ayesha. Thus through one figure, the gate-keeper, Haggard justifies the failure to penetrate the spirit world by scientific means and provides the reason for that failure -- the unwillingness of the spirit world itself to be penetrated by rationalist unbelievers. In Haggard's rationale, the gateway to spirituality is simply no longer available to Western humanity, and must be looked for among other peoples.⁶⁴ This is the message subliminally buried in Allan Quatermain's mystical experiences and in the strange powers he witnesses in Zulu witchdoctors. In the story, Allan's Wife, Haggard incorporates more of his own mystical concepts in African characters through the return of Quatermain.

⁶²H.R. Haggard, Allan Quatermain 20.

⁶³The term "gate-keeper" will be used here to denote non-European fictional characters who control western access to spiritual knowledge.

⁶⁴Dan Wylie 126. Dan Wylie points out that such characters have access "precisely because of their 'wildness', to a deeper spirituality than the Christian."

The character Allan Quatermain made a literary comeback in Allan's Wife, after his early demise in the romance bearing his name. Much as Conan Doyle had done with Sherlock Holmes, Haggard killed off his hero too soon, and the public demanded more of him. The author revives his protagonist by delving into his past. In the story of Allan's Wife, Allan Quatermain is brought back as a younger man. He briefly meets a girl in his childhood and later again, by chance, encounters her deep in the African jungle. Allan, after being involved in a battle in which his Dutch hosts are killed by the Zulus, is himself rescued from thirst and starvation by Stella, the same girl from his youth, now a woman. Allan is also befriended by an old witchdoctor whose powers to travel outside the body help him eventually to rescue Stella from a tribe of baboons led by the feral Tota who, like Allan, has fallen in love with the heroine.⁶⁵ The witchdoctor, Indaba-Zimbi, is clearly intended as a good character who possesses supernatural gate-keeper powers beyond the understanding of white men and their science, and thus is able to help Quatermain.

He is a powerful figure, who describes himself as a "rainmaker" as opposed to other witchdoctors who engage in poisoning and "smelling out". His name was adapted from an elderly Zulu whose acquaintance Haggard made in Natal.⁶⁶ At one point the character plays a trick on the Zulus, having Allan feign death when to all appearances he is speared by Indaba-zimbi, clearly demonstrating the superior spiritual powers of the witchdoctor, powers

⁶⁵F. Phiefer, "Men and Women, Africa and Civilization: A Study of the African Stories of Hemingway and the African Novels of Haggard, Greene and Bellow," diss., U of New Jersey, 1979: The author notes an element of homo-erotic love present in some Haggard stories and considers it part of the author's theme. Although there is no direct evidence of sexual love between the two women, their love is the same spiritual love Haggard reserves for his heroes and heroines, raising the possibility Haggard considered spiritual love to be genderless.

⁶⁶Louisa Margitson Haggard, "Lady Haggard's Diary" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, c.1881, 4. Lady Haggard records Rider spending an entire day taking down this man's story of alleged abuse at the hands of Boer farmers.

the Christian Quatermain did not have, and science could not explain. Allan tells Indaba-Zimbi, "I felt nothing but, to my sight, it seemed as though it [a spear] had passed through me. ...The spear is red...look at the blood on the assegai!... watch ...it grows white".⁶⁷ The stoic Allan responds in disbelief -- "How on earth did you do that, I asked in amazement?" "Do not ask me, Macumazahn", he gasped. "You white men are very clever, but you don't know everything. There are men in the world who can make people believe they see things which they do not see."⁶⁸ Indaba-zimbi is the quintessence of Haggard's developing gate-keeper figure. He is not a Christian and his powers are beyond the understanding of the ever-rational Allan. Thus both the white man's science and religion are superseded while the Zulu supernatural element triumphs, maintaining the parallel with Haggard's privately stated beliefs. Indaba-Zimbi's role is also in some respects analogous to that of a European medium. Haggard thought that, like the European mediums he encountered, many witchdoctors were fakes, especially when they worked for money. But some, he believed, possessed real power and were capable of acting as intermediaries between the living and dead. The character Indaba-Zimbi is also one of the instances where Haggard seems "to hint at a form of cultural relativism in which African tribal society and 'Africanness' might be compared on at least neutral terms with white Anglo-Saxon society."⁶⁹ In Africa these powers were not corrupted by rationalism and atheism as they were in Europe; they still remained a strong part of Zulu culture. As Allan immerses himself deeper in this culture, accepting its spirituality, he too begins to regain his latent spiritual powers and faith, albeit through the assistance of the

⁶⁷H.R. Haggard, Allan's Wife (London: Longmans, 1889) 32.

⁶⁸H.R. Haggard, Allan's Wife 92.

⁶⁹ T. Rodgers, "Empire of the Imagination: Rider Haggard, Popular Fiction and Africa." In: Msiska & Hyland eds., Writing and Africa. (N.Y.:Addison, Wesley, Longman, 1997) 111.

witchdoctor. He gains an ability to tap into the spiritual world through trance and dreams, something Haggard and the entire spiritualist movement ardently hoped was possible.⁷⁰

By following the career of Allan Quatermain, as in the case of Ayesha, one can see progress in Haggard's religious ideas. Quatermain acts as a stoic foil, observing and commenting on the various religions he encounters. He is constantly amazed at his experiences with the spirit world but never gives the reader cause to doubt their genuine character. In King Solomon's Mines he discusses this spirit world extensively; in Allan Quatermain he sees the evil of organized religion and the uselessness of missionaries, while in Allan's Wife he encounters Indaba-Zimbi, accepting his wisdom, friendship and spiritual guidance. With his help Allan sees the ghost of his dead wife, uses the witch doctor's magic, and dreams of the future himself. After King Solomon's Mines, Allan Quatermain, and Allan's Wife, the Quatermain character made regular appearances. Marie, Child of Storm, Allan and the Holy Flower, The Ancient Allan, She and Allan, along with seven other stories all feature the same stoic hunter. Each comments on Haggard's latest thinking on religious topics, and helps the reader to follow his search.

Haggard gained the interest of his European audience by addressing not just their desire for exotic adventure, but by addressing their spiritual needs as well. Through fiction the author pursued a veiled exploration of spirituality. In a twisting, turning course it runs throughout his adventures, eventually encompassing his entire literary persona. He looked into new philosophies, explored the mysteries of spirituality and related his findings through stories of adventure and romance. His constant philosophizing about spiritualism and religion certainly reflected the questions raised in the public mind after Darwinian-inspired

⁷⁰Dan Wylie 126. Dr. Wylie points out that the white man's desire for the African's occult wisdom is symbolic of his need for power. In Nada the Lily Mopo dies and the white man lives on "wiser and in power-indeed empowered by new knowledge."

rationalism had taken root.⁷¹ For his readers he provided an alternative in a literary context to the spiritual void offered by atheist rationalism and the bygone days of pure faith.

For himself he created a forum to explore and explain his own beliefs without being ridiculed publicly. The basis for this forum was at first fashioned in the spiritualist salons of London, and then developed in Africa where he encountered different religions first hand. In it, Europeans were not carriers of the "White Man's Burden" to civilize and Christianize. Rather, they were the ones in need of ministering. Thus African witchdoctors appear as wise, powerful and holy, while European priests are weak and worldly. According to this philosophy, Africans, like the Norse people, are closer to their roots, and thus to Heaven, possessing unearthly powers which Christian priests cannot muster. This philosophy reflected Haggard's own belief that no mediator was needed between God and humanity, but that Western humanity had lost contact with the spiritual and thus required the helping hand offered Allan by spiritualist and witchdoctors.

Moreover, Haggard perceived a significant likeness between the London spiritualists he left behind and the highly developed spiritual beliefs he found in South Africa. In fact the two not only blended well in terms of a common faith in spirits and reincarnation, but among the Zulu spiritualism had a practical side. For example, there were stories of people seeking out the help of witchdoctors in finding cattle and lost objects, reflected in Haggard's fiction through characters like Mopo in Nada the Lily. Because of their similarity to Western spiritualists, whom the author considered at the forefront of Western spiritual thinking, Haggard's witchdoctors provided him with a foil against which he unfavourably matched his own lack of faith and that of the Western world. Their real-world abilities provided a visible link between this world and the unknown, providing proof of their connection to true spirituality - proof that European religions and rationalists alike lacked.

⁷¹Glen Barkley St.John, The Anatomy of Horror (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1978) 73-74.

In his choice of topic, however, he made the same mistake as Conan Doyle, in that his brand of spiritualism, while relevant, appealed only to a relatively select group who were inclined towards the subject. The Society for Psychical Research was at its peak and the Theosophical Society had about 100,000 members in the 1890s.⁷² The rest of his potential audience cared little for the mystical musings of either Doyle or Haggard, as reflected in their declining book sales. Doyle, learning from his mistakes, started emphasizing the mysteries Holmes solved, and this making him into the more conventional figure known today. Haggard reversed Doyle's career, in his early days writing best-selling adventure stories and later dealing with what truly interested him, spiritualism and its manifestation in his own generation. He suffered a consequent drop in sales and critical acclaim as his audience's interest dwindled.

Thus again it can be seen that the spiritual element in the author's work was reflective of ideas relevant in his day to day life. In a sense this is directly reflected in the stories when the author takes on the persona of one of his own characters – mixing his own life story into his stories, blending spiritual events in his own life with his fiction. This is evidence of yet another aspect of the centrality of spirituality to the author's work.

⁷²Peter Keating 133. Keating acknowledges the depth of the Darwinian impact on literature; "Few British writers of the 1880's and 1890's needed Nietzsche to inform them that God was dead -- Butler was one of the pall-bearers at the funeral organized by Darwin some years earlier." He quotes from Winwood Reader The Martyrdom of Man (1872); "The following facts result from our investigations -- super-natural Christianity is false. God-worship is idolatry -- prayer is useless. The soul is not immortal. There are no rewards and there are no punishments in a future state."

CHAPTER SEVEN:
A DEATH IN THE FAMILY

1890-1903

Two important factors accelerated a decline in Haggard's sales over the next decade. The first lay in his anti-Catholic rhetoric, a problem Andrew Lang had warned him against. The second was his representation of Zulu spirituality to an audience rapidly losing interest in the topic. Both factors were as influenced by traumatic events in the author's life, especially the death of his only son, as they were by the pervasive bigotry, hegemonic nationalism and adventurous imperialism of the era. In fact his attacks on the Catholic Church were combined with a divergent search for a viable substitute, one that could offer hope of reunion with his lost son and, although he never mentions her, possibly his first child. The profusion of beliefs within the Anglican Church afforded Haggard the opportunity to continue his search without visibly abandoning conventional religion. For the sake of simplicity this chapter will begin with Haggard's anti-Catholic rhetoric, followed by a discussion of his representation of African spirituality.

As if inspired by an episode in one of Haggard's stories, his friend J. Gladwyn Jebb, president of the Santa Fe Mining Corporation in Mexico, in 1891 invited the author on an expedition to find the lost treasures of the Aztecs. Prior to leaving, Haggard experienced a premonition that he would never see his son again, but presumed it would be himself, destined for a distant and dangerous land, who would die. Haggard records that when he left for Mexico, he knew "almost without doubt, that in this world he and I would never see each other more."¹ The premonition was so strong that he put his earthly affairs in order before leaving.

¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life (London: Longmans, 1926) Vol.2, 42.

I went through the agony of a separation which I knew to be the last.... I said nothing of this secret foreknowledge of mine nor did I attempt to turn from the road that I had chosen because I was aware of what awaited me thereon. Only I made every possible preparation for my death - even sealing up all important papers in a dispatch-box and depositing them in Messrs. Gosling's Bank, where I knew they would be at once available.²

While still on his treasure hunt, Haggard received word that his son Jock had died of pneumonia. It left him heart-broken. Jock was his only son: "I stood by my son's grave and read what I had carved upon his cross: 'I shall go to him'... surely my spirit will find his spirit, though it must search from world to world. If, with all Earth's suffering millions, I am deluded, then let the same everlasting darkness be our bed and canopy."³ Jock's death fortified Haggard's spiritual convictions, giving him more reason than ever before to believe in a spirit world where he could again meet his son. He toured Mexico with little enthusiasm, the unsuccessful treasure search was called off, and he returned to England, moving to Ditchingham, Norfolk, and entering a long, deep depression. He wrote little, and would not speak of his son at all; in fact he forbade all mention of him in the household.⁴

Jock's death had a two-fold impact on Rider Haggard. First, he almost completely broke faith with conventional organized religion. The Church had failed to protect his son from death and provided no immediate recourse or possibility of reunion. Moreover, he already believed the Church of England to be under Catholic influences leading it away from a Broadchurch⁵ frame of mind which, at least to a degree, tolerated spiritualist ideas allowing

²H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 42.

³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 43.

⁴Lilias R. Haggard, The Cloak That I left (Norwich: Northumberland, 1951) 156-157.

⁵Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1966) 554. The Broadchurch movement was founded in 1847 by Frederic Denison Maurice and consisted of scattered individuals working towards the same loosely defined ends. The movement, which included Baden Powell, looked vaguely back

for such a reunion. In the view of the Oxford-based High Church Movement,⁶ Haggard's hope for a spiritual reunion with his son could be considered tantamount to heresy⁷ in that Haggard's understanding of reunion did not fall strictly within Anglican theological beliefs. Again Haggard's ideas accorded more with those of the Cambridge-based Broadchurchmen whose understanding of spiritualism was not so antagonistic to his own.

In his anti-Catholic belief he was equally influenced by his earlier contact with Bishop Colenso, himself identified by Chadwick as a Broadchurchman, who ridiculed Catholicism and High Anglicanism. A 19th-century source quotes Colenso as having written, "I am certain it would be a most interesting and instructive study if somebody would pursue thoroughly the connection between the ancient solar worship and church Christianity of which Romanism and orthodox Protestantism are only different developments."⁸ Haggard,

to "Arnold and Coleridge" and believed, among other things, that Genesis was irreconcilable with geology.

⁶Kenneth Hylson-Smith, High Churchmanship in the Church of England; From the Sixteenth Century to the Late Twentieth Century (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993) vii-xv, 170-173. The main division within the Church of England in the late nineteenth century is identified as being between Evangelicals and the High Church represented by parallel structures. The Evangelicals were represented by the Clapham Sect, the Church Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and such newspapers and periodicals as the Christian Observer and the Record. For the High Church the parallel development was achieved through the agency of the Hackney Phalanx, the society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Haggard clearly identified with the Evangelicals, or at very least with the Broadchurchmen.

⁷Hylson-Smith 173-174. A bitter fight was raging within the church itself whereby supporters of both the Evangelical and High Church camps would persecute each other. Notably Hylson-Smith identifies a "kind of fifth column" led by the likes of Cardinal Newman (before his conversion in 1845), Froude and Pusey fighting for the Anglo-Catholic camp. The last of these as Dean of St. Paul's from 1871-1890 worked towards union with the Catholic Church and a purge of all Protestantism.

⁸Theodore Wirgman, The History of the English Church and People in South Africa (London: Longmans, 1895) 195.

who had always disliked the dogmatic elements of Christianity, quite naturally sided with the Evangelical faction⁹ of the Broadchurch who were more inclined to accept his spiritualist understanding of religion. In fact Haggard did more than simply side with the Broadchurchmen: he actively if indirectly attacked the High Church by attacking Catholicism, lashing out at what he believed to be evidence of monstrous excesses by the Catholic Church in Mexico.

While in Mexico City, Haggard viewed the remains of a young woman and child who had purportedly been bricked, alive, into a convent wall. The experience shocked him so much that he included it in his next book. He raised a storm of controversy in 1893 with the publication of Montezuma's Daughter, based on his Mexican experience. The novel begins with a scene that could well be found in the works of Edgar Allan Poe. In the basement of a Catholic priory an unfortunate young nun and her child are bricked into a wall while still alive. Haggard claimed such immuring of nuns to have been practised by the Roman Church in the Middle Ages. He writes, in a footnote to Montezuma's Daughter, of his visit to a monastery in Mexico where the bodies of young girls and children had been dug out of walls

⁹J.W.C. Wand, Anglicanism in History & Today (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1961) 175, & Hylson-Smith 241-2. A number of Evangelicals viewed radical Biblical criticism as a particularly virulent assertion of the supremacy of reason over faith and their opposition to it took on the appearance of a crusade. However, others, with whom Haggard necessarily must have sided, welcomed Biblical criticism as a means to greater understanding. Essentially Haggard sided with the evangelicals not because he believed in the literal meaning of the Bible, as many evangelicals did, but because he held common cause with them against the ritualistic, dogmatic High-Church movement. Haggard was in essence a Christian Humanist who tried to stretch the principles of worldly acceptance in order to amalgamate the whole sphere of existing science, theology, and society within Biblical principles, leaving nothing outside the sphere of possible salvation. His position came closest to that of the Cambridge Platonists of the Anglican church, otherwise known as Broadchurchmen. The Broadchurchmen were, in the extreme, Deists. The Broadchurchmen "thought it wise to keep the doctrines of the Church to the fewest and simplest." From this movement Anglican Modernism and the beginning of liberal theology eventually grew, under the continental influence of Adolph van Harnack's What is Christianity published in 1901 and in the shadow of thinkers like Albert Schweitzer.

after being immured in this manner. Haggard tacitly accuses Catholic officialdom, or certain elements in it, of being monsters who condoned such barbaric practices in order to prevent scandal:

Lest such cruelty should seem impossible and unprecedented, the writer may mention that in the Museum of the City of Mexico he has seen the desiccated body of a young woman, which was found immured in the walls of a religious building. With it is the body of an infant. Although the exact cause of her execution remains a matter of conjecture, there can be no doubt as to the manner of her death, for, in addition to other evidences, the marks of the rope with which her limbs were bound in life are still distinctly visible. Such in those days were the mercies of religion.¹⁰

He was accordingly roundly denounced for anti-Catholic propaganda. The British Catholic Truth Society censured him, condemning his work as the "culture of the horrible".¹¹ It seemed that Haggard managed to achieve what Lang had earlier warned him against, the alienation of a large part of his reading public. Despite condemnation, and being called an outright liar by many, he maintained that what he wrote was historically accurate, putting the question to the public to find other evidence to support or deny his claims. In fact his point of view on the issue enjoyed some popularity. Geoff Best writes in "Evangelicalism and the Victorians" that the principle of "No Popery" which ranged from "cultivated distaste to deep and genuine horror of Rome" among Evangelicals¹², was shared by most of the Protestant public. Indeed, Church of England Evangelicals "helped to give a lead to general Protestant

¹⁰H.R. Haggard, Montezuma's Daughter (London: Longmans, 1893) 71. Haggard printed a retraction and removed the note in the 1895 edition of the romance and all subsequent reprints, apologising for having caused such a controversy.

¹¹Anonymous rev., "The Culture of the Horrible: Mr. Rider Haggard's Stories," Church Quarterly Review, XXV, Jan. 1888: 389-411.

¹²Geoff Best, "Evangelicalism and the Victorians", in Protestant Thought The Victorian Crisis of Faith Anthony Symondson ed., (London: SPCK, 1970) 47.

thought.”¹³

Several letters on the subject appeared in English newspapers which forced Haggard to defend and modify his statements somewhat. In a letter to the Pall Mall Gazette, January 31st, 1894, he admits that he may have been wrong to assert that it was a general practice of the Catholic Church to immure nuns, but again presents the evidence of his experience in Mexico, adding that the "most ardent defenders of the Inquisition will admit, cruelties as great, or greater, were in those days commonly practised in the name of religion."¹⁴ He further cites letters he received, confirming similar cases of bodies discovered in England on the sites of Catholic monasteries.¹⁵

Indeed, in a related but somewhat earlier letter¹⁶, Haggard himself cites the instance of an immured corpse found in the former monastery of Waltham Cross, now Old House in Golf's lane, Chestnut, London. He also refers readers to Grattan Guinness's book Mexico which mentions numerous cases of such bodies found in walls, and cites various other cases of similar atrocities. Yet another article appeared on January 15, 1894, again discussing the case at Waltham Cross in which Haggard addresses the Catholic Truth Society and a Father Thurston who began the controversy by publicly accusing Haggard of making such stories up. Haggard points to Sir Walter Scott as a fellow supposed liar and bigot, asking if all such instances are "the mere inventions of malicious and bigoted Anglicans with Sir Walter Scott at the head of them".¹⁷ He later corresponded with James Britton, then president of the Catholic Truth Society, shedding further light on his true feelings. Although he states his

¹³ Best 47.

¹⁴H.R. Haggard, "The Immuring of Nuns," Pall Mall Gazette 31 Jan. 1894.

¹⁵H.R. Haggard, Letter, Pall Mall Gazette 20 Jan. 1894: 11.

¹⁶ H.R. Haggard, Letter, Pall Mall Gazette 11 Jan. 1894.

¹⁷H.R. Haggard, Letter, The Pall Mall Gazette 11 Jan.1894: 1-2.

respect and admiration for the church as an institution, he also says that, "one is astonished to find so close a resemblance between the institutions of the American Indian, the ancient Roman and the modern Catholic."¹⁸ Haggard, moreover, shows up the ignorance of his detractors as they confuse Peruvian and Aztec mythology in attempts to explain the bodies Haggard saw in Mexico.¹⁹

The final word on the subject comes, again in the Pall Mall Gazette, some months later wherein Haggard responds to accusations that he had promoted intolerance against Catholics. He writes that, "I cannot be held responsible for the willful or ignorant fanaticism of religious bigots."²⁰ However, it is readily apparent that Haggard's focus, in terms of the anti-clerical dimension in his writing, was indeed centred on anti-Catholicism. He argues against a celibate priesthood, against monogamy as a universal principle, and ultimately against the Pope. In this area he found a strong ally in Kipling²¹, himself a Freemason. The death of Haggard's son predisposed him to accept Kipling's anti-Catholic beliefs, and their opinions became particularly pointed during World War I when they discussed the role of the Papacy in supporting Austria against Britain and the other Allied Powers. Once again Haggard's strong interest in the spiritual dimension caused him trouble, yet he refused to give up the issue.

¹⁸H.R. Haggard, Letter, to James Britten, January 6, 1894, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, Cheyne Collection.

¹⁹H.R. Haggard, Letter to James Britten, 2 Jan. 1894, Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge.

²⁰H.R. Haggard, Letter, Pall Mall Gazette 17 April 1894.

²¹Janet & Adam Smith ed., Henry James and Robert Louis Stevenson: A Record of friendship and criticism (London: Longman's, 1948) 184. Haggard met Kipling in 1889 while Kipling was still a relative newcomer in Literary circles. They were introduced at the Savile through Andrew Lang and became friends despite their eventual literary rivalry, a rivalry so fierce it prompted Henry James to write to Robert Louis Stevenson in Samoa that "Kipling has killed one immortal, Rider Haggard", that same year.

Although Kipling no doubt encouraged Haggard's anti-Catholic sentiments, for many years Haggard had already objected to what he perceived as the Catholic exclusivity represented in the doctrine of apostolic succession. From his initial distrust of such exclusivity he mounted arguments against celibacy, monastic life and dogmatic beliefs in general. Haggard's anti-Catholicism in fact surfaced as early as 1880 just before his honeymoon, at which time his friend and school mate Justin Sheil, intending to become a Trappist monk, corresponded with the author who tried to convince him against taking his vows. The first surviving communication derives from 1879, the year preceding Haggard's marriage, when Justin responded to a letter which he regarded as "impertinent", at least when addressed to a strict Roman Catholic.

Reflecting on his attempt to dissuade Brother Basil, as Justin became known, Haggard notes that since his youth he had learned that all religions "spring from the same light, through the world, being as it were, cut crystal, the light flows from its facets in different-coloured rays."²² He begins his polemic with Brother Basil by fundamentally disagreeing with the principal sacrament of absolution, preferring the Low Church Anglican approach of penance. According to Haggard, a Catholic could do anything so long as he repented, whereas the Protestant must worry all his life and try to do good works to atone for his sins.²³ Haggard saw this as a fundamental difference between the two doctrines, one of which provided for the bettering of the human condition, while the other gave the individual a means to salvation without any benefit to humanity. Brother Basil writes in response:

You have used hard words, and you will let me add that I think it unworthy of a man of your mental quality to live year after year confronted by the Catholic Church...and be content to derive all your knowledge of it from some vulgar Protestant pamphlet....You go to the

²²H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 148.

²³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 153-158.

originals to discover what Hegel or Comte really teach, and you are eager enough to find out all about Darwinism, etc., but as for Catholics, you not only don't inquire from them what they really teach but you assume [sic] to lecture them.²⁴

Haggard notes his feeling that Brother Basil has done no better than to hide himself away from both the good and evil of the world, and in doing so has precluded the opportunity of doing good. In hiding he has only physically prevented himself from committing sins, but "in that case does not the wish assume the proportions of the accomplished deed?" Haggard goes on to support his views from scripture. He also recalls visiting Brother Basil at the latter's monastery where he was struck by the repressive life style. A Yorkshireman Haggard met was allowed to speak to him only of his prize bull, and the visitor remembered how "the words flowed from him and when given a signal he fell silent again." Very unimpressed with this repression of earthly joy, Haggard "remained in moral rebellion against the terrific system which turned men into dumb creatures and fed their bodies with the bread and water of affliction."²⁵

In a more general sense the volatile political situation coloured the thoughts of many patriotic Englishmen, including Haggard, against Ireland and Catholicism, the two being strongly associated at the time. The Fenian Brotherhood, formed in 1858 in New York, aimed at overthrowing British rule in Ireland by force. O'Donovan Rossa and James Stephens were arrested in Dublin in 1865 with supplies of arms, an invasion of Canada was attempted a year later, and a general uprising planned for Ireland in 1867. It failed, but further outrages continued, including a bomb blast in 1868 at Clerkenwell in London, which killed 12 and injured 120. Haggard grew up when fresh public memories of such violence must have had a strong effect on him. Haggard's later diaries repeatedly comment on Irish

²⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 148. It is interesting that Brother Basil's response mentions Darwinism, again emphasizing its centrality to Haggard's thinking.

²⁵H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.1, 154.

“atrocities” and the Catholic Church’s tacit sanctioning of what Haggard called “murder”.²⁶ The author writes in connection with I.R.A. bombings that if “churches are to be judged by their fruits, terrible must be the condemnation of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops and priests... the Roman Church from the Pope down to ex-Cardinal Vaughan stands self-condemned before Heaven and Earth.”²⁷ Haggard later speculates that “at the bottom of it [tacit support for the I.R.A.] is the church’s unabated lust for temporal power and political influence,”²⁸ again directly connecting anti-Catholic sentiments to a political role he believed the church should not play because it detracted from its primary spiritual role. Again, Haggard was by no means alone in his distaste for the Irish. Bernard Shaw, himself an Irishman, wrote “I know that there is no beggar on Earth as shameless as an Irish beggar. I have seen them beg when they are perfectly well off – beg from poor people...and I know the flexibility which enables an Irishman to charm you to your face and tear you to pieces the moment your back is turned.”²⁹

There also existed the long-standing mythology in popular culture dating back to the Reformation, or Henry VIII in the English case, of "the black legend", a collection of widely believed stories about Catholic atrocities committed about the time of the Inquisition.³⁰

²⁶H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 5 June 1922.

²⁷ H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 14 Feb. 20.

²⁸H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 14 Feb. 20.

²⁹Claude Rawson, “Killing the Poor: An Anglo-Irish Theme”, Essays in Criticism Wall et al., Vol. xlix. No.2, April 1999, 169.

³⁰A.S.Turberville, The Spanish Inquisition (London: Thornton, Butterworth, 1932) 1-3., and William Langer World History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980) 478, 711. The black legend began with the Inquisition in Spain in 1478, and was established further when the Inquisition was instated at Rome in 1542 under Pope Paul III. As late as 1638 Galileo was forced to recant his defence of the Copernican System before the Inquisition, fuelling more stories and rumours about injustices and atrocities.

Haggard believed such reports to contain truth, and fictionalized them in his Mexican and later Spanish novels, where he features evil priests and the horrors of a secretive and cruel church.

Further evidence of his anti-Catholic convictions can be traced back to the original draft of She, wherein Haggard expresses similar anti-Irish sentiment. A possible reason for this can be found in the fact that the Home Rule question was of great concern at the time, the newspapers being full of what Haggard called "Irish atrocities". Moreover, he later compared Irishmen to savages in his private writing.³¹ Claude Rawson again points to Shaw and Swift as Irish national advocates for what he calls the "man-slaughter" of these immigrants.

The phenomena transcend ideological differences, just as Kurtz's 'exterminate all the brutes' in Heart of Darkness emanates, not from a benevolent tyrant, but from the proponent of an enlightened and liberal view on empire and race... J.M. Coetzee has pointed out how, in South Africa, from the seventeenth century onwards, 'the idleness of the Hottentot is denounced in much the same spirit as the idleness of beggars and wastrels in Europe' as an inferior race within European boundaries 'at home', the savage Irish natives were in some ways comparable.³²

Irish migrants were also presented as both criminals and as those taking low-paying jobs from the English working class, in the original manuscript of She where Ayesha, like Shaw and Swift, suggests their extermination.³³ However, on the advice of Lang, Haggard edited

³¹H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 5 June 1922.

³² Claude Rawson, "Killing the Poor: An Anglo-Irish Theme", Essays in Criticism Wall et al., Vol. xlix. No.2, April 1999, 111.

³³H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 5 June 1922. Also see: Norman Etherington ed., The Annotated She 234, and Gerald Parsons ed., Religion in Victorian Britain: Victorian Roman Catholicism: Emancipation, Expansion and Achievement (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1988) 183. Haggard's contentions are supported by recent historiographer Gerald Parsons; Parsons refers to the Main expansion in Irish Catholic immigration in the 1840s & 50s (famine years) as

out such pointed rhetoric for fear of alienating Catholic readers. Regardless of Lang's professional opinion however, Haggard continued to attack Catholicism in his public work and in his private correspondence with Kipling. Coetzee's understanding of the denunciation of the Hottentot perhaps comes closest to Haggard's views on the Irish expressed in the original version of She.

Haggard's earliest source of anti-Catholic sentiment, however, lay closer to home. Raised in the countryside, he held Low Church Anglican beliefs at a time when the Low Church was undergoing a reaction against the largely city-based High Church Movement, which attempted to foist Catholic ritual and ceremony on its essentially Evangelical rural brethren.³⁴ The Anglo-Catholic High Church granted absolution from sin, denied its priests wives and leaned towards revering an earthly king (the Pope) surrounded by ritual, all elements disliked by the Low Church,³⁵ which loosely included Broadchurchmen among whom Haggard could be numbered. Montezuma's Daughter provides a good example of the dim view of the Catholic Church as the archetype of ritualized and politicized organized religion held by Haggard as a Broadchurchman. Interestingly, Patricia Murphy points to an equal association, this time of Catholicism and eroticism, in She where Ayesha is "sacrilegiously dressed in erotic 'white-clinging vestments.'" Ayesha assumes the vale of the priest for which she is terribly unsuited as a pagan, a woman, and a sensualist. The heretic

"very much a reality" that created a predominate working-class constituency within English Catholicism. As late as the 1870s the proclamation by the Vatican Council of papal infallibility aroused fears of the Pope's claims and jurisdiction in England. In 1874, Gladstone published a pamphlet entitled "The Vatican Decrees in the bearing on civil allegiance" followed by "Vaticanism" in 1875, in which he argued that after the definition of Papal infallibility a logical Roman Catholic must be disloyal in civil allegiance.

³⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 28-30. Haggard's close friend and future sister-in-law Marjorie Barber carried this reaction to an extreme by dressing as a deaconess and carrying a large Bible under her arm.

³⁵Hylson-Smith vii-xv & 170-173.

function alone condemns her, since it evokes the Roman Catholicism that was marginalized in 19th-century Britain.”³⁶ Perhaps, in a subtle way, Haggard is embodying the ritualistic element of Catholicism within the sensual and earthly aspects of Ayesha. The ritual aspect then becomes associated with Ayesha’s rationalism, and in turn becomes allied to an alienation of all spirituality. Church hierarchy and ritual further alienated many Anglicans like Haggard whose faith in the church was already shaken. Eventually, Haggard adopted views compatible with Broadchurchmen and later supported and befriended General William Booth and his Salvation Army, believing in the power of simple good works over the value of ritual, organization, and theology. Haggard was particularly pleased with the work of the Salvation Army in removing children from city slums.³⁷

However, the author had a deeper reason for disliking the Roman Catholic faith than simply social bias, dislike of ritual or ethnic disdain. The Catholic Church with its strict and exclusionist doctrines represented for Haggard an obstacle to free belief in a larger spirit world, a world which included his departed son. In turn it focused its attention on temporal matters and power, much like Haggard's characters Reverend Plowden and Lady Bellamy. Rather than seeing Rome as encouraging individual spirituality, Haggard saw it as limiting inquiry and closing itself off from humanity’s greatest sources of spiritual growth including sexual love and the redeeming power of good works. Indeed the works of Haggard, Henty and Buchan appealed to contemporary adolescent sexuality precisely because they challenged Victorian repression, which was founded in ecclesiastic doctrine. Patrick Brantlinger acknowledges the role played by adolescent adventure tales in much the same light, and indeed expands on it, regarding sexually-charged juvenile fantasy as a leading cause of imperialistic enterprises among European nations in the late nineteenth century. If

³⁶ Patricia Murphy, “The Gendering of History in *She*”, Studies in English Literature 1500-1900, 39:4 (Autumn 1999) 762.

³⁷ H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 267

Brantlinger is right then Haggard was expressing this adolescent imperial sex-fantasy³⁸ which, juxtaposed with his own spiritual uncertainty, indirectly contributed to the negative image of Catholicism in his writing.

However, after the death of his son, Haggard's main reason for disliking Catholicism was its apparent contradiction of his notion of spiritual transcendence. Without such transcendence, he had no hope of reunion with his departed son Jock or, perhaps, his earlier illegitimate daughter. Had Haggard's faith in conventional Christianity not been shaken by these tragedies, which focused his attention on alternative belief systems, he might have been saddened but content with the idea of a heavenly reunion. However, the agnostic doubts planted by rationalism drove Haggard to seek out a more immediate and definite possibility of reunion with his son, and possibly his daughter, than the vague dogmatic promise of an afterlife could provide.³⁹ Thus he attacks Catholic influences while searching for evidence to support his faith in a spirit world, a trend that continues in his fiction well into the next century.

The anti-Catholic tendency continues through the novels Fair Margaret (1907), a tale of the Inquisition, and The Lady of Blossholme (1909). Haggard used these later stories to attack what he saw as the worst elements not only of Roman Catholicism as such, but of Catholic doctrine in European Christianity in general. In the Lady of Blossholme the father of the heroine is murdered by the Spanish Abbot Muldon, forcing the heroine to flee to a nunnery. The abbot also plans to murder her lover, Christopher, with whom she is ultimately

³⁸Patrick Brantlinger, Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914 (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1988) 194.

³⁹Jeffrey Cox, The English Churches in a Secular Society, Lambeth, 1870-1930 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982) 10,11. Furthermore, Max Weber and subsequent Weberian socialists have argued that the competition of rival value systems -- pluralism -- causes a general religious crisis in society which leads to indifference and unbelief.

reunited, after nearly being burnt alive as a heretic. Muldon is eventually beheaded, an event that sets all to rights again. In each story worldly influences and temporal power supersede the advancement of spirituality in the Catholic faith, continuing the theme begun in Montezuma's Daughter. Thus Haggard not only criticized Catholicism publicly in the newspapers but more clandestinely questioned all Catholic elements of European Christianity in his fictional portrayals of Catholics.

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the exploration of Haggard's anti-Catholic rhetoric is followed here by a discussion of the simultaneous development of Zulu spiritual ideas in his writing, hence we now briefly return to the late 19th-century. Concurrent with his attack on Catholicism, another major result of his son's death becomes apparent in Haggard's writing. To allay his latent atheist fears he set out on a far-reaching fictional excursion exploring the various spiritual ideas which occurred or were presented to him. He searched in all directions at once hoping to stumble upon a rationale which would suffice as a foundation on which to rest his hope of reunion with his son. Naturally this search was sometimes reflected in his writing as inconsistent and confused, as the author presented various ideas in one story and then rejected them in the next, only to take up aspects of the same ideas in later efforts. A clearer direction in this search became apparent only in 1895 in the novel Joan Haste which put Haggard squarely back on the spiritualist path, although in a round-about way. The book tells the story of Henry Graves who has had an illegitimate child with Joan; she in turn marries the villain of the story, an event resulting in her death. Haggard believed the story had been inspired from beyond the grave:

While visiting an old church in Suffolk I conceived the idea of my novel, Joan Haste....After reading it a connection of mine remarked that he had been much interested by the book, though he did not think that the A.-Z.'s,[sic] whom he knew well would altogether appreciate such an accurate report of a passage in their family history whereof they did not speak....On further investigation it transpired that these A.Z.'s [sic] were buried in the very churchyard where I had imagined my tale....It needs no great stretch of fancy to believe that in some subtle way the bones beneath the soil of that churchyard had imparted some of their history to my mind while, touched by the place, I stood there

evolving the material for another book.⁴⁰

Haggard by now evidently had confidence in his special prescience in such matters, adding a further dimension to his spiritual inspiration and his hope of reunion with his son -- direct mental contact with the dead.

Such concepts of direct contact between spiritual forces and lay persons are expanded in The Wizard,⁴¹ another of Haggard's African stories, and one connected to his anti-Catholic beliefs. This time the king of the Amasuka tribe is converted to Christianity by a missionary, Thomas Owen, to the dismay of the king's son and the witchdoctor Hokosa. The story is a strange form of Christian allegory wherein Owen, poisoned and on his death bed, converts Hokosa. Hokosa, who is then crucified for his new faith, directs his armies to victory from the cross and dies a martyr. He has committed many great evils, including poisoning his friend Owen and trafficking with Satan and evil spirits: thus he is crucified as an earthly penance. The theme is unusual for Haggard, in that Christianity triumphs in Hokosa's conversion and redemption.⁴²

Plainly, Hokosa's conversion is to his own brand of Christianity, loosely mixed with indigenous beliefs, but it is still sufficiently strong to provide him with faith in the Christian

⁴⁰H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 103.

⁴¹Haggard dedicated The Wizard to the daughter of his friend and fellow spiritualist Burnham, whose ideas on animal spirituality later become important to his writing. The author dedicated The Wizard to Burnham's daughter after she was killed at Bulawayo in May of 1896.

⁴²Mary Fadeke Adewumi, "Radical Attitudes in the European Literature of Africa from H.Rider Haggard to Joyce Cary," diss., Arizona State University, 1977, 45. Although Dr. Fadeke's argument deals with the positive racial representation of Hokosa as a character, her recognition of this aspect of Haggard's writing also illuminates the shift in his thinking towards Christianity.

God. He is the sort of Christian Haggard envisions as truly spiritual, a doubter who reconciles his doubts. Moreover, his death points to a new theme developing in the author's writing that originally appeared in his argument to Brother Basil -- that individuals must do penance for their sins. Thus the story begins a synthesis between Haggard's Christian background, strongly influenced by Colenso, and his spiritual search whereby he ultimately reconciles the two, but not until the next *Ayesha* story is published in 1904.

Once again Hokosa's brand of Christianity reflects Haggard's Broadchurch association. Elisabeth Jay identifies the blending of spiritual devotion and anti-dogmatism with Broadchurch beliefs.⁴³ As evidence she quotes A.P. Stanley "Judgement on Essays and Reviews" from the Edinburgh Review in 1861. "God's revelation is not limited to specific events of Christian narrative but occurs whenever the truth triumphs. For this reason the church must look for unity on a broad base."⁴⁴ Thus in another odd twist involving individual spirituality in The Wizard Haggard has God himself speaking through a pagan. Although the love between Hokosa and Noma, his wife, is Haggard's customary immortal variety, Hokosa uses her as a medium to communicate with the dead king of their people who, oddly enough, espouses their conversion to Christianity. Thus Haggard has the Christian God speaking to a witchdoctor through an entranced pagan. God chooses to speak through Noma, not the Church, again emphasizing the importance of individuals as opposed to formal religious institutions. It also foreshadows a change that will occur in his character. She's next appearance in Ayesha where she is united with her spiritual partner Kallikrates.

Haggard's presentation of Hokosa in The Wizard fitted well with the radical arguments presented to the Church of England by Bishop Colenso several decades earlier. Starting as

⁴³ Elisabeth Jay, Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain (London: MacMillan, 1986) 67.

⁴⁴ A.P. Stanley, "Judgement on Essays and Reviews" Edinburgh Review Vol. 1, No. 30, 1861, 480-81.

far back as 1860, Colenso's publication of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans and his work on the Pentateuch displayed a low view of biblical inspiration and made plain his disbelief in the eternal punishment of Hell.⁴⁵ Both Haggard's vision of God, speaking through Hokosa rather than the established church, and Hokosa's earthly redemption were consistent with Colenso's movement away from dogmatic biblical interpretation towards an acceptance of local custom and individual inspiration. Referring to the death of his son Haggard writes about his own personal beliefs, which “amongst other things promises reunion of the death-divided, to be a true faith. Indeed, if it be otherwise, what a hell is this in which we live.”⁴⁶ Thus Haggard reacted to his own dissatisfaction with the established church's theology after the death of his son by again reaching back to his youth in South Africa for guidance in religious matters, this time to his spiritual mentor of that period, Colenso. This is another example of the ever expanding role of spirituality in the author's life and of its reflection in his work.

The strange mix of European and Zulu Christianity present in The Wizard fictionally echoes the theology of Bishop Colenso and through him indirectly the Essays and Reviews debate of half a century earlier. Colenso had featured prominently in the controversy following the publication of Essays and Reviews (1860), when in 1861 he, in addition, published a denial of the Catholic doctrine of the real presence in his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Again in 1863 he raised questions concerning the Pentateuch:

What do you understand by Priests? Do you mean an episcopally ordained minister with the apostolical succession only, or would you say (as I certainly do) that the absolution which came from the lips of a discreet and learned old dissenting minister was just as valid to the sin-burdened conscience as that

⁴⁵Kenneth Hylson-Smith, Evangelicals in the Church of England: 1734-1984 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988) 133. Colenso judged parts of the Pentateuch un-historical surmising that they were a compilation of different sources. He therefore believed that the Church of England had to change its doctrine if it was to be acceptable to intelligent people.

⁴⁶H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 44.

which might be pronounced by some young curate full of his notions of Priestly authority?⁴⁷

Haggard's Hokosa is similar to the Christian Zulus who strongly influenced Colenso towards an acceptance of Christian spirituality which moved beyond the confines of Anglican doctrine. Hokosa is neither baptized nor knowledgeable of church doctrine, but he has a faith in God which is enough to confirm his Christianity, a Christianity which sanctioned dissenting ideas.

In another sequence in The Wizard the author allegorically challenges belief in the superiority of contemporary European religion by fictionally confronting a group of missionaries with the fact that neither they nor their Christian God can perform miracles on demand. Haggard thus pits the traditional European religious belief in miracles against the same empirical challenge it faced from science, now in the form of Zulu scepticism. Christian magic is defied by that of the Zulus when the missionaries are challenged to raise the dead as they claimed Christ could do. Unlike the Zulus who can, in the story, at least speak with the dead, the Europeans cannot perform their miracle, and are killed as liars.

Thus the missionaries die for their insistence on the theology of miracles, a reason similar to that which brought dogmatic supporters of the Christian creation story into conflict with Darwin's view of evolution, Lyell's geology and contemporary scientific discoveries.⁴⁸ The issue was of great significance to Haggard because his friend and mentor, Bishop

⁴⁷Sir George W. Cox, The Life of John William Colenso D.D., Bishop of Natal, (London:W. Ridgeway, 1888) Vol.1 , 115 ,193. Also see Jeff Guy, The Heretic; A Study of the Life of John William Colenso 1814-1883 (South Africa: Raven Press, 1985). For a brief contemporary history of the Essays and Reviews debate see A.H. Hore, History of the Church of England (London: Parker, 1891) 509-12.

⁴⁸Hylson-Smith, Evangelicals in the Church of England: 1734-1984 134. Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology published earlier in the century took on new significance in the shadow of Darwin's monumental Origin of Species. Lyell argued that the stratification of the earth's surface disproved the Biblical account of the planet's creation in six days.

Colenso, had been censured for criticizing such dogmatic beliefs represented in the Pentateuch. Moreover, it is important to note that Haggard's missionaries do not die for their good works, but for their misguided beliefs. Thus the story becomes an allegorical justification for the demise of the Christian Church resulting from its insistence on sacramental dogma, a trait Haggard thought particularly prominent in Roman Catholicism, but does not criticize the Catholic Church for its spiritual doctrines on the afterlife.

The same stance against Catholic absolution is reflected in The Wizard's central allegory and Hokosa's form of death, showing the value of earthly penance as opposed to any form of sacramental absolution. Once again Haggard looks back to Colenso, who stated "You have long been aware that I do not agree with those who hold what is called the 'Sacramental system' and that I regard their views as unsound and unscriptural."⁴⁹ Hokosa dies doing good for his people and is therefore a martyr. The missionaries die defending religious dogma which Haggard, as Colenso before him, felt had already been largely discredited. In Colenso's words, "I have no doubt whatever that the canonical books of Scripture do contain errors, and some very serious in matters of fact".⁵⁰ Again Colenso put in prose what Haggard later fictionalized.

Who can in these days believe in the stories of creation, the fall, and the Deluge? Why do not intelligent men, laymen, clergy, and bishops, admit the absurdity of teaching any longer such old wives' fables.⁵¹

Haggard's missionaries lose their lives in defense of the institutional church not as martyrs, but as unfortunate pawns in the larger secular struggle to maintain the temporal power of the church by propagating beliefs disproven in Africa. In this respect Colenso's and

⁴⁹Wirgman 195.

⁵⁰Wirgman 194.

⁵¹Cox, G Vol.2, 265.

Haggard's views were identical. However, earlier in the century at the time of their publication, Colenso's views, like Shepstone's, were not popular everywhere. He was chided in the London Times: "Instead of Dr. Colenso converting the Zulu, the Zulu converted Dr. Colenso".⁵² Colenso's doubts were in part fostered by William Ngigi, a Zulu convert and candidate for the priesthood who could not declare that he unfeignedly believed in the Bible and thus could not take his vows.⁵³ The same accusation can certainly be levelled against Rider Haggard whose beliefs had been similarly swayed. Moreover, while entertaining his readers with fiction, Haggard's influence over a wide audience may even have helped to popularize Colenso's views belatedly, loosening the Catholic European stranglehold on Christian doctrine and consequently contributing to the liberalization of commonly held theological views. Interestingly, this suggests the potentially enormous influence that Zulu intellectual culture had, through men like Colenso and Haggard, on popular European theology at the beginning of the twentieth century. The influence of Zulu spirituality is another demonstration of Haggard's central concern with the spiritual world.

Such a spiritual discourse is important, therefore, in part because it attempts to undermine the theoretical bases of missionary imperialism. Each time Haggard presents a wizard or witchdoctor who knows more than his European counterpart he chips away at the justification for missionary work, and the notion of the white man's burden. Each time he expands his own theology to include aspects gained from the "other", he builds that other into a hybrid self, ultimately working towards equilibrium. In spiritualism as in other areas

⁵² Anonymous Article, London Times 16 Feb. 1863.

⁵³ Martin Jarrett Kerr, Studies in Literature and Belief (London: Rockliff, 1954) 146. Kerr holds that white missionaries held two central convictions. a) Universal theism, b) A vocation to impart a superior lifestyle. Colenso was sceptical of conviction "a" but was positively critical of conviction "b". Moreover, historically his position was not without foundation. Those early South African missionaries who held conviction "b" among them James King, Isaacs and Alan Gordon, all ran into the same problem with Zulu conversions. The Zulus raised astute philosophical difficulties which the Bishop [then Bishop Allard] could not satisfy.

Haggard's equilibrium involved relative equality between races.

The concept that God could speak through non-European races is developed and augmented by the equation of cultures in Haggard's next several novels. The Heart of the World (1896) followed on the success of Montezuma's Daughter and The Wizard, picking up a similar theme, the transcendence of spirit over race and culture which is essential to Haggard's brand of spiritualism. It involves a romance between an Englishman and a coloured woman, a Mexican this time, similar to Princess Otomie who also married a European in Montezuma's Daughter, and other female characters in many of his African novels. In this story Haggard moves boldly towards a statement of spiritual equality between races, but at the end of the tale kills off the Mexican heroine, allowing the hero to return to his European world and women. Although the ending signals an interesting turnabout from Haggard's radical discourse on human equality towards a more conventional late-Victorian point of view, this change becomes apparent only in later novels and after a steep decline in the author's popularity in the early twentieth century.

While he was still at the height of public acclaim, further evidence of Haggard's belief in the cultural, as well as spiritual, equality and, in some senses even the superiority, of indigenous African people can be found in his introduction to the book Monomotapa (Rhodesia)⁵⁴ by the Hon. A. Wilmont, published in 1896, about the Zimbabwe ruins. Although the work is dedicated to Cecil Rhodes and Haggard agrees in principle with the author that the ruins might be Phoenician in origin, he equally outlines the possibility that they might have been of local derivation. Haggard, speaking of a gold bead he has from the site, writes, "unhappily it cannot tell its story, for if this were possible a most mysterious and fascinating chapter of history would be opened to us, as indeed may still happen should the explorers of the future have the good fortune to discover an undisturbed burying-place of the

⁵⁴Hon A. Wilmont, Monomotapa (Rhodesia) (London: T. Fisher Unwin) 1896.

ancient inhabitants of Monomotapa."⁵⁵ Haggard continues, suggesting that the race that lived there, if Phoenician, must have been extensively mixed with local African peoples, in essence recognizing the African origin of the site.⁵⁶

Interestingly, recent genetic research involving the Lemba, who are a traditionally endogamous group claiming Jewish decent and living in the vicinity of Great Zimbabwe, potentially strengthens Wilmot's contention that a Semitic connection to the local people exists. Two genetic studies have verified the presence of a Semitic contribution to the Lemba gene pool. The most recent entitled "Y Chromosomes Traveling South: The Cohen Modal Haplotype and the Origins of the Lemba—the 'Black Jews of Southern Africa'", purports to have proven the Lemba Y chromosomes are clearly divided into Semitic and Bantu clades. The particular "Cohen modal haplotype", thought to be a potential signature haplotype of

⁵⁵Wilmot xxvii.

⁵⁶Wilmot xix. One argument put forward recently, by Laura Chrisman, {Laura Chrisman, "The Imperial Unconscious: Representations of Imperial Discourse", From: Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial theory Bill Ashcroft et al. ed. (London, Harvester & Wheatsheaf, 1993) 498-516.}, states that "King Solomon's Mines reveals a fascination for the idea of interruption, inscribed in the (Zimbabwe) ruins themselves." According to Chrisman, in terms of ethnography, interruption [of European civilization] here serves to indicate the violence of the African attack, indicating a "white" self-concept of peaceful productivity unjustly overcome by the violence of Africans. She argues that Haggard viewed the ruins as the mines of King Solomon and consequently Biblically supported the notion that the Ruins somehow "mystically" justify European mineral exploration in the more southern regions of the Transvaal. Although Haggard initially agrees with Wilmot that the ruins might have a Phoenician origin, that is a long way from the Israeli origins of King Solomon or a justification of European mining interests. In fact, Haggard believed the ruins may have been the remains of Phoenician trading posts, not mines. Furthermore, the author states that, at the time he wrote the story, he did not know of the ruins which remained without archaeological excavation until 1905 and without serious appraisal until the 1920's. He refers to the ruins instead as an example of the strange coincidences that occur between his fiction and reality, perhaps suggesting some sort of spiritual link through reincarnation with the people of that era.

Judaic origin, is found in one of the Lemba clans.⁵⁷ What all this means in plain English is that there is an indisputable genetic connection between the Cohen clan of Israel and the Lemba people of central Zimbabwe, much as Wilmot had surmised. Haggard's analysis of Wilmot's thesis therefore comes very close to factual accuracy, but not perhaps as close as that postulated by Wilmot himself. Haggard's commentary on the subject is an example of his willingness to believe that African cultures could produce artefacts of complex beauty and value, in this case a physical structure.

More significantly for the purpose of this thesis, in the South African story Swallow (1899), Sihamba, an African woman, and Suzanne, a European, escape an evil Boer, Swart Piet, and live among Sihamba's tribal people. Suzanne is painted black to escape the notice of invading Boers. According to Sihamba's tribe, "she looks best in black",⁵⁸ further emphasizing the equation of the races. In the tale Sihamba, a rainmaker like Indaba-zimbi, is also more beautiful and intelligent than Suzanne⁵⁹ again stressing the equality, if not indeed the superiority, theme. The title of another Haggard story, White Hunter, Black Heart, is plainly consistent with this transposing of black and white, again underscoring the equality between races and the transcendence of the spirit over cultural and racial differences. If, in Haggard's fiction, white and black and Mexican have no spiritual hierarchy based on race or ethnicity, then it becomes apparent that the author is questioning the validity of the Victorian socio-religious power structure, which placed white Christians at its top. By doing so he emphasizes the possibility that other religious beliefs are of equal value to those of Europeans, and thereby puts forward another justification for his belief in a spirit world known only to non-European cultures.

⁵⁷Thomas *et al.*, "Y Chromosomes Traveling South: The Cohen Modal Haplotype and the Origins of the Lemba – the 'Black Jews of Southern Africa'", American Journal of Human Genetics, 66, 2000. 674-686.

⁵⁸Norman Etherington, Rider Haggard, His Life and Works (Boston: Twayne, 1984) 68.

⁵⁹Norman Etherington, Rider Haggard, His Life and Works 68.

Haggard's questioning of the previously mentioned hierarchy is further evidence of disillusionment with European religion and its inability to answer spiritual questions. By pointing out the relative lack of superiority of his own culture in spiritual matters, the author raises the spectre of a superior spiritual awareness being found elsewhere than Europe. Haggard's presentation of the inadequacy of European missionaries and the cruelty of dogmatic Christianity serve to further emphasize their limitations. The longer Haggard suffered from the grief of losing his son, the more he found wrong with his own culture's religious dogma. This attitude is reflected in his writing by a corresponding drop in the superiority with which Christianity is portrayed relative to other religious beliefs. Coincidentally, the author's anti-Irish sentiment manifest in Ayesha's solution to the Home Rule question -- to kill the Irish -- when combined with his positive representation of the Zulu, raises questions concerning arguments that he supported hegemonic white supremacy as a justification for the British presence in South Africa. In fact Ayesha's glib suggestion that the Irish be killed off suggests that not all white men were portrayed equally by Haggard. On the contrary some, it is suggested by Ayesha, are so inferior that they should not exist at all. Here, once again, a Haggard character attacks the myth of the white man's ubiquitous superiority this time by dividing the "white" race along nationalistic lines. No such genocide was ever prescribed by any Haggard character for an African race. By analogy it seems clear that no white person of Irish Catholic descent could be considered naturally superior, or even equal to the Zulu people portrayed in Haggard's fictional world.⁶⁰ Interestingly, Haggard's rough contemporaries, including George Bernard Shaw, called Irish beggars "savages" just as African people were referred to as "savages", equating the two in social

⁶⁰ Norman Etherington points out that some Victorian Englishmen viewed the Irish as sub-human, with prominent intellectuals like James Froude believing them to possess "African elements" and Charles Kingsley's wife calling them "white chimps". However, nowhere does Haggard subscribe to any association between African and Irish peoples. In fact the characteristics ascribed by the author to the two groups are entirely different.

terms. However, they too suggested the murder of Irish immigrants, not Africans.⁶¹ Therefore the white race was not presented as universally superior to all African races in Haggard's story, just as "white religion" was not portrayed as more advanced than all African belief systems. The net effect from a spiritual point of view being that there remained hope that other cultures and religions possessed spiritual truths that could be discovered by Haggard.

The acceptance of wide validity and similarity among religions resulted from Haggard's casting about for a new foundation for his own faith after the death of his son. Like many of his contemporaries he sought spiritual answers in meditation, magic and alien religion. In the end he accepted all religions so long as they did not deny the basic tenets of reincarnation and a larger spirit world. In essence he widened his own beliefs to include a tolerance of other religions. The result was a mixture of Christianity with indigenous beliefs which Haggard encountered while in South Africa.⁶²

Haggard's anti-Catholicism demonstrates two more important aspects present in both his fiction and essays. First, there is his easy acceptance of questionable explanations for strange occurrences, like the bodies bricked into a wall in Mexico. Second, there emerges his interest in newspapers and magazines containing spiritual views similar to those found in his fiction. Brother Basil's accusation of Haggard having learned about Catholicism from some vulgar Protestant pamphlet supports the notion that Haggard not only presented his views in the

⁶¹ Claude Rawson, "Killing the Poor: An Anglo-Irish Theme", Essays in Criticism Wall et al., Vol. xlix. No.2, April 1999, 111.

⁶² Here Haggard seems to anticipate James Fraser's Golden Bough in that the latter also attempts to discover an essential similarity between the diverse beliefs of many lands and peoples. Fraser likewise argued the importance of symbolism, as did, even more notably, Haggard's Irish contemporary William Butler Yeats, whose Celtism in many respects resembled Haggard's spiritualism. How Haggard would have viewed Yeats as an Irish nationalist is, however, questionable.

common press, but may well have garnered some of them from popular media sources as well. Indeed his diaries reflect a regular reading of, and commentary on, the print media. The anti-Irish rhetoric in the original manuscript of She is strongly reminiscent of contemporary newspaper style, suggesting a transmission of ideas from the popular media directly into Haggard's fiction. It equally suggests the paramountcy of domestic European concerns over imperial interests abroad as the bases for much of Haggard's imperial fiction, perhaps explaining his popularity. If so, he gained a large readership not so much because he wrote about far-away exciting places, but because he addressed internal domestic concerns while doing so. Thus his vicarious attack on the Catholic Church, while it was largely a factor of his own private life, reflected the concern of British society with immigration and the growth of Irish-Catholic slums in England and Scotland. From the middle of the century onwards, Haggard addressed many of the controversies with which his contemporaries had grown up, foremost among them being the European crisis of faith.

Reinforced by the events of his daughter's and then his son's death, Haggard's main religious premise up to 1903 was that Christian European society was spiritually and morally bankrupt after the introduction of evolutionary theory and the doubt caused by the Biblical scepticism originating in Germany. It followed that organized religion's refusal or inability to counter the resulting relativism left the stage open for individuals like the author to devise their own theories of spirituality and morality. Thereafter Haggard divided religion between generally good laymen and almost universally evil and narrow-minded representatives of the clergy and religious establishment. However, he did not entirely lose hope in Christianity. Haggard's next story featured a constructive portrayal of an individual coming to terms with the death of a close relative, reminiscent of his own children, by Christian spiritual mediation.

CHAPTER EIGHT:

A PIVOTAL YEAR

1904

In 1904 a strange incident involving what Haggard thought to be spiritual communication with his daughter's pet focalized his attention on the supernatural in yet another field of interest and brought the author's latent animist philosophy to the fore. From expressing distrust in his own religious culture Haggard moved on to incorporate the various elements of spiritual faith, explored through his literary endeavours over the previous twenty years, into a rough statement of faith. The death of his son had stirred him to action thirteen years earlier. However, the final repercussions of that event do not appear in literary form until 1904 when his fictional characters begin to develop a rationale for their own spiritual beliefs, as opposed to seeking them out in other cultures and religions. The novel Stella Fregelius is the beginning of a transition towards a concept of personal spiritual ecstasy in Haggard's fiction that culminates in a new Ayesha story in which the author rejects his earlier Buddhist ideas. Before the reappearance of Ayesha, however, Haggard developed and in turn rejected more sophisticated atheistic arguments. His character Ayesha then transcends her materialistic rationalism, expressing the author's continuing search for spiritual grounding, at precisely the time when Haggard was giving considerable attention to animistic spirituality.

On the night of July 9th, 1904, a Saturday, Haggard was awakened from a terrible dream by his wife whereupon the vivid memory of it quickly faded, and all he was left with was:

A sense of awful oppression and of desperate and terrified struggling for life such as the act of drowning would probably involve. But between the time that I heard my wife's voice and the time that my consciousness answered to it, or

so it seemed to me, I had another dream. I dreamed that a black retriever dog, a most amiable and intelligent beast named Bob, which was the property of my eldest daughter, was lying on its side among brushwood, or rough growth of some sort, by water. My own personality, in some mysterious way, seemed to me to be arising from the body of the dog, which I knew quite surely to be Bob. In my vision the dog was trying to speak to me in words, and, failing, transmitted to my mind in an undefined fashion the knowledge that it was dying. Then everything vanished. I awoke to hear my wife asking me why on earth I was making those horrible and weird noises.¹

Haggard recalls how, thinking the whole thing no more than a nightmare, he told the story around the breakfast table the next morning. Not until Sunday night did he realize the dog had indeed gone missing; and on the following Thursday Haggard and his servant, Charles Bedingfield, chanced to discover the body of the animal floating in the Waverly, a local stream, trapped against a weir about a mile and a quarter away from the house. He had the dog's body examined by a local veterinarian who told him it had received a severe head injury and apparently subsequently drowned. Haggard, while on his way into the nearby town of Bungay to post a reward for the apprehension of the individual or individuals who presumably had deliberately injured his daughter's pet, was hailed by two railroad workmen who informed him that the dog had been hit by a train. After some discussion the three men determined that the train in question was the Saturday excursion train which passed at eleven p.m. from Bungay, making the time of the accident some three hours before the writer's dream.

At first Haggard had some reservations about being publicly identified with the incident. But he resolved to proceed: "After some hesitation I have made up my mind to publish them [the details of the dream] under my own name although I am well aware that by so doing I

¹H.R. Haggard, Proceedings of the Society for Psychological Research "Case 1139, 'A Dream'," 278.

may expose myself to a certain amount of ridicule and disbelief."² He felt strongly enough about the subject to write to The Times (July 21st 1904) and soon thereafter published the account in the Journal of the Society for Psychical Research.

The author suggests by way of explanation that, rather than confirming telepathy or a form of natural communication of which there was much discussion at the time, the occurrence arose out of some non-bodily or surviving part of the life or spirit of the dog which, "as soon as my sleep gave it an opportunity, reproduced those things in my mind ... to bid me farewell."³ He notes that there "does seem to be a more intimate ghostly connection between all members of the animal world, including man, than has hitherto been believed"⁴, at any rate by Western peoples, (the Zulu for instance hold a strong belief in animal spirituality of which Haggard often wrote) and that such connections may be "all of them different manifestations of some central, informing life, through inhabiting the universe in such various shapes."⁵

Several related letters appeared in subsequent editions of The Times and various other papers, both by the author and his detractors. A letter responding to Haggard's earliest publication concerning these events which caused him to take exception appeared in The Spectator under the pseudonym "A Public Prosecutor", dated July 23rd, 1904, stating

²H.R. Haggard, "Case 1139, 'A Dream'," 281.

³H.R. Haggard, "Case 1139, 'A Dream'," 281.

⁴H.R. Haggard, "Case 1139, 'A Dream'," 281.

⁵H.R. Haggard, "Case 1139, 'A Dream'," 281. Interestingly, the case immediately following Haggard's in the proceedings involves Andrew Lang, Haggard's long-time friend and associate. Lang describes a sitting with Daniel D. Home in which a spirit hand appears in a well-lit room. The two men obviously shared a great interest in this aspect of the occult.

categorically that Haggard had made the story up. The writer states that evidence of telepathy of the sort that Haggard claimed "had long since fallen away".⁶ It was largely this letter that caused Haggard to document his story more fully and speculate that the incident was not one of telepathy as stated in The Spectator, but of common spirituality between man and the lower animals. The same letter which annoyed Haggard by charging him with falsehood also provoked an angry response from the president of the Society for Psychical Research, W.F. Barrett, who responded in the same paper on the 30th of July, proclaiming the man's information to be in error, for in fact evidence of such incidents was on the rise. Barrett went on to cite a similar incident from his own files.⁷ Shortly before, in The Times on July 21st, 1904, Haggard's story "A Ghostly Connection" appeared concerning a more intimate supernatural link between humanity and the animal world. Several years later he incorporated yet another dream that came to him⁸ concerning an animal in The Mahatma and the Hare.⁹

These events seemed to have rekindled the author's childhood fear, or at least dislike, of hunting and caused him to explore the connection between humans and animals in depth. It led him to question humanity's right to deny spirituality to animals and in turn forced him to reassess such spirituality along with that of human beings. First expressed fictionally in The

⁶Letter, under the pseudonym "A Public Prosecutor," The Spectator, 23 July 1904.

⁷Haggard cites a story from The Spectator, 30 July 1904, about communication under the same circumstances between a Miss Bagot, strangely enough also from Norfolk, and her dog. Many letters appeared in various papers sparked by Haggard's story, reaching as far as The New York Times.

⁸H.R.Haggard The Days of My Life Vol.2, 160.

⁹H.R.Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, 30 Sept.1904. Haggard relates that he worked with Kipling on the plot of The Mahatma and the Hare based on a dream vision.

Mahatma and the Hare, this consideration of animal spirituality is repeated in his Note on Religion discussed in the next chapter. The author's concern with non-human spirits is reminiscent of Zulu animism and coincides with his heightened concern with things spiritual in general which is strongly reflected in his contemporary fiction. Although Haggard did not follow the example of his character Ayesha and become a vegetarian, his subsequent anti-hunting stance links Haggard, through his attribution of spirituality to animals, with early environmentalism.

The Christian rapture of Stella Fregelius seems at first oddly juxtaposed with the anti-Christian plot of Doctor Therne (1898), Haggard's most immediately preceding story with spiritual significance, and is somewhat removed from his animistic explorations which is picked up again in the next chapter. However, the ghostly contact of Therne with his departed wife foreshadows the unearthly communication between Morris Monk and his spirit-bride in Stella Fregelius. It is the story of a young doctor, Dr. Therne, who, against his better judgment and for personal gain, supports the Radical party platform opposing both church levies on the public and the vaccination of children against smallpox. Therne tells the reader for a substantial portion of the text, and for no apparent reason connected to the pro-vaccination plot, that moneys collected for church wards should be used for public welfare and not to maintain the church hierarchy. Moreover, Therne agrees to stand for office in Dunchester as a Radical who supports the disestablishment and disendowment of the Anglican Church, provided its funds are pooled and reapplied to humanitarian purposes. However, coming immediately before Stella Fregelius's affirmation of individual spirituality, Haggard's fictionalized attack on the established church as replaceable by good works again suggests his disapproval and indirect criticism of organized religion, particularly after the death of his son.¹⁰

¹⁰Dr. Therne's position is in essence a hybrid of Haggard's own growing religious sophistication and his latent spirituality. Thus Therne encompasses two ideological positions prominent in the 19th century: Coleridge's vision of the

As always, lingering in the background was his rationalist doubt. It surfaced briefly when the question of suicide is raised in the story, as Thorne considers "ringing down the curtain" after fate has dealt harshly with him in the death of his young wife. "Considerations of religion? These had ceased to have any weight with me. I was brought up to believe in a good and watching Providence, but the events of the last few months had choked that belief. If there was a God who guarded us, why should he have allowed the existence of my wife to be sacrificed?"¹¹ Thorne's statements reflect feelings the author himself must have considered after the death of Jock. He continues, "myself I am certain of nothing; I know too much about the brain and body to have much faith in the soul."¹² However, Thorne does not

Bible's factual questionability and its unquestionable nature as a spiritual guide, and Matthew Arnold's concept of the Church's purpose in "putting down moral evil". However, while doing so, Thorne presents a view not unlike that presented by Carlyle when he stated: "All science had become mechanical; the science not of men, but of a kind of human beavers. Churches themselves had died away into a godless mechanical condition. Men's souls were blinded, debilitated [sic]; and stuck under the influence of atheism and materialism, and Hume and Voltaire; the world for the present was as an extinct world deserted of God, and incapable of well-doing till it changed its heart and spirit." {Basil Willey, Nineteenth-Century Studies, Coleridge to Matthew Arnold (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969) 50-120}. Thorne similarly lays the blame for his own and society's spiritual bankruptcy at the door of scientific advancement and the maladaptation of institutional religion to such enlightenment.

¹¹H.R. Haggard, Doctor Thorne (London: Longmans, 1898) 107.

¹²Again Haggard's character, Dr. Thorne, presents a more intellectually sophisticated atheism than that of the original Ayesha, encompassing an awareness of George Eliot's translation of Feuerbach and Strauss and their belief that Jesus did become man, "not as a fact of history or a revelation but as a fact of social psychology." {Willey: 242} The theory derived in part from Darwin's commentary on religious feelings, remarkably the same root source as Haggard's original religious misgivings. Darwin wrote that: "Religious feelings were derived from the sort of feelings a dog has towards his master, such instincts would become inherent and would develop if they possessed survival value for the species in any way." {Willey: 159} In demonstrating such awareness, Haggard is presenting his reader with more mature intellectual challenges to spirituality. Nevertheless, he retains a Coleridgian religious sensibility as a retort to these challenges, thereby falling short of a satisfactory resolution to the conflict between scientifically-based atheism, and spirituality or even agnosticism. The use of a Coleridgian religious sensibility again draws Haggard into the

quite dispense with the idea of God and cannot reconcile his agnosticism with a soulless humanity, "if a God, why not the rest, and who shall say there is no God?"¹³ While considering his suicide attempt, Therne envisions his atheist death as blackness - "dead, cold, unfathomable blackness -- only that." Of the afterlife he says, "I would let my mind dwell on that thought, trying to dig down to its roots which doubtless drew their strength from the fetid slime of human superstition." He then enters a dream sequence:

But at my feet this kindly Earth and all that has life upon it vanished quite away, and there in its place, seen through a giant portal, was the realm of darkness that I had pictured -- darkness so terrible, so overpowering, and so icy that my living blood froze at the sight of it A shape came forward to the edge of the gateway it was the phantom of my lost wife.... There she stood, beating the air with her hands as though to bar that path against me."¹⁴

Despite his doubts, even his dead wife's ghost warns him against the despair of an atheist suicide. Therne's nightmare of such a death is reminiscent of Haggard's reaction to Olive Schreiner (discussed in Chapter 5), particularly his fear of oblivion, poignantly brought back by his bereavement. Through the dream sequence, a device which in Haggard's fiction first appeared in an African context, Therne has contact with a loved one beyond the grave: exactly what the author hoped was possible. Haggard presented the concept that death's mystery might somehow be resolved in dreams. However, there is as yet no rationale behind it, only Therne, an avowed agnostic, having the same experiences Quatermain had had in Africa, now in a European context. No specific rationale for such ghostly contact developed until 1904 with the novel Stella Fregelius.¹⁵

Broadchurch arena.

¹³H.R. Haggard, Doctor Therne 182.

¹⁴H.R. Haggard, Doctor Therne 111-114.

¹⁵ The next part of Haggard's life, roughly between 1898 and 1903, left little time for philosophical reflection until he produced both Stella Fregelius, and then Ayesha, in 1904. Instead, during this period he wrote several major works on farming including A Farmer's Year, Rural England and Rural Denmark, as well

Stella Fregelius is the story of a ghostly relationship between Morris Monk and Stella, his spirit-wife. Morris tries to communicate with the deceased Stella by means of an "aerophone" (a device resembling a radio). While she was still alive, Stella married Morris, but it was in no sense a carnal union: " 'I marry you Morris Monk not in the flesh, with your flesh I have nothing to do - but in the spirit. I take your soul to mine, I give my soul to yours; yours it was from its birthday and yours it is' Stella throws out her mind to Morris 'remember that we are truly wed and I go to wait for you' ",¹⁶ confirming their union in all other lives although they are denied each other in this.

As already noted, all Haggard's heroines and heroes are in fact spiritual lovers, meeting again and again across the years in different incarnations. Conflicts develop between the earthly forces separating them and their spiritual sensibility which tells them they are destined for each other. When Morris is separated from Stella by death, he attempts to contact her without success. He begins to despair of ever seeing her again, much as Haggard had despaired of ever again seeing his son, and blaming religion for his sorrow -- "were not all religions different forms of a gigantic fraud played ... by his own imagination upon blind, believing man? I cry aloud and the only answer is the echo of my own voice."¹⁷ Here again Haggard's character Morris Monk echoes Thomas Carlyle's sentiments where the latter

as penning reports for various royal commissions. Despite critical acclaim, Haggard's major prose works never gained the public's attention in the way his fiction had. He still managed to do some fictional writing although the amount he was paid for his efforts dwindled, as did his popularity as an author. Longmans produced only 1500 copies of Rural England in 1902. The initial print run for She in 1887 had been 10 000 copies followed immediately by another 25 000. For Maiwa's Revenge in 1888, there were 30 000 copies; however, by 1904 when Haggard returned to the subject of spirituality in Stella Fregelius, only 10 000 copies were initially printed.

¹⁶H.R. Haggard, Stella Fregelius (London: Longmans, 1904) 237-242.

¹⁷H.R. Haggard, Stella Fregelius 204.

states:

Some comfort it would have been could I, like Faust, have fancied myself tempted of the Devil ... but in our age of down-pulling and disbelief, the very Devil has been pulled down ... to me the universe was all void of life, of purpose, of volition ... it was one huge, dead, immeasurable steam-engine, rolling on ... in its dead indifference to grind me limb from limb, O, the vast gloomy solitary Golgotha, and Mill of Death.¹⁸

Haggard would use this Carlylesque image again in the Mahatma and the Hare suggesting Haggard's awareness of the latter's work.¹⁹ He uses it here, however, as the reason behind Morris's spiritual dilemma.

Morris Monk's dilemma is one that was recognized in both psychological and religious philosophy. The longer Morris fails to contact Stella to affirm her continued existence as a spirit, the more depressed he becomes. He sinks into what Carl Jung termed "psychic paralysis" and Soren Kierkegaard called the "sickness unto death". He longs not for his own extinction, as did earlier Haggard characters, but for the experience of not being alienated from a religious sense, here represented by the spiritual presence of his departed wife. As Kallikrates is for Ayesha, Morris's wife is his spiritual counterpart. He is not satisfied with himself alone because without her he is no longer able to achieve a spiritual synthesis. Without knowledge of his spirit-wife's continued existence he doubts his own spirituality, hence his moral sickness.²⁰ Like Ayesha he remains in paralysis between the rational world,

¹⁸Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, Bk. II.Ch.7.

¹⁹Books From The Libraries of Sir H.Rider Haggard and Harry and Maurice Buxtom Forman. Catalogue No.102. (May. 1940). London: Takeley, Elkin Mathews, 1940. The books appearing in this collection confirm that Haggard had a strong interest in both philosophy, psychology and religion.

²⁰John Carey 9. Carey points to a need for the redemption from the loss of the individual soul in the "masses" towards the end of the 19th century. Although Carey's concept of redemption from the "masses" differs from Haggard's need for spiritual redemption, it is significant that both views recognize a threat to the individual soul.

which informs him that his wife is no more, and the collective unconscious presence of human spirituality which gives him hope.²¹ Morris is unable to form a sense of his own identity because he cannot synthesize the two: but, unlike Ayesha, who initially succumbs to rationalism, he takes action using rational methodology as a tool to regain his spiritual sensibility.

When the aerophone does not work, Morris tries to move beyond his despair and prove the existence of spirits by communicating with them through meditation. He describes his experience as an endless Jacob's ladder where the dead draw near to him at moments:

Even in his earthly form he could feel their awful presence, wave by wave of soft, sweet pulses of impression, beat upon him and passed through him ... He would awake at night and feel their unholy breath blowing ice cold. I am immortal, I am spirit.²²

²¹Cardinal Newman recognized the conflict in which Thorne is caught as early as 1839: "Then indeed will be the stern encounter, when two real and living principles simple, entire and consistent, one in the Church, and the other [rational atheism] out of it at length rush upon each other, contending not for names and words or half views, but for elementary notions and instinctive moral character." Newman, "State of Religious Parties," British Critic Vol.xxv, April 1839: 395. {Quoted from Willey: 84}.

²²H.R. Haggard, Stella Fregelius, 204. Samuel Butler was, during the same period, concerned with the substitution of a historical for a literal reading of the Bible. He was thus attempting to propagate the belief that scientific discourse would not contradict the Bible's spiritual meaning. Such a belief was also propagated by Charles Goodwin in Essays and Reviews, c. 1860, where he rejected popular arguments attempting to reconcile scientific advances with the biblical story of creation. He writes that Genesis "is clearly the attempt of some Hebrew Descartes or Newton to account for the origin of things according to his own limited understanding and primitive ideas. As such it is historically interesting though scientifically incorrect." {Willey:111} Both Butler and Goodwin were in line with Colenso's higher critical approach to the problem of Biblical historicism, and its disassociation from what Coleridge identified as a more spiritual Christianity for which the Bible is an unquestionable guide. In Stella Fregelius, Haggard creates a fictional representation which falls somewhere between the two, embracing Butler and Goodwin's scepticism while attempting to reconcile them to Coleridge's romantic notion of spirituality. What he creates is Morris Monk, a spiritualist who attempts to contact the dead, maintaining Coleridge's romantic spiritual sensibility via a quantitative scientific methodology, by joining a spiritual commodity found in the Bible, prayer, to a rational methodology, repetition.

Significantly, on Christmas Eve, Stella's spirit finally appears to Morris, reinforcing the reader's understanding of the positive effect of such individual spiritual experience and its acceptability within a Christian context. Morris draws her out by prayer and concentrated meditation, commenting "to see a spirit one must grow akin to spirits."²³ This growth he achieved, and when he speaks with Stella's wraith, discovers that she "believed in nothing which our religion, accepted by millions of people, does not promise."²⁴ She states that the "immortality of the soul, its [Christian] foundation stone, was the rock on which the church was built."²⁵ Morris asks, "Were not the dead seen of many in Jerusalem on the night of fear?", a question Haggard echoes in his autobiography.²⁶ In Stella, Morris beholds an example of the true essence of such spiritually reinterpreted Christian doctrine. It is described as "a spiritual faith, not inherited, nor accepted, but hard-won by personal struggle and experience."²⁷ Thus Stella Fregelius further develops the theory postulated in The Wizard and Heart of the World, where personal faith becomes the elemental force of both spiritual and Christian belief.

²³H.R. Haggard, Stella Fregelius 251.

²⁴H.R. Haggard, Stella Fregelius 301.

²⁵H.R. Haggard, Stella Fregelius 301.

²⁶Here the author possibly refers to the crucifixion night of Jesus, Luke 27:51; "and the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many." Haggard later makes a number of similar Biblical arguments in support of reincarnation. Other examples can be found in the "Note on Religion" at the end of his autobiography, where Haggard cites the resurrection of Jesus and Elijah's return to Earth, in the form of John the Baptist, as clear examples of Christian reincarnation. Haggard's use of the Bible as a historical document, rather than mystical inspiration, further demonstrates his utilization of contemporary Biblical scepticism and reinterpretation in support of his beliefs. In the "Note" Haggard comments: "What He, born of woman, did, we shall do also", thereby using the story of the resurrection as an historical event, but ascribing to it his own meaning. (The Days of My Life Vol.2, 241.)

²⁷H.R. Haggard, introduction, "MS of Stella Fregelius," Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, MS.32/38.

In bringing together spiritualism and Christian faith, Haggard, through his character Morris, vicariously bridges the gap between the religion of his childhood and his adopted faith in spirits. In doing so he begins to synthesize the two into one workable creed which both satisfies his greater desire to prove the existence of a spirit world, and more immediately supports his belief that somewhere in that world remained his son. By writing about the powers of spiritual meditation and reflecting on the various "spirit incarnations" reported in the Bible, Haggard attempts to convince his readers that the spirit which appears before Morris was not without Biblical precedent. Indeed the Bible is full of such spirits, of which, for Haggard, Christ is the leading incarnation. It was the author's most sincere hope that he and his son would one day be reunited in that spirit world, as Christ was reunited with his people on earth, and he hoped to involve his readers in that possibility for themselves.²⁸

In depicting the foregoing spiritual encounters Haggard, as in his earlier stories, appears to have sought expert testimony, this time by drawing on contemporary spiritualist literature, to make Stella Fregelius believable. The writer's accounts of Morris's contacts with spirits are similar to those published in the contemporary Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, indicating his familiarity with them, but the espoused philosophy is his own.

In Haggard's fictionally presented philosophy, spirits come into contact with an individual in deep Christian meditation. This contact firmly associated spirit communication with Christianity in Stella Fregelius, which the author wrote "purely to please himself"²⁹ and no doubt to comfort his own grief. In the introduction Haggard notes that, "The problem of such conflict is common enough; mayhap did we but know it, between a departed and a present personality, of which the battle ground is a bereaved human heart and the prize its

²⁸H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 45.

²⁹H.R. Haggard, Introduction, "MS of Stella Fregelius," MC 32\38.

complete possession between Earthly duty and spiritual desire".³⁰ The book leaves the reader with the distinct impression that organized religion has led people away from true faith and that real Christianity is to be found only through individual efforts. Since Morris reaches spiritual ecstasy through Christian meditation, the spiritual contact he finds is not anti-Christian but an affirmation of Christianity in its most basic form, the resurrection of the soul. Thus Haggard provides the reader with a long sought-after rationale for the coexistence of Christianity and spiritualism. In Stella Fregelius Haggard's concentration on the subject of spirits is the central focus of the story, yet more evidence of the author's central concern with the topic, despite its negative impact on his earnings.

Andrew Lang cautioned him against such stories, as had Kipling, warning that his tales were not as commercially viable as they once had been. Charles Longman, his publisher, wrote on July 6, 1907, to the same effect, saying "I hanker after another King Solomon's Mines or Allan Quatermain hunting adventure, all these I can do with, but no mystics, if you please."³¹ His friends' opinions notwithstanding, Haggard pursued his interest in mystics, comforted no doubt by the knowledge that his fortune was already substantially made. And after all, the critics, even Andrew Lang, had missed the point that Ayesha was not complete without Kallikrates, her lover, and her quest had yet to be finished.

The character Holly makes his return in Ayesha, referring to the title character as Hesea, spirit of the Mountain, who is "the prophetess of that oracle which since the time of Alexander the Great has reigned between the flaming pillars in the Sanctuary. The last holder of the spectre of Hes or Isis upon the Earth."³² Here Ayesha is still Haggard's Jungian "dark mother", the feminine image in its nihilistic form. In this state she remains exiled from

³⁰H.R. Haggard, Introduction, Stella Fregelius.

³¹D.S. Higgins, Rider Haggard: The Great Story Teller (London: Cassell, 1981) 197.

³²H.R. Haggard, Ayesha (London: Longmans, 1905) 13.

the author's conscious mind and alienated from humanity's spiritual sense: she has no future, no afterlife, and no hope. Only her confrontation with Leo saves her from the black vision of death-sleep Thorne dreamt of, when she gives up her rationalism and joins him in love, completing a spiritual metamorphosis begun in She. In Ayesha, it becomes clear that this metamorphosis is not simply the protagonist's desire for a sexual union with Kallikrates, but that she needs him to complete her purpose as a partner in a preordained union. As Patricia Murphy puts it, in her latter incarnation She progresses from the 'demon of the temple' to the 'angel of the home'.³³ It is this spiritual union from which children are born, their birth completing the cycle of reincarnation, that fulfills Ayesha's, and, by extension, humanity's, purpose. Haggard tried to rectify Lang's misunderstanding of his first Ayesha story She with his next, Ayesha, by making this point explicit.

In another aspect of Haggard's religious development demonstrated in Ayesha, the author addresses his reservations about Buddhism directly, commenting on its limitations. Kou-an, a Buddhist monk whom Leo and Holly meet, is another reincarnation. That Haggard's reconsidered view of Eastern religion was that the end result of Eastern thought is the desire for nothingness, is spelled out in a lecture from Holly to the monk, to the following effect: "So your Path is renunciation and your Nirvana a most excellent nothingness which some would think it scarce worthwhile to strive so hard to reach."³⁴ Haggard adds a footnote: "as students of their lives and literature will be aware, it is common for Buddhist priests to state positively that they remember events which occurred during their previous incarnations - E.D."³⁵ Although Holly, Haggard's doppelganger, accepts the Eastern idea of incarnation, he does not accept the Buddhist Nirvana towards which Kou-an's remembered reincarnations strive. It does not coincide with the concept of spiritual individuality he has long sought.

³³ Patricia Murphy "The Gendering of History in She" Studies in English Literature 1500-1900 39. 4 (1999): 761.

³⁴H.R. Haggard, Ayesha 47.

³⁵H.R. Haggard, Ayesha 47.

In place of Nirvana, Haggard puts forward the obscure idea of Ayesha as a natural earth-mother, a "reincarnation of Isis" whose fulfillment or spiritual goal is reunion with her lover. Yet when she unveils herself, she is so old and wrinkled that Leo cannot bear to describe her. However, Leo also understands immortal love after all the trials of his long life, and says,

And yet there still shone some resemblance to the glorious and superhuman Ayesha. What of the vile vessel, rotted in the grave of time? What of the flesh that perishes? Look through the ruined lamp to the eternal light, which burns within, the inextinguishable soul. If I shrink from her now, why then my life is a lie and my belief a fraud; then love will not endure the touch of age and never can survive the grave.³⁶

Thus Ayesha's metamorphosis is not through Buddhist or even Christian rapture, but by the simple human emotion of love, emphasizing the commonality underlying all humanity while maintaining the spirit's individuality.

Kou-an is presented as being susceptible to Ayesha's sensuality, further debasing his Buddhism. "She made me worship her." She tempts him by saying, "Now I will show you a more joyous way and a goddess more worthy of your worship ... the way of Love and Life that makes all the world to be, that made you, O seeker of Nirvana, and the goddess called Nature. I am she."³⁷ Ayesha is thus a goddess of nature whom the Buddhist prefers to his own Nirvana. She is something sensual, not the nothingness Haggard saw in Buddhist beliefs. However, her supernatural beauty and power are not sufficient to complete her spirituality; she, too, requires enlightenment, which in Haggard's creed comes through the emotion of love, now associated with the individual spirit. Clearly Haggard, in the creation of the Ayesha saga, still held Buddhism important enough to directly address what he saw as the shortcomings of that faith once and for all. Again, this reflects the centrality of spiritual ideas to the author's writing.

³⁶H.R. Haggard, Ayesha 370.

³⁷H.R. Haggard, Ayesha 61.

In her last act, Ayesha, merging the mystical and sensual, begins slowly to stroke her abundant hair, then her breast and body. Wherever her fingers pass a mystic light is born, her perfect shape shining with faint fire through the white wrappings of her robe.³⁸ There is still an element of mock ritual Catholicism in Ayesha's physical sensuality, however, Ayesha's sensuality does not hinder her, in fact it is a part of her spirituality. Leo dies at Ayesha's kiss, having proven his love, death meaning nothing to him. Ayesha tells Simbri, her priest,

Go thou down the dark paths of Death, since even my thought may not reach to where he sleeps to-night. Search out my lord and say to him that the feet of his spouse Ayesha are following fast. Command him that he await me in the Gate of Death, where it is granted that I greet him presently. My spirit doth rejoice that for awhile he hath burst his mortal bonds.³⁹

The concept of a gate of death which appears here symbolizes the right to progress to the next plane of existence. It also appears in The Mahatma and the Hare, written about this time in combination with Kipling, but published somewhat later. In that tale there is also a gate into heaven, guarded by a spiritually enlightened gate-keeper, through which only the righteous can pass. However, in Ayesha, Leo no longer needs a gate-keeper figure like Nout or Indaba-zimbi, but can approach the gate himself, having transcended his earthly bonds by gaining a sense of enlightenment within himself, essentially achieving Jungian equilibrium – or mandala.

In the original story as in Ayesha, the questions Leo and Holly have for Ayesha are the same as those of the author for rationalism; her answers are again initially those of rational science, responses that are clearly not acceptable to the heroes. They are the same questions Allan Quatermain encounters partial answers for among the Zulus in South Africa where the

³⁸H.R. Haggard, Ayesha 365.

³⁹H.R. Haggard, Ayesha 375.

protagonist learns from and accepts elements of Zulu religion as aspects of his own spirituality. An example of such subtle acceptance occurs when Indaba-Zimbi says, “in death we may find all the things we have lost ... I do not believe in death; it is change, that is all, Macumazahn. I am not Christian, Macumazahn, but I am old, and have watched and seen things that perhaps Christians do not see. One day you will sleep and your eyes will open on another sky.”⁴⁰ Quatermain believes him, noting “Hitherto he had always prophesied correctly.”⁴¹ Indeed this confluence is deeper than mere acceptance of spiritual beliefs because the characters in Haggard’s stories are reincarnated through many lives in differing cultures, making Zulu beliefs, in that respect, a part of the makeup of their own sensibility. That developed sensibility included a belief in an underlying universal theism outlined in Andrew Lang's anthropological views⁴² and it is employed by the heroes of the second Ayesha story in addressing and coming to terms with some of the initial rationalist arguments represented in She.

In the final sequence of Ayesha love conquers death, for as Leo kisses the aged Ayesha, she becomes young and beautiful again, regaining her dignity, addressing him by his original name Kallikrates, not Leo, thus dismissing rather than affirming his Anglo-Saxon heritage.

⁴⁰ H.R. Haggard, Allan’s Wife 157.

⁴¹ H.R. Haggard, Allan’s Wife 160.

⁴² Claude Welch, Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century 1870-1914 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985) Vol.2, 114. Here Haggard harks back to his friend Andrew Lang whose anthropological sociology contradicted Taylor's predominately animistic beliefs. Lang viewed animism as a degeneration from an earlier anthropomorphism, even a sort of primordial theism thus accounting for the higher gods in early religions, and making all religions essentially similar in their early stages. Later adaptations were simply corruptions of an earlier universal theistic belief. {Andrew Lang, The Making of Religion (London: Longmans, 1898)} Because of the prominence of animistic theories at that time, Lang's ideas were not widely publicized. Haggard would, however, as a close friend and associate of Lang's, who shared a common interest in the topic, have been well aware of his theories.

"Come hither to me, Kallikrates, who would pay thee back that redeeming kiss of faith and love thou gavest me but now!"⁴³ In kissing the aged and ugly Ayesha, Leo has demonstrated his progress in understanding the universe. He has learned that all time and appearance are illusion, that there really is no future and no past and that time and appearance merely seem to exist for humans; spirits know better.⁴⁴ He realizes that their love has been and shall be eternal; Leo goes with her into death, saying "let your sin be mine also, thou hast plunged headlong into an abyss that is deeper far, to share its terrors with my spirit."⁴⁵ He accepts the pagan Ayesha, and adopts her sin, imitating Jesus, in the greatest possible affirmation of love. They overcome their earthly limits, which for Leo is his adherence to dogmatic Christianity, and for Ayesha, her desire for earthly powers. Thus Haggard begins a confluence of associations between Christianity and spiritualism, including Zulu spirituality, in order to overcome the atheism he so feared, reaching towards, but not quite achieving, a synthesis of his divergent beliefs. The novel symbolically begins and ends with the death of Holly, the narrator, and his passage back to the netherworld. The doctor attending Holly's death-bed follows him to the Devil's Ring, an ancient Stonehenge-type structure where "presently I seemed to become aware of another presence I saw something gather in the shadow of the central dolmen...or emerge from its rude chamber which gradually took the form of a woman upon whose forehead burned a star-like fire. Holly saw it too and with a glad cry fell through it dead."⁴⁶

⁴³H.R. Haggard, Ayesha 258.

⁴⁴Again Haggard appears to be aware of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, and borrows ideas from "Natural Supernaturalism" where Carlyle describes "time and space" as the two world-embracing phantasms, and asks "What are the laws of nature? To me perhaps the rising of one from the dead were no violation of these Laws, but a confirmation; were some far deeper Law, now first penetrated into, and by Spiritual Force, even as the rest have all been, brought to bear on us with its Material Force."

⁴⁵H.R.Haggard, Ayesha 291.

⁴⁶H.R.Haggard, Ayesha 14.

Ayesha's restoration links back to the separation of men and women by the empire. She now appears in a didactic form demonstrating just the sort of spiritual bond with her chosen, Leo, that Haggard's fictional women of England had shunned. This bond, represented by undying emotion, supersedes the earthly physical desires of humanity and thus acts as proof of immortal existence. The idea is reminiscent of Lodge's contention that nothing of value is lost in the universe. Here Haggard seems to say that love for departed individuals cannot be lost, therefore the spirits exist. It remains problematically didactic in that immortal love seems to restore the pinnacle of physical beauty and therefore evolution, just as the aspiration to nature's powers caused a regression to a "monkey" like state in the earlier She.

The author's beliefs, having worked themselves out through his fictional creations, come full circle to the beginning of a resolution that includes many of the ideas developed in his preceding stories. From the critique of organized religion in Montezuma's Daughter to the spirit appearance of Stella Fregelius parts of Haggard's creed appear in virtually every one of his stories. Moreover, there is a strong relation between what he privately expresses in letters and the spirit-world he creates in his fiction. The final proof of this appears in Haggard's autobiography as he fashions the various religious threads of his tales into a coherent statement of faith whereby the entire sequence of ideas represented in his stories becomes a part of the creed postulated there.

By 1904 Haggard's spiritual theory had begun to take a more definite shape. He believed souls, or spirits, had existed for thousands of years. Each lived on earth from time to time improving itself and progressing towards something like a Christian Heaven. Borrowing from Buddhism but not accepting its ultimate goals, his scheme of reincarnation allowed for almost any faith, including the Zulu beliefs which inspired Colenso's dissension, to be part of the many reflections of God. However, he considered that attempts to limit the definition of God were decidedly false -- "Anybody can propound a faith but the authority is the thing."⁴⁷

⁴⁷H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks," Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk
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He maintained that no such authority existed for the Catholic doctrine of sacraments and apostolic succession, as they necessarily contradict the validity of other faiths. Moreover, Haggard, like his character Morris Monk, saw nothing in the Bible which prevented a belief in reincarnation, and therefore a reunion with his son. Indeed the driving force for his non-acceptance of Catholic beliefs had now become the demise of his son. Jock's death, perhaps exacerbated by his earlier child's premature death, plunged Haggard into a spiritual crisis which forced him to decide whether he would continue to tolerate the orthodox High-Church Catholic ideas in the Anglican Church of his era, or follow the more spiritual path he had been developing in his fiction.

CHAPTER NINE:

THE TRANSITIONAL YEARS

1905-1913

Despite Morton Cohen's contention that Haggard, at the turn of the century or slightly earlier, started churning out books merely for money, the facts tell a different story.¹ By the 1890s, the author had all the money he considered he would ever need, and he records in a letter to Longmans that the returns from King Solomon's Mines, which had already made him rich, were increasing, not decreasing.² Tom Pocock also points out that Haggard's earnings from fiction and annual income from advances, royalties and serialization could be estimated at upwards of 3000 pounds sterling. This had enabled him, despite the depression in agriculture, to expand his estate "from 200 to 365 acres."³ His sales of newly produced books, however, did drop; and so, accordingly, did the amount he received for each book from his publisher.⁴ This happened because Haggard was by 1904 writing about subjects that personally concerned him, and not primarily for financial gain. Had he been working for

¹Morton Cohen, Rider Haggard, His Life and Work (London: Macmillan, 1968) 227-238. Cohen documents a rise in Haggard's income from literary sources during this period.

²Cohen 232.

³Pocock 105.

⁴For details of sales figures see Morton Cohen, Rider Haggard, His Life and Work 227-238. Rather than taking a royalty, Haggard often sold the rights to his works outright to his publisher. However, revenue on those books for which he contracted for royalties were reduced by lower sales.

monetary rewards, he would have followed the advice of his editor, Andrew Lang, and publisher, Charles Longman, and produced only adventure stories. Instead, he now concentrated mainly on what interested him, even though it lessened his circulation and income. He produced books, not because they were lucrative any longer, but because it was easier for him to dwell on his favourite topic, the supernatural and in Ayesha the pursuit of sexual fantasy in a religious context.

Aside from his now being financially well off, events in Haggard's personal life also precipitated this expanded outpouring of supernatural writing. As far back as 1890, the death of his mother, and then his son, profoundly reinforced the belief in an afterlife, as would the deaths of his brother and his first love, Lily Jackson, in the first decade of the twentieth century. Further, the author's contact with spiritualists like Conan Doyle and Sir Oliver Lodge encouraged his supernatural frame of mind. His personal correspondence and reflections are full of spiritual references culminating in the Note on Religion, written between 1909 and 1911, in which he lays out his specific beliefs with the intention that the treatise be printed only after his death. But the ideas presented in the Note on Religion are anticipated in his romances of the preceding decade (1900-1910), where he explores the main tenets of his beliefs through the fictional lives of his characters. These beliefs would in turn be further shaped by his own supernatural experiences in the new century.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, two events affected the spiritual development of Haggard. The first was the death of, and associated psychic experience involving, his daughter's dog, Bob, discussed in the previous chapter.⁵ The second, and more traumatic, was

⁵H.R. Haggard, "Case 1139, 'A Dream'," Journal of the Society for Psychical Research, 21 Oct. 1904: 278-281.

the return of his first unrequited love, Lilith, by then destitute and dying from syphilis.⁶ She constituted his innermost regret, a woman he had loved, who left with another man, and had done so more for material than for spiritual or emotional reasons. Haggard never recovered from the betrayal and always harboured a secret deep affection for her. When she returned, too late for any earthly reconciliation (he was already married at the time), his only hope was for a more satisfactory continuation of their love beyond the grave. There remained nothing he could do at this point except help her, and he did all he could to alleviate her pain and perhaps his own.

If the death of his daughter's pet in 1904 sparked Haggard's interest in ghostly phenomena on a larger scale and he began to make notes on the subject, the return of Lilith cemented this interest. His diaries and autobiography dating from this period are filled with ghost stories. He records how a close friend, referred to only as Mr Budge of the Metropolitan Museum of London, related to him the tale of a painted wooden board that contained an evil spirit, causing havoc for all who possessed it. About this time he also notes his friend J. Gladwyn Jebb's report of a poltergeist in Haggard's former house in London's Redcliffe Square. They had been beset by a poltergeist put down to the presence of a hideous dwarf idol reputedly from a place of human sacrifice which they had brought home from Mexico.⁷ Louisa, the author's wife, went to stay with the Jebbs but:

The horror and terror, the sense of unmitigated evil that descended on her was so frightful that she lay amid an ever-increasing racket of knocks and bangs absolutely unable to move, until all the clothes were torn off her bed and she rose and fled to the Jebbs' bedroom where she spent the rest of the night.⁸

⁶Lilias R. Haggard, The Cloak that I Left (London: Northumberland Press, 1951) 202-203. The specific reference to syphilis is in Pocock 150-151.

⁷Lilias R. Haggard, 161.

⁸Lilias R. Haggard, 161.

This and similar diary entries provide compelling evidence of Haggard's rekindled interest in the supernatural: even his wife's estate at Ditchingham was said to be haunted.

The event that shook him most in the decade, however, was the return early in May 1907 of his first love, Elizabeth Archer (affectionately known to Haggard as Lilith).⁹ She arrived mortally ill and penniless with three children after her stock-broker husband absconded with her inheritance. Compounding the initial shock, shortly thereafter, on May 21st 1907, the writer's brother Jack died followed in April 1909 by the death of Lilith herself. Haggard says "I was present at her death bed for happily I was able to be of service to her in her later life."¹⁰ He wrote to his old friend Andrew Lang soon afterwards that, "as one grows old I think the sadness of the world impresses one more and more. If there is nothing beyond it is indeed a tragedy. But thank heaven I can't think that. I think it less and less."¹¹ Haggard provided Elizabeth and the children with a house and supported them until her death, an active personal testament to his belief in immortal love.

Indeed, many of Haggard's tales of this period begin to express his concern with immortal love as a link to the spirit world and the liaison between human beings and their departed loves whether they be human or animal. His next few literary efforts reflect various aspects of this theme until it definitively appears in the Note on Religion at the end of the

⁹Elizabeth Archer is the married name of Lily Jackson whom Haggard met while in London. She was also the woman whom his father had prevented him from returning to England to marry. Rider's wife gave her the derogatory nickname Lilith after the Biblical demonic first wife of Adam.

¹⁰D.S. Higgins, Rider Haggard: The Great Story Teller (London: Cassell, 1981) 202.

¹¹Higgins, 207.

decade. Much of the sentiment revealed in these stories was clearly inspired by the return of his first love, Lilith.

This again provides a link between Haggard's writing and his personal life which involves yet another aspect of the spiritual.

The Way of the Spirit appeared in 1906, just prior to Lilith's return, when Haggard was no doubt already aware of her plight. It is an examination of two English people in love, one of whom is already married, who live together in modern Egypt. Their affection and commitment, as with most of Haggard's lovers, is immortal despite their lack of physical contact. They are kept apart in the physical sense by the man's marriage, despite which they pledge eternal love. Haggard had suggested such a plot formula to his sister-in-law, Agnes Barber, in a letter in 1887, outlining a story of lovers separated and dying of plague. Now, inspired by his own situation with Lilith, he wrote just such a story of immortal and ultimate affection. When Mea, the hero's love, meets his wife, she justifies her feelings: "I nursed our lord, but now he has passed from us -- home -- and I follow him."¹² She too has contracted the plague and knows she soon will die: "It was his last and best gift to me." Rupert Urenshaw, the individual in question, had determined to return to his wife, but Mea tells the reader "we prayed, he and I -- yes, we prayed to our God, that He would save us from this sacrifice and He has answered our prayer."¹³ The plague thus becomes a blessing, liberating the lovers from their earthly bonds, much as suicide had functioned in the earlier tales.

It is interesting that Haggard is again concerned with the spiritual as opposed to real physical or sexual love. He seems to avoid mentioning sex directly altogether, but dwells

¹²H.R. Haggard, The Way of the Spirit (London: Longmans, 1906) 212.

¹³H.R. Haggard, The Way of the Spirit 214.

continuously on the erotic, especially where Ayesha is concerned. She is constantly making appearances either semi-nude or in transparent garments, seen, but never touched by Haggard's protagonists. The romance of Mea and Rupert, in which their love is never consummated, is remarkably similar in its erotic suggestion. This similarity hints at the author's continual concern with the erotic as a component of spirituality. He carries the theme farther in another story associating it with a macabre afterlife.

Haggard's 1905 short story, "Only a Dream", appearing in Harry Furniss' Christmas Annual, is another variation on the author's own situation with Lilith. The protagonist, Frank, encounters his dead wife on the night of his wedding to another woman. She appears to him cold, as if she had travelled from afar: "I could not give you my life so I have brought you my death, take it, and heaven help me!" With those words his wife hands over her own "small bleached human skull."¹⁴ Also written during this period, Benita (1906) is an adventure involving ghostly, though less ghastly, lovers. The ghost of Benita Ferreira helps the hero and heroine find a treasure they seek, despite Jakob Meyer, the villain of the piece, who uses supernatural powers of foresight and hypnosis to entice the heroine away from her true lover. The outpouring of romance stories of this genre seems to have been triggered by a combination of events beginning with the death of the author's daughter's dog, and then the demise of his own brother Jack. However, it is connected more directly through the death of Lilith, his former love, to an earlier and deeper wound. It transcended the immediate tragedies to dredge up perplexing memories of the son he lost, Jock.

These tales led up to The Yellow God (1909), set in Africa, which is the final and most didactic novel written directly under the influence of the circumstances surrounding Lilith.

¹⁴H.R. Haggard, "Only a Dream," Harry Furniss Christmas Annual 1905: 255.

Like The Way of the Spirit, it dwells upon the evils of earthly courtship that prevent spiritual union. In the fictional local god, Asiki, Haggard expands and dramatizes the dark side of immortal love from which Ayesha had escaped through union with her companion. Again personified in female form, as previously in Lady Bellamy, She, Cleopatra and Hendrika, unrequited immortal love turns into destructive rationalism, the same destructive rationalism that marked his youthful disillusionment. In Kor it manifests itself in eugenics and torture. In Asikiland (where dwell the people of the Yellow God), "The atmosphere seemed heavy with secret sin, human sacrifice very common,"¹⁵ as Asiki has people sacrificed regularly, including her husbands. Like Ayesha, Asiki defines herself in Darwinian terms, once more echoing Haggard's encounter with Olive Schreiner. Haggard's persona Allan, not Quatermain, faces his old nemesis in anti-spiritual rationalism, this time incorporated in the occult. But here there is no redemption: as with Lilith and Haggard himself, Asiki is not united with her lover and the result is a war of great destruction in Asikiland. In essence, Haggard draws an allegorical moral conclusion from the context of unrequited love. If lovers remain apart in this world, the result is ultimately destruction, like the destruction of Lilith in death.

The association of rationalism with a female character, first established in She, reappears in The Yellow God as a surrogate for Haggard's feelings towards Lilith's death. The author again associates the feminine character with his own disillusionment and loss of religious faith,¹⁶ this time incorporating Darwinian theory in Asiki who remembers her past lives right back to the time of her pre-human existence. "I whom you think young know

¹⁵H.R. Haggard, The Yellow God (London: Longmans, 1909) 207. Jeekie, an Asiki tribesman, speaks only broken English.

¹⁶In The Witch's Head on page 255, the character Ernest clearly relates romantic love with one's faith in God.

everything back to the beginning of the world, back to the time when I was a monkey woman sitting in those cedar trees, I would keep you with me until your spirit is drawn up into my spirit, making it strong and rich as all the spirits that my mothers loved from the beginning, which dwell in me to-day."¹⁷ However, as with the earlier Ayesha story, Haggard through Asiki attempts to synthesize Darwinian evolution with his idea of reincarnation. The goddess remembers her ancestry in the form of previous incarnations which complement her greater spiritual being by allowing her to see all of history through her own eyes. In this respect her outlook is similar to the sense of cultural inspiration felt by Haggard himself when writing Eric Brighteyes, once again underlining the incorporation of his own concepts into his fictional characters. It also demonstrates Haggard's attempt to incorporate scientific ideas with spiritual elements of his writing, something he clearly felt conventional Christianity had failed to do.

Asiki, in another respect, is a forerunner for the revised personality of Ayesha in She and Allan (1921), which Haggard created from his nightmare vision of an eternal life spent seeking a spiritual mate. "Through many a life, through many a life," she says, "brought with much blood, paid for with a million tears, but mine at last, the soul that I have won to comfort my soul in the eternal day."¹⁸ Like Ayesha, Asiki believes her lover must come to the symbolic place she has made ready for him, "the hell that shall turn to heaven at your step ... and drive away those gods that torture me because I was their servant that I might win you."¹⁹ Asiki's hell, like Ayesha's, is her lack of a spiritual synthesis only achievable through the redemption offered by her reincarnated lover. Thus the reincarnation theme present in the

¹⁷H.R. Haggard, The Yellow God 187.

¹⁸H.R. Haggard, The Yellow God 187.

¹⁹H.R. Haggard, The Yellow God 281.

original She is picked up again, continuing Haggard's pursuit of sexual fantasy as a source of religion. Indeed, this same theme links the story to The Way of the Spirit where romantic lovers meet again in the afterlife as the author obviously hoped they would.

Also incorporated in the character Jeekie, an Asiki tribesman in The Way of the Spirit, are aspects of the Christian religion which Haggard found problematic. As such he necessarily represents the author's voice, but subsequently develops as a multi-dimensional, intelligent and insightful character. Jeekie, like Hokosa in The Wizard, is a convert from Asiki to Christ. The problem for him lies in deciding which of his religions demonstrates temporal power: "Daren't pray like Christian here 'cause afraid of Bonsas [a mythical monster roughly equivalent to the devil]." He adds, speaking of himself, "apostles kick him out of heaven and Bonsas kick him out of hell, and where Jeekie go to then?"²⁰ Jeekie is trying to relate a variety of religious doctrines to his personal experience and the results are quite comic. However, in the comic aspect of Jeekie's beliefs Haggard points out the equivalence of religions, and more particularly that Christianity cannot in any way prove its temporal superiority to other religions. "Christian Religion very good but don't wash in Asikiland"²¹ says Jeekie, admitting the merits of the philosophy but bemoaning its lack of temporal potency against the magic of Asiki and Bonsas. In Jeekie, Haggard presents the reality that he personally as a European Christian was forced to accept in his encounters with alien cultures: that Christ does not offer any temporal evidence of His existence. Thus Jeekie is essentially like Haggard himself, including Christianity among his religious beliefs but not solely relying on the Christian God for salvation.

²⁰H.R. Haggard, The Yellow God 348.

²¹H.R. Haggard, The Yellow God 248.

In this sense Jeekie mirrors the characteristics of the author himself and becomes similar to the stoic Quatermain. He is a bewildered questioner who pragmatically approaches the doctrines of Christianity and those of his own ancestral beliefs, seeing the merits of each yet not possessing complete faith in either. Although spiritual presence is evident to him, it does not precisely fit the dogma of either religion. Thus Jeekie is not an inferior type of “native” Christian, one who has not fully accepted Christianity, but an enlightened soul, like Quatermain, seeking spiritual truth in whatever form it exists. Asikiland itself bears some resemblance to what Philip Healey outlines as “the land” in John Buchan’s Prester John (1910) which was “black by race, Christian by religion, and theocratic by government.”²² There a “priest-king would liberate the Holy Land from the Muslims”, a theme equally similar to that of Haggard’s story The Wizard where Hokosa, King of the Amasuka is crucified after his conversion to Christianity.

The spiritual presence continues to the last chapter where the hero sees, or seems to see, rather in a parody of the ascension of Christ, "The figure of Asiki in her robes and breastplate of gold"²³ floating above him. As in the earlier novel Dawn where Lady Bellamy tried to take her own life, Asiki attempts suicide as a means of exiting this world to wait for her intended mate in limbo. Here Asiki’s ascension and desired reunion with her mate in limbo provides more evidence of spiritual subject occurring repeatedly matter in Haggard’s works. In this concern with the latter spiritual location, Haggard found an ally in his friend Rudyard Kipling.

²² Philip Healey “Text and Context in John Gray’s Park: Prester John’s “Black Mischief”, English in Transition ed. E.Waugh, Special Series 4 (1990): 417. John Buchan’s Prester John is based on a legend, which first appeared in the 12th century, of a Christian priest and monarch of a vast, wealthy empire in Africa.

²³H.R.Haggard, The Yellow God 276.

Kipling shared an interest in Haggard's developing spiritual beliefs which found expression, amongst other things, in his anti-Catholic sentiments. The two men met in the Athenaeum in 1889 and Haggard describes Kipling as one of those with whom he felt a kindred spirit. They became close personal friends effectively, although not officially, co-authoring several of Haggard's stories, including The Ghost Kings in the early part of the century. The Haggards often stayed at Batemans, Kipling's estate, where their host and Haggard spent many hours discussing religious ideas, plots for future stories, and agriculture, in the last of which Haggard possessed a degree of expertise.

After The Ghost Kings, the authors collaborated in a series of Haggard's works²⁴ including The Lady of Blossholme (1909), which is, like Montezuma's Daughter, an anti-Catholic Inquisition story, this time set in Spain. Haggard's anti-Church of Rome rhetoric found reinforcement from Kipling during these years. Kipling had Masonic ties and was both anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish. There is no evidence that Haggard shared his anti-Jewish views at this point, but Kipling remained one of Haggard's closest friends, suggesting that the two men did not quarrel over the matter. In fact Kipling's growing influence during this period becomes evident in their frequent co-authorship of what were ostensibly Haggard's stories. That such influence survived is attested by the authors' later correspondence during World War I.

The men shared a particular interest in life after death, and Kipling, when asked if there was anything in spiritualism, responded that "he knew for certain that there was."²⁵ Martin

²⁴Martin Seymour-Smith, Rudyard Kipling, A Biography (New York: St Martin's Press, 1989) 333.

²⁵Martin Seymour-Smith contends that Carrington, an earlier biographer of

Seymour-Smith notes that Kipling was "moving towards a religious sense at this time," or what Carrington calls a "Christian revelation,"²⁶ not at all unlike what Haggard himself was developing in his fiction. When Kipling and Haggard collaborated in the plot of Haggard's romance, The Ghost Kings, in May 1907, the supernatural was certainly present. As Haggard put it, "I remember we compounded the plot of The Ghost Kings together writing down our ideas in alternate sentences upon the same sheet of foolscap."²⁷ In the story, unearthly experiences, shapes and bodies appear to the heroine, Rachel: "Now she was aware that the place was filled with the points of light that were spirits and that every one of them looked at her awaiting the free verdict of her heart."²⁸ The verdict they awaited was her acceptance of their presence, and therefore their existence. Haggard and Kipling's strong interest in life-after death provided them with the subject matter for their stories linking the authors through their spiritual interests.

Ultimately the friends differed in opinion as to the soul's progress after death, Haggard's view reaching towards an infinite existence while in Kipling's conviction the soul remained finite.²⁹ But their friendship remained, extending to the point that Haggard later used his influence in government circles to trace Kipling's son, missing in action during World War I. Moreover, they were still allied in their defence of the supernatural. Kipling wrote to Haggard, mocking Sir Edward Taylor's book Primitive Culture, first published in 1871, in

Kipling, argued that Kipling was becoming more Christian, c. 1911-1914.

²⁶Seymour-Smith 321.

²⁷H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol 2, 208.

²⁸H.R. Haggard, The Ghost Kings (London: Longmans, 1908) 225.

²⁹John Gross and Alan Sandison ed., The Age of Kipling (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972) 42.

which the author lays out the theory of animism, the belief that primitive man saw all natural phenomena as endowed with spirit. By this Taylor sought to prove religion to be nothing more than the need of primitives to explain such phenomena -- a thesis with which Haggard also strongly disagreed.³⁰ Although Kipling's interest in the supernatural shared with Haggard's an element of scepticism where organized religion was concerned, neither man was in any sense an atheist, a fact reflected in their subsequent collaboration in The Mahatma and the Hare.

In October 1911 Longman's Magazine published The Mahatma and the Hare, in which Haggard recreated the life and death of a hare who, before the gates of Heaven, meets and argues with the hunter responsible for his death. It is an allegorical vision of Haggard's spiritual universe similar to that laid out in his posthumously published Note on Religion. It illustrates its author's worst fears, and the heavy influence of Kipling's imaginative power on Haggard's work of this period. The narrator, expressing an idea adopted from Kipling, tells us in The Mahatma and the Hare that

The world is the real hell, ending in an eternal nought. The dreams of a life beyond and of reunion there are but a demon's mocking breathed into the mortal heart, lest by its universal suicide mankind should rob him of his torture-pit. There is no truth in all your father taught you, he was a clergyman and rather eminent in his profession, there is no hope for man, there is nothing he can win except the deep happiness of sleep.³¹

The wise father fox in the story also demonstrates a Darwinian perspective, similar to

³⁰Seymour-Smith 244.

³¹H.R. Haggard, Short Stories, "The Mahatma and the Hare," (London: Longmans, 1911) 197.

Ayesha's, when the rabbit's son is eaten, philosophizing that "the fox must eat, it has young to feed and your brother was lame [the brother eaten by the fox]."³² An argument ensues between the hare and the hunter in which Haggard expresses his ideas on reincarnation through the hare. However, the hunter uses the Bible as an authority to justify his kill. "Because of what we have done before, we men are also hunted by something we cannot see ... you were a beast, I was a man with dominion over you. You can read all about that in the Book of Genesis."³³ The hare responds, "I never heard of the Book of Genesis ... does the Book of Genesis say you have the right to torment that which is weaker than the tormentor? ... who knows but you will find every one of those living things you have amused yourself by slaughtering waiting for you, each praying for justice to its maker and your own."³⁴ The hare turns out to be right in one sense when Heavenly hosts appear saying, "draw near thou hare- you have suffered most."³⁵ Thomas Hardy commented to Haggard that he too was on the side of the hare and that he was most impressed with the work.³⁶ He called it "a strangely attractive book ... I am, as you may know, entirely on the side of the hare ... I feel certain that you are too, in spite of your reserve; and that delights me."³⁷ If the story's central allegory is to be believed, then the hare possesses the same spirituality as the hunter and no amount of Darwinian logic or biblical quotation can justify his murder. Commenting on the death of Lord Rippon, a well known hunter and adventurer, Haggard later writes

³²H.R. Haggard, Short Stories, "The Mahatma and the Hare," 197.

³³H.R. Haggard, The Mahatma and the Hare: A Dream Story (London: Longmans, 1911) 138-145.

³⁴H.R. Haggard, The Mahatma and the Hare: A Dream Story 147-149.

³⁵H.R. Haggard, Short Stories, "The Mahatma and the Hare," 242-247.

³⁶Cohen 175. Hardy and Haggard had met at the Savile Club some time in 1889 and the two remained acquaintances for years.

³⁷Cohen 175.

It is a curious cause for pride [that he had shot over 50000 head of game] this wholesale slaughter for personal amusement of creatures with whom we are connected by the common link of life, coming presumably from the same source and at death thither returning ... but I have argued this question to the best of my ability in my fantastic parable The Mahatma and the Hare.³⁸

Here Haggard extends his concern with the spiritual to include the animal kingdom, encompassing yet another aspect of his thinking into the spiritual sphere. Meanwhile, however, notwithstanding his continuing fascination with the subject, Haggard temporarily set aside the fictional polemic between spiritual doubt and rationalism on one hand and spirituality and revealed religion on the other, and addressed a more mundane task. In 1910 he accepted a commission to write a report on living conditions in Salvation Army camps. He travelled to the United States where he inspected much of the Salvation Army's work and subsequently wrote a report titled Regeneration, supporting the institution's humanitarian endeavours. Earlier in the decade he had, also at the request of the Salvation Army, undertaken a study of London slums and suggested the relocation of the urban poor to the colonies as a means of alleviating poverty. He became friendly with General William Booth, the Salvation Army's commander and founder, who wrote to him in the following terms: "You have not only seen into the character and purpose of the work we are trying to do with the insight of a true genius, but with the sympathy of a big and generous soul."³⁹ In 1911 contrasting works Rural Denmark and The Mahatma and the Hare both appeared, although he may have started the latter as early as 1904 with the help of Kipling.

Despite his involvement in commissioned work, writing and travel, Haggard found time

³⁸H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 4 Sept. 1923.

³⁹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol. 2, 218.

to study the significance of psychical occurrences manifested in his own dreams. He writes in 1907 that, "I will instance here a series of imaginings which developed themselves in my mind at intervals over a period of several months early in the present year. I noted them down at the time and ... give them without alteration, as I think it best not to interfere with the original words."⁴⁰ He cites several of his own dreams and gives three possible explanations for these subconscious manifestations. They may be, first, memories of some central incident that occurred in a previous incarnation; second, racial memories of events that happened to forefathers; or third, subconscious involuntary imagination and invention.⁴¹ He goes on to detail memories of himself as an African with a black wife and children, as an ancient Egyptian, as a Norseman (in fact he describes several such Norse dreams), and a slave under the control of a coloured task master.

Haggard adds, "I described these tableaux to Sir Oliver Lodge when I met him in the Athenaeum not long ago, and asked his opinion concerning them ... I asked him whether he possessed such evidence as would satisfy a reasonable person, say a judge or juryman, of the fact of the continued existence of the individual after his physical death?"⁴² Lodge replied to the effect that birth and death were but two important episodes in existence: "I regard death as an important episode -- the reverse of birth -- but neither of these episodes really initial or final. One is the assumption of connection with matter, the other is the abandoning of that connection."⁴³ Lodge was, according to Haggard, "both an eminent man of science and a great student of such hidden matters."⁴⁴

⁴⁰H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol. 2, 167.

⁴¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol. 2, 168.

⁴²H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol. 2, 171.

⁴³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol. 2, 165.

⁴⁴There are many letters between Lodge and Haggard from 1904 until Haggard's

Haggard incorporated parts of these themes and Lodge's reply into the plot of his next romance. The story of The Wanderer's Necklace (1913) derives directly from one of Haggard's dreams of past lives, where he is a Norseman in Egypt. Drawn "as though by the magnet of his previous Egyptian life," the wanderer travels "back to these southern lands with which my informing spirit was already so familiar. I was really the same being clothed in different shapes of flesh."⁴⁵ The necklace relates the two spirits in the human world, as it belonged to the former Egyptian. Many of Haggard's spiritual ideas, as in this case of the relation of souls across time, are at first presented in fictional form and later reappear in his autobiography as his own beliefs.

There is an almost complete return to Haggard's original intended subject matter of the spirit world in these early twentieth-century novels. The major difference is that the author's comprehension has by this point developed to include Darwin and modern science; and he now has enough money to allow him to write on his preferred topics, not only those which will sell. Nearly all of Haggard's characters attempt to look back or forward beyond their own time, Ayesha being perhaps the classic example. Her appearance is evidence of both past and present united when she says "time hath no power against identity".⁴⁶ Haggard resorts once again to allegory as a means of looking beyond the finite nature of human vision.

Between 1905 and 1913, Haggard veers away from the largely negative, anti-clerical

death, mostly personal notes to meet on various occasions, and an autographed copy of Lodge's book Raymond in the Haggard collection at the Norfolk Public Records Office. Haggard wrote in 1914 that Raymond was his favourite book of that year.

⁴⁵H.R. Haggard, The Wanderer's Necklace (London: Cassell, 1914) 49-50.

⁴⁶H.R. Haggard, Ayesha 188.

writing pursued for the previous twenty years. Although Haggard retained from the preceding period a cache of evil priests and witchdoctors who become stock figures in his work, and he comes into contact with Kipling's anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish influence, the main focus of his work shifts back to the supernatural. He undergoes a number of mystical experiences fuelling this change, including that involving the death of his daughter's dog, as well as learning of ghosts haunting his friends, and having seemingly prescient dreams involving past lives. Lastly, the deaths of Lilith and his brothers Bazzett and Jack serve to turn his mind back to the mysteries surrounding mortality. However, during these years Haggard kept up appearances in his public life as a devout Anglican Christian. He held morning prayers each day in his household, and served as a churchwarden at nearby St. Mary's where he often read the lessons.

Already convinced of the existence of a spirit world, and mixing his spiritualism with Christianity, Haggard moved to a more comfortable understanding of a universe which included both, again placing him loosely within the Broadchurch movement. If he wholly disregarded Christian teachings, as he might for instance have been tempted to do in adopting animism, he would have abandoned his own culture and his own spiritual roots, and no doubt many of his readers. By attempting to combine Christianity with spiritualism, he relegates Christianity to a prominent, but not dominant, position of partnership within his personal religious hierarchy, satisfying his own and, to an extent, his readers' need to understand the spiritual significance of their lives. In doing so he moves a step closer to writing down the synopsis of his spiritual ideas which occupies a prominent place in his autobiography.

CHAPTER TEN:

“A NOTE ON RELIGION”

1911

When Haggard wrote his autobiography The Days of My Life between 1907 and 1911, he included both a chapter titled "Psychical" and another called a "Note on Religion" dedicating not one but two chapters to the supernatural. No other subject is given such prominence. The psychical chapter covered his ideas concerning dream contact with his daughter's dog, whereas the "Note on Religion" is an in-depth study of its author's thinking to date on the subject of spirituality. In it he alternately admonishes himself for a lack of faith in the Christian religion and introduces various explanations for his belief in a spirit world which was based to a degree on Buddhist and Zulu beliefs. However, in the "Note" neither his objections to Christianity nor his justifications of spiritualism amount to a convincing theology. His ideas appear fragmented, inconclusive and unsatisfactory even to himself. This is because the "Note" is a summary of the spiritual ideas presented in his fictional works. There they provide a sense of supernatural mystery, but when pieced together as a work of theological prose the inherent conflicts in Haggard's thinking become apparent. Nonetheless, the note demonstrates the intimate link between the author's spiritualism and that represented in his novels and stories and it is an important record of his ultimate failure to resolve these issues to his own satisfaction.

The core of Haggard's thought underlying the apparent conflicts in his theology is complex. Its basis is found in the negation of orthodox Anglican beliefs, despite which he retained a belief in Christ as a personal deity. Rather than simply slipping into agnosticism as Charles Darwin and George Eliot had done, Haggard attempted to salvage what suited him

from traditional Anglican belief, and to incorporate it within his own theology. For instance, he uses his own interpretation of the resurrection story as Biblical evidence of reincarnation. In this process Haggard accepts the Bible as a sort of history of factual events open to individual interpretation, much as Colenso had suggested. At the same time he appears to be strongly influenced by what Elisabeth Jay calls the “growing humanitarianism of Victorian ethics”, which made the idea of a God who was represented as threatening eternal punishment as the ultimate deterrent to disbelief intrinsically distasteful.¹ Haggard repeatedly states that he cannot accept that we are judged by God on the basis of our short earthly life alone. Haggard’s humanitarian ethics combined with the negation of many Anglican beliefs required him to weave somehow a complex and imaginative theological quilt, with his version of Christianity somewhere close to its centre.

In outlining his own concept of the Christian God, Haggard embraces the “humanitarian” revulsion Elisabeth Jay mentions, without completely giving up a God who eternally damns. To accomplish this feat he combines his own idea of reincarnation, now supported by his personal Biblical interpretation, with evolutionary spiritual progressions gleaned from his earlier study of Buddhism. What he envisions is a Christian God who does ultimately punish individuals, not on the basis of one lifetime, but on the cumulative experiences of many. This in itself is a logical enough weaving together of basic theological ideas. However, Haggard’s God presides over a universe constructed from the author’s own struggle with religious bigotry, his eclectic vision of faith, reincarnation, animism, and his own conflation of Buddhism and evolutionary theory. These divergent beliefs are not so easy to stitch together. Thus the “Note on Religion” ends much as it begins, with no clear focus, only a series of vague affirmations concerning the power of emotion, love and eternal life. The threads of Haggard’s theological quilt fall apart when he tries to encompass all of these concepts into the uniform theology presented in the “Note”. Herein lies one of the likely reasons for Haggard’s instruction that the work should be published only after his death and a

¹ Elisabeth Jay, Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain 99.

fundamental reason for his limited return to conventional Anglicanism .

The “Note” begins with a description of various forms of belief and a brief, ambivalent delineation of several types of faith.

There is, for instance, unquestioning faith which may profess [a religion] because it is there, because they inherited or were taught it in childhood [sic]. Such persons have looked and need to look no further. Theirs not to reason why, and they are fortunate and happy in this attitude [sic]. Others have a more difficult experience. When the intellect awakes it begins to question, and often enough finds no satisfactory answer. It becomes aware that all these divine events happened a long while ago, also that the evidence for them is not of a nature that forces conviction *per se*.²

Haggard, however, concludes his statement with the assertion that "I was bred and doubtless shall to the end remain a member of the Church of England."³ He believes the Bible to be divinely inspired, except perhaps for the Book of Revelation, which "might be fiction", but he qualifies even that statement by saying, "I hasten to add that I am certain this is not the case."⁴

Haggard here apologizes for the bolder humanistic interpretations he is about to present.

Following these words, Haggard, now under the growing influence of Kipling, returns to his perplexing habit of attacking Roman Catholicism, this time via a circuitous defence of the Anglican church:

²H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 237.

³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 234.

⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 239. Haggard had made his own study of the Bible from the point of view of an experienced fiction writer and finds that only the “Book of Revelations” could possibly be a work of fiction or imagination.

The trouble about the Roman Church is not only its notorious intolerance and bigotry ... but the fact that some of the doctrines ... are not found in the New Testament, which after all is the Christian's only chapter. Since the scriptures are of no private interpretation what is not written there is, so far as they are concerned, presumably non-existent [sic].⁵

He supports the assertion that he is no anti-Catholic bigot, an accusation that had dogged him since Montezuma's Daughter, by also attacking the Salvation Army, which he had previously backed, pointing to it as an example of religious extremism. The Salvation Army, according to Haggard, is one pole or extreme and the Catholic faith the other. One venerates the sacraments and the other discards them.⁶ Haggard is clearly still attentive to the accusations of bigotry leveled against him years earlier, but this is not enough to prevent him from repeating his attacks on Catholicism. However, this time he widens the scope of attack to include the Salvation Army, in an attempt to demonstrate that it is not bigotry that has led him to this attack, but theological disagreements over dogmatic beliefs - whether they are Catholic or evangelical. All this is done in the first pages of the "Note" within the context of framing various "types of faith" as defined by Haggard.

The "other" or others, to whom Haggard referred, presumably including himself,

start out on wild searches of their own. They examine the remaining religions, they try spiritualism, believe they bring themselves ... into some faint and uncertain touch with the dead, the unseen and the powers that dwell therein, only after all to return unsatisfied, unsettled, hungry -- frightened also at times -- and doubtful of the true source of their vision.⁷

This no doubt is a fairly accurate description of the author's own experiences to date, and

⁵H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 235.

⁶H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 236.

⁷H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 237.

perhaps the best explanation for his fragmented and inconclusive ideas on the subject, for he always reserved some sense of doubt within his beliefs.

However, regardless of his uncertainty, Haggard then begins to lay out his own beliefs which have, in large part, already been disclosed in his fiction. In doing so he places his beliefs in the context of a search. First, he postulates that there is a spirit world. "Meaning will inform meaninglessness" if we admit that every one of us,

has lived before and danced in other rooms, and will live again and dance in other rooms Then those casual meetings and swift farewells, those loves and hatings, are not of chance; then those partners are not chosen at hazard after all. Then the dancers who in turn must swoon away beneath that awful, mocking touch [death], do not drop into darkness but into some new well of the water of Life.⁸

Once Haggard has confirmed his belief in a spirit world, he discusses the various alternative religions which he and others have explored. However, he asserts that Christianity contains "whatever is true and good in every one of them",⁹ and he gives as an example that the maxims of Buddha can be found in the teaching of Jesus. Nonetheless, he continues to assert that the religion of Buddhism is one of death, "holding up a cessation of mundane lives and ultimate extinction as the great reward, compared to Christianity which offers eternal life."¹⁰ Haggard ultimately returns to his original equivocation concerning Buddhism, asking the rhetorical question, "Who wishes to be absorbed into the awful peace of Nothingness?"¹¹ He does, however, adopt the concept of reincarnations which involve the potential for progress.

⁸H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 243.

⁹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 237.

¹⁰H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 238.

¹¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 238.

In contrast to the passive extinction offered by Eastern religion, the author holds up Christianity as a belief in something positive. "Jesus is a God-endowed being of supernatural strength who did show signs of wonder before the eyes of his generation."¹² Haggard states that tens of millions believe Christianity to be a gateway to a better world, rather than a means to some final oblivion, making it superior, at least in his view, to Buddhism. The very number of Christian believers offers him a degree of defence for his position, which he later reinforces from an historical perspective. The reverse argument does not, by this time, apparently bother him that many millions also believe in Buddhism, which might therefore also have merit, again suggesting a basic weakness in the author's thinking on the topic.

From this point on the remaining ten or so pages of the "Note" are essentially a repetition of religious aspects of his stories which together form a distinctive, if not entirely coherent, theology of reincarnation. The philosophy presented in The Mahatma and the Hare, which Haggard wrote simultaneously as a mystical allegory, is especially well represented in the "Note". The author refers in particular to "a gateway to a better and enduring world,"¹³ the same gateway from which the hosts of Heaven descend for the hare in the allegory. As it had for the hare, the gateway functions as a portal to a better, more enlightened world for humanity, providing a sort of loosely defined Heaven towards which one might aspire during various incarnations.

The inclusion of animals in the kingdom of heaven is especially interesting against the background of some of Haggard's revulsion at hunting in his youth, his experiences in South

¹²H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 238.

¹³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 240.

Africa, and psychical contact with his daughter's pet. In his youth Haggard had felt remorseful about killing animals. Soon afterwards the author gave up hunting in the belief that animals might have souls. Victoria Manthorpe notes that Haggard was no "simple traditionalist, he was well ahead of his time in his withdrawal from blood sports, while his appreciation of the importance of maintaining the spiritual equilibrium between man and nature is in line with the whole environmental movement of the later twentieth century."¹⁴ Haggard's South African experience no doubt reinforced his nascent animistic ideas as his stories are filled with the animistic spiritualism he encountered amongst the Zulu people in Natal. The experience with his daughter's pet confirmed Haggard's animistic ideas once again, and ensured their inclusion in his "Note on Religion".

Within the context of reincarnation, Haggard also asserts, as he had in Doctor Therne, that Christ rose from the dead as will all humankind one day.

If he never rose from the grave, then, so far as I can see, there is no hope for Christian man, and we trust in a vain thing. I say, so far as I can see, for there may exist other roads of salvation with which we are unacquainted, for my part, I believe, however, that He [Jesus] did rise, as firmly as I believe that at this moment of writing I am sitting on the deck of a ship called the *Arcadia*, and that what He, born of woman, did, we shall do also.¹⁵

Thus the equation of Christianity with spiritual reincarnation, which first appeared in Doctor Therne as fiction, appears here as part of a religious philosophy of which reincarnation becomes the second major tenet, a loosely defined heaven being the first.

¹⁴Victoria Manthorpe, Children of the Empire: The Victorian Haggards (London: Victor Gollancz, 1996) 217.

¹⁵H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 241.

While affirming, as above, that "there may exist other roads of salvation,"¹⁶ Haggard uses the statement to launch his own doctrine of reincarnation, in which he says that we all rise again, further stating that he "cannot find that it [his doctrine of reincarnation] conflicts with the doctrines of Christianity",¹⁷ an idea already expressed in Stella Fregelius. The writer continues by giving examples of reincarnation from the Bible, particularly that of Elijah returning in the person of John the Baptist, claiming "we or at any rate that some of us, already have individually gone through this process of coming into active Being and departing out of Being more than once perhaps very often indeed."¹⁸ Again Haggard attempts to justify his own concept of reincarnation with Biblical events. In the process, however, he seems to conflate eternal life in Heaven with repeated earthly existences, a concept clearly at odds with traditional Christian beliefs, be they Catholic or Protestant.

Once more he reverts to comparing his belief to Buddhism, which, notwithstanding its ascribed weakness of purpose, he also asserts does not contradict Christian beliefs, in that each personality is immeasurably ancient and will exist eternally in some form. He cites as evidence "vague memories, affinities with certain lands and races, irresistible attractions and repulsions at times amounting to intimacies of the soul ... so strong that they appear to have already been established ... such have drawn me close to certain friends, and notably to one friend recently departed." (Here he refers to Lilith who died in April 1907).¹⁹ He admits that none of these is absolute proof, but assumes that in some way they reassure us of an afterlife. Conversely, the author reveals to the reader the particular contention that he finds hardest to

¹⁶H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 241.

¹⁷H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 241.

¹⁸H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 241.

¹⁹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 241-242.

accept in Christianity, namely that humanity “appearing here for the first time through an accident of the flesh is placed and judged eternally in accordance with the deeds of at most thirty waking conscious years,”²⁰ a concern which continues to cause him as much trouble in believing Christian theology as the idea of meaningless extinction caused him with Buddhism.

However, Haggard gets around this awkward contention by twisting the resurrection story to suit his beliefs, and calling on history to support his claim. "I have said that I believe in the New Testament story, and that to my mind everything hinges upon the fact of the Resurrection",²¹ a resurrection, he contends, we are all likely to experience several times. Along with this claim comes the assertion that, "as far back as history shows her light, and beyond it, as the graves of primitive peoples prove, the almost universal instinct of mankind was to believe that death is but a gate to other forms of continued and individual life."²² Here again the author appears to be selectively accepting, rejecting or modifying parts of various religions according to the established tenets of his own beliefs: an afterlife, a heaven and especially reincarnation, although now he pays special deference to Christianity, are all included among his beliefs.

One can readily observe the operation of these beliefs in almost every one of Haggard's stories. Always there are the immortal first loves separated on this earth, who know they are meant to be together, as Haggard no doubt felt he and Lilith should be. These bonds transcend race and time, and sometimes gender lines as with Henrika's love for Stella in

²⁰H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 243.

²¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 244.

²²H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 251.

Allan's Wife. Reincarnation incorporates all of these diverse elements into one of the central themes in Haggard's writing and indeed in his own life. According to Haggard's concept these souls can and do meet again in their journey towards the "gateway to a better and enduring world". Again picking up on Kipling's scepticism, Haggard asserts that he cannot believe we are to be judged eternally on the events of a single lifetime of "Ten or twenty or thirty years passed among the surroundings in which we happened to be born, weighed with the infirmities and inherited tendencies of a flesh and nature that we did not choose".²³ Instead we are measured "over a great period of many different existences, selected according to the elective fitness of the ego, [in which] matters and opportunities equalize themselves, and that ego would follow the path it selected to its inevitable end".²⁴

A problem remained for Haggard's philosophy in the questions posed by science, which to a degree triggered his scepticism concerning conventional Christianity. In further explaining this philosophy, the author takes an image from Kipling's theological scepticism when he compares the Darwinian world to "a great ballroom wherein a Puck-like Death acts as a Master of Ceremonies."²⁵ But to Haggard there cannot be a ballroom in which "partners ... are snatched asunder to meet no more."²⁶ To rectify this situation, he also borrows from the "science" of Oliver Lodge to assert his view of a universe in which nothing is without meaning or place. Instead of random chance acting on humanity, "the ballroom is but a scene we live in, part of a bigger picture that makes perfect sense ... the dancers do not drop

²³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 243.

²⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 243.

²⁵H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 242.

²⁶H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 242.

into darkness but into some new well of the water of life. We see but a few threads of the Sphinx's veil that enwraps the whole universe of creation,"²⁷ the extension of this argument being that, if one could but see the whole panorama of existence, it would make exactly the sort of sense Haggard was trying to make of it. In other words, having the whole picture would clearly refute the aforementioned Puck-like Death who is Kipling's Murgh in Red Eve, and Death in The Mahatma and the Hare, of whom humanity can make no sense and subsequently the mechanistic and atheistic visions promoted by the growing influence of science.

Here we see the inner workings of Haggard's fictional and theological universe coming together as a hybrid Christian-reincarnation theology, working through Buddhist-like progressions. Just as they are reflected in the reincarnations of She and Asiki, his ballroom characters live out segments of their existence, meeting and re-meeting their spiritual partners, making sense out of a spiritual world that would otherwise be rendered senseless by relativism and Darwin. Instead, Haggard has come to assert a faith similar in one respect to the faith he demeans as "unquestioning faith which may profess [a religion] because it is there, because they inherited or were taught it in childhood [sic]."²⁸ Haggard implies that such persons are fortunate and happy in this attitude, however simple-minded it might be. What he now suggests, instead of an inherited set of Christian beliefs, is a hybrid theology of his own design, which he can invest with that same faith. He clearly finds this faith somewhat more tolerable than straight-forward acceptance of the religion into which he was born.

²⁷H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 243.

²⁸H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 243

A further aspect of his hybrid theology evident in his fiction is the need for ultimate salvation in the Christian sense. Haggard's various suggestions for attaining that salvation also feature in his "Note on Religion", often almost exactly mirroring their appearance in his fictional writing. The author suggests prayer as one possible means to salvation. Not just "a few hurried mumblings in the morning or at bedtime: I mean the continual, almost the hourly, conversation of the creature with his God."²⁹ In Stella Fregelius, Morris Monk attempts to contact the spirit world and indeed does so by making himself more like a spirit through prayer, although his final contact kills him. Rupert Urenshaw and his lover Mea's prayers for reunion after death are answered by their nearly simultaneous deaths in The Way of the Spirit. Characters' prayers are clearly answered on occasions in such a way that they show support for the author's beliefs, in particular when they pray for reincarnation via the spirit world. Thus Haggard justifies the Christian practice of prayer by having it play an important role in the stories, affirming and supporting spiritualism. In the "Note" he says of such prayer that, "some times even ... it causes us to understand what is meant by the peace of God that passes all understanding."³⁰

Redemption is likewise addressed in both the fictional works and in the "Note", in his notion that as one performs better morally in each life one progresses to the next. In order for the individual to be morally challenged, evil is given rein on this earth, which is perhaps one of the Biblical Hells.³¹ Thus the witchdoctor in The Wizard, who converts to Christianity and directs the Christian forces to victory during his crucifixion, can be seen as a redeemed figure making sense of the story and of his life. In fact, in light of this philosophy, all of

²⁹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 244.

³⁰H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 245.

³¹H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 245.

Haggard's stories progressively take on greater coherence as a personal theology. From the original manuscript of Dawn, in which Angela dies hoping to rejoin her departed lover, all character development can be explained as Buddhist-like progression towards an afterlife which is now revealed as a Christian-style heaven making moral sense of individual lives and deaths as Haggard understood them.

From the first novel Dawn onwards, all of Haggard's stories inextricably link romantic love with religion. Haggard's concept of spirituality itself seems tied into this link. It is tied in through the idea that individual egos or souls are linked, through a spiritual sense, in couples or pairs. Such an idea seems to have been thrown into the hybrid theology by Haggard himself with no antecedent in Christianity or Buddhism, and is thus seminal to it. It is also tied to the fear of separation from loved ones, which is first evident in Dawn and later expanded in Ayesha. What Haggard begins to reveal is a belief that human emotions, including sexual passion and romantic love, are themselves evidence not only of spirituality, but also, by extension, of an afterlife. Part of the spiritual evolutionary progression towards the afterlife, in Haggard's concept of the soul, is towards the reunion of such partnered lovers. Although the author never explains the origin of these pairs, he points to human emotional attachments as evidence of their existence. Haggard demonstrated a fascination with the concept starting in his first novel Dawn, where property concerns and money come between such matched lovers. The result in Haggard's original manuscript of Dawn is tragic. The idea resurfaces in Ayesha's centuries-old romance with the Kallikrates/Leo reincarnation and again in Stella Fregelius where Morris Monk tries to make contact with Stella. Clearly Haggard had developed the idea over a lengthy period of time. The central position given such pairing of lovers in the Note provides further evidence of its importance in the author's theological thought.

This is equally true of the author's novels produced in the first decade of the twentieth century, where the spiritual dimension comes to the fore. Certainly in Ayesha the spiritual aspect of partnership is fully addressed, although contemporary critics failed to understand this. Ayesha did not love Leo merely as the "fine animal" Lang saw. Rather, she required a partner to progress towards completion in a spiritual sense, revealing the seeming contradiction between her greatness and her human weakness. Without her spirit-love, Ayesha is still an embodiment of Haggard's vision of Darwinian evolution -- nature with no spirituality, which has no laws except those of Ayesha's own conception. With her lover, however, Ayesha can progress towards a higher spiritual plane and improve herself. Even the cruel Ayesha may eventually have hope in Haggard's theology, because earthly union through love and affection become the means to ultimate salvation. However, with Ayesha, the philosophy becomes confused, because the author had not finished with the divine aspect of the original Ayesha character, and therefore could not fully delineate his concept of paired souls within her story.

Earlier, Haggard associated Ayesha with Isis, the mother goddess of earth. Although he toyed for years with the idea of a religion containing a female Isis mother-goddess, referring to such musings as the "other trails I had followed",³² nevertheless, in the "Note" Haggard emphatically states, "Often enough it is nature that prevails and, having eaten of the apple that she, our mother, gives us, we desire no other fruit [sic]. But always the end is the same: its sweetness turns to gravel in our mouth. Shame comes, sorrow comes; come death and

³²H.R. Haggard, letter to Agnes Barber, Aug. 1884, Haggard Collection, New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Microfilm, Reel 2.

separations.”³³ Thus, according to Haggard, nature conceived of as Isis brings only death, remorse and bitterness. In Ayesha and in the “Note” he therefore expressly rejects this theology in favour of a patriarchal Christian God in whom he puts his ultimate faith, and yet because of his continued uncertainty, he allows this diminished divinity to linger in Ayesha for another decade.

Although in Ayesha the author had not finished with Ayesha, there are many lessons to be learned from this tale. Haggard has moved beyond Elisabeth Jay’s “humanitarianism”; he not only negates the aspects of Christian theology he finds unacceptable, but actually begins to develop his parallel fictional theology of paired lovers. Ayesha herself is redeemed by Kallikrates's love, as humanity is redeemed by the love of and from Christ. Redemption is Ayesha's real struggle, and she attempts to find that redemption in sexual and spiritual union. In the “Note” it is further stated that the "laws of nature are opposed to the higher laws recorded by God ... the 'Higher light' that we must follow", and that "our fate depends not so much on our doings in this life as on our efforts."³⁴ Ayesha compensates for her earthly desires and her lack of a spiritual dimension by combining her spirit with that of Kallikrates, thus providing a happy ending for the story when Leo is reunited with her in bliss.

This is the central phase of development in Ayesha's character, and indeed in Haggard's thinking on spiritual issues. The author has to a degree accepted that rationalism, especially Darwinian evolutionary theory, has seriously weakened his faith in the Christian God. He attempts in Ayesha, and a number of lesser symbolic entities, to replace the Christian God-figure as a source of hope or meaning in life by according the same reverence, formerly due

³³H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 244.

³⁴H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 256.

to God, to sexual passion, or more precisely, to the union of lovers on earth. Consequently the author accepts the sum of their emotions as evidence of a greater spiritual existence, an idea also developed in the "Note". He picks up on the idea of paired souls or lovers again in the 1920's when he writes Ayesha's final chapter Wisdom's Daughter. Unfortunately the book did not sell well and consequently few had a chance to read the work in which Kipling thought Haggard had "the whole tragedy of the mystery of life under your hand".³⁵

Although Haggard had touched on the centrality of sexual passion in religion, he had not gone as far along the Darwinian path as he might have. Darwin at one point attributed all religion to the sort of feelings a dog has towards its master. "Such instincts would become inherent and would develop if they possessed survival value for the species in any way." Darwin thus derived morality purely from a social instinct thereby depriving man of any special status akin to God.³⁶ Darwin's religious reductionism resulted in a belief that faith and morality are subject to natural selection along with the species itself. Clearly such a philosophy was unacceptable to Haggard's mystical nature, and so he retained a reverential aura surrounding his religious ideas.

In this sense, however, he was not done with the Ayesha metaphor, and She had yet to make one more conclusive appearance, which Kipling recognized as Haggard's final comment on religion. It is clear in any case, though, that by the time the "Note" was composed the author's thinking on the subject of sexuality in religion had advanced from that

³⁵H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 1 Aug. 1923.

³⁶Charles Darwin, The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex (London: 1871) 157. Darwin's associate Wallace publicly declared that some special guiding power was needed to account for Man's evolution and later joined the spiritualist movement. (Quarterly Review, London: 1869, 391-3)

postulated in Ayesha, but had not fully matured to his own satisfaction. In fact Ayesha's very quest for redemption is oddly reminiscent of Christian theology, even while it is inconsistent with her developing naturalistic philosophy, itself alternately imitative of a contemporary secular outlook, or harken back to ancient Egyptian cosmology.

Although Haggard to some extent discarded the idea of a mother-earth goddess, he retained the image of nature as part of a dualism in which such a goddess plays an ambivalent role, sometimes the instructing force for humanity, sometimes a source of evil to be fought against. Even though the author never completely resolved this split, neither could he give up the idea that nature somehow held great religious significance. It was this continual changing uncertainty in his own ideas which created confusion in his theology, perhaps in many ways reflecting the uncertainty of Victorian faith as a whole.

Within his fiction, such uncertainty is to some extent mitigated by the author's denial of responsibility for his own inspiration. As discussed in chapter five, Haggard believed his writing came from some unknown inner muse. This consequently precluded his approval of substantial editing, thereby theoretically relieving him, as a medium, of the responsibility for ensuring coherence in the theological views offered in his work. Accordingly, differing representations of religion appear in various novels. Nevertheless, Haggard worked towards drawing together the fundamental, underlying tenets of his ideas in his "Note on Religion", despite such inconsistency, where he must ultimately take responsibility for his words.

Thus, in the "Note", Haggard gives his readers a sketch of his theology featuring a spirit world with a Christian-like heaven to be attained by Buddhist-like progressions from life to life, and governed on earth by human emotions and passions. These same emotions are the

main premise and evidence for the existence of that spirit world. Yet notwithstanding these beliefs, the author also includes ideas of a mother-goddess not wholly consistent with the aforementioned theology. Furthermore, he claims that his beliefs are compatible with Christianity, an assertion many Christian theologians would clearly dispute. In making this claim, Haggard essentially maintains a link with Christianity through a theological sympathy with the Cambridge-based Broad Churchman "who thought it wise to keep the doctrines of the Church to the fewest and simplest"³⁷ thus avoiding conflict with one's personal beliefs. Furthermore the Broad Church's natural deism did not directly refute the author's unusual theological vision. The Buddhist-like progressions, on the other hand, seem to be adopted, with some modification, from Haggard's reading of A.P. Sinnett's Esoteric Buddhism, in 1894.

If the initial product of Haggard's religious and spiritual philosophy is worked out in his fiction, its distilled product is reserved for his "Note on Religion". In it, all aspects of his beliefs which have been represented in his fiction come together to form the most comprehensive statement of Haggard's faith up to this point. Unfortunately, the statement, when viewed as a whole, is far less fascinating than its individual parts. When represented piece-meal interacting in the fictional world of Haggard's novels, it produces mystery and a sense of supernatural presence. However, when presented together in Haggard's pseudo-theological statement, "A Note on Religion", his beliefs and justifications are often apologetic and his reasoning not altogether consistent. In short, he has yet to accomplish what he set out to do, that is to shed light on the spiritual confusion afflicting his era. In his own words, "Thus it comes about that seekers after spiritual truth remain drifting to and fro in

³⁷J.W.C. Ward, Anglicanism in History and Today (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1961) 175.

their little boats of hope, that grow at length so old and frail, and mayhap in the end founder altogether."³⁸

³⁸H.R. Haggard, The Days of My Life Vol.2, 238.

CHAPTER ELEVEN:

THE WAR YEARS

1914-1921

World War I once again brought spirits to the forefront of many minds. Almost every British family lost a father, son or cousin in the conflict and spiritualists gained many adherents from surviving relatives. Haggard was among those who suffered personal loss and, of course, was already predisposed to participate in the resulting spiritualist revival. Over the course of the next eight years he revisited Africa, seeking new spiritual guidance from witchdoctors who kindled his opposition to a leading Christian theologian, and he personally investigated the supernatural manifestation of a deceased friend and fellow spiritualist, the Reverend Prebendary Bainbrigge. By 1918, Haggard's faith in spirits had been both strengthened and channelled into a conventional Christian mystical outlook augmented by his increased acceptance of a wide range of religious beliefs. Although the form of the author's interest in the supernatural shifted from literary representation to real world inquiries, the focus on the spiritual never changed.

Just prior to the war his interests had been of a lighter nature. There was no hint of earth's similarity to hell, later discussed with Kipling, when Haggard reported a strange phenomenon first sighted by his daughter on July 23rd, 1912. He wrote to a local newspaper, saying, "We had a great excitement here this evening and are convinced we have seen a sea serpent. I happened to look up when I was sitting on the lawn and saw what

looked like a thin dark line with a blob at one end shooting through the water at such a rate of terrific speed it hardly seemed possible anything alive could go at such a pace".¹ Haggard included a drawing of the creature and asked readers for an explanation. Although the incident was of a casual nature, it demonstrated his willingness to take mysterious occurrences quite seriously, a predisposition the war strongly reinforced.

By 1914 Haggard was asking the more sombre question, "The dead man, what is he, nothing or everything, which?"² He felt the pain of loss personally when his nephew, Major Mark Haggard of the Welsh Regiment, was killed in action on October 10th, 1914, while leading an attack on a German gun position. "I write this at the table where so often he sat, almost it seems to me that he answers my toast from Valhalla whither he has passed".³ Fatality came to Haggard's door again when John Kipling, the son of his intimate friend Rudyard Kipling, went missing only five days after Mark Haggard's death, on October 15th, 1914. Kipling asked Haggard to use his considerable influence to find out if his son had definitely been killed. Haggard complied and managed to discover the grisly truth: that Kipling's son had indeed been gravely wounded and, while attempting to make his way to the rear, had been hit by a shell. Haggard agonized over telling all this to Kipling and in the end determined on only an assurance that his son had died honourably leading his men, which was close enough to the truth.⁴

¹H.R. Haggard, letter, "Sea Serpent off Kessingland," Eastern Daily Press, 24 July 1912.

²H.R.Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge. This diary entry is dated the 15th, 1914. Although no month is given the entry corresponds with other entries late in the year.

³H.R.Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge. This diary entry is also dated the 15th, 1914.

⁴Tom Pocock, Rider Haggard and the Lost Empire (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1993) 191-192.

Charles Longman and Sir Oliver Lodge, both friends of Haggard's, also lost sons in the conflict. Lodge consequently wrote a book titled Raymond purporting to be the record of a spiritual communication with his own dead son. With reference to this work, The Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research for December 1917 state that "no fewer than seven editions have been issued since its first appearance".⁵ The popularity of Lodge's book and many like it provides compelling evidence that interest in the supernatural flourished again during the war years, offering hope and encouragement for the relations of servicemen killed in action, including of course, the Haggards. Lodge sent an autographed copy of his book to Rider Haggard who studied it carefully.⁶ In his diary the latter notes:

Certainly the evidence given here is extremely curious and quite above any impartation [sic] of manufacture. What purports to be the soul of Raymond does make many allusions to incidents that happened in his life-days which often, until they were investigated, seem to have been unknown to any concerned [Haggard goes on to describe the physical appearance of Raymond and his activities as a spirit] he and others wear clothes made of the decayed matter of clothes on earth he visited a higher sphere where education was carried on by placing those who attended beneath various coloured lights he was granted an interview with the founder of Christianity whose attributes are like that attributed to him in Revelations, voice of a Bell etc. I cannot make up my mind if all this is mysteriously extracted from the subconscious.⁷

These insights from another world provided Haggard with the detail in Love Eternal and Queen of the Dawn for his fictional spiritual apparitions and embellished his accounts of life

⁵Eleanor Mildred Sedgewick, in a rev. of Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, Part LXXIV, Dec. 1917: 404.

⁶The autographed cover to the copy of Raymond can be seen in Norwich at the Norfolk Public Records Office, dated 4 Nov.1916, MC/32/13.

⁷H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 16 Nov.1917, 418.

beyond the grave.

The war brought other spiritualists back into the public eye, and Haggard listened to them as well, hoping for new insights. He mentions that Arthur Conan Doyle, who had been giving out advice on life after death, thinks spiritualism may be the religion of the future.⁸ "If only he could prove it, all my life I have been trying to find out the truth of this great matter but when I approach it, it slips away into trivia and vague generality".⁹ Haggard concludes with the rather hesitant Christian affirmation that the answer to such mysteries "lies in Him who[sic] we worship in the Church of St. Thomas Surely he is not a tribal God or Earth Spirit but the lord of all life what we believe will be true for us".¹⁰ Despite the frenzy of war-related spiritualism, he still refused to abandon his Christian roots without solid evidence that the spirit world he sought existed.

However, he was already predisposed to accept mysterious occurrences, and had long sought such reassurance metaphysically. An opportunity to do just this came when the Dominions Commission, of which he was a member, set sail for the land where Haggard's spiritualism matured, South Africa. On January 24th, 1914, still prior to the war, Haggard and his family embarked for South Africa where his work involved him with the second stage of

⁸H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 16 Nov. 1917, 418. Doyle and Haggard knew each other socially and this information was probably passed on in conversation, although Conan Doyle's views have been well documented. For more information on Doyle's spiritualism, see Author Conan Doyle, The Answer of the Spiritualists (London: Cassell, 1918).

⁹H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (Typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 16 Nov.1917, 418.

¹⁰H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 16 Nov.1917, 418.

the Dominions Commission which he had begun in New Zealand in 1912. The expedition gave him the opportunity to renew his investigation of African supernatural beliefs, but during his long absence many transformations had taken place.

Haggard was greatly disappointed by the changed South Africa he now encountered. A tour among the graves of his friends aroused bittersweet memories of his youth. Haggard records his experience as one of feeling like a “Rip van Winkle”. For the first time he visited the Great Zimbabwe ruins and saw the mountain and pathways named from his book King Solomon's Mines. Later he viewed the site of Dingaan's Kraal which had figured prominently in many of his African adventures. More importantly, the expedition provided Haggard with an opportunity to expand his knowledge of African spirituality by renewed communication with Mazooku, his former servant, who accompanied him on the tour. From Mazooku he sought to gain insight into the process of becoming a witchdoctor. His daughter Liliass recorded the essence of one of Haggard's conversations with Mazooku as follows:

He said that at first the man or the woman [to become a witchdoctor] falls into a vague sickness which may continue for about a year. It may happen at any age but usually about the age of puberty. Ultimately the sickness settles in the shoulders, whereupon the patient is taken to some experienced witchdoctor who decides if the sickness is normal, or due to the workings of the spirits. If the latter is diagnosed the patient is taken to another distant doctor, who does not know anything of his family, for another opinion, and if the first diagnosis is confirmed the neophyte is put on a course of purges, etc., known as Black Medicine. After this follows a second course of White Medicine which may continue for a whole year By degrees the neophyte acquires the power of divination. First he is tried with small matters and if he succeeds, with those of greater importance. If he fails he must go through another course of potent White Medicine, and if he fails again he is rejected from the ranks of the profession.¹¹

¹¹Liliass R. Haggard, The Cloak that I Left (Norwich: Northumberland, 1951) 241.

Haggard notes that it is similar to the religious calling experienced by other faiths. Using Haggard's own diary for her source, Lilius further recorded a number of similar conversations on the South African tour in which her father acquired a great deal of knowledge concerning Zulu spiritual beliefs. Armed with greater insight into Zulu spiritualism, Haggard combined the information obtained on this occasion with the results of further investigations on his next trip to the country, in 1916, to produce several articles and reports. In this way, moreover, South Africa once again became a source for spiritual ideas in both his mind and his fiction.

Aside from its relevance to Haggard's spiritual beliefs, the diary Haggard kept while on these travels also provides more evidence of his mixed feelings concerning the virtues of the British Empire. On the basis of these diaries Lloyd Siemens castigates Wendy Katz for her "unqualified charge that 'from the very first essays he [Haggard] wrote in the Transvaal ... and on through his fiction, speeches and private diaries, Haggard's political views remained consistently racist'". Siemens supports his argument by quoting from Katz's biography of Haggard; "we see a man for whom [all outsiders] spelled trouble." Siemens contends that Katz was not aware of the majority of Haggard's diaries, otherwise she could not have compose such a misinformed thesis.¹² Siemens continues:

Haggard furnishes the reader with concrete images that suggest the deteriorating inner lives of many of the colonizers and with objective correlatives for the often blind stupidities of colonization. The place names themselves increasingly suggest the landscape of some gigantic imperial allegory in which Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria and Durban yield to "The Place of Slaughter," "Gates of Death", "Place of Murder" and "Grave Island". Amid the "death-like beauty" of Zululand he spots "a Ford motor

¹² Lloyd Siemens "Rider Haggard's Neglected Journal: 'Diary of an African Visit'" *ELT* 37:2(1994) 156-157. Siemens quotes from Wendy Katz, Rider Haggard and the fiction of Empire (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987.) 135-36.

car, broken-axled and abandoned” in the deep sand. At Laurence Marquiz [sic] a dredger lies “bottom up” in the harbour.¹³

Haggard’s vision of South Africa, illuminated through Siemens’ thesis, seems strangely akin to that of Conrad’s Marlow on his arrival at the company station in the Congo. “I came upon a boiler wallowing in the grass, then found a path leading up the hill. It turned aside for the boulders and also for an under-sized railway truck lying there on its back with its wheels in the air. One was way off. The thing looked as dead as the carcass of some animal. I came upon more pieces of decaying machinery...”.¹⁴ It is self-evident that neither Haggard nor Conrad intended any glorification of imperialism in such visions.

Siemens identifies Katz’s work as an example of the critical fashion “over the past decade or so to identify in the writings of both Haggard and Kipling the strains of an aggressive imperialism rooted in racism.”¹⁵ Against this he weighs Alan Sandison’s claim that Haggard was able to “escape the vice of imperialism”¹⁶, Peter Ellis’s assertion that “there is no trace of racism”¹⁷ in Haggard’s work, and Susan Howe’s contention that Haggard acted as “the natives’ champion”¹⁸.

Haggard elaborates his bleak vision of Colonial South Africa in a letter to the Right Hon. Lewis Harcourt where he declares that “there is nothing more astonishing to the observer than

¹³ L. Siemens ELT 37:2 (1994) 160.

¹⁴ Joseph Conrad Heart of Darkness (New York: Norton, 1988) 19.

¹⁵ L. Siemens 156.

¹⁶ Allan Sandison The Wheel of Empire (London: Macmillan, 1967).

¹⁷ Peter Ellis A Voice From the Infinite (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978).

¹⁸ Susan Howe Novels of Empire (N.Y.:Columbia Univ Press, 1949) 128, 149.

the insatiable land hunger of the South African white man.”¹⁹ He notes the complaint of the Zulus that their land is being taken by the white man, and again that white farmers are spoiling for war with African peoples for the sole purpose of acquiring their land. He mentions in particular the comments of Sir Charles Saunders, who was once Commissioner for Zululand, who described colonial treatment of the Zulu as “constant pin-pricks such as land-snatching and the institution of the poll tax.”²⁰ He mentions the stories which are “freely told by those who know what took place at the last affair in the Insimba valley, when, according to the published reports, some 600 Zulus were killed and only one Natal volunteer was wounded”²¹ as being too painful to repeat.

The Haggard family returned to England later in 1914 and shortly thereafter Rider Haggard was en route to Canada, arriving on July 29th, 1914 to continue his work with the Dominions Commission. Hence it was in Canada that he first received word of the outbreak of war. He had been gravely worried on his arrival by the rapid development of hostilities in Europe from a seemingly "blue sky".²² Although the commissioners had agreed not to publicly discuss the war, on August 12th, in St. John, New Brunswick, Haggard made an impassioned speech rebuking Canadians for their complacency. He warned that Armageddon was upon the world and one must make ready. His own main concern was to return to England to see if he could be of service to the nation.

¹⁹ H.R. Haggard Diary of an African Journey ed.Stephen Coan (Pietermaritzburg: Natal, 2000) 296.

²⁰H.R. Haggard Diary of an African Journey ed.Stephen Coan, 292.

²¹ H.R. Haggard Diary of an African Journey ed.Stephen Coan, 292. Here Haggard refers to a rebellion in Zululand, 1906.

²²Haggard apparently did not anticipate war.

When he did return, it was on a ship painted in camouflage, dodging German cruisers in the North Atlantic. However, on his arrival in England there was little for him to do. The report of the Dominions Commission was shelved and the commissioners were sent home. In the meanwhile, apparently refreshed by his African travels, he wrote The Holy Flower (1915) and The Ivory Child (1915), both set in Southern Africa. The war was never far from his mind, however, as his Ditchingham property was bombed several times during night raids by German Zeppelins. He went so far as to join the local home defence force and rose to the rank of platoon commander before falling ill and retreating to a coastal sanatorium.

Haggard went abroad once more in 1916 in the service of the empire, this time leading a commission on the future resettlement of British veterans. It was after this tour that he published an article entitled "Magical and Ceremonial Uses of Fire" wherein he claims to have seen a man, presumably a Zulu man, who could make fire "leap up after his hands and then in the resulting smoke show pictures reflected from the minds of those who were present".²³ In a speech to The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children a year later, Haggard is reported to have unfavourably compared the treatment of children in England to those of African parents,²⁴ creating amongst his countrymen doubts about his faith in Christian social values. Haggard's article and later speech fuelled by his recent travels point to his continued concern with aspects of European religious doubt.

Private doubt is further expressed in his diaries where he argues forcefully against another

²³Rev. of "Savages and Their Children, More Human than Some Civilized People: Sir Rider Haggard and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children", by H.R.Haggard, Eastern Daily Press, 27 Oct.1920: 6.

²⁴Rev. of "Savages and Their Children, More Human than Some Civilized People: Sir Rider Haggard and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children", by H.R.Haggard, Eastern Daily Press, 27 Oct.1920: 6.

precept of Edwardian Christian culture, that sexuality was somehow sinful. The horror of the war and the initial disillusionment which Haggard felt at having his Dominions Commission report shelved, set him back to thinking about the meaning of his own life. Many of his earlier spiritual explorations came back into focus. However, this time that focus was through the lens of the war; the decimation in the trenches of Europe in particular caused him to consider the role of sexual regeneration in terms of humanity's greater spirituality. With so many of England's young men, particularly young officers, killed in Europe, Haggard worried that the character of the nation would be changed irreparably if they were not rapidly replaced. He filled his spare hours while on the steamship Niagara between New Zealand and Canada, with reading a book of religious ideology by A.C. Benson, a noted man of letters, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and the son of Edward White Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury. In a lengthy segment of his diary Haggard discusses and expresses differences with the views in Benson's book Thy Rod and Thy Staff. Benson's abhorrence of physical love draws a strong reaction from Haggard which took several days of writing to express. In this section of his diary Haggard outlines much of his understanding of the role of physical love and attraction as the spiritual force from which all nature is generated. Rather than viewing sex as decadent or purely physical, he describes sex as an affirmation of God's plan for the world, opposing Benson's admonitions for celibacy and self-denial. Even in his private writings Haggard demonstrates his constant concern with spiritual issues.

He berates Benson to the effect that it is wrong to "hide oneself from the world in celibate luxury, atrophying the human impulses and calling it virtue and shirking its cares while watering and nourishing your soul as I say we are here to gather experience, yours

has been small".²⁵ This is an expansion of his argument against the vows of celibacy and silence of Brother Basil discussed in Chapter Four. Haggard argues that the soul, denied human experience, does not fulfill the reason for its earthly existence, namely spiritual growth. He also explains his idea of love as a source of this growth, for without love:

There can be no growth of anything but simply an eternal haunted changelessness yet the promises concerning the drinking of the wine, seems to imply growth, for how can wine exist without growth and sexual energy? Perhaps, however, this is a spiritual figure of speech only, and yet, notwithstanding the elemental coarseness, it [sex] has its splendid role.²⁶

Haggard goes on to assert that the role of sexuality, romance and physical passion are natural and spiritually ordained:

Except perhaps that of the conceiving dawn, is there anything in the world we know more full of wonder and of beauty than the face of the woman fate-stricken with love, upon where [sic] passion has laid his most burning wand? Moreover it is decreed by the power whom it seems to anger. Had it not been for the very despised theory, there would have been no world, since the same principle runs through all down to the hedge-side flower probably the spheres themselves are conceived in some joyous rushing together of mighty forces in the sea of space who are we to judge what is clean or unclean?²⁷

Benson argues that sex is unclean and leads to lustful, impure thoughts, but Haggard turns this premise around making sexual passion a part of God's grand plan in nature. He argues along the same lines as Sigmund Freud that the role of sex is an important fundamental force in the human psyche, a position reflected earlier in the creation of She.

²⁵H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 1916, 353.

²⁶H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 1916, 354.

²⁷H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 1916, 354.

But, unlike Freud, Haggard goes on at length to affirm his belief in Christ as omnipresent through physical love.

This physical love, it is evident, has not changed from its appearance in his first novel Dawn. The loves and passions of his characters are their ultimate motives, motives which stem from other lives and existences, uniting individual spirits across time and space. Ayesha returns to meet her lost love Kallikrates, Eva in The Witch's Head is fated to meet Ernest, and even Haggard himself believed that his first love, Lily, had a greater connection to him than this life would allow.²⁸ Haggard was inclined to interpret sexual desire as having a spiritual dimension, relating him in some ways with the modern attempt to replace religion with a belief in a spiritual dimension to human sexuality, and revealing similarity between Haggard's work and the modernist genre at least in this respect. However, he never abandons religion completely, and thus cannot be counted among his contemporary writers who did. Haggard did not transcend the boundaries of conventional religious metaphor or achieve a greater sense of self-awareness. Instead, searching from religion to religion, idea to idea, looking for spiritual guidance, he returned to his own religious roots, making him a transitional author at least in his spiritual dimension.

From his pivotal reference to Christ in the diary argument addressing Benson, he builds another argument, apparently agreeing with Benson, taking the resurrection of Christ as evidence of reincarnation in general: "I gather that you, A.C. Benson, like myself, have strong leanings towards belief in reincarnation. After all is not eternity based on that doctrine; the resurrection of the body [sic]. If that be true how many, many things would it explain, whereof the bewildered contemplation drives us almost to madness, sins I think

²⁸Pocock 103.

among the rest. Also loves and hates".²⁹ After this Haggard again reminisces about his lost son, hoping that his theory of reincarnation is correct and that he would one day see him and many of his closest departed friends again. He complains that as he grows old he "walks among ghosts, especially at night",³⁰ reflecting yet another connection to the supposed world of the dead.

Haggard posited spiritual growth, developed through human experience, as the purpose of earthly reincarnations. In particular he recalls the life and death of his son as one such experience of spiritual growth which celibate life would necessarily have denied to him. Despite their apparently differing convictions on this issue, Haggard respected Benson's views sufficiently for them to eventually meet and become friends, evidence of which can be found in letters from Benson, usually in the form of notes to arrange meetings or visits.³¹ Whatever their differences they agreed on the fundamental importance of love in its abstract form, but not physical love.

The war years not only raised his interest in reincarnation but also strengthened Haggard's belief in a spirit world by focusing his attention on the matter of death. The reality of human carnage made him seek realistic solutions to the conflicts and contradictions of his own beliefs. He was not alone in these concerns; in fact the Church of England took

²⁹H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 360.

³⁰H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 22 Aug. 1922. Aside from his son Jock, many of Haggard's closest friends were now dead, among them: Theodore Roosevelt whom Haggard considered a kindred spirit; Andrew Lang his closest friend and editor and his brothers.

³¹Letters from A.C. Benson starting in 1920 can be seen in Norwich at the Norfolk County Records Office, Haggard Collection, MC 32/21.

up the spiritualist debate and Haggard looked with great interest upon the developing arguments within the established church concerning spiritualism.

After the end of the World War Haggard was delighted that the church had begun to discuss spiritualism formally. "The Church Congress is discussing spiritualism, it is wonderful how this topic is coming to the fore, because, as I think, mankind is increasingly agitated as to its future beyond the grave".³² However, he realizes that the church is far from convinced of the merits of such belief. Haggard takes some comfort in the fact that Dean Inge³³ calls it "pitiable necromancy", thus admitting that it is not entirely false or imagined.³⁴ From this thought Haggard tries to justify his own beliefs, again equating spiritualism with Christianity:

It seems that Christianity is occultism in a sense -- perhaps Spiritualism would be a better term -- for instance, the Materializations on the Mount. To put it widely: does not Christianity cover Spiritualism at its best?³⁵

However, acceptance of supernatural forces is common to all religion, whereas spiritualism, as Haggard understood it, is an attempt to communicate with supernatural forces by either magic or science.

Haggard also reports Inge attacking the philosophy of perpetual progress as having "no

³²H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 15 Oct. 1919.

³³Pocock 219. Dean Inge, Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, was well known for his pronouncements on spiritual and current affairs.

³⁴H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 15 Oct. 1919.

³⁵H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Norfolk Public Records Office, Norwich, c. 16 March 1916.

basis in science or religion",³⁶ but agrees with him that the church cannot turn back to the "epistemology of the past".³⁷ He goes on to paraphrase Inge to the effect that humanity could no longer "Believe in a localized heaven and hell and could not pretend that the belief in a cessation of their bodies stood where it did [prior to the war] love is stronger than death and God is love".³⁸ Such a thought must have pleased Haggard greatly for it concurred with his own long-held beliefs.

Indeed, Haggard's rendition of Inge's views is strongly reminiscent of the attitude held by his fictional characters, particularly as illustrated by Mea's love for Rupert in The Way of the Spirit and Ayesha in her love of Kallikrates, both of which transcended death in much the way Inge described, except that Haggard adds the element of their reincarnation. The author concludes his argument: "I believe that the doctrine of reincarnation, unpleasant as it is in various ways, offers a more reasonable explanation of the many mysteries surrounding us",³⁹ reaffirming his belief in other spiritual lives.

Late in 1920 the author took advantage of an opportunity to shift from thinking about and telling tales of other lives to actively investigating them in the shape of ghosts. Like Conan Doyle, he took an interest in poltergeists and haunted houses, and on December 31st, 1920, Haggard began the business of investigating ghosts in earnest. It came to his attention that a

³⁶H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 15 Oct.1919.

³⁷H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 15 Oct.1919.

³⁸H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 15 Oct.1919.

³⁹H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 15 Oct. 1919.

certain old personal friend was reported to have been making appearances in ghostly form at St. Thomas's Church, Norwich. Haggard's letters and enquiries into the matter are presented in his diary, in a format similar to that used by The Journal of the Society for Psychical Research for case studies.⁴⁰ These studies usually took the form of a brief explanation and a series of evidential letters. It is possible that Haggard intended to send his investigations on to the Society but this particular tale does not appear among their studied cases. Still, it shows the lengths to which he was willing to go to find proof of an afterlife, and of his continuing interest in spirits.

Thus, while his characters encountered fictional spirits, Haggard himself searched for proof of spiritual presence in his own life. The search was no doubt also fuelled by the spiritualist outpouring aroused by World War I. Spirits had again become a topic of great social interest; Lodge's book Raymond had been a great success; Conan Doyle was preaching spiritualism to anyone who would listen and the Society for Psychical Research reported an increase in recorded cases.⁴¹ Haggard's contribution to the frenzy was his investigation of Prebendary Bainbrigge's ghostly appearances.

Haggard writes, "I have now investigated the matter of the alleged appearance of my late friend Prebendary Bainbrigge, who died over a year ago in St. Thomas Church, Regent Street of which he was, for many years, the vicar. A while since I heard of his rumoured

⁴⁰H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, c. Dec. 1921. Haggard's diaries include a number of letters from individuals concerned in his investigation of Rev. Bainbrigge's apparition and replies to those individuals. This format including a series of evidential letters is typical of articles presented in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research.

⁴¹Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research (London: SPR, Dec. 1917) 19.

appearance and as a result wrote to the Reverend Clarence May, the assistant priest at St. Thomas's". May's impartial testimony⁴² was of the utmost importance to Haggard convincing him of the validity of this sighting. The apparent connection between Christianity and spirits in Bainbrigge's appearance was important to Haggard, who desperately wanted to connect the two. In November, 1920, Haggard received a letter from May, who reported seeing an apparition of the late Bainbrigge praying in the St. Thomas chapel which Bainbrigge had loved and which was about to be remodelled. Haggard had spoken to Bainbrigge about the importance to veterans of the chapel in question on several occasions, hence the investigator's immediate interest and involvement. Haggard replied to May in a letter dated the 19th of December 31st 1920:

I can well imagine, presuming such appearance to be possible (a point that with others of kindred nature I have often debated with my reverend and learned friend, the late vicar) that the threat of its removal would above anything recall him to the scene of his earthly ministrations.⁴³

He further took it upon himself to write to Bainbrigge's wife, sending her the letter he had received from May, to which Mrs. Bainbrigge replied at length, confirming Haggard's conviction that the ghost was in fact her late husband. She agreed that it was probable that the appearance was in fact her late husband, especially since he had been seen by May, someone to whom he was unfamiliar. On receiving her reply Haggard continued his investigation, writing to Bishop Burge, then Bishop of Oxford and apparently a spiritualist

⁴²Clarence May was the current vicar of St. Thomas and had never known the late vicar Bainbrigge. This made it unlikely that he would have subconsciously imagined him in the church -- an important piece of evidence in Haggard's view because he feared many such apparitions were figments of imagination.

⁴³H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge. H.R. Haggard, letter to Clearance May of St. Thomas Vicarage, 31 Dec.1920. The chapel in question commemorated fallen soldiers and was thought by Bainbrigge to be a comfort to ex-servicemen.

sympathizer, relating the story. Haggard himself travelled to St. Thomas's vicarage to investigate the story and question witnesses. He relates his findings to the bishop in a second letter dated the 24th of November 1921:

I think that the enclosed example of what appears to me to be a true spiritual manifestation may interest you. I must explain that Mr Bainbrigge was a dear friend of mine and a spiritual propr and guide [sic] and at times we used to dine together and discuss various high topics amongst these the possibility of the dead manifesting themselves on earth on this point I think he had an open mind, inclined to belief. Once not long after his decease I had the strongest impression that Bainbrigge was at my side in a church in the town while the communion service was being celebrated.⁴⁴

In Haggard's next letter to Burge he relates his visit and the ensuing investigation into the matter at St. Thomas's. Recording in detail the testimony of various witnesses, he attempts to establish the legitimacy of the case, noting that "Mr. May's evidence impressed me as being absolutely truthful and unexaggerated Of this I am quite sure, I believe that Bainbrigge or some part of Bainbrigge did manifest himself in St. Thoma's Church".⁴⁵

The investigation took place shortly after Haggard wrote Love Eternal in which he began to sum up his appreciation of spiritual presence in a cosmic sense. It begins, "More than thirty years ago two atoms of eternal energy sped from the heart of it, which we call God, and incarnated themselves in the human shapes that were destined to hold them for a while, as vases hold perfumes, or goblets of wine".⁴⁶ Haggard writes towards the end of 1921 that he believed the investigation shows, in Bainbrigge's personality, a similar faculty for

⁴⁴H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge. H.R.Haggard, letter to Bishop Burge of Oxford, 24 Nov. 1921.

⁴⁵H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge. H.R. Haggard, letter to Bishop Burge, 31 Dec. 1921.

⁴⁶H.R. Haggard, Love Eternal (London: Longmans, 1918) 288.

spiritual detachment from the human body:

A possibility which hitherto I have always rejected in such reputed instances since I have never heard of one after death appearance which could in any way be established. I should be inclined to think that this manifestation, partly in the nature of the appearance of a shadow, haunting a place with which the Earthly interest of the personality was identified, something after the fashion of an Egyptian Ka, were real. More than once in the year before his death I have discussed with Bainbrigge matters connected with spiritualism and of the possibility of after death apparitions. He had an open, but I should say on the whole rather an antagonistic mind upon these matters, as to which his views were much in keeping with my own.⁴⁷

He notes first that he believes this, then adds, in different ink, "am strongly inclined to believe the above lines".⁴⁸ Haggard takes the appearance of a spirit in such a Christian context to prove the Christian connection to spiritualism, a debate to which he had paid careful attention earlier. Here we see the cumulative effect of the shift in the form of Haggard's spiritual interest from fictional representation to real-world investigation. This shift was ultimately reflected back into his fiction.

Ghosts, after a short absence in his fiction, again began to make regular appearances in Haggard's stories. The protagonist in The Spirit of The White Mouse (1926) can only be assumed to be a spirit even though she never admits this directly to Quatermain, telling him instead that there is really no important difference between women and spirits anyway. In The Ancient Allan (1920), Haggard has Lady Luna Ragnall and Quatermain relive previous existences in which they had been lovers, while the heroine of Barbara Who Came Back

⁴⁷H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, c. Dec. 1921.

⁴⁸H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries," Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, c. Dec. 1921.

(1920) dies and is reunited, on the astral plane, with all who had loved her and preceded her in death, including her dog. She eventually decides to allow herself to be reincarnated into the physical world she has learned to regard with horror in order to assist in the spiritual development of others still unlucky enough to be alive.⁴⁹ Her return is not unlike Bainbrigge's return to protect soldiers' peace of mind through the preservation of his chapel's comfort. In investigating the Bainbrigge case Haggard was moving from his fictional world of Jungian Symbolism and Anima into the real world. He applied doctrines long-developing in his fiction and personal writing to his own physical surroundings, partly in the hope of strengthening his own faith, itself reflected back into his fiction after the war years.

The war forced Haggard to rethink some of the concepts he apparently accepted prior to 1914 in his "Note on Religion" and put certain of the ideas recounted there into practice. For example, to apply his concept of "good works" or attempting to lead a "good" life he worked on the Dominions Commission to resettle veterans away from cities, closer to the land, and thus benefit their spiritual lives as he had discussed with Theodore Roosevelt. He sought to better define the ambiguous role of sexuality that he had always felt to be an important element of spirituality and made this definition apparent in *Ayesha*. In his diarized arguments with A.C. Benson, Haggard views sexuality as necessary to the regeneration of his decimated people after the war, rather than a temptation to be overcome. He also sought stronger proof of a common ground between Christianity and reincarnation; a search evident in his investigation of ghostly phenomena. The end result of the ideas put in motion by the war is the author's rethought spiritual position of "universal love" as expressed in Wisdom's Daughter, the final chapter of the *Ayesha* saga. Throughout the war years Haggard

⁴⁹Glen Barclay St. John, The Anatomy of Horror: The Masters of Occult Fiction (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1978) 70.

maintained his focus on the spiritual despite its being manifest in differing aspects of the author's life.

CHAPTER TWELVE:

THE LAST YEARS

1918-1925

Haggard had come to believe during the tragedy of 1914-1918 that the world was a hell, a place of wholesale murder that demonstrated the weakness of Christian society: "behold the fruit of nineteen centuries of the law of Christ in the hands of man".¹ The horror of death and destruction spurred on his attempt to reconcile a healthy scepticism with his spiritualism and Christianity. He came to believe that a concept he called "universal love"² was the key to this reconciliation and it became the central bulwark against his long-standing fear of obliteration, newly emphasized by the horrors of war. In the next Ayesha saga, She and Allan, Haggard explores his metaphysical uncertainty and in her final episode, Wisdom's Daughter, he reaches back to Milton's Paradise Lost for a symbol of his own inner doubts. Ayesha becomes, in a sense, a Miltonian Eve who symbolizes Haggard's rational doubt and guilt at having doubted the great creator in whom he had been taught to believe. Universal love is the final development of many of Haggard's earlier attempts to consolidate spiritualism, animism, Egyptian and African mythology, and Buddhism into a theology powerful enough to challenge his own scepticism. It acted as a force driving him to accept a wide validity among religions, a change reflected in his later romances.

¹H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, c.1922, MC 694-2-23.

²Haggard appears to have gleaned the idea from The King James version of The Bible, Luke 10:13.

Haggard's concept of universal love rests partly on Oliver Lodge's pseudo-scientific belief that emotion, like matter, cannot be displaced in the universe and therefore must come from and go to some place when not reposit in a human mind. Equally it relies on an acceptance of a wide validity among religious beliefs as "rungs on the ladder to heaven".³ It accepts that all living creatures may be subject to this love in some degree. Haggard argues that none of this is in any way contradictory to Christian belief; however he admits his own inability to explain the exact relation between his beliefs and those of Christianity. Still, he attempts to implement his concept in the fictional world of Allen Quatermain and Ayesha's last stories.

It has already been established that Allan Quatermain follows much the same spiritual journey as Haggard himself. In She and Allan (1921), Haggard again reflects the development of his own ideas and scepticism through Quatermain. The tale Quatermain tells of his spiritual search is in fact a synopsis of Haggard's own:

Although I rather grudged the guinea, being more than usually hard up at the time, I called upon this person [a medium], but over the results of that visit or rather the lack of them I draw a veil. My queer and perhaps unwholesome longing however remained with me and would not be abated. I consulted a clergyman but he could only shrug and refer me to the Bible, then I read certain mystical books that were recommended to me, these were full of fine words but I found nothing I could not have invented myself. I even tackled Swedenborg, or rather samples of him but without satisfactory results.⁴

³H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 13 Sept. 1925.

⁴H.R. Haggard, She and Allan (London: Hutchinson, 1921) 3. Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was an eminent Swedish naturalist and scientist who published many religious treatises and revelations which served as the foundation of the Church of the New Jerusalem.

Quatermain continues, saying that he seeks to prove a spirit world because "I cannot forget those whom I have loved I imagine that they still care for us after they have left the earth".⁵ He then tells us "behind [these thoughts] looms a still blacker doubt, namely whether they live at all", expressing the author's lingering scepticism. Despite years of searching, Quatermain, and by extension the author, have as yet no exact answer to their own lack of faith, fictionally symbolized by Ayesha. Eventually Quatermain consults a witchdoctor, Zikali, who sends him to meet Ayesha. He is thus guided by an indigenous African who appears to know that only by confronting Ayesha can he find the proof he seeks. Quatermain is directed back to face Haggard's own deepest fear by the witchdoctor, whose understanding of such matters surpasses western knowledge. What he finds, in a vision granted by Ayesha, shocks and disturbs him.

Quatermain sees what Ayesha had warned him that he would: himself as his own heavenly judge, as God, but he does not completely believe his eyes. When Allan awakes from the vision, Ayesha haughtily informs him "thou tellest me, Allan, that in thy dream or vision thou didst seem to appear before thyself seated on a throne and in that self to find thy judge. That is the truth whereof I spoke, though how it found its way through the black and ignorant shell of one whose wit is so small, is more than I can guess."⁶ Here Ayesha, in one statement, both ridicules Quatermain's intellectual endeavours to discover spiritual truth and confirms the agnostic rationalist vision of his dream, one similar to Jung's later Anima, but not the atheist thesis Haggard himself feared most.

The showdown between Quatermain and Ayesha is paralleled in Haggard's diaries by a

⁵H.R. Haggard, She and Allan 2.

⁶H.R. Haggard, She and Allan 264.

continuous criticism of rationalism combined with a self-questioning reminiscent of Ayesha's ridicule. For instance he criticised Frederick Harrison, as "the high priest of positivism"⁷ whom Haggard believed to scoff at religion with "a new social catechism".⁸ He quotes Harrison as saying "The prophets: Moses, Mahomet [sic], Confucius, Buddha, and Rome, Puritanism and Methodism, all of these are now crushed out by science and practical life and are distrusted as vague celestial promises -- utterly powerless to teach elements of social duties on this earth".⁹ Haggard adds the comment:

With this I totally disagree. If there is any hope for man it must be found in these same condemned religions and especially in that of Christ with its doctrine of universal love by which alone mankind can hope for salvation, temporal as well as spiritual. If this [Harrison's argument] is so then it is an argument for strict birth control; leave this earth to the beasts that perish -- not knowing that they perish.¹⁰

In its stead, Haggard, in Quatermain's remonstrations with Ayesha in She and Allan, offers his protest by an illustration of the metaphysical search that brought him to his concept of universal love. When Quatermain awakes from the vision of death that Ayesha has granted him, he asks her "then it was all a dream?" Ayesha's response further illuminates the author's underlying metaphysical misgivings:

⁷H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 14 Dec. 1921.

⁸H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 14 Jan. 1921.

⁹Frederick Harrison (1813-1923) was president of the English Positivist Committee from 1880-1905 and Vice-president of the Royal Historical Society. Among his published works are, Order and Progress, (1875) and The Positive Evolution of Religion, (1912).

¹⁰H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" (typed), Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 14 Jan 1921.

Is not everything a dream, even life itself, O Allan? If so, what can this be that thou hast seen but a dream within a dream, and itself containing other dreams, as in the old days the ball fashioned by the eastern workers of ivory would oft be found to contain another ball, and this yet another and another and another, till at the inmost might be hid a bead of gold, or perchance a jewel, which was the prize of him who could draw out ball from ball and leave them all unbroken....How much harder, then, is it to come at the diamond of Truth which lies at the core of all our nests of dreams and without which to rest upon they could not be fashioned to seem realities?¹¹

The author's desire to come to terms with the metaphysics of spiritual faith, found here in Ayesha's conversation with Allan, foreshadows his shift away from representations of a direct search for spiritual contact towards a less tangible metaphysical concept of spirituality.

In preparation for the showdown between Quatermain and Ayesha, Haggard further develops his philosophy by finding similarities between the religions he has studied and Christianity, except that he now finds the similarities comforting, not troublesome. He compares his view of the Christian trichotomy of spirit, soul and body with the Egyptian six or seven spirits which inhabit the body and the Zulu multitude of spirits, equating them all as a belief similar to the soul or Ka.¹² They are thus all part of a greater universal religion that he called universal love, a theme that he picks up again in Wisdom's Daughter. Haggard describes the relationship between these religions in his diary as a ladder extending from earth to heaven: "In that ladder the faith of the old Egyptians was a single rung, that which we follow is another rung, and perhaps there are many more out of our sight and knowledge".¹³

¹¹H.R. Haggard, She and Allan 263-264.

¹²H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 9 Feb. 1923.

¹³H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 9 Feb. 1923.

The initial inspiration behind his religious universality was the awe inspired by the ruins at Aswan. Haggard was deeply moved by the massive temples of the Egyptians on a visit in 1887. In his autobiography he disparages the early Christians for their ignorance in defacing Egyptian statues, and their lack of the greater sense of spirituality he had achieved.

Everywhere soared great columns as firmly as when Seti [Sethos I, son of Ramesses I of Egypt] looked upon them...the proud Pharaoh -- himself a god -- bent the knee before other gods whose company he soon must join. Surely such a spot should be holy if there is aught so upon the earth and yet see there the early Christians have hacked out the sacred effigy forgetting how much of their own faith came straight from that which to their heated imaginations, was peopled of devils and inspired by hell.¹⁴

For similar reasons She and Allan contains bitter criticism of missionary Europeans; the European Christian sense of superiority did not fit Haggard's more egalitarian view of religion. The author's voice is clear in the words of his character Zikali, a witchdoctor known as "him-that-should-never-have-been-born", when he addresses the topic of priests. Quatermain's ejaculation "if you mean missionaries" at Zikali's mocking suggestion that he consult white witchdoctors is quickly responded to Zikali, "No Macumazahn, I do not mean your praying men",¹⁵ reiterating an assumed understanding of the difference between spiritually powerless missionaries and Quatermain's recognition of Zikali's prescience. Zikali informs Allan, "they [missionaries] say what they are taught to say without thinking for themselves The real priest is he to whom the spirit comes, not he who feeds upon its wrappings, and speaks through a mask carved by his father's fathers".¹⁶

¹⁴H.R.Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 29 Feb. 1923.

¹⁵ H.R. Haggard, She and Allan 5.

¹⁶H.R. Haggard, She and Allan 5.

The author continues creating a discourse derogatory to Europeans alongside his attack on organized religion. Quatermain's African servant, Hans, further mocks the European's sense of superiority in a crude and obvious way when he tells Allan, "With the baas's leave I will sit on the other side of the bush not to look on the Baas without his clothes because white people are always so ugly that it makes me feel sick to see them undressed, also Baas they smell".¹⁷ Zikali, the witchdoctor, continues the mockery of the white man's sense of supremacy on another occasion when Allan seeks his help. "Am I, Zikali, a poor Zulu cheat asked to show that which is hidden from all wisdom of the great white people?"¹⁸ Haggard attempted, and to some extent succeeded, in mocking and then challenging the preconceived beliefs and thus the intellectual security of his audience. For instance, Quatermain cannot explain Zikali's powers of divination rationally, and yet there they are. Zikali sees Quatermain's past and future, and impresses a map upon his mind with the ashes of a fire. Quatermain tells the reader "whatever may have been the reason, I never forgot any detail of that extremely intricate map",¹⁹ confirming Zikali's spiritual power. In presenting his readers with experience beyond their rational comprehension through the sceptical vision of Quatermain, Haggard challenges their expectation of rational explanation itself.

Zikali's mockery of Europeans and missionaries is important for two reasons: firstly, because it belittles Europeans' certainty in their wisdom; and secondly, because Zikali is an outcast, a spiritual individual who is not a member of any organized religion. He represents the potential for individual spiritual awareness outside of organized religion while

¹⁷H.R. Haggard, She and Allan 19.

¹⁸H.R. Haggard, She and Allan 4.

¹⁹ H.R. Haggard, She and Allan 7.

questioning, by his spiritual powers, the European atheist rationalism which dictates that such as he and, by extension, Christ cannot really exist.

Haggard believed that the Catholic Church, particularly in its desire for power and land, had strayed from the path of enlightenment into sectarian, secular beliefs unrelated to true spirituality. A good example of this belief occurs where Haggard records a conversation between Rudyard Kipling and himself where they talked of Pope Benedict XV's appeal to the belligerents to negotiate a peaceful settlement to World War I as pro-German. "She [The Catholic Church] is working all she knows to regain the temporal power - that this is to be her fee if Germany wins -- in favour for her support throughout the world and her condonation of the frightful crimes of the Kaiser and his armies."²⁰ Thus when the church had pronounced on scientific matters or taken sides in a temporal conflict, which according to Haggard it had no legitimate right to do, its credibility was damaged. Haggard emphasizes this point in his rendering of Chaka's purge of witchdoctors in Nada the Lily. The author, basing his scene loosely on Zulu history, has Chaka execute witchdoctors for exactly these reasons -- pronouncing on strictly temporal affairs, and being proven false. He reiterates the point by telling the story again in She and Allan, demonstrating its continuing importance.

By the time Quatermain finally meets Ayesha the encounter is anti-climactic. Haggard has already stated his case, through the dialogue between Hans, Quatermain and Zikali, for the existence of a spirit world and the inability of European rationalism to penetrate it. Zikali is "the opener of roads", to whom Allan has turned to "open a road ... that which runs across the River of Death."²¹ Hans and Umslopogaas, who is also with them, never question Zikali's

²⁰Morton Cohen, Rudyard Kipling to Rider Haggard: The Record of a Friendship (London: Macmillan, 1965) 68.

²¹ H.R. Haggard, She and Allan 2-4.
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powers, and Quatermain, after repeated demonstrations, ultimately follows their example. The reader is already aware that African spirituality is, in Haggard's eyes, closer to truth than Allan's original stoic belief in the merits of rationalism. In essence, the author has now set rationalism up as a "straw man" in the weakened Ayesha, to be challenged by his developing spiritualist beliefs based on universal love. Ayesha serves to drive the point home by emphasizing that spiritual truth is only available to those willing to seek it out with an open mind, and willing to dispense with the empirical armour of the rationalist age. She is not yet ready to take that step. Although Ayesha has doubts about her rationalist philosophy, she has not yet completely shed its philosophical refuge. When Allan tells her that he has been taught that the gods are just fables, Ayesha's reply is patronizingly humanistic,

Being dull of understanding doubtless it perplexes you, O Allan. Yet if you had imagination you might understand that these goddesses are great Principles of Nature, Isis of throned Wisdom and straight virtue, and Aphrodite of Love, as it is known to men and women who being human, have it laid upon them that they must hand on the torch of Life in their little hour. Also you would know that such Principles can seem to take shape and form and at certain ages of the world appear to their servants clothed in majesty, though perchance to-day others with changed names wield their sceptres and work their will.²²

Quatermain, being European, is called dull of understanding, as indeed he is in spiritual matters. Once again he is confused and sceptical of Ayesha's motives for imparting this information to him. If Ayesha is truthful, then divinity lies completely within humanity itself, but he suspects she lies. However, the perspective of Zikali is quite different. He is familiar with spirits and sees her as a "witch-doctress", one among many who works for pay. He thus does not find her confusing, but expects her to have ulterior motives, as he himself admits having on occasion. Still, because of his acceptance of a spirit world he

²² H.R. Haggard, She and Allan 165-166.

respects her powers. Quatermain, because of his scepticism, remains an outsider to this spiritual perception. Nevertheless, in the metaphysical broadening of his views, he comes a little closer to a possible elucidation of the truth he seeks which becomes the conception of universal love Haggard constructs in his next Ayesha romance, Wisdom's Daughter.

Haggard's argument at this point, as represented through his characters, challenges the reader's ability to interpret any complete, clear meaning. This meaning would be somewhat clarified in Wisdom's Daughter, clarified, however, in an increasingly didactic manner. Haggard had experimented with didactic writing before; Doctor Thorne was intended to instruct England in the benefits of child vaccination, Montezuma's Daughter to demonstrate the shortcomings of the Catholic church. However, in She and Allan the author pressed one of his greatest characters into service to promote the new philosophy of universal love. As such, Ayesha loses the strangeness and novelty which made her interesting. Now, as a messenger of moral truth, She does not accommodate the reader by allowing partial agreement with or consideration of the views represented in her character. As Kathryn Hume points out, if one accepts the underlying premise of purely didactic writing, "you are given comfort, assurance, and guidance. If you do not accept the premises, you may just want to put the book down."²³ Only 8000 copies of She and Allan were initially printed, the lowest printing run for a Haggard adventure story since The Witch's Head in 1887, indicating that the reading public had indeed "just put the book down." Perhaps this, combined with Haggard's continuing metaphysical uncertainty, explains the author's brief sojourn from romance writing to join Kipling in his political struggles.

²³ Kathryn Hume, Fantasy and Mimesis: Responses to Reality in Western Literature (New York: Methuen, 1984) 102.

After writing She and Allan, Haggard turned his energy away from literary endeavours and towards politics. Throughout the years 1919-1920 England was subject to a rash of labour unrest and radical agitation which saw the army called out, and even suggestions by such prominent politicians as Winston Churchill that the Royal Air Force be used, if necessary, to bomb English slum areas to quell riots.²⁴ Rider Haggard teamed up with Kipling and several other figures²⁵ to found the Liberty League dedicated to fighting Bolshevism which they believed to be the cause of the unrest. Their manifesto was reported in The Times and in the Daily Herald on March 3rd, 1920 as follows:

Sir Rider and the rest have discovered that Bolshevism is “the Sermon on the Mount read backwards; that it leads to bloodshed and to death and destruction; that it repudiates God, and would build its own throne upon the basest passions of mankind.”²⁶

Haggard devoted much of his time in 1920 to the Liberty League, combating what he saw as the greatest threat to humanity in his age. From the spiritual point of view Bolshevism refuted both religion and spirituality, placing the collective good above the individual. Hence it directly contradicted Haggard's belief in the importance of an individual spirit. In time the League found itself subject to financial mismanagement, and Haggard extricated himself from it and the resulting public scandal with some difficulty. Despite the effort he dedicated to the Liberty League during this turbulent period, he met with little success in the political arena. Thus Haggard returned to his true calling in the world of

²⁴Peter B. Ellis, H. Rider Haggard, A Voice From the Infinite (London: Routledge, 1978) 244.

²⁵The other signatories were H. Sydenham, Bax-Ironside, John Hanbury Williams, Algernon Maudslay and G. Maitland Edwards. Source; D.S. Higgins, The Private Diaries of H.R. Haggard 1914-1925 (New York: Stein & Day, 1980) 189.

²⁶Quoted in Ellis, 244-245.

fiction. He wrote The Virgin of the Sun in 1922 and set himself to write the final, conclusive and perhaps most important chapter in the Ayesha saga.

On reading Haggard's final Ayesha story, Wisdom's Daughter, Kipling wrote telling him, "The more I went through it the more I was convinced that it represented the whole sum and substance of your convictions along certain lines. That being so, it occurred to me that you might later on, take the whole book up again for your personal satisfaction -- and go through it from that point of view Damn it man -- you have got the whole tragedy of the mystery of life under your hand".²⁷ Kipling realized that Wisdom's Daughter completed the tale of Ayesha, summing up Haggard's philosophy of religion in its most advanced form. Haggard noted in his diary, responding to Kipling:

In that book is my philosophy -- or rather some of it. The eternal War between the Flesh and the Spirit, the eternal loneliness and search for unity -- wrongly aimed for it is only to be found in God [sic] the blinding of the eyes and the sealing of the soul to Light, which (I think) is the real sin unforgivable -- oh! and lots more which I hope to explain, if explanation is necessary for I feel that we both mean much the same thing even if neither of us can quite express what we mean.²⁸

Having castigated European missionaries in She and Allan, in Wisdom's Daughter Haggard attempts to explain his vision of the relationship between our earthly life and our greater spiritual existence. The book's philosophy is presented as a very simple allegory in which there are two conflicting forces at work in the universe. The first is nature to which we on earth are subject. From nature comes the force of love or, more exactly, sexual desire

²⁷H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 1 Aug. 1923.

²⁸H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 1 Aug. 1923.

through which earthly beings regenerate themselves, symbolized by Haggard as Venus/Aphrodite. The second is "A symbol of eternal holiness which is set above all heaven and earth",²⁹ his concept of "universal love". Haggard believed that the Egyptians called this force Isis; the Jews, Jehovah and Christians called it Christ. It is a force of which his character Ayesha knows, but from which she had been banned for her temporal desires.

In Wisdom's Daughter the allegory begins when Isis [heaven] summons Aphrodite [nature] to an audience. They argue over their respective powers on earth, Aphrodite pointing out that "without me no child would be born without me thou wouldst have none to rule over".³⁰ Her arguments are roughly similar to those in Haggard's diary where he berates A.C. Benson for damning physical love and earlier in his autobiography where he argues with Brother Basil, his Trappist friend, about hiding himself from the world in "celibate luxury". Aphrodite continues her argument: "We are at war and in that war I will conquer for I am eternal and all life is my slave".³¹ The importance of these lines is emphasized by their almost verbatim repetition in Haggard's editor's note³² in the Introduction to Wisdom's Daughter where the author characterizes the work as "the parable of the eternal war of the spirit and the flesh". The essence of the argument is that although humanity should struggle towards the higher spiritual good, heaven has subjected humanity to nature for a reason and humankind should not abjure its callings. Haggard's Aphrodite argues along exactly these lines when she says: "Where man is and was will be God, or

²⁹H.R. Haggard, Wisdom's Daughter (London: Hutchinson, 1923) 21.

³⁰H.R. Haggard, Wisdom's Daughter 19.

³¹H.R. Haggard, Wisdom's Daughter 19.

³²Haggard would often use a fictional editor as the apparent author of his texts. He comments directly on his texts using this device to emphasize an idea, in this case the conflict between the flesh and higher spiritual aspirations.

Good, the spirit named many things",³³ thus recognizing "Good" as the supreme spiritual goal in a harmonious relationship between good and nature.

Haggard has accordingly reduced earthly existence to a struggle between good and evil, as a means for spiritual progress. Thus, in her revised role in Wisdom's Daughter, Ayesha can be read in either direct Biblical allegory as Eve in the garden of Eden tempted by nature itself, or as an allegorical rendering of Milton's Eve in Paradise Lost. The difference between the Biblical Eve and Ayesha is that Ayesha does not demonstrate any degree of naiveté; Ayesha's sin, like that of the Miltonian Eve, is pride. Haggard had read and made extensive notes on Paradise Lost as a youth,³⁴ and appears to recreate the story of the seduction of humanity in Wisdom's Daughter. Ayesha is seduced in the manner of Beelzebub's suggestion and Satan's plan to tempt humanity with godliness. Her temptation was the temptation Haggard as a spiritualist dreamt of -- to become spirit and conquer death. Ayesha becomes a "soul poured into the white vase of a woman's form". She "symbolized a mother-goddess"³⁵ but after the transformation, like Milton's Eve, "she was alone and could no more speak with Heaven!"³⁶ Haggard puts the latter words in italics, emphasizing Ayesha's degradation in aspiring towards superhuman power.

The role of spiritual awareness concerning Ayesha has changed somewhat from the 1904 book Ayesha to the later Wisdom's Daughter. In the new scenario, spiritualistic

³³H.R.Haggard, Wisdom's Daughter 38.

³⁴H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, c.1874, MC 32/45.

³⁵H.R. Haggard, Wisdom's Daughter 263.

³⁶H.R. Haggard, Wisdom's Daughter 263.

matters, including the long-sought proof of immortality, are not meant for human vision and Ayesha in this respect begins to parallel Milton's Eve. The parallel with Paradise Lost becomes obvious when Ayesha, like Eve biting the apple, enters the forbidden fire. As Ayesha enters the flame she strangely encounters a dead woman's body, just as Milton's Satan found his son Death at the gates of Hell, juxtaposing death as the evil force of natural earth, opposite to life, the immortal and spiritual force, or Christ in Heaven. Ayesha comes to realize that all gods are one and that one comprises both the good and the evil and that she has by her vanity, like Milton's Eve, chosen the evil and been banished from the garden. Noot, her mentor, tells her she is banished to the ruined land of Kor and an even greater suffering is imposed as she loses the object of her desire, her Adam, Kallikrates. It might be noted that Kallikrates is in some respects also similar to Adam in his innocence of the initial or original sin.

A rather simplistic association between the feminine and evil or vanity seems to emerge at this point in the story where Adam, or man, is suddenly relieved of all responsibility for the sin of humanity's aspiration towards the divine. Kallikrates, however, is relieved of responsibility not so much for his innocence as for his ignorance and naiveté. It is because Ayesha is intellectually aware of the problematic nature of spirituality that she ultimately aspires to divinity. She is bolder and more interesting than the character Quatermain in that, although he shares in the responsibility for doubting the great creator, he does not attempt to transgress the metaphysical line between the human and the divine. Ayesha does and is ultimately indicted and, in Wisdom's Daughter, rehabilitated, although long after Haggard's readers had moved on; most never witnessed her rehabilitation, only her exhilarating aspirations. It must be recognized, however, that a feminist reading of Ayesha is a separate study outside the scope of this work. Here only the symbolic importance of her character will

be explored as a representation of rational philosophy.³⁷ Here the result of Haggard's reading of Benson can be seen reflected in his concern with the sexual aspect of spirituality.

Haggard's narrative role is reminiscent of Milton's angel Raphael cautioning Adam not to be overly curious about heavenly affairs, adding that there were things done by God which were not meant for men to understand. Ayesha now has the forbidden wisdom and immortality of the fire but she has lost her innocence and turned from the good. Had she followed the spiritual path of Isis, Jehovah or Christ, universal love, rather than seeking the earthly gratification of knowledge and misused it in seeking a mate, she would have been spared her fall. This is exactly the view towards spirituality, as a religious faith, that Haggard developed towards the end of his life. He had come to believe that his lack of success in proving the existence of a spirit world lay somehow in a divine plan which prevented him from seeing the whole picture of human existence in relation to the heavens. In writing to Sheila Kaye-Smith on November 7th, 1921, he expressed just such an idea. "We, as it is, are imprisoned, each of us in his little cell illuminated only by the faith and ship of individual intelligence".³⁸ Haggard goes on to say:

It may be that the fault lies in us -- because we are underlings: that the entire scheme of things is perfect, if we could only see it so. Anyhow we cannot, whose vision is so short and, for aught we know, is unable to embrace more than a fraction of the beauty and the purpose whereby we are surrounded even here. Because we have higher perceptions than our fellow mammals, it does not follow that we grasp the whole or indeed more than a fraction of the whole We behold the miseries, the separations, the betrayals and sins (especially our own), and above all the death that swallows us and are discouraged; some

³⁷ For an interesting discussion of the feminine aspect of Haggard's character Ayesha see Sandra Gilbert & Susan Gubar's No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1989).

³⁸ H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks" Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Record Office, MC 32/45.

poor souls as we read day by day, to despair of suicide [sic]. Our inner vision, our spiritual eyes, pick out the dense black or the angry red in the world's surrounding colour-scheme, but if these exist they are incapable of appreciating all the jewelled glories that may embrace and sift through the menace of these tempests -- tinted hues. More and more as I grow old, do I come to understand something of the mighty saying which records that he who would enter the Kingdom of Heaven must do so as a little child.³⁹

In this respect the angel Michael's warning to Adam in Paradise Lost demonstrates the influence of Milton on Haggard which later becomes evident in his diaries. He notes therein the true meaning of Ayesha as the woman through whom man is both damned and must be redeemed. If one looks at Haggard's writing, both private and public, with the intention of discerning the author's doctrine of redemption, one sees that women, and through them nature, become the key to both evil and salvation. Men without women are higher spiritual entities but, like Adam before Eve and Ayesha without Kallikrates, incomplete. When the female side of nature is introduced along with it comes temptation, depicted by Haggard as Venus/Aphrodite, to lower man's spiritual nature. Thus within Haggard's female lies not only the possibility of destruction and redemption, but also the explanation for his own inability to discover a spiritual world. He is incomplete and has, after all, been corrupted, but that corruption he now sees as part of God's invisible, unknowable plan. Such an abhorrent, regressive view of femininity seems oddly out of step with Haggard's relatively open-minded spiritualism. It might best be explained as the result of his unsatisfying personal experience with women.

Ayesha then plays a double role combining intellectual and rational temptation with that of physical attraction. Ayesha's earthly sensuality is certainly emphasized by her unequalled beauty. Man cannot resist her and Haggard is continually portraying her as undressed or

³⁹H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 16 Dec. 1920.

scantly clad: "I revealed myself clad as Isis that is in little but a transparent, clingy vail [sic] fastened about my middle".⁴⁰ Again she undresses and is assaulted by Ochar,⁴¹ the Persian King, and again she undresses to seduce Kallikrates after she emerges from the eternal flame. On the intellectual side Ayesha represents Haggard's fear of rationalism which in her character has become associated with the feminine or the Jungian other. But, in Wisdom's Daughter, Haggard clearly distances himself from his character's aspirations, abandoning to her his own desire to know his fate beyond the grave. Thus Ayesha is not only a symbol illustrative of Haggard's darkest fears but also a symbolic emblem of the guilt he feels at his own pride in aspiring towards heaven.

Ayesha's fate emphasizes that no good can come of such pride. Even after Ayesha becomes semi-divine she remains enamoured of her own beauty but cannot tear Kallikrates away from his sensual wife and mother of his child, Amenantes. Both Ayesha and Amenantes in this sense act purely under the influence of nature but Amenantes appeals to Kallikrates's higher character in the name of their dead child. As a "good" spiritual man he remains with his wife and is killed and embalmed by Ayesha who wishes to keep his body about her, in what becomes a symbol of her ultimate physical debasement, her desire for a body with no life.⁴²

Ayesha, like Eve, is cast from the garden for desiring to gain forbidden knowledge and must suffer the deprivation of that knowledge which has resulted in her immortality before

⁴⁰H.R. Haggard, Wisdom's Daughter 68.

⁴¹Haggard was probably referring to Ochar, better known as Darius II, (B.C. 424-404) who assassinated his brother Sogdianus in B.C. 424 to become King.

⁴²Barri J. Gold, "Embracing the Corpse: Discursive Recycling in H. Rider Haggard's *She*", English Literature in Transition 1880-1920 38:3 (1995) 305-327. Gold discusses the necrophilia motif within She in depth.

she in the end can seek redemption, a story already told in Ayesha. Thus with Wisdom's Daughter, Haggard has given up the fictional quest for immortality through spiritualism in favour of his long developing neo-Platonic creed of good and evil, the good being God or universal love. He accepts that death must have dominion on earth and there is nothing he can do to postpone it. The idea is reiterated in Haggard's diary as coming from the New Testament itself:

We are taught in the New Testament to believe in the existence of a principle of evil, call it the Devil or what you will, which through the working of what is named nature, human or non-human and otherwise is responsible for the cruelties and wickedness in the world for its general scheme. Built upon the foundation stone of death as opposed to the principle of good which we know as God. That is what I understand Christ to have taught which therefore I accept, especially as my observation seems to confirm the teaching.⁴³

The Miltonian sub-text pervasive throughout Wisdom's Daughter has in fact been present at the sub-conscious level throughout the entire Ayesha story. However, it is buried beneath Haggard's dialectic engagement with his own fears until Wisdom's Daughter.

In the earlier Ayesha stories the protagonist, like Conrad's Kurtz, has played god among the savage cannibals, demonstrating the moral relativity of the world with humanity in control. She practises eugenics and murders at will,⁴⁴ but in Wisdom's Daughter, unlike Conrad's character, Ayesha has hope. Once she is governed by earthly and sensual powers

⁴³H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 5 Sept. 1925.

⁴⁴Ayesha's subjects, the Amahagger, are genetically bred for certain servile qualities making them good slaves. Thus she shows no hesitation in killing Ustane for opposing her.

she sees nature for what it is, driven by desire and limited by this earth, as is her eternal existence. After a brief time of enjoying her new found power Ayesha realizes that what she really wants is not found on this earth.

With Kallikrates she wants a union of souls, not of the flesh, and that can only be striven towards, but not achieved in this world. Ayesha muses "I loved this man...and would lift him up and would make him my equal...and would teach him glorious things", but she had "yielded to nature's prompting....yes – I was jealous. Yet with my flesh I was jealous."⁴⁵ Her physical attraction to him is a necessary limitation placed on her by nature, to which she has succumbed, and through which she must struggle to attain redemption by seeking the higher purity of spiritual love. Furthermore, for Ayesha, like all humanity, there is still the hope of turning to the good and being redeemed. When Ayesha cries out "Is all hope passed from me, O spirit?"⁴⁶ all she sees is Kallikrates before her. Haggard sketched out the idea for the story in his note books, terming it "the story of redemption -- Hess [The name given Ayesha by the local people in Wisdom's Daughter] life story -- redemption through the love of some woman whom he has married on earth."⁴⁷ The essence of Haggard's parable is that we should strive towards the good which is spirit, while remaining cognizant of the unseen heavenly design which is reposit in our succumbing to nature.

It was for this same reason that Haggard disliked not only H.G. Wells's utopian fiction but also the naturalist and realist writings of Henry James, Émile Zola and Thomas Hardy,

⁴⁵H.R. Haggard, Wisdom's Daughter 243-244.

⁴⁶H.R. Haggard, Wisdom's Daughter 266.

⁴⁷H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Notebooks", Haggard Collection, Norwich, Norfolk Public Records Office, MC 4694-2-22-17.

whom he condemned as representing the rationalism of Darwin and Huxley, and therefore pride in nature. They emphasized the natural world in all its ugliness and finite limitation. Like Wells's utopians, they sought nothing higher than nature itself, which in the end turns to dust. Haggard's moral lesson is that we are on this earth to commune better with the spiritual and must do so through nature, and in men's case, through women; in women's case through man, as part of a divinely planned natural process. We are not to aspire towards divinity, or for that matter, any part of the after-world. Thus, through Ayesha's allegorical association with Eve's transgression, Haggard symbolically disavows his overt desire for eternal temporal existence and completely reverses the central heroic quest underlying many of his romances. Meanwhile he maintains Ayesha's character as a symbolic, and now didactic, means of demonstrating this change in philosophy to his readers through the redemption of She. This is an important change, as it also appears to reverse many of the features which made Ayesha so interesting. As Kathryn Hume so aptly points out, when a story is didactic, or in this case a character becomes a didactic tool, the reader is liable to put the book down. Ayesha as an exploration of the supernatural is exciting; as an object lesson in morals, uninteresting.

In another sense Ayesha's allegorical journey represents Haggard's experience of the universe which plays out through his loves, hates, allegiances and actions. In short, the philosophy he presents in allegory is analogous to that which governs his life. Haggard's allegorical reduction of the universe to good and evil is a simplistic rendition of his attempt to provide a broad, all-inclusive basis for universal spirituality. Moreover, it satisfied his criteria for spiritual belief as it could not be disproved by science or rational argument, and thus was a viable resolution of his spiritual quest, however simple. It is the logical end of the ever-widening, more inclusive circle of religious acceptance Haggard sought. Still, it did not provide any certain answers to his original questions about life and death. Regardless,

Haggard writes in 1923: "In these latter days -- thank heaven I do seem to be grasping the skirts of vision -- though they slip from my hands like water. But to describe them -- that's the rub".⁴⁸

By the end of the First World War the public interest in spiritualism had again subsided. However, the fear of a finite world of death and oblivion born of rational scientific thought that had accumulated in Haggard's youthful mind when he left England in 1874 was still there. He spent a lifetime trying to come to terms with that fear and in so doing created one of the largest, and at times most popular, literary outputs in English history. The reading public generally, however, did not dwell on an accumulation of mid-nineteenth century ideas and fears, and by the 1920's had little interest in the spiritual issues on which Haggard's novels were built. The war, though it spurred a great temporary upsurge in spiritualism, exhausted the public's interest in the subject thereafter. Conan Doyle adjusted his public writing, if not his personal opinions, to the new reality, whereas Haggard did not.

With his continued emphasis on spirits, even the re-appearance of Allan Quatermain and a host of other Haggard heroes in Wisdom's Daughter (1922) was not enough to boost his sagging popularity. Rider Haggard's sales dwindled so much that his publishers had a stockpile of unpublished manuscripts in 1925. Initial print runs on his new books sank from 15000 before the war to as low as 3000 for Smith and the Pharaohs in 1920.⁴⁹ Although his book sales dropped, Haggard's literary output did not lessen. During the period 1919-1923 he published When the World Shook (1919); a Jules Verne-inspired science fiction novel, She

⁴⁸H.R. Haggard, "Haggard's Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, August 1st, 1923. Also see Morton Cohen, Letters, Kipling to Haggard: A record of Friendship (London: Hutchinson, 1965) 19.

⁴⁹Ellis 241.

and Allan (1919); The Ancient Allan (1920), in which Allan Quatermain lives out an earlier life in Egypt; Smith and the Pharaohs (1920) and Wisdom's Daughter in 1923. With respect to the last story Kipling wrote to him suggesting that it be the basis of a trilogy involving the Crusades, the Black Death, and the Inquisition, literary territory already familiar to Haggard. But he had written his last word on Ayesha, completing his philosophical output so far as it would ever go along spiritual lines. Haggard was finished with Ayesha's character.

After Wisdom's Daughter the author continued to write another six titles. They were, for the most part, revivals of earlier themes. Heu-Heu (1924), an African story, and Queen of the Dawn (1925), set in Egypt, were the last published in his lifetime. Several manuscripts were thereafter published at regular intervals posthumously: The Treasure of the Lake (1926), Allan and the Ice Gods (1927), Mary of Marion Isle (1929), and Belshazzar (1930).

By May 1925 Haggard's health was failing him. He had been bed-ridden for all of December 1924 and a sudden wave of close friends dying, including Arthur Cochrane (from whom Quatermain's native name Macumazahn or "watcher by night" had been borrowed), and Haggard's younger brother, Arthur, did not help his spirits. He wrote in his diary:

Where are they now, [relatives and friends]. A few remain, bent, scarred and weary from struggling with the world, while the rest are dust And whither they have gone we follow apace. It is all quite natural, quite as it should be; yet it is not cheerful. But then after childhood, as we imagine it to have been, what is?⁵⁰

Haggard was moved to hospital in early May for an operation to remove an abscess,

⁵⁰H.R. Haggard, "Haggard Private Diaries" Cheyne Collection, Bungay, Ditchingham Lodge, 16 Dec. 1924.

which, although at first appearing successful, developed complications which led to his death on May 14th, 1925. Haggard's son-in-law, Mark Cheyne, was present the night before the end came. He recalled his last moments with Rider Haggard, while watching a distant blaze, in these words:

The window blind was up, and the blaze from the large building on fire was visible in the distance. Rider rose up in bed and pointed to the conflagration with arm outstretched, the red glow upon his dying face. My God! said Cheyne to himself, an old Pharaoh.⁵¹

⁵¹Ellis 255.

CHAPTER 13: CONCLUSION

Neither an unquestioning support for British imperialism nor a personal pre-Jungian philosophy was the exclusive driving force behind Rider Haggard's beliefs or his literature. These two concerns exist alongside the author's overall fascination with the supernatural, a theme made prominent in his era by a declining faith in European religion, which provided a constant focalizing point in Haggard's work. Although there are important overtones of imperial concern and indeed points of Jungian significance in the texts, these too are interrogated by an intensive wide-ranging spiritual discourse. The place of Haggard's work in history and its literary merit are thus incompletely understood when the significance of the spiritual is not taken into account. No analysis of the author's work can be complete without coming to terms with his spiritual ideas and then with their impact on other topics of significance to both the author and those who study his works.

Haggard provoked a flurry of criticism when he wrote that "subjects may be handled in the realm of pure imagination which are not so savoury when exposed frankly."¹ In the article "About Fiction" published in Harpers Magazine in 1887, he attacks the school of naturalist writing represented by Emile Zola, stating that "readers should not be revelling in the inner mysteries of life in brothels, and the passions of senile and worn-out debauchees."² The very escape offered by Haggard from the bleak message of the realist genre through the

¹H.R. Haggard, "About Fiction", New York, Contemporary Review, LI, (Jan. 1887).

²H.R. Haggard "About Fiction".

creed portrayed in his fiction, where there was indeed something greater to existence than ourselves, increasingly caught the rapidly growing reading public's attention in the last decades of the nineteenth century. George Bernard Shaw blamed the rejection of his novel Immaturity by almost every publisher in London on such a change in the public readership, and a modern scholar has noted that, "The Education Act of 1871 was producing readers who had never before bought books, nor could have read them if they had."³ Sherlock Holmes made his appearance in Strand Magazine aimed primarily at the middle and lower classes. John Carey points to the success of the Holmesian magic because it offered a secular recognition of the individual soul, and for the residually religious reassurance it brings the reader, akin to the singling-out of the individual soul redeemed from the mass that Christianity promises.⁴ Haggard thought his books should appeal to these new readers, who "long to be brought face to face with beauty, and stretch their arms towards that vision of the perfect, which we only see in books and dreams."⁵ Publishers were finding that people wanted not Bernard Shaw, but adventure stories like Stevenson's Treasure Island and Haggard's King Solomon's Mines⁶, stories which coincidentally have recognizable spiritual frameworks. The success of Haggard's early romances, questions of intrinsic artistic merit aside, can thus be substantially explained in terms of timing. They appeared in the 1880s

³John Carey, The Intellectuals and the Masses; Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1939 (London: Faber, 1986) 6.

⁴Carey 6.

⁵Haggard "About Fiction".

⁶Carey 6.

and directly addressed, albeit in fictional form, a spiritual crisis afflicting Europe at that time.

Unlike writers of the rationalist genre, who restricted themselves specifically to this world, the sub-text of the supernatural in Haggard's books explored the realm of the occult and of ghosts in the hope of finding a new statement of faith. Again, they spoke to the troubling issues of the day that rationalists, by nature of their logical and literalist limitations, could not.⁷ The subjects Haggard treated cut to the core of European social anxiety in that its morality had rested on a belief in absolute good and evil ascribed to a higher power and rewarded in an eternal life. If, instead, all things could be explained by science, as the rationalists claimed, then the afterlife became a fantasy and morality became relative, a reflection of shifting temporal, political authority. Because no literary response to such Victorian metaphysical anxiety was forthcoming from the realists, or naturalists, a gap opened in the fiction market which Haggard began to fill with his stories of ghosts, witchdoctors and African spirits.

The reasons behind both Haggard's own endless search and ultimate lack of spiritual resolution can be found as much in the events surrounding his personal life as they can in the public events of the Victorian and post-Victorian eras. In fact, according to Jung, the two may be somewhat interchangeable as Jung described Haggard as most representative of the Victorian era. Haggard's mother constituted the first strong religious influence on the young Haggard. Her Bible reading gave him, like so many other British children, a basis in

⁷Keating 334. Keating again notes that Stevenson and Haggard, more than

conventional Anglicanism. But as he reached adolescence, his interests turned to Egypt and he became fascinated with the ancient Egyptian belief in reincarnation. Eventually, he widened his scheme of spirituality which came to include the “oneness of all animal life.”⁸ Thus he was prepared, at age eighteen, to accept the fantastic world of spiritualists he encountered in London. There his beliefs, already developing along the lines set out by Sir Oliver Lodge and other Christian spiritualists, were reinforced by his own contact with what he believed were spiritual manifestations. Such “experience” with the spirit world coupled with his long interest in death and reincarnation, also predisposed him towards the supernatural elements of South African indigenous culture. In South Africa he came under the influence of men like Sir Theophilus Shepstone and Bishop J.W.Colenso, both of whom tolerated many aspects of existing African beliefs including indigenous religion and polygamy. Their favourable attitude with respect to the African belief system inclined the young and impressionable Haggard toward acceptance of the local Zulu religion on an equitable if not equal footing with the European variety.

His personal experiences in South Africa again reinforced his faith in a spirit world. He was continually impressed by the Zulus’ apparent occult power, which defied European attempts at explanation, supposing such powers to be lost among modern white European peoples. Manifestations of Zulu religion inspired his first public writing and filled his personal diaries. They also called into question his increasingly loosely held Christian

other authors, saved British fiction from the threat of realism.

⁸H.R. Haggard The Days of My Life (London: Longmans, 1926) Vol.2, 163.

beliefs, as he compared the corruption of European Christians to the bravery and honesty he witnessed among the Zulus. All of this formed the basis of the unique brand of open-minded religious belief developed in his fiction.

When Haggard returned to England and started writing his stories and novels, he began to deal with the forces that had set his world in motion, religious doubt, atheist rationalism and its philosophical background. He fought against them with his spiritualist beliefs reinforced by his South African experience. His first novels made cursory attempts to deal with the issues of the spirit world through monologues which included the introduction of a gothic element. He experimented with representations of Buddhism in Dawn and incorporated Africa into his second story The Witch's Head, in both of which he began to contrast the clerics of organized religion, presented as universally evil and narrow-minded, with evangelical laymen or individual shamans, who are generally good and open-minded. His first Anglican priest, Mr. Plowden, is a perfect example of Haggard's depiction of corrupt European religion. Plowden is an evil villain whose main interest is to seduce an engaged woman. In another instance, equally damning to the European conception of Christian supremacy, the last words of Henry Curtis on his companions' departure from Zu-Zendis are that he will not allow any missionaries there because they would corrupt its people. Curtis represents the idea that, as institutions, missions served as the tools of morally bankrupt European societies and thus could do no good among such supernaturally aware societies in Africa. All they managed to do in Natal, in Haggard's view, was to turn the Zulus into African Christians who abandoned their own cultural religion and thus became demoralized, fitting subjects for missionary institutions, and empire, both empty of

spirituality themselves. Missionary exclusion is therefore posited by Haggard's character Curtis as a means of preventing further European damage to African society, at least until such time as European religion regained a sound spirituality of its own.

This scepticism concerning the imperial cause was initiated by Haggard through his potent images of African spiritual power. Haggard's scepticism arose not so much out of the African spirits he may have hoped existed, but from the fact that their presentation, even if only in popularized fiction, emphasized a lack of European counterparts. By representing the African people as gifted with powerful spiritual insight, Haggard highlighted the European imperialists' lack of similar insight, something particularly evident among his unscrupulous missionary characters, whose very presence questions the moral right of Christianity to impose its beliefs in Africa. This in turn questioned the ethical foundations on which some forms of imperialism functioned, by suggesting the spiritual and moral superiority of the Africans while emphasizing the morally bankrupt and conceited nature of European Christian claims on Africa. This is not to suggest that Haggard did not in many respects support the imperialist project, but rather to point out that this support was ambiguous, qualified, and sceptical towards both European morality and its supposed benefits in the African context.

In Dawn, particularly in the original manuscript, Haggard clearly intended a spiritualist theme as the ending includes an explicit meeting in the afterlife, making the idea central to the story. In The Witch's Head, spirituality is implicitly addressed in the representation of Mr. Plowden as an evil clergyman, and the introduction of Zulu spiritualism at this early

stage in the author's career. Again, the overarching influence of spirituality can be seen in its influence on Haggard's fictional imperial world where the character Curtis in Allan Quatermain wants to exclude missionaries from Zu-Vendis to preserve Zu-Vendis society, even if this would mean that it consequently remained non-Christian, non-colonial it would also therefore remain non-corrupt.

Nevertheless, Haggard did not restrict the concept of corruption to European culture or religion. His African witchdoctors exhibit exactly the same dichotomy. Evil figures like Gagool represent politicized, organized religions, while good witchdoctors like Indabazimbi with seemingly authentic magical powers use them, to the best of their ability, to help people. He thus avoids the unrealistic and naive separation of good and evil along racial lines which characterize the trope of the "noble savage" and the motif of binary opposition. Instead he comments on the replacement of morality by political expedience that springs up when religion and state power are too closely allied. In doing so he points out the failure of western religion because it is based on mundane considerations, not because it has intrinsically failed spiritually. Moreover, Zulus, like Europeans, are capable of corruption in Haggard's fiction, as for instance in Allan Quatermain where religious hypocrisy among Zulu shamans is exposed by Chaka's cunning just as easily as European religious hypocrisy was revealed by scientific rationalism.⁹ By exploring Africa's difference, as well as its

⁹ Haggard may have had in mind the sort of criticism expressed by J.H. Newman on evangelicalism some decades earlier where Newman wrote: "It has no straight-forward view on any one point on which it professes to teach; and to hide its poverty it has dressed itself out in a maze of words, which all enquirers feel perplexed with, yet few are able to penetrate....it is but an inchoate state or stage of a doctrine, and its final resolution is in rationalism." J.H.Newman, "The State of Religious Parties", The British Critic (April 1839), 418-19.

similarity, to Europe rather than belittling Africa as a dark reflection of white society, Haggard attempted to make the elemental forces of African spiritualism consequential to Europe. He sought, as Lang suggested, to reinvigorate European religion by infusing it with the spiritual truths he believed he had encountered in Africa.

The impact of Haggard's fictionalized African spirit world was to question the foundations of supposed moral and religious superiority on which imperialism functioned. In Haggard's African adventures, set in the context of empire, the author's spiritualism had the interesting effect of moderating the overt imperialist nature of the genre. Representations of morally bankrupt and corrupt European clergy and the seemingly powerless nature of their deity highlighting the weakness of Christian dogma were the means Haggard utilized to raise questions and doubts around the issue of imperial morality. Thus the author's concern with the supernatural must be taken into account in order to achieve a full comprehension of imperialist aspects of his work.

In She the spiritual element begins to take shape in an allegorical dialectic that develops between the author's personal religious exploration and atheist rationalism. As in King Solomon's Mines, the story is a spiritual journey involving one of Haggard's *doppelgangers*. Moreover, from She onward Haggard begins to define the spiritual element of his fiction in opposition not only to atheist rationalism but also to the traditional religions he believed failed to vanquish it. The ground work for the spiritual side of this dialectic is laid in his first three fictional works, Dawn, The Witch's Head and King Solomon's Mines, where setting and characterization specifically reflect the

supernatural search underlying his stories. Ayesha builds from that ground work an opposing rationale. From her initial inspiration until her demise in the last Ayesha story, she becomes a metaphor for Haggard's inner doubt and a symbol of his own latent rationalism, an entity similar to the symbolic Jungian other or *anima*.

Jung associates the anima with the collective unconscious in relation to She in that the curious world of ideas that underlie Ayesha are in essence "spiritual contents, often in erotic disguise, obvious fragments of a primitive mythological mentality that consists of archetypes, and whose totality constitutes the collective unconscious."¹⁰ Thus Ayesha also influenced the important concept of collective unconscious. Jung further states that Rider Haggard was unaware of his spiritual predecessors and assigns him a place in the progress of philosophy.

[Haggard did] not know that he had been set a task at which the philosophical alchemists had laboured, and which the last of the Magna Opera, Goethe's Faust, could bring to fruition not in life but only after death, in the beyond, and then only wistfully. He followed in the footsteps of the singers and poets who enchanted the age of chivalry. The romantic excursions of his German contemporary, Richard Wagner, did not pass off so harmlessly. A dangerous genius, Friedrich Nietzsche, had a finger in the pie and Zarathustra raised his voice, with no wise woman at his side as partner to the dialogue.¹¹

Evidently Jung considered Haggard not only a rich subject for psychological study, but also the unconscious harbinger of a sacred philosophical search for truth stretching back into history and forward into the future. Haggard's contribution to that search according to Jung is his literary projection and dialogue with the other or *anima*, which Jung considered beyond the thinking even of Nietzsche. This image of Haggard as

¹⁰Jung Vol.17, 200.

¹¹Jung Vol.17, 200.

unconscious of his impact was not as simple as Jung believed. Haggard viewed himself as a mystic acting out much of the role Jung envisages, and perhaps Haggard's influence on Jung is, in some remote way, the type of thought-provoking impact he hoped his literature would have.

Haggard's use of Ayesha to represent rationalism, one of Jung's-isms, again associates her with the Jungian *anima* as Nandor Fodor surmised,¹² and in so doing maintains Jung's special religious status for Leo and Holly's spiritual arguments against Ayesha's philosophy. Haggard attempts, in their arguments with Ayesha, to put forward his own spiritualist philosophy. Jung notes that:

One should on no account take this projection for an individual and conscious relationship. In its first stages it is far from that, for it creates a compulsive dependence based on unconscious motives other than the biological ones. Rider Haggard's She gives some indication of the curious world of ideas that underlies the anima projection.¹³

Thus Ayesha is not a mere "straw figure" set up by Haggard to be knocked down by his heroes. She is more than just rationalism incarnate; she symbolizes a fear of the loss of self in sexual union similar to his fear of the loss of the individual soul in both rationalism and eastern religion.¹⁴ She then becomes a symbol through which Haggard

¹²Nandor Fodor, The Search for the Beloved. New York: Hermitage Press, 1949. Similarly, Norman Etherington in his introduction to The Annotated She xxxi., states that "Carl Jung, an early colleague of Freud's, believed that Haggard had dredged Ayesha up from his unconscious, that she was a clear manifestation of what Jung called the anima."

¹³C.G.Jung, The Collected Works of C.G. Jung, trans. F.F.C.Hull (London: Routledge, 1977) Vol.17, 1200.

¹⁴Kathryn Hume, Fantasy and Mimesis: Responses to Reality in Western Literature (London: Methuen, 1984) 46.

via Leo and Holly can approach his Jungian other, his dark fears of obliteration and of woman, and perhaps some combination of the two. She becomes, in a sense, the fictional conduit through which his theological union of erotic love with spirituality develops.

She is, therefore, a powerful example of the development of Haggard's spiritual ideas starting as far back as 1886 and stretching almost until his death in 1925. She is equally interesting in that, as an expression within the realm of Haggard's fictional spiritual explorations, she appears to have influenced the thinking of Jung himself. Ayesha's very existence as *anima* projection is intrinsically linked to the author's sense of religious doubt and consequent spiritual quest, making her the best example of the proto-Jungian Haggard. Her Darwinian arguments and eugenically bred servants in She are examples of Haggard's nightmare vision of a rationalist world, governed by earthly morality, and taken to an amoral extreme. In Ayesha she changes somewhat, becoming more sensual and seductive, closer to the Jungian dark-mother figure, but doomed, with no future or hope of an afterlife. Her continuing metamorphosis involves a change from the sensual towards the spiritual when she seeks a spiritual union with Kallikrates. Ultimately, in her final appearance, in Wisdom's Daughter, she comes to extol the virtues of what Haggard calls universal love, which is essentially a representation of Haggard's return from spiritualism to Christianity albeit in a Broad Church sense. Here she becomes a more didactic entity undergoing another metamorphosis towards what Patricia Murphy calls the "angel of the home".¹⁵ Taking into account all of her spiritually-varied incarnations and the centrality of her supernatural role over the author's writing career, She serves as a prime example of the connection between spirituality and the *anima* projection in Haggard's literary endeavours. Thus within any Jungian analysis of

¹⁵ Patricia Murphy "the Gendering of History in She" Studies in English Literature 1500-1900 39.4 (1999): 761.

Haggard's work, his concern with the supernatural aspect cannot be overlooked.

Unfortunately Haggard's interest in the supernatural came at the tail end of an era, from the viewpoint of literary profitability, as the spiritualist mania of the 1850s through the 1870s began to wane and the market for which he specifically wrote began to dry up. By the turn of the century much of the public began to have as much crude faith in science as they once had in received religion, ultimately giving rise to the new genre of science fiction. Haggard's editors and critics cautioned him against spiritualist stories in view of this, but he did not heed their warnings, and subsequently lost significantly in both popularity and critical acclaim. In a literary and personal sense alike, spiritualism had obviously become far more important to him than money or empire, even though he was advised to write pure adventure stories in pursuit of both. Instead, Ayesha made another appearance in 1904, constituting an advance over Haggard's earlier representation of her spiritual development, but she did not attract a wide audience. Still, he continued studying and writing about the spirit world directly, and began exploring various forms of Christian allegory, relating Christian beliefs to his own conviction of reincarnation. By the time Stella Fregelius appeared in 1904, the author had started developing a theology based on Buddhist-like spiritual progression through good works, again largely in implicit opposition to Catholicism, but in sympathy with the evangelical beliefs of General Booth and the Salvation Army. This is reflected again in his writing of the didactic Doctor Therne, supporting the vaccination campaign against polio, and in Regeneration, which explicitly extols the virtues of the Salvation Army. Both works are personal attempts by Haggard to use his literary gift for the good of humanity.

Later in 1904, after the bizarre experience of dream contact with his daughter's dog, Bob, Haggard extended the scope of the spiritually aware to include animals, and gave up hunting. As the writer explored this greater spiritual world he began to review his own dreams of other lives which feature prominently in the final chapter of his autobiography, "A Note on Religion". After the dream contact incident involving his daughter's pet, Haggard and his friend Rudyard Kipling devised the story The Mahatma and the Hare which outlines this extension of the spiritual to animals. In the story a Hare meets up with its hunter before the gates to heaven, and is escorted through these by angels for his suffering at the hands of man. Shortly afterward, World War I focused Haggard's attention on the human spirit world once more. Science and the resulting technology in which people had placed their faith had shown its ugly and destructive power in the form of bombs, poison gas and other agents of death. Like so many in Britain, Haggard was personally affected by the carnage in the trenches, losing a nephew. His friend Sir Oliver Lodge also lost a son, as did Kipling. Society as a whole once again began to look tentatively at spiritualism as a means of contact with dead soldiers and of overcoming, or at least compensating for, the destructive powers of science. However the interest was short-lived after 1918, and readers turned to science fiction as shown by the growing popularity of H.G. Wells and Aldous Huxley.

Thus the effect of Haggard's obsession with spiritualism was nowhere more evident than within his own lifetime when he began to misread the public's ever-changing mood. As public interest shifted away from the spiritualism that pervaded the late nineteenth century, the author's popularity dropped considerably. After the 1890s the messages

encoded in his texts no longer attracted the interest they once had with his own generation. Even the messages themselves changed to a certain extent, shifting away from the interesting Jungian perspective which still held some sway over public opinion, to an increasingly less interesting discourse attempting to prove to the reader an undeniable spiritual presence.

Accordingly, if one is to study Haggard's work in the broad contemporary context of changing political, philosophical and religious beliefs, then the imperialist epithet begins to fold back to reveal a more general Victorian literary inquiry into the meaning of life itself where the imperial component is brought into question by the spiritual. Haggard's writing is an exploration of the thoughts and the anxieties of one Victorian author, but also a reflection of all Victorian society as the assigned roles and boundaries between societies and individuals began to break down. What becomes evident in Haggard's spiritualism is the discomfort he felt without the clear role or the well-defined boundaries that the church had once provided for his parents. The consequent attempt to negotiate a changing world is thus the real sub-text to his adventure and imperial idealism. It takes the form of a literary conversation with the self in which Haggard addresses issues of life and spirituality in fictional contexts, trying to relate them in some sensible pattern. However, with each new attempt at rationalization or reconciliation, the underlying inconsistency and confusion of his age becomes more apparent. In Haggard's time, as in our own, no clear answers to such questions were forthcoming. As the fervour of religious doubt gives way to secular creeds, the fictional characters of Haggard's spiritual dialogue, the ghosts, witchdoctors and inexplicable events, recede in their symbolic

importance to become representatives of an era of quiet theological revolution for the Western world.

Introduction to the Bibliography

The following bibliography includes a number of primary sources which require some explanation as they present referencing problems; the most significant in this regard is a range of personal papers, diaries and letters which belong to the Cheyne family, Rider Haggard's direct descendants. These are held in two locations. One collection is housed at the Norfolk Public Records Office in Norwich. It contains Haggard's early notebooks dating from c.1874 to 1914, and contains several manuscripts including those of King Solomon's Mines and She. These documents are all handwritten and in some disarray due to a recent fire which destroyed the Records Office. A smaller but equally important collection is held by the Cheyne family at Ditchingham Lodge in Bungay, the author's former residence. This repository contains typed diaries dating from c.1914 to 1925, as well as letters to and copies of letters from the author and a number of other personal papers and files. In this thesis both sets of diaries have been used, whenever possible the typed versions, as they are much more legible. In some instances the handwritten diaries are unclear and my interpretation of the author's writing may be open to question. Where such is the case it is noted in the text.

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