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ULTRAMAROONED

GENDER, EMPIRE AND NARRATIVES OF TRAVEL IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

ULTRAMAROONED: GENDER, EMPIRE, AND NARRATIVES OF TRAVEL IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

This study examines how possessive interests have been encoded in southern African contact literature via the signing of gender, sexual violability and territoriality. Portuguese shipwreck survival accounts from the long sixteenth century, the first sustained narratives of contact between southern African peoples and Europeans, are examined in the first half of this study. British women's travel writings from the nineteenth century are the topic of the second part of the study, as these later texts yield the first important female perspectives on contact. Both subgenres are crucial to formulating a feminist reading of the southern African contact zone. While the Portuguese shipwreck material suggests that exposed or abandoned white women provoked great cultural anxieties, British travel texts written by women move in a different direction. Many of these texts were pitched to assuage readers' fears about the fate of the self-itinerizing women in southern Africa.

I first establish that neither the shipwreck material nor the British women's impressions of contact has been well integrated into the founding narratives of South Africa. I then focus on key episodes related to gender and hyper-vulnerability in the early accounts of overland shipwreck survivor treks, especially Leonor de Sa's death in southern Africa in 1552, after the wreck of the *St. John*. The second part of the study surveys the earliest women's writings about southern Africa. Chapter Four concentrates on Anne Barnard's letters and journals (written 1797-1801) and several other women travel writers. I find that these women downplay, or occlude entirely, the physical dangers in southern African spaces and emphasize, instead successfully transplanted tropes of domesticity and theatricality and the premature memorialization of the existing culture. The final chapter examines the artworks and writings of Marianne North, a traveling artist whose work combines some of the tensions evident in the earlier theatricalizing tropes, but with a displaced focus on botanical descriptions and flower painting. The chapter about South Africa in her autobiography and the exhibition of her paintings of South African flowers on display at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew provide insight into how some early cultural anxieties surrounding gender, empire, and sexuality can be found in botanical discourse and representations.

My conclusions are twofold. In the first place, the expansion of the notion of contact narratives I propose in this study brings into the foreground the anxieties associated with the presence of European women in under-regulated contact and colonial spaces. Women's relationship to the land or landscape, evident in the discourses of the Portuguese mercantile empire as well as the British territorial empire, suggest that marooned or self-itinerizing women are in a position to signal, with their bodies, a *graphos* on the imperial map of the colonial or pre-colonial land.

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Abbreviations Used

Boxer, C.R. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*	*PSE*
Brink, André *Cape of Storms: The First Life of Adamastor*	COS
British Library	BL
Cape Archives	CA
Duffy, James, *Shipwreck & Empire*	*SE*
Gomes de Brito, Bernardo *Historia trágico-marítima*	*HTM*
Raven-Hart, Major R. *Before Van Riebeeck: Callers at South Africa, 1488-1652*	*BVR*
Public Records Office, Kew	PRO
Rhodes House of Bodleian Library	RH
Oxford English Dictionary	*OED*
Theal, G.M. *Records of South Eastern Africa*	*RSEA*
Turner, Malcolm. *Shipwreck and Salvage*	*S&S*
Van Wyk Smith, Malvern *Shades of Adamastor: An Anthology of Poetry*	*SOA*
Vladislavíc, Ivan, ed. *T'Kama-Adamastor:* *Inventions of Africa in a South African Painting*	*TAIASAP*

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A Note on Variant Spellings

Because I am writing as an American academic, I have opted to follow the spelling and usage conventions of standard written American English. In the case of direct quotations from British or South African sources, however, I have preserved the spelling of the source material.

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INTRODUCTION

Why has your page swerved from the ring prescribed for it?
The shallop of thy wit can bear no heavy cargo!
Let one oar skim the water, the other sand;
so shalt thou be safe: mighty is the turmoil in midsea.[1]
Propertius

São Vicente, the father of Lisbon, is always shown in paintings and wooden sculptures with his hands full. In a work from the fifteenth century on display at the Sé Catedral de Lisboa, he holds a plumed pen in one hand and a Bible in the other, but by the sixteenth century, he is more typically depicted with a pen and a boat, a testimony to the displacement of textual truth by spatial knowledge.

Indeed, traveling has long been associated with writing and the production of knowledge. The geographic frontier, a border that is ever-dissolving under the scrutiny of the traveler's mobile gaze, is the ur-frontier from which all other frontiers take their cue: advances in medicine, physics, chemistry, agriculture, space travel, and indeed the nature of inquiry itself, are often described as processes whereby limits are overtaken, then overcome. To know, in its simplest form, is to travel. To have known, is to have 'gone' somewhere. In this sense, knowledge is posed as a linearity, in that it moves from a here to a there (in prospect) or from a there to a here (in retrospect). But it can also be understood in terms of a circularity, such as Propertius has proposed, above.

In Propertius' formulation, if a voyager follows the coastline (one oar skimming the water, one the sand), she will move in a ring and eventually circumscribe the continent or island to which she clings. Indeed, the traveling (and consequent knowledge, or wit) that Propertius describes is conditional upon there always being a "shore" to which one might be bound, for safety's sake, and therefore a contiguous space. And to reject the contiguous space of island or continent is to risk turmoil in midsea, and for this enterprise, Propertius suggests, the "shallop" of one's wit must be great. Can we understand this riddle to mean that the "circumspect" (or risk-averse)

[1] This fragment of a poem was quoted in Hortense Calvo-Stevenson's *Sinking Being: Shipwrecks and Colonial Spanish American Writing* (1990): 36,n55, and comes from *Propertius* (translated by H.E. Butler. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958:3.3, line 20-4).

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voyager must always arrive, like Odysseus, at a point of origin, while the midsea traveler is, in effect, *refusing* the very textuality or discursivity of civilization? That is, when the premodern traveler sails into midsea, she is not only facing significant physical dangers, but her potentially unmoored body is, itself, actually writing a defiance?

Propertius' circle of prescribed travel anticipates a similar figure employed by John Donne, in his materialization of a love that transoms space. For Donne, the "fix't foot" of a compass in "A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning" (1611) illustrates how the traveler is tied to the steadfastness of his origins (particularized in Donne's usage as female), a steadfastness that inclines toward him as he moves away, but that resists becoming permanently unrooted, even as the roving foot is extended to the farthest reaches of the earth.[2]

However compelling Donne's diagram, his formulation of "origins" as a singular (feminine) point does not fit our age's sense of origins as constructed and unsettled. The theoretical interventions by Jean-François Lyotard, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida have made such singularity of origins impossible to assert. In contemporary critical theory "origins" are more typically understood as a mobile amalgam of partly imposed and partly imagined identities, not a single intrinsic point-in-space from which a direct line or genealogy proceeds.[3]

Despite the provisionality we typically attach to any unified field that proposes a description of "origins," it is important to recognize that the *expression* of origins serves a very

[2] John Donne (1572-1631) wrote this particular poem on the occasion of his departure for a trip to the continent, and it was meant to comfort his beloved. The relevant stanzas of the conceit I am concerned with are reproduced below and are from *John Donne: Selected Poems* (New York : New American Library, 1966: 90).

Our two souls therefore, which are one
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach, but an expansion,
Like gold to airy thinness beat.

If they be two, they are two so
As stiff twin compasses are two:
Thy soul the fix't foot, makes no show
To move, but doth, if the other do.

And though it in the center sit,
Yet when the other far doth roam,
It leans, and harkens after it,
And grows erect, as that comes home.

Such wilt thou be to me, who must
Like the other foot, obliquely run;
Thy firmness makes my circle just
And makes me end where I begun.

[3] Lyotard maintains that the grand narratives or meta-narratives of modernist thinking were still concerned with the lost origin, a proposition he did not accept. See "A Postmodern Fable" (*Yale Journal of Criticism* 6:1 1993): 237-247. And Jacques Derrida's skepticism toward how the records of societies are constructed for future "readers" of the world, from *Archive Fever* (University of Johns Hopkins Press, 1995), is a further challenge to the idea of single-source origins.

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precise social purpose: it helps to steady the wobble of unstable allegiances by which citizens of the world identify themselves in their lived era. Claims about origins, however, can equally well function as ways to perpetuate civil segregations—their visual, material and historical components can act as continuing authorizations for the physical occupation of a land or the political dominance of a single group. In this sense, then, the expression of (past) origins may well be in conflict with the advancement of (present) social reconciliation. The design and conceptualization of heritage sites, memorial culture, commemorative ritual, and the practice of history itself contend with these fundamental disjunctures.

To bind the populations of the modern pre-colonial or neocolonial nation-state, and to counteract the sense of competition that has arisen out of colonial interference, slavery, and the geographic formation of states along lines convenient to western trade imperatives (and to begin to remedy long-standing systems of racial subjugation and the exploitation of human and material resources), a rhetoric of belonging is summoned by those with a communitarian vision. However, the parallel existence of a long-standing metropolitan anxiety toward "colonial intimacies" and other domestic arrangements, such as are examined in Laura Ann Stoler's *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (2002) and Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather* (1995), are in conflict with this contemporary longing for a "fused *polis*." Because of the pressure to create a narrative of belonging out of these dissonances, a social narrative is sometimes manufactured out of what might be called "false memories" of the past. When these false memories have to do with originary narratives and are in a position to stimulate commemorative reconstructions of the contact zone, a new set of fracture lines is produced that demonizes or renders heroic certain episodes, sites, individuals or literary figures.

While it has been common for states, or those who most closely represent state interests, to select episodes drawn from the historical record and craft them into narratively simplified and iconically understandable myths of origin (in the design of commemorations projects or textbooks of national history, for two instances)—attempts to forge a discourse of origins that would contribute to racial reconciliation in late twentieth-century South Africa are complicated by a number of special problems—most particularly the wide gulf that separates the aspirations of citizens and recent immigrants according to status,[4] ethnicity and race. Because any scripting of a myth of the "origins" of the state in South Africa has to account for the radical splitting of prior claims and possessive interests—based primarily on European colonizers' spatial, social and sexual prohibitions (and economic controls, such as the imposition of the "hut tax" that was first put into effect by the Glen Grey Act)—discourses of literature and history, as well as the visual rhetoric of monumentalizing and commemorations, have typically focused on separate, or separable, strands. Paula Girshack's examination of the Blood River / Ncome memorials as ethnically exclusive sites, which lack an integrationist architecture or landscape planning,

[4] David Cannadine claims that *status* was the defining category in the British empire's determination of worth, not race or ethnicity, and that an analogous system of status was the model by which western control was secured, not the articulation of difference. While this argument is moderately persuasive in some colonial contexts, particularly in India, in South Africa it is less so. See Cannadine's *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire.* (London: Allen Lane, 2001).

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underscores this separation of narratives of origins in two adjacent heritage sites.[5]

In terms of gender and origins, the *proviso* that British women travelers to southern Africa were "counter-hegemonic," an argument made by Michele Adler in *Skirting the Edges of Civilization* (1996), invites closer inspection. Fears about violence and intimacy produced generalized (global) anxieties about the safety of women in colonial spaces, and these fears were particularly evident in the well-circulated female shipwreck and captivity narratives of the early colonial era. The effects of this anxiety, however, are not equally distributed around the world. The forms that colonial occupation, independence, and postcolonial structures of civil society took reflect, in many ways, differences in expectations about European women's safety and security.

To Donne, woman is marooned at the center of circle of safety, and he writes of this anchored woman as one who "makes no show / to move, but doth, if the other do," a kinetic correspondence that is key to his conceit. "Woman" is rooted in Donne's poem at precisely that "point of origin" to which the traveler wishes, presumably, to return. Indeed, the desirability of such return (to woman, to a point of origins) is a central premise of the poem. But Donne's *discordia concors* is more ambitious than simply the pairing of a mechanical device with the sentimental charms of a deep connection enduring across infinitely extendable space. His conceit roves outward itself and inscribes a complex set of concerns, including the growing opportunities for, and necessities of, travel in the early seventeenth century, and the turn towards the spatialization of origins (as opposed to the unifying force of shared religious belief, for instance).[6] For while Donne was consoling his beloved by summoning up an instrument of geometry, one that unites a fixed point with an arcing field of possibility, he was also proposing what was to Metaphysical poets a common, or "natural," opposition— that of gender. Indeed, Donne relied on what we now recognize to be a fairly conventional diagram for his radical spatialization of love: the hearth-bound woman and the outward-moving man.

This is not the whole story, of course. Even before Donne took comfort, or perhaps gave comfort to his readers or his beloved, via a consoling love connection that endured like "gold to airy thinness beat," the age of discovery had put a tremendous strain on the European culture's ability to control such elastic unions. Indeed, the geometry of gender and space that Donne describes was sometimes utterly and dismayingly overturned, and it was the European woman who was exiled at the far end of that roving foot—by shipwreck, for instance, or other exploration-era calamity. And, in these circumstances, the same unbreakable connection that Donne metaphorizes as the triumph of love across great distances might become a feared diagram, one in which the link was understood to function like a wick that might transport racial or cultural contamination.[7] And

[5] See "Ncome-Bloedriver-Blood River: Nation-Building and Ethnic Nationalism in Post Apartheid South Africa," a paper presented at the NEWSA conference, September 4-5, 2003.

[6] The "axial" transformation (from the vertical organization of god-man-underworld that dominated European's understanding of the cosmos until the fourteenth century, to a horizontal or spatial organization of being) is explained in Yi-Fu Tuan's *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1990: 132-136).

[7] See Chapter 1 of Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest.* (London: Routledge, 1995) for an examination of the tropes of "pollution" that were utilized to describe contact with the indigenous men and women during the early colonial era.

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if this stranded female was truly "cut off" from European civilization, the danger was even worse, for she would then be in a position to found a rival line. The question becomes, then, how was the abandoned, forsaken, captive or shipwrecked woman to derive solace from Donne's figure when she was the one roving, and in her roving had become disengaged from her husband or her place in a system of patriarchal control? Indeed her unguarded womb, at the farthest point of a world-sized compass, evidently signified a dangerous opening, a fear that is exposed in key texts and icons associated with the accounts of European women who traveled on long voyages during the age of exploration and early trade.

Anxiety over the loss of reproductive monopoly that circulates around the narratives of abandoned, shipwrecked, captured, or otherwise missing or self-itinerizing women has an historical precedent. There was a significant period of conjugal separation during the eleventh and twelfth century Crusades. During that period European men's absences for long periods of time disrupted the expectation that lines of absolute paternity could be established, but the sexual transgressions were by and large reinscribed by the existing marital codes.[8] However, these late medieval separations yielded what might be called a positive social compensation: the long absences of husbands and the deaths of many heads of households during the Crusades stimulated a dramatic increase in noblewomen's literacy, according to Meg Bogin. Because they were obliged to manage the farms, track the accounts, and administer businesses and family life, noblewomen, particularly in Occitania, learned mathematics, reading and writing, and their consequent liberation resulted in a rare medieval blossoming of poetic writing by women, paralleling the male troubadour tradition (Bogin 33-36).

While the crusader's absence accelerated the development of financial independence and poetic talents in the newly literate women on the European continent, no similar "positive" social transformations attended the absence of husbands, fathers, and protectors on the shores of southern Africa two or three centuries later. Indeed, the loss of reproductive monopoly was quite threatening during the era of first "contact" with Africa (1502-1686), as those European women shipwrecked on voyages to or from outposts in India were not only unguarded, but permanently marooned—and utterly unable to return to their origins. With the compass arm thus broken, women's bodies, women's wombs, were unloosed from their homeland and put out of their husbands', fathers' and protectors' reach. Because in the exploration age "woman" was often seen as equivalent to a "site" of origins, as Donne's poem suggests, the loss of "woman" thus constituted, in some sense, a loss of "origins."

This study will examine, then, how selected South African narratives of origin engage with this sense of loss—a loss that arises out of the need to construct (and the parallel fear of facing) female hyper-vulnerability in the contact zone. Specifically, I will examine how Portuguese

[8] See Meg Bogin's *The Women Troubadours* (New York: Paddington Press, 1976), in which she discusses the vulnerability of noblewomen of Occitania and their status in castles full of transient guests during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. She suggests that women were even raped when their husbands stepped outside to check the horses (25). Nevertheless, these violations, and the children born of these violations, were no doubt mediated by Inquisitional or other civil or religious judgments, and paternity was presumably assigned to the legal husband.

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shipwreck survivor narratives and travel writing by British women, two significant bodies of "outsider" discourses (that is, distinct from the better known settlers' texts and distinct from male travelers' commissioned reports) address the conundrum of European women's "place" in southern Africa. I will also examine selected twentieth-century reconstructions of the contact era, to see how these "lost" representations of contact are elided, and from which commemorative or national identity discourses they have been excluded.

Landed or Marooned

Commemorative events and monument sites, as well as other cultural statements that make claims about or memorialize origins in twentieth-century South Africa, have been typically attached to the land itself, upon which could be projected a number of competing desires. And the right to the occupation of this land has been typically authorized by the claims of superior stewardship—by plans for productive utilization, such as John Barrow outlined in his *Travels* (1806-07) or by the assertion of a greater depth of emotional "connections" to land or landscape, such as might be claimed on the basis of blood spilled in the securing of a stake. J.M. Coetzee refers to the complex marking of the South African landscape as a garden space that is both Eden and not Eden—a dream topography that looks backward toward the pastoral rather than forward to the utopian (*White* 4-7). However, claims to the land, even claims that are rooted in literary genre or explanatory myth, are oftentimes complicated by how people recognize their historical, spatial or textual origins.[9] In the post-apartheid period, the citizenry tasked with participating in and authorizing commemorations of South African nationhood often experience their personal sense of origins as bifurcated. For black citizens of the new South Africa, allegiances are often uncertainly divided between traditional cultural and religious beliefs and the promises of western democratic emancipation and the economic revitalization said to follow. A similar rift exists for white citizens, between a strong identification with European ideals, political structures, and the cultural trappings of late capitalism, and an equally strong claim to indigeneity or "Africanness." For Indian and mixed-race citizens, and other individuals first brought to southern Africa as slaves or recently emigrated from elsewhere, cultural loyalties are equally difficult to untangle. As in other mixed cultures (most of the world, at this point), divided allegiances make awareness of belonging to a single entity, a modern nation-state, unstable. This is complicated by the forceful calls for wholehearted "belonging" in discourses of national unity. The pressure to produce a coherent or collective version of national origins typically drives commemorative efforts into particularly strong identifications with the visible, physical land and the "known" landscape. Despite the obvious relevance of the early encounter texts under discussion to the understanding of territoriality and empire, they are almost invisible in the mythic pageantry of so-called national identity in modern day South Africa—no doubt precisely because of the difficulties of accounting for the situation of the European woman in southern Africa.

To underscore the "disconnection" of early European travelers in southern Africa, and to

[9] See the "Introduction" to *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994) by John R. Gillis for an analysis of the relationship between memory and identity in the twentieth century.

link the Portuguese shipwreck accounts with the cross-cultural "encounter" records produced by British women travelers, I invoke the predicament of the *maroon*. The experience of space as both a site of estrangement and a place of sanctuary to which one might escape are both present in the meaning of "maroon" or "marooned." Indeed the use of *Ultramarooned* as a title to this study suggests the commonplace notion of marooned as the condition of being cast ashore on an island, or abandoned in some remote place from which escape is impossible. In this sense, the term is descriptive of the shipwreck survivor narratives—and episodes from contemporary fiction and art— examined Chapters 1 and 2. In a more general sense, the estrangement present in British women's texts from the nineteenth century, the subject of Chapters 3, 4 and 5, signals various figurative maroonings—from gender expectations (such as marriage and reproductive duties), from a geographic or spiritual homeland, from repressive and restrictive social environments, and even from what Propertius calls the prescribed ring of textuality—which I take to mean, in part, disciplinary obedience or the dictates of genre. But my use of "ultramarooned" also suggests the first recorded meaning of "maroon," the term used to describe Caribbean and southern American slaves in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who escaped bondage by fleeing into the unregulated hinterland. Though certain ethical and theoretical problems persist in the association of slavery with gender oppression, the flight from a hostile and domineering culture into remote spaces of uncertain sovereignty is nevertheless relevant to a consideration of how female castaways in southern Africa were depicted, as well as how later women travelers wrote themselves into the southern African cultures and lands in which they traveled—lands in which they experienced, to some extent, a kind of sanctuary from nineteenth-century social mores.

"Maroon" is said to be a corruption of the Spanish word, *cimarron*, meaning a "brownish-claret color' and also "wild and untamed" (*OED*). Although the links have not been etymologically established, the designation "maroon" (in its triple senses: a color, a fugitive slave who has gone "wild," and the predicament of being abandoned in a remote place) echoes a set of terms that described racial categories, such as quadroon, octoroon, and quintroon. These designations, though they have gone out of common usage, referred to measurements of the proportion of various bloodlines: European, Indio-American and black African. Thus what was termed the "wildness" and "rebelliousness" of the first generation of African slaves to flee the Spanish and Portuguese colonists in the Caribbean and elsewhere has come to be associated with classification terminology for individuals born of sexual union across lines of race and ethnicity.

In a final permutation, 'to maroon' came to mean, in the southern United States in the eighteenth century, to "camp out for several days in a pleasure party"(*OED*), a usage which suggests another sort of escape—in this case from social surveillance. The implication is that one could in these circumstances "go native" or "go wild." The cluster of meanings that adhere to the word "maroon" suggests, then, that language utilized to describe both the escape from illegitimate subjugation *and* an acceptable transgression of social standards was interwoven with a third

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discourse: that of biological racism. The charting of hybridity,[10] the escape from slavery, and the occasion for the experience of untrammeled pleasure—by removal to a site of imagined freedom—were all gathered under a closely related set of signs devised by the linguistic sovereignty of colonial authority.

By affixing "ultra" to the title of this study, I don't mean to imply that British women travelers or the shipwrecked Portuguese were "more" abandoned, estranged, or cut off than fugitive slaves who escaped from bondage into remote hinterlands in the Caribbean, or that these European "maroonings" in Africa have any special claim in overtaking the term. Nor do I mean to imply that nineteenth-century women travelers or shipwrecked Portuguese were themselves engaged in an actual rebellion or were early agents in the "wild" intermixing of bloodlines. Rather, I mean to foreground the radical break with European cultural values that can be detected in both subgenres of writing. I also want to emphasize the marooning of these works of literature, as "cut off" from South Africa's narratives of origin.[11]

The two strands of historical texts examined in this study are not, in any case, to be considered the "most suppressed" of the many narratives of origin or contact that have been buried in the archives, nor should their recovery and reintegration into South Africa's discourses of origins be seen necessarily as the most urgent project at hand for South African literary historians. Other critics would point to the neglect of other founding texts, and this study does not in any way mean to exclude from importance these parallel investigations. Indeed, an intersection of indigenous perspectives on contact and women's travel writing is found in an account of a trip to Cape Town in 1863 by Eliza M., an isiXhosa woman, in which she specifically refers to herself as a "traveler," and records her observations of an unfamiliar white culture and social landscape in southern Africa (Daymond, *et al.* 99). In this regard, it is important to recognize that the "contact zone," a term that embraces both an epoch and a physical space and which was first coined by

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[10] The term "quadroon" was also used to describe hybrid plants and animals in the late nineteenth century: the hybridization of a flower was termed a "vegetable quadroon" (1879 *OED*) and the breeding of two species of rabbits failed to produce a "quadroon" (1892 *OED*). In human terms, a quadroon was the term for an offspring of a mulatto and a European. The word "mulatto" has a somewhat different lineage. Mulatto was the term for the progeny of any pure "other" (slave or indigenous person) and European. It is derived from the Spanish and Portuguese *mulato* and is a term for young mule (a sterile beast born of a donkey and a horse). Thus the word for the human "mulatto" is associated, inaccurately, with this notion of sterility—a hybrid so deranged from genetic compatibility that it cannot itself reproduce. In fact, the products of mixed plant and animal species are not necessarily sterile. Charles Darwin's chapter on hybridism in *The Origin of the Species* (1859) identifies a number of instances in which the reproductive energies of hybrid plants or animals exceeded that of one or both parents (242-271).

[11] According to the *OED*, Lord Macaulay suggested that literature itself might be capable of existing under the sign of the "maroon" when he referred in 1823 to an ambush "from which the 'maroons' of literature will take a certain and deadly aim," a usage that appears to predict lethal retaliation from those authors whose work has been neglected or abandoned.

Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992),[12] must at times be very broadly constituted in order to capture the perspectives of women on crucial scenes of early, or inaugural, contact.

Adamastor, T'kama Adamastor and Origins

In most genealogies of white writing in South Africa, Luís de Camões' Adamastor[13] is given a central place as the "originator" of South African literature. Adamastor's importance to the literature of southern Africa was most strongly and famously asserted by John Purves in a lecture given in 1909 that was later published in a pro-union weekly newspaper, *The State*.[14] In this widely referenced article, Purves called Adamastor "the father of white poetry in South Africa" (qtd in Monteiro 126). This claim for primacy is most well known, however, not from Purves directly or from Monteiro, but from Stephen Gray's influential *Southern African Literature: An Introduction* (1979). In this analysis Gray recycles Purves' claim that Adamastor was, in essence, the founder of South African literature. Other less well known critics have attested to the importance of Adamastor, such as Sydney R. Welch in *South Africa under John III* (1948). Welch's claim for Adamastor is even recorded on a plaque in the University of Cape Town library, affixed to a bust of Camões. When one turns to the literature itself, Adamastor *does* figure prominently as a trope of foreboding resistance in much poetry written in or about South Africa, such as Thomas Pringle's "The Cape of Storms" (1834) and Roy Campbell's "Rounding the Cape" (1930). Malvern van Wyk Smith has documented this focus on Adamastor by compiling a striking collection of poetry derived from or making reference to the giant in *Shades of Adamastor* (1988) and reiterates the importance of Adamastor in his later analysis, *Grounds of Contest* (1990) by calling Adamastor "a central *topos* in our poetry"(18). On the other hand, Dorothy Driver

[12] Pratt is responsible for the wide use of the term "contact zone," or "contact narrative," meaning simply the cultural, or geographic, zone in which the "European" encountered the "indigenous" (6-7). See Chapter 8, "Reinventing America, Reinventing Europe." Pratt was among the first to insist upon understanding the cultural intermixing as bi-directional, and subsequent analyses have been more inclined to this consideration. See Robert Young's *White Mythology* (London: Routledge, 1990) and Homi Bhaba's *Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), as these works were also important landmarks in the rethinking of metropolitan/colonial relations. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam's "Narrativizing Visual Culture: Towards a Polycentric Aesthetics," in *The Visual Culture Reader* edited by Nicolas Mirzoeff (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) was an instrumental essay in extending the new thinking about colonial spaces to visual material.

[13] Adamastor, a landscape-sized giant invented by Luis de Camões for his epic account of the Portuguese maritime empire, *The Lusiads* (1573), rises out of the cliffs of Table Mountain to caution Vasco da Gama about the dangers of rounding the Cape. Variously understood as menacing promontory, bad weather, and dangerous black man by most South African commentators, in Portugal he is more typically understood as representing the overall difficulties of maritime exploration and travel in the sixteenth century. In the Adamastor episode of *The Lusiads*, the nymph Thetis awakened the giant's desire. However, when he reached out to embrace her, he was turned to stone and she to the surrounding sea—both nymph and giant the victims of a conspiracy of higher-ups. A further analysis of Adamastor, Camões and other relevant stanzas from Canto V will be presented in Chapter 2.

[14] For a discussion of the short-lived magazine (1908-1912) as propaganda arm of a "neo-Hegelian philosophy" by a group of young men known as the "Kindergarten administrators" (R.F. L. Hoernle, Viscount Milner, and others), see Peter Merrington's "A Staggered Orientalism: The Cape to Cairo Imaginary" (*Poetics Today* 22:2 2001):333-364. Purves has another connection with early southern African texts: he edited Lady Duff Gordon's letters and in his introduction championed her work. Merrington calls Gordon "perhaps most celebrated Victorian consumptive at the Cape" (344). Her perspective on southern Africa will be examined in Chapter 3.

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questions this eclipsing effect of Adamastor in South African literary history and criticism. In her essay "Women and Nature, Women as Objects of Exchange: Towards a Feminist Analysis of South African Literature" (1992) Driver supplements the figure of Adamastor by restoring Thetis, the nymph Adamastor desires, to the conversation about literary origins.

In *T'kama Adamastor: The Invention of Africa in a South African Painting* (2000), an explanation of the literary and visual sources for a mural-sized painting in the Cullen Reading Room of the University of the Witwatersrand Library (a painting that will be examined in Chapter 1)— both Cyril Coetzee (6) and Andries Walter Oliphant (61) make reference to Gray's claim. Less repeated, in this train of literary commentary, is Purves' speculation that the figure of Adamastor guarded the entrance to southern Africa to keep "the spirit of poetry from passing into the interior" (542), a willful blindness to Camões' clear intention to speak to and of Portugal. Seemingly, Purves employed the "spirit of poetry" as a euphemism for white inland settlement. In this (mistaken) view, instead of Adamastor's presence resisting Portuguese *maritime* expansion, the interpretation more easily supported by the epic itself, he is made to stand for an impediment to British and Dutch *territorial* expansion. Although Purves' enshrinement of Adamastor as *the* literary forefather in South Africa is accompanied by the curious claim that Adamastor was a "relic" left high and dry by the "long wave of the classical Renaissance slowing creeping round the African coast" (543), Lucy Graham favors another emblematic explanation: that Purves' claim for Adamastor should be seen as part of a "campaign to unite whites under the banner of a common literary progenitor" ("Racializing the Colonial Epic" 15), and that Adamastor was commandeered by Purves and others in order to strengthen white control of the region.

At Adamastor's feet, in some ways dwarfed by his towering presence, are the relics of other eras, other regions, and other emblems of early European contact with southern Africa. J.M. Coetzee has dwelt on several of these less familiar strands in *White Writing*. While I do not take up Coetzee's specific concerns, such as his argument about "blood, taint and flaw" in Sarah Gertrude Millin's novels, I am nevertheless indebted to Coetzee's tracing of a number of strands of South African literary history in *White Writing* (1988), particularly his focus on the land and landscape and his chapter on "Idleness in South Africa." These essays led me to consider how the texts I am investigating are less likely to produce the proto-ethnographic register of other travel narratives (such as many travelers' emphasis on what were considered repugnant eating habits, "primitive" language, moral degradation or moral primitivism, and indifferent stewardship). By focusing on the portrayal of the indigenous in early colonial literature, the attachment to landscape by Thomas Pringle, the anti-pastoral in the Olive Schreiner's novel *Story of an African Farm* and other early texts, Coetzee stages an important repudiation of Purves' and Gray's claim that Luís de Camões' Adamastor is the towering forefather of South African literary history. Adamastor, in fact, does not appear in Coetzee's examination of white writing at all.

While this strategic move opens the field and permits Coetzee to examine less well known travelers' texts, early twentieth century novels, and relationships to the land, his sidestepping of Camões' epic has had an unintended consequence. His refusal to look at the Adamastor myth has perhaps contributed to the whiting-out of another important body of "originary" narratives, one that might more properly be called the basis of white writing in South Africa: the Portuguese

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shipwreck accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For just "behind" the looming figure of Adamastor, in Canto V of *The Lusiads*, can be seen the human-sized, historical figures of Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda and his wife Dona Leonor de Sá, whose tragic deaths near the St. Lucia estuary after a shipwreck in 1552 count as one of the most dramatic scenes in maritime history. And, while Coetzee's *White Writing* examines the awkward importation of European social, philosophical, and cultural norms to southern Africa, his analysis does not extend to the less well-known British women's writings about the region. Indeed neither the Portuguese shipwreck material nor the British women traveler texts have been considered by any critic to be relevant to white declarations of "African" origins, even though these narratives mark the first sustained contact between indigenous people and Europeans or mark the first reading of "southern Africa" by European women. Their neglect is significant on one account: these contact narratives track a significant set of anxieties, particularly pertaining to women's presence in pre-colonial and early colonial southern Africa. And the disquieting (or highly theatrical) episodes that haunt these contact narratives have an entirely different tenor from Adamastor's desirous rage or the later male European naturalists' and mappers' fantasies of productive transformation.[15]

I identify *contact narratives* as those heterogeneous texts concerned with the earliest records of encounters between indigenous people and Europeans, following Pratt's designation of this term. These include, among other episodes and sites of contact, the diary of a pilot traveling with Vasco da Gama's fleet, the story of D'Almeida's firefight on the beach, the establishment by Van Riebeeck of a European settlement, and the Portuguese shipwreck accounts. Of these, the Portuguese shipwreck literature is one of the most coherent bodies of very early contact narratives, as the accounts have been organized since the early eighteenth century[16] as a body of literature with an overarching (though failed imperial) perspective. In the most general sense, then, I am considering that contact narratives typically record events occurring in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although inland contact can be legitimately periodized somewhat later (even into the early nineteenth century in some remote areas), and writing by women about southern Africa is also, by necessity, located in a later period, for the simple fact that no earlier texts appear to exist. One of the objectives of this study, in fact, is to expand the range of the southern African contact narrative to include both the early accounts of shipwrecked Portuguese, trekking through

[15] For an analysis of male travelers' writings about southern Africa, see Nigel Penn's "Mapping the Cape: John Barrow and the First British Occupation of the Colony" (*Pretexts* 4:2 1993): 20-43; William Beinart's "Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape" (*Journal of Southern African Studies* 24:4 Dec 1998): 775-799; and Karel Schoeman's *Early White Travellers in the Transgariep: 1819-1840* (Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2003).

[16] The riveting accounts of Portuguese shipwrecks and the stories of survival and rescue that occurred during Portugal's golden age of maritime dominance (the sixteenth century) were collected in the *Historia trágico-marítima* by Bernardo Gomes de Brito, first published in 1735-36. This collection of sixteen shipwreck accounts is considered a classic of Portuguese literature and has been republished numerous times. Seven of the accounts in this collection have to do with shipwrecks off the coast of southern Africa. For a summary of these, see Appendices 5 and 6 or C. R. Boxer's *An Introduction to the Historia trágico-marítima* (Lisbon: University of Lisbon,1957). For a general account of Portugal's golden age, see Boxer's *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (London: Hutchinson and Co, 1969) and James Duffy's *Shipwreck & Empire: Portuguese Maritime Disasters in a Century of Decline* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955).

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what is now the Eastern Cape and Natal, and the subgenre of British women travelers' texts.

Coastal contact narratives fall into the conventional periods of contact, before European settlement. G.M. Theal, in the *History of South Africa* series, uses 1486-1691 as the first era of South African history. He chose to begin the era with the date that Bartholomew Dias left Portugal to find a way to India through the southern seas. Theal's concluding date (1691) is an interesting choice: the date of formal permission for the Huguenots to establish their own church, (the date an emancipatory dispatch reached the Cape and set out various legal, religious, political, and educational policies). Major Raven-Hart employs a similar period in *Before Van Riebeeck: Callers at South Africa 1488-1652* (1967) (*BVR*), although he dates the end of the contact era at a moment of military occupation, not agrarian settlement (1657) or moment of newly acquired religious freedom (1691).

In the case of Natal and regions far inland, it is necessary to include texts from a somewhat later period in the category "contact narrative." Nathaniel Isaacs' travel writing, for instance, must be included, as he evidently came into contact with indigenous people who had very little, or no, prior experience with Europeans. As he put it in 1824, "[T]he Zoola or Fumos country. . . is but little known; it has scarcely been trodden by the foot of a European"(xxiv). The editor of the 1936 edition of Isaacs' travels suggests that Isaacs may "justly be regarded as one of the *founders* of Natal. . . [as] prior to 1824 the white man was almost unknown in that part of Africa" (vii) [my emphasis]. Charles Rawden Maclean (known as "John Ross") is an even better example, as he insists his experiences after the wreck of the brig *Mary* in 1825 put him in the category of "one of the small band of Europeans who first had intercourse with the Caffre tribes

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of Natal"(134).[17] G.W.G. van Oordt also provides a record of early hinterland contact, a settler with particularly violent vision of the future. In a letter to Mr. Benjamen on July 25, 1835, he reports that "If left alone [the Kaffirs] will become robbers and wanderers and nothing short of a system of positive extermination can rid us of their depredations and perpetual annoyances" (5).

Concerning the available record of contact with southern Africa by European women, I am framing an era similar to the periodization of inland and Natal contact outlined above. The publication of Jemima Kindersley's letters in 1777 is the first record of a European woman writing about southern Africa. Charlotte Barter's record of a trade and missionary expedition into Zululand, *Alone among the Zulus* (1865), a narrative of a trading expedition during the first half of 1855, is the sole record of an unaccompanied white woman "alone" in that region of southern Africa. However, even with this extension of the frame in order to accommodate women's texts, only seven texts by British women have been published—and of these, three describe long sea voyages and just glancingly mention a stopover at Table Bay.

The period of greatest activity by British women writing about Africa (or accounts written

[17] Dan Wylie, in *Savage Delights: White Myths of Shaka* suggests that Maclean—because of his long contact with Chaka—was "possibly in a better position than anyone else to know" details of early white contact with the Zulus of Natal (65). However, details from Maclean's uncorroborated account were uncritically utilized in a work of fiction set in that era and place. Maclean's report that *he had heard* that anal penetration by a pointed stick was the form of execution favored by Chaka (129) seems to have been imported into a mid-century "black peril" novel as absolute historical truth. Charles H. Eden's *An Inherited Task: Or Early Mission Life in Southern Africa*, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1874, has as its stated objective the dramatization of the "difficulties" of mission life. The crescendo of menace is reached near the end of the book when an older white captive is threatened with skewering via the "protracted agony of impalement" if Amy Hamilton, the wife of a missionary, does not agree to marry Chaka (Eden 119). Eden declares in the Preface that the missionaries Guy and Amy Hamilton are "purely fictitious personages" (although a missionary named Ann Hamilton did exist, and she even wrote an account of her experiences, *Extracts From the Journal of a Female Missionary, on Her Journies in South Africa, to and From Lattakoo*, published in 1818). On the other hand, Eden states in the preface that "all concerning Chaka that appears in these pages is historical," including, presumably, Chaka's disposition towards skewering "from behind" and his desire to wed a white female missionary. In the novel, Eden manages a last minute rescue by the timely assassination of Chaka, a restorative plot twist (one of the few historical events that the novel reproduces) intended to console readers. The copy of *An Inherited Task* in my possession was given to Sarah J. Heath as an "award for merit" (according the frontispiece inscription) by the province of Quebec's Department of Public Instruction on March 19, 1886. The heroism that was presumably being held up as virtuous by the Canadian educational officials, and from which the meritorious Sarah Heath was meant to take her life lesson, was Amy Hamilton's refusal to marry Chaka even though her companion would be "skewered" as a result of her refusal to cooperate. Female inviolability, this novel seems to suggest, could and should be preserved by any means, including the sacrifice of one's male companion by anal impalement. Of course, during this period North American captivity narratives were still the most important genre of colonial American popular writing—both fiction and nonfiction—and they fanned the fire of punitive raids and land dispossession while also providing "titillating" entertainment reading. Tens of thousands of captives, including women and children, were taken by indigenous groups intent on defying white settlement or retaliating for colonial massacres of first peoples, and hundreds of captivity narratives were published out of these experiences (Derounian-Stodola xi-xxvii). The most famous captivity narrative is the account of Mary Rowlandson's capture in Massachusetts in 1682. While Rowlandson's account is not necessarily a standard one, women *were* killed as part of ethnic fighting in frontier spaces up until the last half of the nineteenth century in the United States. In Arizona, for instance, Olive Oatman was murdered, along with her family in 1851. In the 1860s Emmeline Fuller's wagon train of forty-five people was attacked by the Shoshoone/Snake River Indians, and the thirteen-year-old Emmeline was the only one to survive (in captivity) (Derounian-Stodola 317-319).

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in English about southern Africa) occurred in 1888-1908: over fifty texts. Although these texts do not have any status as "first" contact, they are nevertheless relevant to the consideration of narratives of origin as they as are part of the discourses concerned with the formation of the first Union of South Africa in 1910. Because of the difficulty of obtaining gender perspectives about contact and the inaccessibility of regions far from the coast, it is important to establish this relatively broad frame for contact narratives. Simply using the era of Bartholomew Dias, Vasco da Gama, the shipwreck texts and the record of coastal contact —1488 to 1652, 1657 or 1691 (the more conventional periodizations of contact) would leave out most inland contact and shut out entirely the perspectives of women.

Contact myth or *myths of origin* refer to a smaller group of contact narratives, those that have made an impact on so-called popular notions of early history or have achieved widely recognized iconic status. Because contact myths typically serve a number of purposes, such as the consolidation of dominion, they are most often articulated by way of spectacular public statements that yoke loss, burial or memorialization (of both historical episodes and influential individuals) to broad claims for territory or power. The Rhodes memorial is a well-known Cape Town landmark that consolidates dominion even as it marks the loss of a single human life. Large scale monuments such as this render coherent and radically simplify the origins of the South African state. Taught in school courses and visited by school children, the episodes, sites, and individuals that *have* achieved mythic status are unquestionably important to understanding basic southern African contact history. In terms of early texts of contact, male travelers' reports and memoirs are relatively well known—traders, missionaries, geographers, ethnographers and casual travelers alike were readily published, widely circulated, and many even avidly translated. These male-authored texts were the subject of lively commentary in such early colonial publications as the mid-nineteenth century *Cape Monthly Magazine* series, "Footsteps of the Old Travellers" (W.A. 356-363). On the other hand, writing produced by British women travelers has not been accorded any significant place in contact mythography,[18] though it can tell us quite a lot about the anxieties of gender that accompanied the efforts to colonize southern Africa. Perhaps more surprisingly, given the ease of access provided by G.M. Theal's widely available *Records of South Eastern Africa* (1898-1902) (*RSEA*), the Portuguese shipwreck narratives are also very poorly integrated into contact mythography.[19]

I use the phrase *narratives of origin* for much more nebulous expressions of social memory about southern Africa. The term includes what, on one hand, might be termed the historical record of contact (including the shipwreck accounts and —by my extension—works by British women travelers). However, the category "narratives of origin" can be understood in even broader terms. It can legitimately include such political events as the first democratic election of 1994 (the beginning of the narrative of the first fully democratic South African state). Narratives

[18] The nearest equivalent to the "Footsteps" series was a series of articles published anonymously in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* called "Life at the Cape. . . By a Lady" (1871,1872,1873).

[19] Many British women traveler's texts concerned with southern Africa are unavailable in South Africa. The University of Cape Town Library, for instance, is missing over half of the published travel texts, and the National English Literary Museum (NELM) in Grahamstown is missing a substantial part of this corpus as well. Theal's *RSEA*, on the other hand, can be found in every research library collection in South Africa.

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of origin are geographically diffuse as well—a contemporary South African could very well feel herself connected to Great Britain via an ancestry visa, to the Netherlands via a linguistic connection—to Zulu culture, the ghost of District Six, the beliefs and practices of Islam. Indeed a South African might locate his particular origins in the tales of Norse seamen or Egyptian ritual. Thus, my usage of this term recognizes not only geographical and temporal elasticity, but the idiosyncratic nature of some felt origins in more or less "chosen" spiritual, political, or religious identities.

The two subgenres[20] under consideration in this study can easily be regarded as contact narratives, as they document "first" encounters between a definite and identifiable European culture (or subculture) and a definite and identifiable physical place occupied by various indigenous groups and now known as South Africa. However, these texts have not made the cut as popular myths of origin nor even been integrated into historical sense of origins, although Malvern van Wyk Smith does mention the shipwreck material incidentally in *Shades of Adamastor* (19-20), as does Donald Morris in *The Washing of the Spears* (19). It is to this gap, then, between the documental or archival history of contact, in which both these subgenres of texts are firmly situated, and the popular acceptance of them as traces of origins in South Africa, that this study is directed. If my reading of these texts fails to produce a perspective that warrants a more widespread popular recognition, it nonetheless can speak to the more limited scholarly understanding of gender, land and dominion, in that the pressure to produce (or the political need to neutralize) a rhetoric of female hyper-vulnerability closely parallels periods of crisis in the development and elaboration of European cultural ascendancy in southern Africa.

Although women's travel writing has, in general, experienced a renaissance in terms of scholarly attention, and biographies or articles on a number of women travelers to Africa have been published in this atmosphere of renewal, few British women's travel texts are seen as pivotal to the founding of the modern South African state, nor as even as relevant historical documents that might yield a significant record of early "contact." Lady Anne Barnard and Harriet Ward are the only female travelers to South Africa (Ward lived in South Africa for five years and Barnard just over three) whose observations of an emergent European culture in southern Africa have been regarded as even peripherally important to the formation of a "national" consciousness, or the existence of the Cape Colony or the Cape frontier as political entities distinct from Great Britain. In fact, although there was an explosion of women's writing about South Africa just prior to and after the Anglo-Boer war (and these documents might be a valuable contribution to an examination of notions of rightful dominion and political ascendancy for the first union of South Africa), texts written by women before the 1880's were quite often not published until the mid- or late twentieth

[20] The term "subgenre" seems to indicate that these bodies of literature fall "under" or within some other genre, which is not exactly the case. Ina Ferris has called (Romantic) travel literature an "indeterminate" genre, and I am inclined to this assessment (452). Nevertheless, these texts obviously intersect with other bodies of literature. The sixteenth century Portuguese shipwreck accounts have much in common with contemporary survivalist journalism and "successful" exploration-era texts. Likewise, British women travelers' writings about southern Africa are "part of" the larger category of women's travel writing and also a part of exploration discourses, colonial memoir, and even Victorian literature. And in most instances, the forms of writing I am considering would come under the heading of autobiographical writing.

century. The slow rate at which archived or lost eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women's travel manuscripts were published (mostly in the 1970s onward) has contributed to this genre of "contact" text being poorly integrated into any expression of "origins," although the works of the male travelers and outsider figures from early southern African history, such as Peter Kolbe, John Barrow, Anders Sparrman, François LeVaillant, Peter Thunberg, William Burchell, and Carl Peter Thunberg, have been in focus in South Africa more or less continuously since their first publication.

This study also takes up various reconstructions (both textual and visual) of the contact era. But one caveat is necessary in this regard. While I examine selected artworks, fiction and poetry concerned with (or deriving significant metaphors from) early events in southern Africa in the light of their presumed or explicit "historical sources," I am not doing so in order to suggest that the material of literary, architectural, monumental, or visual arts must be obedient to "historical text." Though I want to see these re-deployments in the same frame as the presumed source material, my aim is not merely to mark configurations that depart from the available historical record, though I do examine some of these misfits. Nor do I wish to assert that the social diagrams (particularly in terms of gender and racial positions) lodged in contemporary reenactments of colonial or pre-colonial travel and exploration histories are merely unstable foundations for twenty-first century reconciliation projects in South Africa or that they are unproductive exercises in nostalgia for South Africa as a former colonial state or southern Africa as a pre-colonial civilization. Rather, I want to examine reenactments or reconstructions of pre-colonial or early colonial episodes explicitly in terms of gender: that is, to understand the refusal of the inventors of contemporary "myths of origin" to critique or productively engage with representations of European women in the pre-colonial and early colonial eras. However, by utilizing the term "European women," I do not mean to imply that I have examined all European women's writing about southern Africa. I am concerned only with selected work translated into English or work written in English. The many texts written by Dutch women (both travelers and settlers) are an important part of contact discourse, and these works deserve careful consideration as well.

Periodization

The periods I have identified, and the ways that I have associated certain historical spans with certain types of narratives of origin, are a convenient framework, as Marshall Brown has pointed out in another context, one that coins "occult names" for types of texts or movements (312-313). This is a strategic simplification on my part. While the Portuguese shipwreck era on the coast of southern Africa is generally thought of as beginning in 1505 (with a wreck known as the "Soares wreck")—and the Portuguese era of maritime expansion which led explorers down the coast of West Africa began even earlier, I have used the year 1552, the year of the wreck of the Great Galleon the *St. John*, as the beginning of the shipwreck era, as it provoked the first comprehensive shipwreck account (an anonymously-authored pamphlet published in 1554). This early encounter text is also important because it includes a description of a particularly famous shipwreck episode—one of which is crucial to my argument—in which Dona Leonor de Sá scoops out a grave in the southern African sand and buries herself alive. Indeed the many reconstructed

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versions of Dona Leonor's death highlight the complications that arose when contact narratives had to account for European women's "place" in southern African mythography. Leonor is, in fact, the first European woman on record to have died on southern African soil, in circumstances of significant relevance to the signing of gender in pre- and early colonial southern Africa.

In order to give greater coherence to this period, I have adopted the term "long sixteenth century" to describe the period of shipwrecks that make up the present study. [21] Though Portuguese shipwrecks on the southern African coast were recorded into the eighteenth century (the last one was the *Our Lady of Miracles* in 1686), the dates 1552-1647 bracket the shipwrecks upon which I base my arguments. Likewise, I use the term "long nineteenth century" for the period of British women's texts under discussion, although the letters of the first woman to write of southern Africa were published in 1777 and although I also turn briefly to women's texts published at the turn of the nineteenth century, as these were part of a campaign to consolidate British claims on South Africa before, during and after the Anglo-Boer war (1898).

To understand how contact narratives, contact myths and commemorative practices are intertwined, I first examine a key contact zone re-enactment: the mural-sized painting by South African art historian and artist Cyril Coetzee, *T'kama Adamastor* (1999). Though this work (a work that was intended to depict "contact") was commissioned by a Project Committee formed within Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, South Africa, it was financed with private contributions. That is, the painting should be understood as a "privatized" vision of pre-colonial

[21] The shipwreck literature is generally taken to be the "first" sustained contact between Europeans and southern Africans. However, the Portuguese shipwrecks might *not* have brought the first people from the northern hemisphere to southern Africa. The Phoenicians purportedly circumnavigated Africa in the late sixth or early fifth century B.C.; Hanno the Carthaginian's *Periplus* describes a fifth-century mission of "sixty warships and thirty-thousand colonists with food supplies and other necessities," which was thought to have gone around Africa (Oikonomides 11). However, there is little textual evidence of Hanno having gone farther than the Horn of Africa, and no archaeological evidence for even the first part of this voyage. Pliny disregards Hanno's account because there remained "no memory or trace" of the settlements, even along the closer West African coast (qtd in Oikonomides 15). Herodotus also dismisses this mythical voyage by the Phoenicians, though he supplies a bit of astrological information (that the sun was on the right hand), suggesting this voyage might indeed have taken place. W. E. B. Dubois records much evidence of Arab trade and settlement in *The World and Africa* (Millwood, New York: Kraus-Thomson, [1965] 1976). Finally, Gavin Menzies claims in *1421: The Year China Discovered America* that a Chinese fleet landed on southern African shores, though his principal evidence for these voyages comes from shards of porcelain found along the coast. While it seems quite possible that the porcelain in question is from Portuguese shipwrecks, Menzies does not seem to have consulted the narratives of Portuguese shipwrecks, many of which reported crates or fragments of porcelain on the shore, presumed to have been deposited from earlier shipwrecks along the littoral, Nor does he eliminate the possibility that this trade had been conducted by Arab merchants. Finally, it is hardly necessary to acknowledge that as far as 'touching land" Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama (and others) preceded the bands of shipwrecked Portuguese. However, Dias (1488), Da Gama (1498), De Ataide (1501), De Nova (1501), Saldhanha (1503), D'Almeida (1510) and other Portuguese seamen were usually only on land for a few hours or days, and recorded only a few paragraphs or pages about their landfall. For extracts of their accounts, see Major Raven-Hart's *Before Van Riebeeck: Callers to South Africa 1488-1652* (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1967). By calling the shipwreck narratives the first record of "sustained" contact, I am referring to the length of time in southern Africa (4-14 months) and the extensiveness of their records (30-90 pages describing each shipwreck and subsequent overland trek). See Duffy's *Shipwreck & Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955); and Boxer's *The Tragic History of the Sea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958) and *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (London: Hutchinson and Co, 1969) for analyses of Portuguese shipwrecks and Iberian maritime and mercantile history.

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history—as are many memorial and commemorative monuments around the world.[22] Furthermore, it is a painting that visually dominates a newly-integrated public space, the central Reading Room of the Cullen Library at Witwatersrand University. Aside from the possibility that private sponsorship might have tainted the design (and tilted the message) of a composition ostensibly directing itself to reconciliation, this painting deserves close analysis because its allegorizing of early contact between European and indigenous Africans reproduces a number of colonial stereotypes.[23] Although the painting derives its imagery from three primary sources (a South African novella, allusions to European art, and an imagined view through the eyes of sixteenth-century indigenous African people), a perspectival frame that suggest that it might address formerly peripheral domains, it ends up responding problematically to the pressure in our era to revisit contact narratives in order to stabilize national identity.

I offer examinations of Coetzee's painting and Brink's novella, *Cape Of Storms: The First Life of Adamastor* (1993),[24] because of the strong enunciation of race and gender in their reconstructions of the contact era, and in order to read them through, or read them against, the story of Dona Leonor da Sá, the first European woman on record to travel through, and die in, southern Africa. The story of the wreck of the *St. John* (1554) describes the survivors' trek through southern Africa and Dona Leonor's death (stripped by the indigenous beings and burying herself to the waist in the sand) almost five months later. The numerous reproductions of her death scene in subsequent literary works and visual material suggests that the figure of Leonor might be an important key to understanding foundational signing of gender in the origins of South Africa, for her "attachment" or "relationship" to the land, as buried alive in the soil of southern Africa (or self-implanted) is clearly emblematically significant.

The second chapter moves into a broader analysis of Portuguese shipwreck survivor accounts. It provides a more detailed review of the travails of Leonor da Sá and her husband Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda and traces how their misery and deaths resurface as prophetic warning in an important section of *The Lusíads*. This chapter will also examine visual representations of their death scene and the stories of other castaway women in the shipwreck survivor accounts from this period. As the shipwreck narratives are the earliest record of sustained contact between

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[22] See Andreas Huyssen's *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003). In the chapter on "Memory Sites in an Expanded Fields," he claims that the memorialization of the Holocaust has "functioned like a motor energizing the discourse of memory everywhere," but in discussing the debates surrounding memorials in Argentina and elsewhere, he concentrates on the contests over symbolism, not on the financing. Annie Coombes, in *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003) examines the conversion of the Voortrekker Museum to a private entity in 2000 and finds it problematic (51-52).

[23] The painting itself was financed primarily by Dorothy and Brian Zylstra. And, while it may seem obvious that privately-funded art projects are likely to arise out of (and cater to) a narrow perspective on culture and history, in truth, publically-funded projects have had an equally problematic record in South Africa. The public health musical *Serafina* II (1998), for instance, was to address the looming public health crisis of HIV/AIDS, but was instead used to "showcase" new black theatrical talent, a move that critics call a serious misallocation of public health moneys by Nelson Mandela's Health Minister, Nkosazana Zuma. Mark Scoofs has suggested that the failure of the government to use available funding responsibly in order to control the epidemic has contributed to the loss of tens of thousands of South African lives ("Aids: The Agony of Africa," *Village Voice* Dec. 22, 1999).

[24] First published in Afrikaans in 1986.

Europeans and southern Africans, extend to over 600 pages of originary history, and are almost entirely written by actual survivors of these shipwrecks, that is, first hand witnesses, their neglect by those wishing to restage scenes of origin seems curious.

Land, Gender and Foundational Myths of the South African State

Although land and gender have become importantly linked in general postcolonial discourse, concern with how space is defined or understood via gender has not been productively extended to the founding narratives of a nation. Sara Mills has made plain the need for the colonial period, and colonial conceptualizations of land, to be examined via gender in her essay on Fanny Parke's twenty-four years in India, "Knowledge, Gender, and Empire." While Mills makes clear that "the knowledges produced within an imperial context are profoundly gendered," she does not examine women's texts as elements in the production of foundational myths.[25] In the case of South Africa, critical responses to how myths of origin are formulated suffer from this lack.

The description of the heroic trek and death of the noblewoman Dona Leonor, and other women involved in the southern African shipwreck accounts, are amongst the best sources for an understanding of the signing of gender in contact-era southern Africa. The way in which possessive emblems or episodes concerning these women shipwrecked in Africa were reworked (revoked or converted to dispossession) is in marked contrast to the relatively stable historical assessments of Portuguese men—whose possessive prerogatives were largely legitimized. While the Portuguese seamen and maritime explorers have been widely regarded as particularly disposed to intermarriage and to accommodation and eventual assimilation with their indigenous hosts,[26] the abandonment of shipwrecked Portuguese women—and the loss or relinquishment of control over their bodies—stimulated a strong set of textual and iconographic anxieties. This anxiety about women's vulnerability in less regulated spaces may well be the reason that their presence in pre-colonial or very early colonial history in South Africa has been made illegible.[27] In the visual and textual record of Dona Leonor, as her role in the survival narrative is modified over time, a dramatic gesture of potential (or symbolic) possession is arrested, distorted, or radically reframed, and this notion of arrested possession remains in South African art, literature and public monuments as a site of significant blockage.

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[25] Other texts which unite the discourses of land and gender are relevant to the larger question of women and territoriality, but they are not specifically concerned with myths or narratives of origin. See Allison Blunt and Gillian Rose (eds), *Writing Women and Space* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994), Doreen Massey's *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), and Linda McDowell's *Gender, Identity, and Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

[26] See Boxer's *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1961.

[27] The marked disinclination to consider the so-called defilement of white women in Africa was typical in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century exploration and travel texts; the late nineteenth and early twentieth century gave rise to the opposite: a political need to highlight the risk of rape or molestation (in part to legitimize repressive legislation). Hysteria over the risk of sexual transgression was, of course, fully operative in the southern United States as well. Emmett Till was murdered in 1955 for propositioning and whistling at a white woman. His [illegible] murder is credited with mobilizing the civil rights movement in America. See <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/till/>.

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The examination of travelers' texts that makes up the second half of this study is premised on the expectation that a closer look at selected women travelers' writings from the nineteenth century will contribute to a fuller understanding of how narratives of origin are, in a sense, reenactments of a long-standing skepticism toward the fate of the European woman's body in southern African spaces. One objective in my yoking British women's travel writing to Portuguese shipwreck narratives is to emphasize that the sixteenth century shipwreck literature is itself a form of travel writing, what might be called "extreme" travel writing, and as such it serves to introduce how the emblems of alterity and possession that would come to dominate the rhetoric of colonialism in southern Africa were first deployed, even in scenes unfolding in an atmosphere of considerable precariousness. At the same time, in the relatively glib nineteenth century women's writing about southern Africa, there is also an 'extreme" element: coded in these women's texts is a future traumatic event, and its sign is the premature memorialization of existing indigenous cultures.

Although I identify these two subgenres in terms of period, I am securing my argument to a discursive rather than an historical rationale. That is, I do not claim that anxieties about European women's presence in Africa that can be identified in the writing (and reenactments) of the early shipwreck texts found utterance in later British women travelers' accounts in any straightforward way. Instead, I suggest that British women's writings about South Africa were, in part, a response to more generalized fears about the loss of control over women's bodies—fears that have long been associated with early exploration, trade, captivity and the frontier throughout the colonial world.[28] Fears about the itineraries of European women in colonial outposts (that is, the path or sequence of their movements through these spaces) were generalized and global, and these fears had the capacity to destabilize the sturdier meta-narrative of colonial triumphalism. But the evident need to neutralize these fears, evidenced in the works of women writing of South Africa, had very specific regional objectives. They helped to establish that women residents or settlers could reasonably expect to encounter a zone of safety or sphere of inviolability in the Cape Colony and Natal during the early colonial period. That is, when there was a need to recruit settlers to occupy the land, women's texts were produced and circulated in order to encourage emigration and thus was a contribution to the intensification of British claims to political hegemony and rightful dominion in South Africa.

That women were engaged to some degree (as virtually all colonial travelers were) in fostering some aspect of their home country's imperial ambitions, including the intention to profit from overseas colonies and trade routes, is without question. Competition among nations for trade

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[28] Captivity narratives that aroused protective anxieties abound in the early colonial discourses of Australia, South America and North America. See Annette Kolodny's *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers 1630-1860* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984), Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Rutledge, 1992), Kathryn Derounian-Stodola's *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives* (London: Penquin, 1998), and Pauline Turner Strong's *Captivating Selves, Captivating Others, The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1999).

dominance had always been keen, as Sir Dudley Carleton's 1617 remark makes plain: "We have heard [the] King [of Denmark] doth set out . . . ships for the East Indies, so, as the French are going upon the same adventure, the *well will be soon drawn drie with so many buckets*" ("Theal Notes" CA) [my emphasis].

One significant aspect of British women travelers' involvement in the imperial project was their emphasis on their own inviolability in the contact zone. Assurances about (female) safety were performative (that is, established by rhetorical means), however, and not the effects of any actual or strategic protective measures other than the general subjugation of indigenous cultures. Through tropes of domestication, miniaturization, and premature memorialization, southern African was packaged as unthreatening. The expectation of encountering this "zone of safety" became part of the frontier discourse, in part, by reliance on another rhetorical device, one that posed the indigenous peoples in markedly theatrical terms. This propensity for theatrical description produced a formal viewing distance between the observed Africa and the recording European. The gap was situated as unbreachable— the European woman, untouchable.

The methodology I use in understanding British women's writing about southern Africa is as follows: I begin with establishing the general European anxieties towards women throughout the global contact zone. I then provide a survey of the production and publishing history of women's writing in English (or translated into English) on southern Africa. Other than Michelle Adler's unpublished thesis, *Skirting the Edge of Civilization: British Women Travelers and Travel Writers in South Africa 1797-1899* (1996), there has been little understanding of this literature as a corpus. Despite Adler's significant archival accomplishment of providing an excellent annotated bibliography of women's travel writing about southern Africa (over 150 works), her analytical objectives, such as examining "the impact of specific colonial environments on individual women's lives"(20) and her attempt to unearth what Sara Mills has called "counter-hegemonic voices within colonial discourse" (qtd in Adler 31), have permitted her to skirt the question of how these texts were entangled with, and served, specific imperial political objectives. I am turning this analytical frame around, and looking for the contributions of British women's travel writing toward the establishment or maintenance of white (British) rule in South Africa. I argue that there is no significant "counter-hegemonic" intention, or effective outcome, that can be attributed to these writings, as a whole. My purpose in gathering these texts together is to rethink the emancipatory frame in which women's travel writing has been more typically understood, and to offer, instead, some speculations on the coincidence of these writings with periods of intensified British interest in establishing or maintaining dominance in southern Africa.

Fewer than half a dozen women's letters, journals or travel texts describing southern Africa were published during the first two hundred years of contact and settlement, that is, up until 1860s. However, there was a veritable explosion of women's texts in the period leading up to and following the Anglo-Boer war (1888-1910)—more than fifty publications. Interest in women's travel texts was renewed during several periods in the twentieth century and a number of manuscripts were published from the archives, including Lady Anne Barnard's letters and journals.

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These periods of increased production, publication or scholarly interest coincide with an intensified British will to foreground its so-called rightful dominion in South Africa; accompanying this imperial objective was the need to reiterate the expectation of female inviolability. Indeed, British women's confident and cheerful reports home were a part of the imperial public relations machine, which wished to encourage emigration as a technique for consolidating dominion. But they reveal a striking disjunction when viewed alongside the growing discourse of "black peril" produced within South Africa (and mostly directed to a South African audience) during the early twentieth century, a discourse that in some ways reverted to the tropes of female hyper-vulnerability more typical of the the shipwreck era.

In order to establish that these texts worked to establish a sense of female inviolability in the contact zone, I present a close reading of two British women's impressions about southern Africa: Lady Anne Barnard's letters and journals (written 1797-1801) and Marianne North's *Further Recollections of a Happy Life* (1883). I also introduce Lucie Duff Gordon's *Letters from the Cape* (1864), Charlotte Barter's *Alone Among the Zulus* (1865), and Mary Barker Stewart Broome's *Housekeeping in South Africa* (1877). In my examination, I argue that British women's travel texts sought to neutralize European cultural anxiety about women's presence in what was perceived to be the under regulated spaces of southern Africa. The evident disposition toward establishing that white women were safe in southern Africa led women travel writers to downplay, or occlude entirely, physical dangers, and to emphasize, instead, successfully transplanted tropes of domesticity and theatricality, as well as to promote the symbolic disappearance of the "authentic" first peoples, in what I am calling a premature memorialization of indigenous culture.

Lady Anne (Lindsay) Barnard's journals and letters were written at the end of the eighteenth century (1797-1801) but not published until the twentieth century.[29] In many ways, the prolific Scotswoman has been considered the most important female chronicler of the earliest period of British-inflected "national identity" in South Africa (Masson 169-175). Her letters and journals record a crucial early period of precarious European-African identity, a period when it was not certain how long the political ties between southern Africa and Great Britain would endure. Despite the fact that Barnard's journals and letters were deemed important enough in the early part of the twentieth century to be published in three editions (1901-1925),[30] critical attention did not follow until the middle of the twentieth century. Dorothea Fairbridge and Madeline Masson established, in the early twentieth century, the biographical details and the importance of Barnard to the way Cape society evolved as an ethnically diverse white culture more united in its aims and congenial in its social conventions than elsewhere in what was to become South Africa. The critics Margaret Lenta and Dorothy Driver have established the importance of Barnard's participation in what is conventionally understood as sites of colonial "male" power structures (such as

[29] One of her letters was even deemed important enough to jump genre, as it was included in C. Murray Booysen's *More Tales of South Africa* (Cape Town: Timmin, 1967) an anthology of short stories that is catalogued under the heading "South Africa -- Fiction."

[30] Extracts from her journal and letters, however, were used as the Afterword in the second and third editions (1849 and 1858) of the *Lives of the Lindsays; or a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres,* by Alexander Crawford (London: Privately Printed).

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(such as government, administration, policy formation, articulation of the productive potentials of the Cape) and have pointed out how Barnard had to produce a self-deprecating (or, in Driver's words, a "self-othering") persona in order to counteract what Barnard perceived to be her disenfranchisement as a woman. However, her letters and journals have not been seen as part of a long-standing and determined campaign to assert female inviolability in the contact zone. Can Barnard be understood, for example, as a chronicler whose material conditions have put her in the position of rediagramming the terms and symbols of female possession and dispossession that I identify with Dona Leonor's story? How did Barnard write herself into the existing culture, the government housing, the primarily Dutch farmsteads and the lives of the indigenous servants? How did she make claims about her natural rights? How did she eroticize her own position in southern Africa? What is her relevance to claims of indigeneity that sometimes compete in South Africa today? These are the questions that frame Chapter 4, on Lady Anne Barnard's residence in Cape Town.

The late nineteenth-century traveler, Marianne North, is the last woman whose texts and paintings concern me. In Chapter 5 I examine her autobiographical/travel/memoir project, *Recollections of a Happy Life* (1882) and *Further Recollection of a Happy Life* (1883) and the permanent gallery of her botanical art at Kew Gardens, as these combine two of the preoccupations of this study: European women's voices in the southern African context and images whereby southern Africa is represented. A consideration of North's self-memorializing projects was chosen to end-bracket this analysis of travel literature about southern Africa because of the way her gaze theatricalizes the flora of southern Africa, one of the most botanically diverse regions in the world. An examination of her representations of flowers—plants' most visible reproductive structure—is particularly well suited to understanding how "productivity" and "reproductivity" dominate the discourse of colonialism in southern Africa. North is also is the sole (known) female traveler to southern Africa to control both the visual images of her experiences and the textual account, as well as the sole colonial-era artist (and sole woman) to have a permanent exhibit of her artwork in Great Britain (the North Gallery at Kew Gardens). The largest number of paintings on display were produced in South Africa.

Like Barnard, North occupies a singular position, the only one of her "kind" from that four-century period of successive "founding" episodes. Furthermore, the reproductive and generative curiosity that drove earlier visitors to South Africa to report obsessively on sexual organs and behavior appears to be transferred, at least in part, to a kind of botanical spectacularity in the twentieth century. Finally, her status as "marooned" is clear: her travels estranged her from home and hearth; her life choices cut her off from reproductive labors; and the botanical specimens which she brought home and lodged at Kew Gardens were themselves uprooted and 'marooned' from their source habitat, a practice that botanists in this era would term "salvage botany."

In both periods of travel writing that concern this study, offensive terms, such as Kaffir, occur. I have nonetheless reproduced the terminology of the original material, including variant spellings, when referring to, or quoting from, the texts themselves, in order to simplify transcriptions. For my own purposes, when not referencing source material, I have chosen to use

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the designation "indigenous" to describe the inhabitants of southern Africa who were present when the Portuguese arrived, despite the etymological taint of "indigene" as someone who is bereft of resources, and despite Annie Coombes' having found the use of the term indigenous "completely inappropriate for describing the heterogeneous majority black population in South Africa" in this era (208). The designation "indigenous" should be seen as an acceptable identification for several linguistically distinct groups of people found inhabiting the southern African coastline in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The term is more problematic in the nineteenth century; however, it is quite likely a relatively accurate term for many of those resident inhabitants described by women travelers in the nineteenth century, as travelers then typically distinguished between the "Musselman" or Indian or Indonesian slave or freeman, on one hand, and the black southern African, Kafer or kaffir, KhoiKhoi, Hottentot, or Bushman, on the other, (many of which are understood to be more or less offensive in various contexts).

I recognize that the concept of indigeneity is contested wherever it is invoked, as is its opposite term, immigrant. This is the case because the temporal borders of these categories are difficult to define, the visible or linguistic distinctions sometimes murky, and the categories impossible to police. When does indigeneity fold indistinguishably into a color-blind and ethnic-neutral membership in the modern nation-state? When has an immigrant's status become sufficiently intertwined with a modern national identity to be inducted into the category "native"? Because muting (or erasing) recognition of prior claims is itself so problematic when the legacies of nonparticipation in the nation-state benefits are so enduring, I have chosen to foreground the indigenous/immigrant diagram in this study. However, at times, I do refer to individuals by their membership in a smaller and more distinct group, Khoi or Khoisan, Zulu, isiXhosa, Dutch, English, Portuguese and so on, and I collapse the categories to race (white and black) or European and indigenous when that greater generalization is adequate to my point. In fact, I have used "European" or "European descent" for those "white" South Africans residing in Africa, in recognition of their strong racial and cultural connection to Europe, although I fully understand that this designation is rapidly becoming, or has become, obsolete.

These principles for the designation of people into groups is a shorthand that has the unfortunate effect of dragooning all South Africans, past and present, into some rather high-contrast camps, despite the fact that racial classifications were themselves handmaidens for apartheid legislation and despite the fact that the population between these two visibly and culturally distinct extremes was, and is, quite large. Moreover, I recognize that both designations (indigenous and European-descent) fall afoul of a legitimate move towards muting "race" as a fixed category in contemporary South Africa. However, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the distinction between European or Portuguese seafarer and local inhabitant (and the further distinct categories of Indian, Malaysian or West African slave) was relatively unambiguous, and during the later period in which British women travelers recorded their impressions of southern Africa, the codification of races was becoming institutionalized in law and practice. There is evidence, however, that during various colonial periods, social permeability was more common, and a rather greater number of people fell outside strictly definable categories, with something

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approaching full social and legal recognition.[31]

As I am also concerned with twentieth-century memorializations and commemorations of the contact era, I must make clear the differences. Memorializations have typically been designed to facilitate the memorization of loss, while commemorations and monuments more commonly use both material means and ritual to proclaim a narrative of triumph. However, because loss and triumph, as lived experiences, are inseparable, memorializations are frequently entangled with triumphalism, and most monumental works have a backstory of loss. There is a growing body of work on national mourning, commemoration and memorialization. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is the focus of much of the speculation on collective loss in present-day South Africa. However, this study is concerned with a limited number of public and private memorials, commemorations and grave sitings, and these have been chosen because of the way they express dominion in South Africa by yoking early colonial losses to claims for cultural hegemony.

While conventional historical, art historical, and literary studies bracket source material by period or genre, an interdisciplinary approach, such as guides this study, does not always follow such strict boundaries. This refusal of strict disciplinarity allows me to work with categories such as what Jean Baudrillard has called, in his map of the advance toward postmodernity, the *simulacra* (166-184)— things that are copies of originals that have been lost or merely imagined. To conceive of pre-colonial southern Africa as a succession of "image phases" is to begin to understand that iconographic inventions of contact-era southern Africa have been employed deceptively.[32] While Orientalist discourse theory concentrates on the construction of otherness in language, it has been less attentive to the rhetoric of early contact narratives and has produced few critiques of what should rightly be considered a founding Orientalist text, *The Lusiads*. Furthermore, Orientalist discourse theory proves to be an inadequate exclusive analytical tool for examining women's travel writing texts, as certain women are themselves both wielders of representational prerogatives over the travel landscape within which they move, and at the same time subjects of their own civilization's attempts to render them illegible in the large scale narratives of (European or colonial) origin.

[31] Catharina Anthonis was born in Bengal and brought to southern Africa. She was liberated by her master in 1656 so that she might marry a Dutch man. Maria of Bengal was purchased and freed by Jan Sacharias, originally from Amsterdam, in 1658, and she became his wife. She was allowed to marry because she was able to understand and speak the "Nederduitsche tael." Angela, also from Bengal, was married at the Cape, inherited her deceased husband's property, then married a Free Burgher, and was able to leave her estate to her children in the mid 1600s. In the late 1600s, some free Blacks employed whites as laborers. In 1671, seventy five percent of the children in the slave quarters had European fathers. By 1685, all children with a white father were automatically freed upon reaching the age of discretion (25 for men, 22 for women) (Boeseken 36, 78-81). It is quite likely that the introduction of reproductive taboos in later periods occurred, in part, in order to control the erosion of available slave labor that these emancipations would produce. In terms of the social permeability, William Amphlett maintained in 1820 that "Conjugal fidelity is rarely to be met with here. The men have their slave girls, without any disagreeable feelings on the part of their wives; and these, again have their cicisbeos with the good will and permission of their husbands" (115). In terms of social and reproductive permeability between indigenous groups and Europeans in this period, Krotoa Eva's marriage with Pieter van Meerhoof in 1664, was perhaps the first example of a sanctioned interracial marriage. Her story has been retold in C.V. Malherbe's *Krotoa/Eve: A Woman Between* (1990); André Brink's *Imaginings of Sand* (1996); Julia Cristine Wells' *The Story of Eve and Pieter* (1997); Trudie Bloem's *Krotoa Eva: The Woman from Robben Island* (1999); and P.J.Conradie "The Story of Eva" (2000).

[32] See Jean Baudrillard's *Selected Writings* (Mark Poster (ed) Polity: Blackwell,19880.

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PART 1
The Coastal Contact Zone

Contact myths and commemorations of origins are typically formulated in terms of explanatory myths that fix on a singular site, event, individual or group. Because these explanations are often translated into simplified emblems, and are plucked from a long, and more or less continuous, stream of events and individuals, examining which scenes are chosen and how they are cast into iconographic terms can bring into focus the cultural anxieties that undergird concepts of national identity in South Africa.

During the twentieth century, these monuments to historical moments, legends of triumph, or individuals of exceptional impact proclaimed their version of national identity in South Africa strongly framed or inflected by race, but also regulated by the signing of gender in frontier and colonial spaces. Both in the early phase—in which European powers fought for the control of trade routes to the Indies (the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries)—and in the later phase of mapping, classification, and occupation of hinterland spaces of southern Africa (more associated with the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonial projects), we find these encoded emblems, politically configured diagrams of humankind and space, and patterns of representational prerogative, many of which persist in the still-unfolding imaginary of the twenty-first century.

In premodern terms, the unwrecked ship and the arc of its voyage beyond the known frontier are, in a way, transgressive "writings." But when the ship wrecks, it disrupts in another way, by diverting the forward momentum of imperial *maritime* ambitions and compelling a new *land-based* itinerary. Both Hortense Calvo-Stevenson and Josiah Blackmore have emphasized the notion that the writing of shipwreck is, intrinsically, a radical discursive project. Calvo-Stevenson considers shipwreck, in fact, to be nothing less than an "interruption of the voyage of writing," or western discursivity, and sees this disruption as posing a significant challenge to the "epistemological order" of sixteenth-century Europe (8). But the writing of shipwreck (unlike, perhaps, the shipwreck itself) also attempts, as Calvo-Stevenson explains it, a recuperation: the narration of shipwreck neutralizes the disruption that the tragedy has signaled by enfolding it within, or returning it to, the larger discourses of imperial exploration and trade dominance. It does so by reinscribing (maritime) failure into a master narrative of cultural, racial

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and moral superiority, and thereby manages to secure a triumphant outcome for the extreme human suffering and economic losses associated with exploration and trade catastrophe.

The expansionist efforts and discursive triumphalism of the Portuguese and Spanish monarchies during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were seriously undercut by the massive misfortunes associated with the loss of ships in midsea or shipwrecks, occasions that not only resulted in the deaths of experienced sailors, administrators, religious figures, and slaves, but also consigned valuable cargo such as pepper, porcelain, textiles, cinnamon, gold and ivory to the ocean floor. The Portuguese shipwrecks that occurred on the southeastern shores of Africa signify this same disruption of empire for Portugal's expansionist aspirations, a categorization well examined by James Duffy's *Shipwreck & Empire* (1955), C. R. Boxer's *Tragic History of the Sea* (1958) and *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* 1415-1852 (1967), and Josiah Blackmore's *Manifest Perdition* (2002).

But the shipwreck also function as the sign of a crisis in language and rhetoric—an argument first developed by Calvo-Stevenson in another Iberian context. However, unlike the two approaches to understanding the Iberian shipwreck literature to date (one that might be termed European-historical, one rhetorical or linguistic), my examination focuses specifically on the ways that the shipwreck records might have inflected, or could inflect, southern African conceptualizations of origins, something that has been overlooked in the genealogy of white writing in South Africa, despite what Andreas Huyssen has called the "hypertrophy" of memory discourses that have been dominated, in the 1990s, by a focus on sites and episodes of trauma (7-9).

Indeed, even when reconstructions of pre-colonial events of contact are attempted in the name of national triumph or liberatory reconciliation (beginning with Portuguese maritime tragedies being repackaged as part of the master narrative of Lusitanian supremacy), much is left unreconciled or unliberated. Quite obviously, so-called indigenous perspectives on contact are lacking in most reconstructions attempted thus far. Furthermore, women's perspectives (and positions) are either entirely missing, muted into inaudibility, or radically altered. These omissions or alterations are quite possibly effects of the need of European-dominant culture to assuage anxieties over any potential loss of their well-secured reproductive monopoly or to ease their anxieties over their inability to protect noblewomen in such circumstances. In Portuguese literature even the reconstructed narratives of contact, such as those that include Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda and Dona Leonor de Sá, fail to preserve or restore dominion to the figure of the white woman, replacing the penetrative symbolism of Dona Leonor's self-burial in southern African soil, for instance, with a famished vulnerability.

In many ways, her body itself marks a problematic site. In addition to being represented as "self-implanted" in southern Africa, she is also represented as "outside" the regulatory bounds of gender (in sixteenth-century terms) by walking through the bush "as if she were a man"(*RSEA* v1 142) and by her active and insistent participation in decision-making. Passages that describe (with evident admiration) her capacity and willingness to perform hard physical labor distance her from her class position as a noblewoman. Finally, her attempt to control the reproduction of her own narrative by insisting that certain details of her travails and death be carried back to Portugal

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suggest an attempt at a socially transgressive agency, one that also has been disregarded in southern African literary history and historiography. Despite these strong enunciations of what might be called a "transgendered" role in the historical account of the shipwreck, she is reassigned a position of physical incapacity and weakness by the most important Portuguese literary retailers of her story, Luís de Camões and Jerónimo Corte-Real, as well as by those who illustrated her plight, such as H. Pastor, an engraver who produced images for the 1898 edition of the *História Trágico-marítima* (*HTM*), edited by Hygino Mendonça. Dona Leonor's body is thus made to mark the most vulnerable link in the gendered restrictions typically applied to Portuguese noblewomen and the regulations of reproductive plenitude (such as laws regulating the status of children born of slaves) that subsequent colonial laws and texts were determined to assert.

While in Portuguese history Leonor marks a place of great anxiety, in South Africa her story is not well known. Roger Webster's *At the Fireside: True African Stories* (2001) includes a one-page summary of the wreck of the *St. John* and several erroneous comments about Leonor. José Burman's *Shipwreck! Courage and Endurance in the Southern Seas* (1986) reproduces, though does not analyze, abridged versions of six Portuguese shipwreck survivor accounts, including the wreck of the *St. John*. André Brink's novella, *Cape of Storms: The First Life of Adamastor* (*COS*), employs a sixteenth-century "Portuguese noblewoman," but she does not represent any form of transgendered agency. Rather, she is the "siren" whose great desirability and grave ignorance imperil an entire indigenous tribe. Brink's noblewoman seems to be derived faintly from the historical figure of Dona Leonor; at least, in a very general sense, she suggests the vulnerability of shipwrecked or off/loaded European women during the coastal contact era.

Shipwreck as a marker of disruption predates, of course, the exploration age, as it signified a crisis in power and knowledge in ancient epics such as the *Aeneid* and the *Odyssey*. Shipwreck was employed as a metaphor for lethal spiritual blunder in the sixteenth century (Dominis 2). When seen from the European perspective, many of the pre- and early colonial texts that arise out of, and seek to represent, Africa rely on the shipwreck as a hinge phenomenon. The wrecked ship stands for the disruption of empire and, more broadly, the moral failings of its leaders or the misguidance of national policy—as well as, paradoxically, providing a narrative that inaugurates or anticipates the triumph of the roughly one hundred years of maritime and trade dominance enjoyed by Portugal, and a longer period of general European colonial and neo-colonial dominance. According to both Calvo-Stevenson and Blackmore, when an exploration-era ship goes irretrievably off course, the "discourse" emerging to explain the new configurations of power and powerlessness faces a crisis. Blackmore says it thus,

> The status of the shipwreck text as one of breakage and rupture derives in part from the idea of discourse (*discurso*), a notion encompassing both ships and texts; thus the forced abdication of a discourse by a ship (that is, a ship's inability to respond to the coordinates of a predetermined course meant to seal off a voyage under the aegis of "success" or "accomplishment") creates a rupture in a symbolic imaginary (xxvi).

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The crisis of rhetoric and representation that is so prominent in Calvo-Stevenson and Blackmore's studies, however, refers to a specifically European crisis. When considered from the point of view of southern African originary myths, narratives of origin, or contact narratives, the shipwreck (and overland trek), signifies another sort of rupture: a break in the regulation of the (European) woman's body.

The accounts of shipwreck and overland trek are also disruptive in another way: they put forth a portrait of Europeans in Africa that is unflattering and thus challenge the narratives of triumph and moral superiority that other records of European discoveries, prostletizing campaigns and trading expeditions were determined to assert. While in Portugal the shipwrecks became recast as symbolic of the hardy, resourceful and pious Portuguese character, significantly so by the epic efforts of Camões, in South Africa they were more or less ignored after the archival publications and analytical histories by G.M. Theal at the turn of the century.[33]

Sources of the Portuguese Shipwreck Accounts

Theal's *Records of South Eastern Africa (RSEA)* (1898-1903) is the most accessible English-language source for the Portuguese shipwreck accounts. The nine-volume *RSEA* contains not only complete transcriptions from the original texts describing the shipwrecks (and subsequent treks) but also reliable English translations of these texts. Theal also provides relevant extracts written by early Iberian historians such as Manuel de Faria e Sousa (*Asia Portuguesa*, 1681), João de Barros (*Da Asia*, 1777), Hernan Lopez de Castaneda (in translation, *History of the Discovery and Conquest of India*, 1695) and Diogo do Couto (*Decadas*)[the first of the volumes was published in 1645]. In the case of the wreck of the *St. John* (1552), an account central to one of my arguments, I have also consulted four original pamphlets, or *relaçãos*, available at the British Library and published between 1554 and 1631.

It must be noted, however, that the conclusions that Theal comes to in his interpretations of original documents—such as appear in *Kaffir Folk-lore* (1882), *History of South Africa*, 1486-1691 (1888), and *History of the Boers in South Africa* (1888)—have been faulted by E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, among others, for the promotion of politically-motivated claims. For one instance, Theal was the first to vigorously advance the position that the black inhabitants of South Africa (the "Bantus") were themselves recent immigrants, presumably to justify the occupation and

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[33] The neglect, or suppression, of texts that fail to reproduce commonly held or politically expedient beliefs is well known. The early colonial butchery, sadism, cruelty and viscousness that we now know to have gone on in the colonies was not widely reported in Europe at the time. What records did exist of these behaviors were suppressed by individual Iberian historians beholden to the crown or overpowered by a publishing environment dominated by the state and the church. Dissident accounts of early colonialism were often rendered illegible in terms of the ways that archives were collected and preserved. Bartholomew de Casas strong condemnation of early colonial behavior in South America was not well known, for instance, until the mid and late twentieth century. See C.R. Boxer's *Mary and Misogyny* (1962) for tales of the inhumanity practiced by Portuguese women in South American colonies, such as the widow known as "La Quinta" in Chile. Though the accounts of shipwrecked Portuguese in southern Africa do not exhibit the capricious cruelty and exercise of unfettered power that some other Portuguese colonial texts reveal, they do, for the most part, produce a generally unflattering picture of the sixteenth-century Portuguese. The question remains, was the characterization of Europeans in any way responsible for the elision of these texts in terms of South African historiography and literary history, or is there some other reason?

annexation by Great Britain (Odhiambo 13). Although Theal is generally seen as a historian bent on legitimizing colonial invasion, occupation, and subjugation, his editing and republication of archival sources are enormously useful, and have had the potential to contribute significantly to studies of founding narratives and contact myths of South Africa.

In addition to Theal's transcribed and translated versions of shipwreck and early Portuguese presence in southern Africa, the second most widely available collection of Portuguese shipwrecks, many of which concern southern Africa, can be found in the *Historia trágico-marítima (HTM)*, a collection of shipwreck narratives compiled by Bernardo Gomes de Brito and first published in Portugal in 1735-1738.[34] This collection has been reissued a number of times in Portugal and Spain, and portions of the *HTM* have been translated by C.R. Boxer in *The Tragic History of the Sea* (1958) and *Further Selections from the Tragic History of the Sea (1559-1565)* (1968). Josiah Blackmore has edited the most recent edition of Boxer's *Tragic History of the Sea* (2002) and has included a new translation of the account of the wreck of the *St. John*.

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[34] Gomes de Brito collected material for the first two volumes and published them in 1735; the third volume was anonymously assembled several years later, although it is still customarily attributed to De Brito.

CHAPTER 1

Myths of Origin

> [I]*n the very principle of its constitution, in its language, and in its finalities, narrative about Africa is always pretext for a comment about something else, some other place, some other people. More precisely, Africa is the mediation that enables the West to accede to its own subconscious and* give a public account of its subjectivity.[35] [my emphasis]
>
> Achille Mbembe

In the late twentieth century, South Africa's public debates about national identity often hinge on claims about a "deep connection" to the land. But other claims exist. These are complicated by the fact that the landscape itself was rendered to some greater or lesser extent alien, or even menacing, to indigenous groups by oppressive social policies that controlled relationships to the land. And in this situation, claims were staked on other terms, such as suffering, bodily harm or death. While the commemorations of life in the apartheid era that have been mounted by the District Six Museum and Robben Island Museum, for example, have addressed formerly peripheral domains through public financing and rigorous debate about commemorative practice, the privatization of some cultural memory projects has rendered them less responsive or rendered them subject to debate after the fact. This is especially the case in commemorations of very remote periods, those eras likely to speak of "origins." Those who feel themselves responsible for social reconciliation typically consider that racial and ethnic differences must be subordinated to the need to forge common cause. In the past "nationalist" narratives (or commemorations of legitimate "African" origins) have been used to authorize the mechanisms of colonization, erase the contours of subjugation, and mask the prevailing group's longing for ever more complete dominion, so the construction and deployment of these "nationalist" narratives must be regarded warily. Marking the ways in which land and resources are claimed, and the ways in which humans and animals, minerals and plants, are fixed into a grid of relative values, the early versions of these narratives were most commonly collapsed into heroic and simplified stagings of arduous disputation followed by ultimate triumph. Contemporary commemorations sometimes risk the other extreme: a wishful nostalgia directed backwards towards a paradise that never, in fact, existed: an instance perhaps of what Baudrillard terms the *simulacrum*. If Freud suggests we return to the wound obsessively, in order to replay the injury and reformat it as something that has been, finally, "overcome," the

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[35]From Achille Mbembe's *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001): 3.

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return to originary wounds in a collective or national sense acquires a similar pressure to manufacture a substitute "originary" narrative that lays the dispositional groundwork for renewability.

Rhodes memorial, which overlooks the University of Cape Town and the suburb of Rondebosch in South Africa, was constructed in 1906 to honor Cecil J. Rhodes, a figure of considerable importance to any discussion of the iconic emblems of southern African identity, and falls into the category of the heroically simplified and unambiguously triumphant. The memorial consists of an open-air pavilion, two rows of bronze lions that funnel the viewer toward a magnificent view of the surrounding area, and a mounted horseman rearing up at the edge of the terrace. (A privately-operated tearoom was added behind the pavilion in the late 1990s.) Although this monument might be considered an extravagant consolation prize for the failure of Rhodes' most dear objective, the Cape to Cairo railway, it can also be understood as a richly symbolic and magnificently unsubtle theater piece, as naked a monument to manly vigor, energetic commercial development, and social vision as one could find in southern Africa. The memorial accomplishes these predictable glorifications with a less predictable metaphoric language: the architectural design visually divides the space, according to David Bunn, reproducing "one point associated with meditative brooding and another with the masculine energy of the scanning eye" ("Whited" C4 - 7). While Bunn does not explicitly link the meditative "brooding" with the generative terminology of the feminine, it is likely that he was referring to a well-understood gender doubling—both in relation to the design of the space itself and to the epitaph that dominates the pavilion area. Named and conceived of as memorial, the mode for memorizing a loss, the site nevertheless monumentalizes the virile (but feminized, as I will shortly show) vision of a single man.

Rhodes' epitaph comes from from the last stanza of a poem by Rudyard Kipling, entitled "The Burial" (1902).[36] The anonymous carver (or monument designer) altered the line breaks, with the effect of producing what poets call "feminine" endings for some of the lines:

> His immense and
> brooding spirit still
> shall quicken
> and control
> living he was the
> land and dead
> his soul shall be
> her soul.

The deeply incised words, about five-inches high and carved into granite, proclaim that Rhodes' spirit "shall quicken and control," and in these two verbs we recognize two powerful signs, one for the coming to life and one that suggests the capacity to end life. The epitaph accomplishes a full

[36] This poem was read at Rhodes' gravesite in Rhodesia in 1902. It was first published in *McClure's Magazine* in June of 1902 under the title " Cecil Rhodes." The poem was later renamed "The Burial."

circle of dominion, but does so, in part, by raiding generative terminology—for "quicken" and "brooding" describe stages in reproductive and gestative processes. We are called upon to acknowledge a force that has the capacity to animate, but also, ultimately, to exterminate, as the "control" that Kipling attributes to Rhodes's spirit was experienced by non-Europeans as a lethal control. The modifier "still" propels Rhodes' mythic connection into our own era, endlessly replenishing his status as *paternoster*, always advancing his omnipotence into the present moment of the reading eye. However, it is not only in the realm of time and symbolic landscape that the memorial seeks to consolidate dominion: the sculptural gaze succeeds, in a way, where the living man's railway failed, according to Bunn. That is, the gaze extends northward up the African continent, transporting the desire for unchecked territorial expansion.

If the architectural design emphasizes two physically distinct physical areas and the epitaph utilizes a language of feminine generation and masculine domination, then it is evident that a kind of transgendering is authorizing Rhodes' position as both cultural inseminator (a Godlike giver of life) and life-affirming nurturer (a quality implied in the adjective "brooding," which suggests, in addition to the psychological state of deep and perhaps troubled thought, female birds' incubation of their eggs by the heat of their encompassing body). The epitaph also commands via analogy, making the land and Rhodes into one fused entity. From that Olympian vantage, Rhodes' soul and the "soul of the land" have merged and are made identical: "and dead / his soul shall be / *her* soul." While the feminization of the land is common to colonial discourse[37] the epitaph's analogic syntax in this case permits Rhodes to slip gender—to be, or to become, a "her."

In these several rhetorical flourishes that suggest metaphysical, and metaphorically transgendered, origins for what are, fundamentally, real estate claims, we have one modern and highly visible version of the southern African memorializing gesture—a gesture that appropriates both masculine and feminine pronouns (and thus subject positions), panoptic siting, and infinitely extendable claims for a merging consciousness between a European figure as "founder" of a culture, initiator of a national consciousness—and the southern African land. There can be no doubt that the architectural and epitaphic rhetoric of the Rhodes memorial is intent upon silencing rival claimants to the southern African land, or landscape. Expansionist in visual and textual signs, the appropriations that are consolidated in this memorial are, in fact, typical of the process by which loss translates into authority, the dead body into a claim on the land.[38]

[37] Here is William Amphlett writing in 1820 as he approaches Table Mountain. "The sea is not our element; we are intruders upon the secrets of the mighty deep, and we feel that our arrival at the shores of mother earth is ... a return to home. At daybreak the land of the Cape of Good Hope was a speck upon the horizon, that, slowly rising from its bed of waters, gradually unfolded its dusky form, and stood at length displayed in wild and naked majesty" (2). For an analysis of this same propensity in fiction, see Rebecca Stott's "The Dark Continent: Africa as a Female Body in Haggard's Adventure Fiction," (*Feminist Review* v32 1989). Feminizing of the land often translates into rape as the master metaphor of colonialism. For exploration of this idea, see Revathi Krishnaswamy's *Effeminism: The Economy of Colonial Desire* (University of Michigan Press, 1998). See also Anne McClintock's discussion of the sexualizing of colonial discourses in Chapter One of *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[38] I am indebted to David Bunn's article "Whited sepulchres: On the reluctance of monuments," (Ivan Vladislavíc and Hilton Judin, eds. *blank _____: Architecture, Apartheid and After.* Cape Town: David Philip, 1998: C-4) in my consideration of the implication of Rhodes Memorial to commemorative practice in South Africa.

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Unsurprisingly, southern African literature also exerts significant pressures on how national, ethnic and even metaphysical identifications with the land are understood. The trajectory of genres that takes up the expression of "land" might be broadly plotted as arising out of two independent traditions: European-authored early exploration and travel texts, and southern African orature. Praise poems, one of the most common types of orature, typically enunciate a political geography by yoking a strong sense of place with the spectacular deeds of great leaders, such as has been examined by Trevor Cope in *Izibongo: Zulu Praise Poems* (1968). Shipwreck accounts, exploration treatises, pastoral fiction, poetry, and the later political memoirs and transition-era fiction, also "claim" the land (sometimes through the authorizing agent of a dead body), and they sometimes attempt to regularize or schematize how land is invoked—to what purpose, on whose behalf, and in what metaphoric register. Recent texts, such as Antjie Krog's *Country of My Skull* (1998) and *A Change of Tongue* (2003) (both of which trouble the notion of genre with their blending of fictional techniques, reportage, and autobiography) and J.M. Coetzee's *Disgrace* (1999) articulate a more complicated sense of how representations of "land" might refuse the nationalistic, racially-controlled, and male-defined geographies of earlier eras, and complicate one's understanding of the political, philosophical and cultural initiatives that attempt to inform or resolve the practical land question in southern Africa today. However, I will make reference to but one literary alternative to Rhodes' epitaph and the southern African land or landscape: Bessie Head's novel, *A Question of Power* (1983). This novel provides a glimpse of how a counter-narrative of land-identification might be formulated, as Head, like Rhodes, conflates the land with the human. However, she does so in a gesture that provokes community rather than confiscates. At the close of the novel, the main character, Elizabeth, emerges from a socially-induced madness, a madness that had arisen out of her confrontation of her own sexuality and of her double placelessness as a biracial exile. As a sign of integration, both monumental and intimate, Elizabeth "placed one soft hand over her land. It was a gesture of belonging" (206). While Rhodes' land is an over-determined site, Head's land is a shifting sign that has the effect of muting or dissolving borders. Suggesting her sex, her native South Africa from which she was exiled, her village, Motabeng, with which she was finally at peace, and her God, who exists, she finally believes, without favoritism, Head does not annex the land to herself, but replenishes it with the elasticity of proliferating signs.

In the newly inflected social sciences such as feminist geography, land and gender have grown closer, and in some cases have grown into almost twinned discourses, beginning with Shirley Ardener's *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps* (1981). *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (1994), edited by Allison Blunt and Gillian Rose, is concerned with the differences *within* women's experiences of space (as these differences arise out of the constraints imposed by class, and to less of an extent, race), and the contributors consider how spaces are socially constructed by the struggles between power and knowledge along these multiple axes. *Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature and History in South Africa and Australia* (1996), edited by Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner and Sarah Nuttall, brings together some important work on the theorizing of space by uniting literature and history. Gender is the *sub rosa* noun, unnamed in the title but an inflection percolating through all categories. *Women, Land and Authority* (1997), edited by Shamim Meer, presents sociological studies that argue for a

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gendered approach to land redistribution policies in post-apartheid South Africa. Deirdre Coleman edited *Maiden Voyages and Infant Colonies* (1999), a republication of two eighteenth-century women's travel texts to Australia and West Africa. Her title invokes the colonial era in explicitly reproductive terms—the voyages themselves configured as unmated while the colonies are represented as immaculately conceived (issuing from these spinsterly, maiden voyages). What is no doubt intentionally absent, in Coleman's title, is the fertilizing germ of colonialism. Finally, the *African Studies Journal, Special Issue* of 2002 was organized under the title "Gender and Soil Fertility in Africa," an instance of agricultural discourse utilizing the metaphorics of gender.

Land descriptions, geographic treatises, the imposition of boundaries,[39] and mapping have been long associated with what we have come to call the masculinist constructions of "nation" and space. The notion of feminine space as being common to particular realms, like the home or the kitchen, for instance, has become less important to the understanding of space and gender, although the dichotomy between private and public spaces was itself a useful and significant clarification in the early years of feminist geography. However, with several exceptions, concern with how space *is defined* via gender has not been productively extended to the founding myths of a nation,[40] and in the case of South Africa, the understanding of myths of origin suffers from this lack of critical attention. Largely because of this elision of gender in questions of memorializing pride, a number of disfiguring particulars adhere to the scripting of the master narratives of pre-colonial and colonial triumph. Indeed, representations of the body that arise out of southern African memorializing narratives quite often deploy a rhetoric that warps, inverts, or deforms. The generative body is represented as "deformed" in order to "conform" to the collaborating myths of national origin. This deformation can also take the form of giving up, a relinquishing, or a suffering the removal of a figure's own vitality, its own capacity to generate, or regenerate.

The two subgenres with which this study are concerned are particularly vulnerable to the transmutation, deformation, or translation of generative energies. The new land, in the case of early settlements (or the inhospitable new land, in the case of early shipwrecks) is initially mastered via metaphoric insistence, and oftentimes both the intruding body and the observed bodies are relegated to ciphers, refused their corporeality and harnessed into serving the secular genesis of the early modern state. If this symbolic register is tuned to the needs of "narratives of appropriation," as Malvern van Wyk Smith and others have maintained, the question we might ask is, Why are many of the terms of these mythic southern African narratives so durable that they resist even late twentieth-century "rewriting"? Or, to turn the question round with Achille Mbembe's complaint in mind, How can an account of the "generation" of colonial or pre-colonial mythography, or the

[39] Gertrude Bell's famous cane mark in the desert which declared one boundary to Iraq is an exception. See the entry on Bell by Nancy V.Workman in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography: British Travel Writers, 1876-1909* (London: Gale Research, 1997): 3-18, and Christopher Hitchens' "The Perils of Partition" (*Atlantic Monthly* 291:2, 2003): 99-107.

[40] Three of the most well-known female figures from originary narratives are indigenous: Pocohantas in North America, La Malinche in Mexico, Krotoa in South Africa; they are all figures who crossed boundaries for both strategic and personal reasons.

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narrative of contact, be produced in South Africa that is not just or only a declamation of European subjectivity?

A Gesture of Belonging

In 1999, a large (10 feet by 26 feet), well-researched, and privately-funded painting was hung on the North wall of the Reading Room of University of Witwatersrand Cullen Library in Johannesburg, South Africa. It was to complete a trilogy of mural-sized paintings,[41] all of which were meant, according to Reingard Nethersole, to "commemorate specific historical events" in South Africa (33). The paintings are to be understood, then, as putting forward selected strands of the complex pre- and early colonial mythography available to explain or illustrate themes relevant to twentieth-century South Africa.

The strands most susceptible to commemoration have in the past been configured as racially, and frequently ethnically, exclusive. Dutch-inflected commemorations of colonial history often concentrate on the governorship of Van Riebeeck, the Great Trek, or the Boer War; the British versions of historical highlights typically concern abolition of slavery, the influx of settlers in the 1820s, and the development of the diamond and gold mining industries—such as the Cape Town memorial that recognizes the importance of the figure of Cecil J. Rhodes himself.[42]

Doubly barred from appearing in contact narratives because of their arrival from afar and their status as slaves, the Indian and Malay populations comprise another strand available to the late twentieth century artist or myth maker wishing to commemorate (or invent) a moment of South African national genesis. Contemporary recognition of the mixed race figure as refracted through late twentieth-century fiction, however, is also problematic. Meg Samuelson is skeptical, for instance, of the emancipatory potential of this symbolic biracial figure—a being the "rainbow womb" has now been called upon to produce (88). She seems to be suggesting that one unintended consequence of this invention of "nation" in more racially blended terms has been to permit representations of interracial rape to function as a precarious (and dubious) form of

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[41] The three paintings can be seen in *T'kama Adamastor: Inventions of Africa in a South African Painting* (2000), edited by Ivan Vladislavíc—*Colonists 1826* by Colin Gill (36); *Vasco da Gama—Departure for the Cape* by J. H. Amshewitz (77), and *T'kama Adamastor* by Cyril Coetzee (20). See also Appendices 1, 2, and 3, of the present study.

[42] See Melinda Silverman's "Nationalism, Architecture and Volkskas Bank" (D-3), David Bunn's "Whited sepulchres," (C-4), and Daniel Herwitz's "Modernism at the Margins" (H-3) in *blank_____: Architecture, apartheid and after* (1998), edited by Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavíc. See Reingard Nethersole's "Refiguring Colonial Identity: Cyril Coetzee's Answer to Amshewitz and Gill" in *T'kama Adamastor: Inventions of Africa in a South African Painting* (2000), edited by Ivan Vladislavíc, for evidence of the ethnic divisions in monumentalizing gestures in twentieth-century art in South Africa. See also Paula Girshack's "Ncome-Bloedriver-Blood River: Nation-Building and Ethnic Nationalism in Post Apartheid South Africa" NEWSA conference, September 4-5, 2003.

reconciliation bridge in South African fiction.[43] These pressures put on the womb as a liberatory site also suggest that the reconciliation of groups is still trapped, says Samuelson, in a "poetics of blood" (88-100).

Nevertheless, the dominant strands mentioned above, both included and excluded from South African myths of contact, do not exhaust the possibilities: Portuguese seafarers landed on the shores of southern Africa as early as 1488, French settlements flourished and then were rapidly assimilated, the Mfecane spread across Natal and the Eastern Cape, the prophecies of Nongqawuse sparked the widespread slaughter of livestock and subsequent famine. Many episodes, in fact, might have been productively called upon to illustrate a scene crucial to the genesis of modern day South Africa. However, as these varying strands are present, in very general and approximate form, in most national iconographies of the "colonized" or "occupied" and disport on most national stages (most obviously in regards to the constriction or disappearance of resources available to those with demonstrably stronger prior claims), I do no more here than note that there continue to *be com*plex competitions in the formulation of any set of contact narratives. The problematic ways in which alternative phrasings of national identity gain and consolidate dominion is an especially serious tangle insofar as there are surviving political constituencies not addressed by the promises of the colonial and neocolonial eras, or for whom those promises never materialized.

The first painting of the trilogy that was put on permanent display in the Witwatersrand Cullen Library, *Colonists: 1826,* was produced by Colin Gill in Great Britain and donated to the library in 1934. The painting takes up one customary focus of British commemorating concerns, but in so doing locates the originary emblem of colonization more geographically remote than one might expect. Instead of a scene demarcating some founding moment wherein an "eden was breached," a term Paul Carter has used to mark the coming of the Europeans to Australia (*Lie* 11), the Europeans shown in Gill's *Colonists: 1826* are, in point of fact, still aboard ship.

Furthermore, with the exception of one small child, they are facing one another rather than the background land masses (one of which is presumably their destination—the headlands behind Algoa Bay,[44] near present-day Port Elizabeth). A group of colonists and seamen populate this cropped vision of a shipboard scene, the rectilinear canvas and display space accommodating the long, stem-to-stern axis of a sailing ship. However, in a design that was no doubt influenced, in part, by the perspectival problems of showing the ship, the sea, the colonists and the land—the land has been given short shrift: the several distant shoreline peaks are relegated to the background of

[43] Samuelson's concept of the "rainbow womb" is specifically applied to the spate of recent South African novels in which woman's womb, as a site of cross-race insemination, is figured as the key locus in successful cultural integration between races, even if the act that produces a being both hers and not hers (and so confounds the assaulted woman's sense of her enemies) is achieved through rape. See "The Rainbow Womb: Rape and Race in South African Fiction of the Transition" (*Kunapipi: Journal of Post-Colonial Writing* ,2002 v24.1/2). In Laurel Graeber's 1993 interview with André Brink about his novella *COS*, Brink reported that he "sees hope, symbolized in his story by the child who is finally born to T'kama and his white wife" (*The New York Times Book Review*, July 25, 1993): 23.

[44] See William Amphlett's *Notes on the Cape of Good Hope.* "Thirteen or fifteen boatloads . . . from April 1820 to June 1820" landed in Algoa Bay (122-123).

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the composition and are favored with the least painterly detail. Nonetheless, the viewer, standing outside the frame, so to speak, conjoins these elements, and thus understands the weakly inflected land and sea, and the strongly inflected ship and colonists, as a single symbolic gesture.

Rather conspicuously absent in Gill's canvas, however, are several of what we might suppose to be vital components of a full treatment of any African contact narrative: the indigenous man and woman, the botanical specimen or middle distance vista, and the animals of southern Africa. Despite these rather interesting omissions, to which I will return, two features of Gill's canvas deserve underscoring. First, the land itself is not represented with a set of unambiguous identifying markers. Secondly, the colonists are not integrated pictorially with their destination: *they look only at one another*, in a self-regarding tableau. While it seems likely that they are meant to be understood as approaching their destination, in fact, they are stalled in transit, suspended between an offstage departure and an unscripted arrival.

Formulated in terms of a particularly "ungrounded" trope,[45] this originary scene composes itself around a shipload of immigrants who are not only occupying a discontinuity between arrival and departure, but who are also are caught between inhospitable spatial alternatives, for both land masses in the background are forbidding. One issues glowering storm clouds (no doubt meant to signify the Cape of Good Hope, thought to be originally called *Cabo Tormentso* or Cape of Storms); the other land mass is clothed in an otherworldly blue sheen, but is presumably their destination, since a dove hovers above it.[46] Though the commemorated moment might be expected to refer to an early colonizing event, it is in fact silent on the activities or appetites that we have come to associate with colonization. The figures on the ship are related to the land mass they intend to colonize (but to which they have literally turned their backs) *only through the imagination*. Contact has not yet occurred in this commemoration of contact.

What is being depicted, then, is not so much a design with illustrative intent—figures arrayed on the deck of a ship, engaged in various shipboard activities—but an episode particularly resistant to representation: the colonists *thinking about* a place that will *come to be* South Africa.

The installation of the painting *Colonists: 1826* was followed by the commissioning of the second painting, *Vasco da Gama—Departure for the Cape,* by John Henry Amshewitz.[47] Hung in 1935 or 1936, this work was also produced as a commemorative gesture and was brought into being by private patronage. In a surprising chronology, however, this second painting rolls back the "originary" scene almost four hundred years, and the viewer is called upon to consider a

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[45] For analysis of the "ungrounded" imperial exercises of mapping and the accompanying metaphors of land contestation, occupation and annexation (in Australia), see Paul Carter's *The Lie of the Land* (1996).

[46] See Apollonius Rhodius "How the Ship Argo Passed between the Clashing Rocks," in *Great Sea Stories* (1932) edited by H.M.Tomlinson, for a description of a use of the dove as divinatory emblem. In this tale from around 235 B.C., the sage Zetes directs the seafarers to let loose a dove to fly between the clashing rocks where the two seas meet, and if the dove makes it safely, they should immediately follow (11).

[47] Eight of Amshewitz's artworks were for sale in 2002 in Johannesburg, at an auction organized by Sotheby's and Stephan Welz & Co, evidence of a contemporary interest in South Africa for this British painter. However, they were among the lowest valued works in the published catalogue (R200). See *Important African, British and Continental Paintings, Watercolours, Sculpture and Prints*, an auction catalogue printed by Stephan Welz & Co.

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larger-than-life Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese King Manuel I, and a number of crew members, passengers and patrons who are about to board a ship destined for the southern seas, but these Europeans are again arrayed in a self-regarding tableau. These figures vibrate with splendid religious fervor and virile strength, suggesting a heroically disposed and divinely sanctioned enterprise. They are about to depart Lisbon.[48]

The message of this second painting also hovers above the illustrative and also might be usefully termed the visualization of an *intent*—in this case, the intent to explore the farthest reaches of oceanic space in order to find a shipping route to the Indies. With this re-creation of a transitional event in 1497, the viewer is nevertheless confronted with a decisively triumphant moment, a moment of anticipated danger that is met with sturdy resolve. The confident spectacle of military might and self-righteous prayer are communicated by the theatricality of the props, the wardrobe, and the noble bearing and handsome, well-fed physicality of the departing seamen and the men and women who have come to the harbor to give blessings to those shipping out. There is no hint of the emaciated and dying seafarers who would occupy the end game frame in the subsequent Portuguese voyages of discovery and trade,[49] nor a suggestion that hundreds of Da Gama's own sailors would perish and be slipped over the side of the four *caravels* of Da Gama's fleet (Axelson *Vasco* 17).[50] Finally, as in the Gill canvas, the southern Africa to which they are directed has no pictorial presence, and it is connected to the image only via extra-visual information.

To be clear: up until 1999, in one of the largest public rooms of one of the largest university libraries in southern Africa, two prominently displayed and enormous public paintings are engaged in a massive refusal of the very South African land with which Rhodes wished to be so intimately identified. By depicting a pair of "genesis" moments located so far back up the birth canal, so to speak, these paintings are rendered unrecognizable as exclusively or particularly southern African.[51]

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[48] See Cyril Coetzee's essay "Introducing the Painting" in *T'kama Adamastor: The Invention of Africa in a South African Painting* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 2000) edited by Ivan Vladislavíc, for a discussion of the history of the two 1930s paintings, the architect's evident vision for the display space, as well as a description of the Cullen Library Reading Room and its clerestory lighting (1-3).

[49] According to James Duffy, approximately 130 of 500 Portuguese ships were lost at sea during the 1550-1650 period (*Shipwreck & Empire* 62). Even on the ships that made successful round-trip voyages between Lisbon and India (Goa and Cochin), thousands of crew members, passengers, servants, slaves, and officers died en route. The actual human cost to Portugal of the "discovery" of southern Africa—an unintended consequence of the process of the development of trade between Lisbon and India and the pursuit of the slave trade—was no doubt enormous.

[50] In *Vasco da Gama: The Diary of his Travels Through African Waters, 1497-1498* (Somerset West: Stephan Phillips, 1998) edited by Eric Axelson, it was reported that near present-day Mogadishu, "all the people fell ill, with their gums swelling over their teeth in such a way that they could not eat; in the same way their legs swelled up and there were other swellings on the body and ...[T]here died in the said time 30 men, apart from as many others who had already died. Those who could manage each ship were seven or eight, and these were not as healthy as they should have been" (49-50). As will be shown in the next chapter, thousands of shipwrecked Portuguese suffered equally horrific deaths once thrown ashore along the coast of southern Africa, as did the Malaysian, Indian and African slaves and servants who were forced to accompany them on these dangerous voyages.

[51] Furthermore, this genesis story is entirely European, and quite obviously there is another, or several other, "genesis" moments or sequences if by "South Africa" we indeed mean to include the histories of the amaZulu, the Khoisan, the isiXhosa and other groups.

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These onboard scenes could be narrating a voyage to India, South America, North America, the Philippines, or the Caribbean, so stubbornly indeterminate are they, as regards geographic points of reference (though the figures' clothing and props are more or less historically informed: nineteenth century bonnets and long dresses, in one painting, and late fifteenth-century gowns, wimples, banners, and armor in the other). The indistinct land masses in Gill's painting, executed in less detail than an incidental lady's bonnet in the foreground, could be any one of the islands, icebergs or continental peninsulas already fixed onto nautical charts and terrestrial maps by the year that Gill was intending to commemorate in *Colonists: 1826.* If Gill is celebrating the power of the British colonists' ability to imagine a future land or country, he is also drawing our attention, by way of the colonists' uneasy expressions and their prolonged landlessness aboard ship, to a manifestation of an early nineteenth-century social reality: these anxious colonists, in fact, were part of the masses openly defined as surplus population in a European formulation that quite literally "ungrounded" them in their home countries and cultures.[52] Indeed they might have felt more imperiled by Great Britain (the less-favored stepchildren driven away from the crowded island) than by the prospect of life in southern Africa. These two earlier paintings, then, can be seen as marking the inability or indisposition to complete a gesture of possession in mid-twentieth century South Africa commemorating art, and thus as
expressions of a blockage that I will also highlight in the shipwreck period (Chapter 2) and in the discussion of women travelers (Chapters 3, 4 and 5).

If the Amshewitz painting reproduces an event that is geographically remote from South Africa, it also locates an historical moment that is only tenuously, even accidentally, related. Vasco da Gama, in fact, sailed many thousands of nautical miles, and if there is any land mass to which he was unambiguously directed, it was India, not the Cape of Good Hope or Algoa Bay, which were, after all, stopovers for water or other provisions on that 1497-99 trip round the southern tip of Africa, to India, and back to Portugal[53] (Axelson *Vasco* 17). While Luís de Camões' epic poem, *The Lusíads,* linked Vasco da Gama's sea voyage round southern Africa with the triumphant foundational myths of Portugal (Duffy 15), it is not entirely clear how this Portuguese explorer would figure so prominently in twentieth century South African genesis mythography, especially

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[52] The "Guide to the Cape of Good Hope" (1819) emigration pamphlet is subtitled "Considerations on the means of affording Profitable Employment to the *redundant Population* of Great Britain and Ireland, through the Medium of an improved and correct System of Colonization in the British Territories of Southern Africa" [my emphasis]. The enclosures of public land in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had, of course, effectively displaced large numbers of the peasant farmers in Great Britain, quite possibly the single most dramatic source of anxiety for new colonists.

[53] American originary myths likewise rest on several key nautical miscalculations.

when Bartholomew Dias had planted his *padrão*[54] at Kwaaihoek almost ten years earlier.[55]

Even so, Reingard Nethersole summarizes the "pictorial lesson" functioning in both of these commemorative paintings as a lesson "in the anxiety and uncertainty white pioneers had to undergo, and the defiant bravery they had to exhibit, in order to overcome adversity and make the country inhabitable" (37). Although we do read the postures and facial expressions of the voyagers as signifying anxiety (an anxiety I have suggested above might be due more to the home country's social policies than the fear of southern Africa), three of Nethersole's other attributions seem unwarranted.

First of all, the adversity that must be overcome remains undramatized and the exhibition of "defiant bravery" she accords these white pioneers is unstaged (there are no opponents in either composition to stimulate bravery, nor a visible force with which to complete a diagram of adversity). Finally, and more seriously, the "country" that Nethersole claims is in need of being made habitable is either absent from the pictorial fields in the two paintings, or so visually unarticulated that its status as "inhabitable" is impossible to determine. And of course the land now known as South Africa was not only habitable in 1498, but already inhabited. It had been settled by Khoisan, "Bantu" people identified by early accounts as 'Kaffir," and other indigenous groups for a good many centuries, according to widely accepted archaeological evidence (Schrire 103, 152-155). And the landmass that the colonists were approaching in the 1820s (in Gill's painting) was equally inhabited: by both European and indigenous groups alike.

If the first two paintings of the trilogy avoid significant engagement with a body of presumably important images having to do with the African landscape, plants, animals, and indigenous peoples (as well as the early shipwreck survivor narratives that provide the most detailed accounts of early contact)—omissions that are consistent with the disabling reach into historical conjugations and public arts by both colonial and apartheid states[56]—the third, post-apartheid era painting has come into being with some of what we might call the significant elements accorded a

[54] Stone crosses were erected on promontories along the western, southern and eastern coasts of Africa to provide navigational aids and to assert a tenuous dominion. The existence, location, and description of southern African *padrãos* are covered in Axelson's *Vasco da Gama: The Diary of His Travels Through African Waters, 1497-1499* (Somerset West: Stephan Phillips, 1998):1-53.

[55] Malvern van Wyk Smith does offer an explanation in *Shades of Adamastor* (1988), pointing out that it was only *after* Da Gama's voyage that anyone understood that Dias had already passed the Cape. Dias, then, according to Smith, became relegated to a figure of "haunting uncertainty" (2-3). This explanation does not account, however, for the failure of subsequent mythologizing to displace Vasco da Gama from the position of "first explorer" to round the Cape.

[56] J.M. Coetzee's *Giving Offense* (1996) discusses the effects of censorship on writers and on literature in South Africa, and *blank __: Architecture, apartheid and after,* edited by Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavíc (1998), contains essays which discuss South African architecture and public spaces. *Total Onslaught* (1984) by William A. Hatchen and C. Anthony Giffard takes up media censorship. However, there has been little research into the effects of censorship specifically on the visual arts, such as paintings and non-monumental sculpture, nor on how private commissions have had such a profound influence on how the arts that dominate now-integrated public spaces have been, and continue to be, the relatively exclusive domain of the European-descent population of South Africa, within which a narrow set of representational practices have reigned. Finally, the suppression of historical texts is perhaps most evident in the burning of all but three copies of Donald Moodie's 1859 book, *The Natal Kaffir Question.* See *The Colony of Natal to the Zulu War 1843-1878*, an undated typescript bibliography produced by the University of Cape Town School of Librarianship, Bibliographic Series, R.F.M. Immelman, Director (15).

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place. The artist of this third painting, Cyril Coetzee, has introduced into the commemorative vocabulary some of the social, political, zoological and botanical elements missing from the paintings done in the 1930s. Though the historical reference points are weak, the thorn tree and topography of Africa, the animals (crocodiles, turtles, dassies, birds), the indigenous man and the indigenous woman are all, finally, visible. (See Appendix 3.)

But what do we see when we finally are able to see the pre-colonial southern African landmass, people, plants and animals, projected back to us in the twenty-first century? *T'kama Adamastor*, the final painting of the trilogy, was commissioned in 1995 and completed by Coetzee in 1999. At the turn of the century, it is set to provide a vision (or invention) of contact between early European explorers or seafarers and indigenous Africans. The encounter that was invented by Coetzee takes place on a peninsula, as the ocean is seen pressing in on both sides of the triangle of land in the center.[57] Ships with bird-like attributes approach on the left, and let off their small boats full of Portuguese seamen, and other bird-like ships are boarded, and head away from the land on the far right. Between these scenes of European arrival and departure, a densely populated and "oversymbolized" contact drama unfolds (Herwitz 74).[58] Its central section shows Chief T'kama Adamastor, which Coetzee refers to as a Khoi man, but who also appears to be derived from the first Xhosa chief to refuse polygamy—that is, one of the first southern African men to consider that white marital practices, or Christian ones, were superior to indigenous ones—on the advice of a missionary (Mostert 599). What did Coetzee achieve by this muddling of Khoi physical resemblances and nominal identification with the attributes of an historical Xhosa figure?

Coetzee's painting was commissioned to occupy the vacant north wall of a two-story public space, the reading room of the Cullen Library at the University of Witwatersrand. That spot had been previously designated as the location of a painting that would celebrate the triumph of mining in South Africa (Vladislavíc *T'kama-Adamastor* Figure 85), but Coetzee chose instead to retreat to a more remote, and perhaps politically less contentious, originary scene, given the centrality of mining in South Africa to one of the most pernicious features of the apartheid system—so-called migrant labor practices. The project was put at a further distance from both the historical texts of contact and the contemporary concerns of South Africa's culture and economy by Coetzee's reliance on the irony-suffused narrative of a work of fiction: Brink's *COS*.

This third commemorative painting was itself "commemorated" at birth: soon after the unveiling, an accompanying exegesis, *T'kama Adamastor: Inventions of Africa in a South African Painting* (2000) (*TAIASAP*), was published. At nearly two hundred pages, it provides elaborate explanations for the many narratively- or historically-grounded figures (human beings, animal beings, hybridized creatures, alchemical symbols, and a ship's figurehead) with which Coetzee has

[57] Thomas Mofolo's novel *Chaka: An Historical Romance* (1931), translated by F.H. Dutton, begins with this cozier description: "The country of South Africa is a large peninsula lying between two oceans" (1); the landmass seems sheltered, in this case, by the sea—rather than intruding into it.

[58] The symmetry of emblematic arrival and emblematic departure that Coetzee invokes seriously misrepresents another fact: there indeed has been no emblematic departure of Europeans from southern Africa. During the four centuries following Coetzee's depicted era, Europeans continued to arrive in massive numbers, reproduced more or less hermetically, and gradually consolidated dominion over greater and greater areas of southern Africa. Only in the twenty-first century is there significant (European-descent) movement *away from* southern African states, particularly from Zimbabwe and South Africa.

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peopled, ornamented, or accessorized his invented peninsular world. It is a large format book that is lavishly illustrated with high quality color reproductions, and it contains fourteen scholarly articles, complete with footnotes, literary references, historical interpretations, and many art-historical particulars. Edited by Ivan Vladislavíc, *TAIASAP* provides a fascinating and detailed mapping of how the images in this third painting of the trilogy derive their visual authority, such as they have, from a number of pertinent touchstones of European art history. In the service of this explanatory project, the editors[59] of this book have reproduced old maps, Medieval and Renaissance paintings, alchemical and travelogue engravings, painting-in-progress photographs, photographs of stained glass windows, and zoological and botanical plates.

One well known engraving (Vladislavíc *T'kama* Fig 81) shows an indigenous woman eating entrails: she has her breast thrown over her shoulder, in a position to feed the baby that is tied to her back, an anatomical improbability meant, perhaps, to reinforce the notion of indigenous Africans as bestial or subhuman. Indeed, all of the derogatory (or, alternately, highly romanticized) images of indigenous people produced by early travelers to Africa, the European painting reproductions (over 150 of them), and all fourteen of the essays examine the complex Eurocentric visual vocabulary and set of conceptual grids by which European perspectives on Africa were elaborated: the allure of the fabled kingdom of Prester John, the early geographic division of Africa into eastern and western Ethiopia, Ptolemy's theories, alchemy, Dürer, Bruegel, Bosch, and Luís de Camões' epic poem *The Lusíads*, to abbreviate a very long list. Finally, Coetzee's own essay, "Introducing the Painting," spells out how his images are narratively connected to Brink's *COS,* as the novella was "exactly the kind of contemporary reworking of the story of Adamastor and Thetis"[60] that Coetzee had been "fumbling to invent" (7).

André Brink, Daniel Herwitz, Reingard Nethersole, Walter Andries Oliphant, Malvern van Wyk Smith and others contributed thoughtful commentaries that sift the episodic histories of South African, British, Dutch, Greek, and Portuguese whites, and peruse the European visual and textual sources from which most of Coetzee's images were developed. In explaining the Eurocentric visual and conceptual models from which Coetzee's painting arises, three of the commentators nonetheless produce a puzzling assertion: the artist, we are told, was painting "from the perspective of the indigenous Khoi inhabitants" (Nethersole 35), from the "indigenous perspective" (Vladislavíc, Introduction) or "through the eyes of an indigenous African people" (Crump, Forward). Although Oliphant questions the use of those "about to be colonized" to

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[59] In the Acknowledgments page of *TAIASAP*, the editor, Ivan Vladislavíc, thanks "Elizabeth Delmont (History of Art) who gathered the first selection of essays." Elsewhere I have referred to "the editor," as the book is catalogued under Vladislavíc's name alone. The University of Cape Town subject area cross-referencing for this book includes an unprecedented sixteen entries, and indeed, it is one of only a handful of books in South Africa granted the improbable status as "History in Art," a troubling misreading of the very thesis of the book, and —presumably—of the painting.

[60] Adamastor is a mythic figure who guards the Cape, in Camões' epic. Thetis is the object of his desire, and she was turned to stone at the onset of an embrace and subsequently morphed into the surrounding sea, an immobilization that might serve as a constant reminder of her unattainability. In Greek mythology, Thetis goes on to give birth to Achilles. She tries to shield Achilles from the Trojan war (because of a prophecy) by *sequestering him as a girl.* Despite her efforts at protectively re-gendering her son, Achilles is killed and Thetis comes out of the sea to organize memorials. One might even call Thetis the goddess of commemorations and memorials.

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"ventriloquize a European myth of contact," he objects to this strategy on limited terms—principally because it corroborates the "insidious sexual economy encrypted in the Adamastor myth"(69). Daniel Herwitz provides another critique of how European symbols are deployed in the painting and challenges the so-called African's perspective from which the painting arises. He concludes his essay unhelpfully, however, by turning the question of representational prerogative into a sort of extreme theoretical indetermination, yielding only to the blankness of the painting's white base: "We may peel the layers off, one by one, revealing on the whiteness of linen that something momentous happened at Algoa Bay. But what? Who, speaking from which perspective, is to say?" (81-82).

The allegations that an indigenous perspective is lodged in this painting are surprising. Coetzee's own description of the process by which he transformed source material disputes any sort of "indigenous perspective" as a principal defining orientation to the work. The visual sources for the painting (Pieter Bruegel the Elder, William Blake, Leonardo da Vinci, Hieronymus Bosch, Ernst Fuchs, J. T. De Bry, Albrecht Dürer, and others) are entirely European, and the narrative itself, instead of tracing the contours of an indigenous African experience, follows the pseudo-indigenous orientation of Brink's novella, *COS*. And as this work has its principal source (along with stylistic borrowings from Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel*) a sixteenth-century Portuguese epic (*The Lusíads*), which in turn derives its prophetic rhetoric and its deployment of tropes of "voyaging" from even more remote western literary works—early epics such as the *Aeneid*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Iliad* (Nicolopulos 185-187)—it is difficult to understand how the images arise from an authentic or even deeply- imagined indigenous perspective. Rather, we find the ineluctable European footprint.

To examine just one visual element emanating from the so-called perspective of the indigene, Coetzee gave the Portuguese seamen bird heads (a recombination of human and bird that could occur only after a kind of symbolic violence, a dismembering—or dis-remembering[61] — had taken place offstage), their ships were bird-like, and their small boats were eggs that emitted the explorers when they landed. These bird-referenced images (which rely on the generative notions of incubation and emergence from the shell) were assembled, as Coetzee explains, from a traveler's account of the Tuareg's 'magical' explanation of the appearance of European invaders in Northern Africa; a painting by the twentieth-century fantastic realist Ernst Fuchs; a painting by Cesare da Sesto's (after da Vinci's sixteenth-century painting of the same name) called "Leda and the Swan" (a depiction intent on mythologizing rape); Benin ivories; the "bird-like attributes" of European costumes as exemplified by M. de Faria y Sousa's engraving of Da Gama; André Brink's (fictional) descriptions of the arriving Portuguese ships, imported from S. J. du Toit's late nineteenth-century poem "Hoe die Hollanders die Kaap ingeneem het"(*TAIASAP* 25; 46). These are hardly the kind of embellishments that should qualify as an attempt to visualize the historical self (that is, the European or European-descent South African) through the eyes of the historical other (that is, the sixteenth century southern African indigene), if indeed that is one of the objectives of the painting.

[61] I acknowledge Daniel Herwitz's comments here; he first suggested to me that to "remember" is to perhaps first "dismember."

Aside from the bird / man conceit, which is weakly connected to emblems of an "indigenous" (North African) perspective, and T'kama making the hand signal of Blake's Adam—which also means "presence of giraffes" in the San hunter's sign language (Coetzee 14)—the images, the narratives illustrated, and the intra-visual dynamics of Coetzee's painting appear to depend exclusively on more or less unreconstructed Eurocentric contact myths and images thereof, and the "perspective" of the sixteenth-century indigene, if such a thing could be excavated from four centuries of systematic erasures, is so deeply sub-textualized, so unhelpfully parodied, or, by some critical lights, so entirely absent, that to assert such a thing becomes, itself, a kind of parody.

Indeed Brink's claim that in his novella he is speaking out of an indigenous perspective is not buttressed by his own acknowledged sources (Rabelais and Camões). Despite his narrator's musing aside, "[S]uppose there *were* an Adamastor . . . . how would *he* look back, from the perspective of the late twentieth century, on that original experience?"(13) [Brink's emphasis], the "original experience" that Brink fleshes out must be seen as securely yoked to the well-mined satirical vein in early modern European literature, unalloyed late colonial masculinities, and many of the conventions associated with the imperial romance. But both Brink's and Coetzee's reiterations of the hold the Adamastor myth has on male (European-descent) conceptualizations of an originary southern African experience should come, however, as no surprise.

Writers well before Brink (largely poets, in fact) were drawn to the mesmerizing tropes that animated Camões' *The Lusíads* and fixed on Adamastor as an archetypal figure, and in the late nineteenth-century engravings of the Cape often included a ghostly human-like form half-buried in the crags or emerging out of the clouds. The poets entangled with the imagery of Adamastor, however, recycled certain dynamics (particularly the barbarism and tragic immobilization) uncritically. Indeed, Adamastor's stimulating rage, his frustrated desire for the nymph Thetis, and the dire warnings he thunders out to the passing Portuguese seamen have proven durably fascinating to white South Africans. According to Stephen Gray, who makes the somewhat overstated claim that Adamastor is "at the root of all the subsequent white semiology invented to cope with the African experience" (*Southern* 27), Adamastor enjoys the status as the main (or only) foundational emblem, the root. Malvern van Wyk Smith's *Shades of Adamastor: An Anthology of Poetry* (1988) showcases more than a hundred poems influenced by the figure of Adamastor, but Smith suggests in his introduction to the collection a less deterministic role for Adamastor, rather emphasizing the "protean permutations of the motif of Adamastor in [South African] literature" (18). Significantly, only three of the forty-nine poets Smith has anthologized are women, and of them, only one (Mary Boyd) makes a convincing reference to Adamastor. Either women are not drawn to the rapist / transgressor / imprisoned desire myth with the same predictability as male poets, or the selection merely insinuates that interpretation.

T'kama —our age's most highly visible reincarnation of Adamastor—is born in the late twentieth century as a hybrid figure, as is the fashion of the day, and is assembled out of three "traditions": the indigenous (the character occupies the subject position of a Khoikhoi chief), the mythological (a European 'avatar' arising out of Camões' Adamastor), and the literary/postmodern (a narrator/character who refuses to be firmly grounded in any single century and freely alludes to

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Rabelais, Camões, T.S. Eliot, and others). In his role as a triply-implicated narrator of the central drama of Brink's novella, Chief T'kama is smitten by and then abducts a sixteenth-century (sea-going) Portuguese woman, though he fails for most of the novella to consummate the desired "relationship" because his penis grows grotesquely huge and unruly when he attempts intercourse. At the end of the novella, when union is finally achieved, Brink soars into hyperbolic masculinity, and the "feminine" earth is cracked open by the force of T'kama's long held ejaculation: "one huge voice exulting to the sky: pure voice, all voice, nothing but voice, a scream that broke the mountains and split the earth" (*Cape* 120).[62] While this summary strips the novella of nuance, it helps us focus on some very specific tropes, tropes that seem to insist upon the deformation or erasure of the individually generative in order to animate a broader field: that of "nation."

Although the difficulties that arise from texts dependent on certain unwieldable representations of the Other have been well examined, beginning with Edward Said's *Orientalism,* Robert Young's *White Mythology,* Gaytri Spivak's "Can the Subaltern Speak?" and further worried by Homi Bhabha's foregrounding of hybridity and the bi-directional effects of colonial practices [63]—visual arts that dominate public spaces are in a position to produce an equally serious representational trespass. While both Brink's novella and Coetzee's painting might be termed postmodern—the novella moves between events and personalities that span four centuries and it employs a number of structural markers associated with the "postmodern" (most notably an unstable authorial voice and a densely allusional text), and the painting is a *tour de force* of visual hybridity—neither uses the postmodern license to vigorously reconstruct the foundational myths of South Africa.

Indeed, both the Brink novella and the Coetzee painting have as their central comic tropes an indigenous man's unruly, bestialized, and oversized penis, an attempt, perhaps, to parody white

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[62] Brink insists throughout the novella, and in interviews about the work, that he is describing a budding amorous relationship, though the conditions for what we might call "consensuality" are missing. Brink has phrased the initiatory circumstance as an abduction (to which the Portuguese woman eventually resigns herself), and the attempts at sexual contact can be read equally plausibly as forced sexual contact (attempted rapes). Mario Vargas Llohsa, in a 1993 *New York Times Book Review* essay on the novella refers to Brink's attempt "to reconstruct, from a native perspective, the historical and cultural trauma that the arrival of the "bearded Men from Europe signified" (1). Llohsa does not speculate, however, on the trauma to the sixteenth-century Portuguese woman who Brink has conjured into being, but instead finds her abduction, attempted rape, and forced marriage a "love affair" and—perhaps more improbably—finds the sexual ardor of the unsuccessfully bedded T'kama to have been inflamed by the noblewoman's "inability to understand nature and life" (1), an assertion that suggests that a woman's ignorance might be capable of producing a dramatic aphrodisiacal effect (a rather troubling prospect). Indeed, it is difficult to see how Brink, and many of the reviewers of his book (as well as the commentators on Coetzee's painting, for that matter), could so confidently maintain that the story in any way advances or derives from a "native perspective," since such perspective is imprisoned in the parodic figure of an over endowed (African) rapist, or attempting rapist, negotiating his "relationship" with a captured white woman whose incomprehension provokes, in addition to T'kama's immoderate desire, a series of tragic events for T'kama's entire tribe.

[63] See Chapter 3 of Robert Young's *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001) for an excellent summary of the question of the other in textual scholarship.

anxiety over black male sexuality.[64] While the size of Brink's black phallus grows daily until Chief T'kama must wrap it twice round his waist, Coetzee's front and center visual pun positions an ostrich neck and head so as to extend the loin-clothed genitals of the chief as he lounges next to a wide-spreading African thorn tree and a nearly naked redhead, a new world Adam and Eve in an expressly Biblical (though reordered by suggestive miscegenation) tableau. Although the casual viewer of the painting would have no way of knowing it, Coetzee's bird-extended phallus is derived from T'kama's pet name for his enormous and uncontrollable penis: "Big Bird."[65] Brink's parody of the fear of black male sexuality (a fear that reached a cultural crescendo—and an era of especially repressive legislation—in the mid-twentieth century) and Coetzee's late twentieth-century reconstruction of the contact zone, while sophisticated and ironic in the mode of the day, are nonetheless problematic, in part because of the indetermination of their positions as reproducers of stereotypes that they presumably seek to undo.

Nevertheless, Coetzee's painting and Brink's novella are useful introductions to sixteenth-century *ship*wreck survivor narratives and nineteenth-century women travelers' narratives, two subgenres of the contact era that this study examines for processes of transvaluation and emblems of the generative. But because both the painting and the novella have evidently set for themselves the tasks of challenging originary myths by parodying common colonial tropes, we are obliged to assess whether the works have successfully escaped the crude racism and rigid gender positionality that dominated nineteenth- and twentieth-century versions of the contact zone. It is important to ask if the recasting of what appears to be a fairly straightforward (attempted) rape narrative[66] into a form of hyper-glorified male desire questions masculinity, if indeed that was Brink's intent, in any useful way. What is furthered by the white artist or writer wielding the instrument of the black phallus, especially if, in the white man's hands, this phallus is deformed by gigantism and a menacing ungovernability? Is not speaking for, speaking out of, a black man's (deformed, bestial, or infantilized) sexual organs and potency a furtherance, rather than cancellation, of what might be

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[64] See Lucy Graham's essay, presented at the Southern African Texts and Contexts Seminar at Oxford University (April 2002), "'Bathing Area - for Whites Only': Reading Prohibitive Signs and 'Black Peril' in Lewis Nkosi's *Mating Birds*." Graham's paper contains an excerpt from Brink's critique of *Mating Birds* (1983). Brink complains that "Nkosi's problem is that he falls into" a typical trap by producing "the image of the black male whose awareness of the body obtrudes on every page (including even the assertion of one of the *crudest myths of sexist racism, the size of the black penis*)" (qtd in Graham 6) [my emphasis].

[65] Big Bird is also the most well-known puppet character from the longest running children's TV program, *Sesame Street*, originating in the United States but beamed worldwide for over twenty years, a further indication that Brink may be bent upon rendering the black man childish and his sexual organ a toy, puppet or animal.

[66] Adamastor tells Doris, the mother of the sea nymphs, that he "thought to take [Thetis] by main force of arms" (V 53) if the young nymph would deny him, and indeed eventually does force himself upon her, seemingly with the connivance of her mother. It is presumably only because Thetis is turned to stone, as is he, that the intent to rape is foiled. Of course, the radical transmutation (into stone and/or water) of both Thetis and Adamastor, at the moment of physical encounter, is the metaphor by which rape, or attempted rape, has been most typically rendered in Greek myth (such as in the case of Daphne), and anticipates the theories of "disassociation," or the splitting of being, by which contemporary trauma therapists explain psychological responses to extreme violence.

termed our own era's black-peril discourse?[67]

Birdheaded seafarers; exoticized and decontextualized animals; a nearly naked white woman (she is facing the continent, and her frontal privates are thus invisible to the viewer) are given their places in this elaborate commentary that intends, via irony, to establish the sophistication of the late twentieth-century's hybrids when measured against earlier pre-colonial or colonial tropes of race in Africa. By constructing a counter-narrative in the central section of the painting, which revels in a paradisiacal vision of Rousseau-like quietude, Coetzee has attempted to overturn the stereotypes that dominated earlier representations. To this end, he positions the animals, genders, and races in particular configurations: they are languishing in a cartoonish Eden, busy copulating (the turtles) or poised for romance (the central human figures, man and woman), and the hoop-earringed indigenous women are being subjected to a sexualized baptism. There is, in fact, a bit of a dark note at the sidelines. The white interlopers appear to be binding T'kama in preparation for his offstage murder (the death of T'kama is not visible in Coetzee's painting, but is the predictable conclusion of Brink's novella).

Coetzee seems to have located, through his emphasis in the central drama of "man" and "woman," the origin of his imagined "Africa" in sexual or reproductive freedoms, and thereby engages in a wishful nostalgia, a turning back to a past that never was, what Baudrillard would call an attraction to the *simulacra*. Coetzee composes a past radically reconstituted out of biblical, alchemical, and utopian stock characters, but with the heavy-handed symbolism and high contrast of a religious icon or a cartoon. He seems to be suggesting, somewhat simplistically, that if love had blossomed unrestricted between the races in the (heterosexual) myth of Edenic plenitude, the South Africa of the late twentieth century (projected forward from this other, manufactured origin) might have been born free of colonial and apartheid violence. Seen in this way, his painting is a critique of the miscegenation laws that formed part of twentieth century social policy.

Nevertheless, the painting remains uncritical of other "originary" or early colonial tropes. The sole white woman in Coetzee's coastal contact reconstruction is placed in the center of the three-section painting in a seductive pose that is consistent with the frictions typical of black peril

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[67] The South African press has emphasized what it terms shocking rape statistics for the first ten years of the postapartheid period, though the numbers (1 in 4 women, 1 in 6 women, 1 in 10 women raped) are not always easy to follow back to their documental source in hospital, police, judicial and social work records, and appear in some cases to be "estimates" or to be combinations of convicted rape, reported rape and "attempted rape" statistics. Despite the fact that many more black women, and girls, are now reporting rapes (and contributing to the widely reported statistical rise), the contemporary "peril" dynamics rehearse some of the early twentieth-century racial and gender stereotypes, and fix on the black man's penis as the locus of violent social discord and the "unprotected" white woman (and infant black child) as archetypical victims. However, it is important to note that according to Interpol statistics for 2001, the last year available, the South African murder rate per 100,000 citizens was 20.3 times that of the United States, while rape was 3.8 times as frequent in South Africa as it was in the United States (Interpol. International Crime Statistics, 2001)[NOTE: These and other international comparative statistics are no longer available online to those without professional law enforcement credentials]. While comparison with the United States, itself a violent society, does not tell the whole story, it still must be noted that women are as much as 7 times more likely to be murdered in South Africa as raped, and both forms of violence (rape and murder) are committed against black women to a much greater extent than white women.

narratives[68] wherein the unattainable irresistibility of the European woman foments a suicidal impertinence on the part of black men, and thus invites the very attentions that are tabooed. In the painting, the white woman functions as a commodity in a cross-cultural exchange among men—on the left side section, she is captured by the indigenous men, and on the right she is recaptured by the Portuguese and carried back to the ship. In this way, she echoes the plight of the nymph Thetis, who escapes the unwanted desires of the dark and glowering Adamastor only by being returned, in Canto V of Camões' *The Lusíads,* to another form of imprisonment: a symbolic role as "the sea." If, as Driver has pointed out, woman is a commodity in the economy of colonial texts and myths ("Women and Nature" 460), then Coetzee has literalized the arrangement of exchanges so that "woman" quite explicitly marks the site of what men must give up, or can take by force. In that process of exchange, woman "bridges the rift born of cultural and linguistic misunderstandings" and land contestations, while simultaneously functioning as a furthering of the rift—as a reason for cultural crisis. As Driver has characterized this particular economy of desire, woman is "the coin that establishes connection between different groups, sometimes spent, sometimes hoarded, sometimes stolen" ("Women and Nature" 461).

Coetzee has portrayed the indigenous women as susceptible to pawing and the white woman as abducted.[69] In some ways, this explanation follows the contours of episodes from founding Western texts that turn on "woman as sign" (the transgression of the biblical Eve, the inflammatory beauty of Helen of Troy, and the politically-saturated weeping of Cressida)—in a doubling of the signatory gesture. Neither Adamastor's ineffective defense of the southern African coastline (in *The Lusíads*) nor T'kama Adamastor's mostly unsuccessful and repeatedly disastrous attempts to "mate" with the European woman (in Brink's *COS*) seem likely, however, to provide reassurance or signify any sort of liberation for the twenty-first century neo-colonized. For in the end, Brink's indigenous man (T'kama) is restored to manhood only by first suffering the amputation of his penis by a crocodile. He then receives a clay prosthesis that is animated by the breath of the tribe's healer, in a rite that parodies "traditional" beliefs and stages a tableau of homoerotic intimacy between the indigenous healer and T'kama. It would take quite a leap of faith for the contemporary nonwhite South African to trust in the fully-manned outcome of this reconstructive narrative or to derive solace from it. Indeed, by the close of the novella T'kama is killed (a plot element suppressed in Coetzee's painting), though before he dies he consummates his

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[68] Although the term has been used during various periods in which a collective and hysterical fear of blacks in general, and black men in particular, has erupted, "black peril" discourses acquired their most pernicious force and were responsible for the most repressive legislation to segregate and suppress the black population of South Africa in the early and mid-twentieth century. The discourses of black peril locate cultural fears in interracial sexuality, specifically between the black man and the white woman.

[69] Contrary to Coetzee's diagram, the historical shipwreck accounts suggest that it was more likely for white women to be abandoned to the presumed (but offstage) molestation by indigenous men, and indigenous women to be abducted and held as slave, servant, or "forced-wife" in the early contact era. For instance, after the survivors of the *St. Benedict* (1554) shipwreck had reached their place of rescue and were awaiting favorable winds near Sofala, they attacked those who had sheltered them and captured five or six indigenous women (*RSEA* v1 283). As for abandonments, Dona Barbara and the nun Joanna do Espirito were twice deserted by survivors of the *Our Lady of Atalyia* and the *Sacramento (*1554), as will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two, and their susceptibility to the hostile or sexual attentions of indigenous men, though unnoted, is a possibility that lurks in the narrative.

long-standing desire and a child is conceived—the biracial child functioning as the symbol of hope, according to Brink (Graeber 23).

The two indigenous women pictured in Coetzee's painting are being subjected to an eroticized baptism—sunk to the waist in a pool of water and fondled by Portuguese seamen. While the male symbols of power (the penis of T'kama visually extended by the ostrich's neck and head, and the *padrão* being erected)—receive comic emphasis, the indigenous women's receive the opposite: their lower bodies are erased from the narrative, sunk in water. These figures echo two important sixteenth-century episodes: Thetis' transmutation in Camões' *The Lusiads* (1573), and Leonor de Sá's burial to the waist in the sand, reported in the narrative of the wreck of the *St. John* (1554) and a scene that is examined in more detail later in this chapter.

While many of the episodes depicted in the canvas are intentional warpings, inversions, and hybridizing of the mythical elements of southern African cultural history, some of the secondary tableaux, such as the erection of a *padrão*, or stone cross, in the left background, are illustrating events well documented by the historical record. (Dias set up a stone cross in 1488). However, even this compositional element furthers the conceit of the oversized phallus, the Europeans raising the cross in the background, reenacting the white male appropriation of the "right" to the symbol—to erecting it, as it were, and to planting it in the soil of Africa—perhaps an intentional irony, but an irony that manages to de-form what it "pokes" fun at: southern Africa. Indeed Coetzee's design has the peninsula of the land jut into the sea, a fitting site for the European's stone monument to be thrust into the land. We can only wonder what symbolism Coetzee might have come up with if he had been determined to attend to "woman's perspective" in this highly masculinized and overtly sexualized narrative of contact.

Aside from the problem of how historical narrative is intertwined with several strands of mythic, art historical and fictional narrative, and the difficulty of decoding the strands and isolating the degree of ironizing intent applicable to each strand, Coetzee has attempted to expand the handful of iconic figures available to visual artists for the depiction of scenes of national or cultural origin. His success in this regard is mixed. On the one hand, by recombining visual elements from other eras (and other places, more or less exclusively European), he has indeed come up with 'new' images with which to represent, dismember, and remember, a pre-colonial encounter in southern Africa. His new icons are for the most part hybrids, beings built of disparate parts. And his weirdly reconstituted figures are surely a comment on the difficulty, or impossibility, of "authentic" representation.

These dismembered (and re-membered) figures, then, do inaugurate an invigorated visual vocabulary. But Coetzee's new configurations must surely present themselves on many levels, and to much of their audience, as incomprehensible. The European art historical and travelogue allusions are rarefied; the close narrative links with a novella that is not well known would presumably puzzle any viewer without access to it. And without Vladislavíc's collected

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commentaries[70] most viewers would be adrift in unfamiliar, contradictory or crypto-pornographic images. Finally the ironical stance that often mimics racially-charged colonial tropes is not consistently invoked, thus it is difficult to apply the right kind of refusal that irony calls upon the viewer to make.

Since iconographic communication, or the success of iconographic communication, at least, rests on the deployment of a fairly restricted and stylized set of visual symbols, ones that are read more or less reliably by viewers (the Rhodes memorial cannot be mistaken as an embodiment of humility, for instance; a child could feel the intent to make heroic), it seems justifiable to question whether or not Coetzee's painting produces a coherent narrative for the casual viewer—the twenty-first-century Witwatersrand University student, for instance. Without extra-visual information, it is unlikely that viewers will register much more than the invitation to interracial intimacy that the two central figures suggest, while ignoring the story on both wings of the central tableau, episodes which undercut any sort of a liberatory reading.

Despite these shortcomings, Coetzee's painting enlarges the scope of contact imagery that might speak of the origins of "South Africa." The explorers and colonists departing for southern Africa or waiting off shore (the subjects of Amshewitz's and Gill's paintings) have finally touched land, with Coetzee's help. They have beached and made contact with the African continent. The sixteenth- or seventeenth-century indigene has finally arrived in the architecturally-reserved space of commissioned art and in so doing has crossed an important late twentieth-century frontier. At the borderline of representational and allegorical art, of contemporary university culture and postmodern fiction, at the intersection of political and social forces competing in the new South Africa, the ancient seafarers' mythic bodies have made contact with the mythic body of southern Africa. However, by examining the anxieties that are exposed in these two particular twentieth century "rewritings" of the contact era (Brink's and Coetzee's), we can read the transvaluations and deformations that are embedded in several eras of the historical record of contact more attentively.

If we have a number of reservations about Coetzee's composition, its literalization of women's roles in the pre- or early colonial encounter and its determination to mute "woman's desire" in the perspectives "liberated" in this cusp of century memorialization, and if we experience discomfort with the parodies that produce some not entirely successful visual puns

[70] *T'kama Adamastor: The Invention of Africa in a South African Painting (TAIASAP)* sells for R275, a generous subsidy given that the book contains hundreds of costly reproductions (the high quality color printing was done by a firm in Malaysia). The book is, in spring of 2004, still available new, although the print run was but 1000. A similar book accompanied the *Miscast* exhibit curated by Pippa Skotnes in 1996 but has already become a "rare book" on used book search engines and sells for more than its original price (R585). My point is not to provide an exhaustive publication and circulation history here, but merely to give an idea of the likely readership of these high quality, high production cost, low consumer cost, low print run "explanatory" texts. Into whose hands do these few books land? How many libraries have secured a copy? (Rhodes House library, a division of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, England has a copy. University of Transkei does not. University of Cape Town has a copy. The University of Fort Hare does not. The National English Literary Museum has a copy. The Bag Factory artists' cooperative in Johannesburg does not. The Camões Institute in Lisbon, Portugal, has a copy. The Port Elizabeth Tecknikon does not. Without the audience having access to or even knowledge of the two primary explanatory references (Brink's novella and Vladislavíc's *TAIASAP)* the painting risks hermeticism: it becomes, in fact, an elaborate in-joke.

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(most pertinent to the following discussion, the penis of the center figure of a Khoisan man, comically extended by the placement of an ostrich neck and head), we at least can say that the indigene and the white seaman have been, in 1999, finally brought into the same frame.

The Darkroom

The mythography of pre-colonial southern Africa put forward in Coetzee's painting occupies space, quite obviously, in a real world. The student body of the University of Witwatersrand, an historically white institution (HWI), was almost entirely of European descent in the 1930s, when the first paintings were hung. With the coming of democracy in the 1990s, the student body underwent radical change, and at the time Coetzee's painting was hung, was made up of somewhere around thirty percent nonwhite students, though resistance to racial classifications in some circles in contemporary South Africa makes even determinations of university enrollment by race to a certain extent problematic. It is important to note that the Cullen Library reading room, a space meant to serve the now racially- and culturally-mixed student body, is in many ways an inescapable enclosure. It is here, in the oppressive authority of these three curious paintings, that the Witwatersrand student must labor in her uncertain apprenticeship to late modernity and its fracturing and recombining disciplines.

If we want to see the final painting of the commemorative trilogy, this "history on white linen" as Herwitz calls it, as an attempt to maintain cultural dominance by a determination to cling to European iconography, it is instructive to look at one further example of the mechanisms and effects of iconographic coding in a university setting in contemporary South Africa—this one an *ad hoc* proclamation of dominion from an historically black institution, the University of Transkei (UNITRA).

In the late 1990s the university had on staff a photographer who was responsible for taking photographs of functions at the university. He was hardworking, helpful, and provided a barely visible "visual arts" presence in an educational environment completely lacking any formal arts curriculum. There were no art classes, no university sponsored art exhibits, no graphic arts programs, no acting or theater programs, no creative writing classes, reading series, or projects. No commissioned art works dominated the large public reading spaces of the new library (built in 1998) although it was constructed with several architectural features that might be termed generous, even extravagant. A private reading room was designed, built and furnished for Nelson Mandela (who had grown up in Qunu, a nearby village). And the library's streetside facade (whose shape recalls the prow of a boat) was designed to be sunk in an artificial pool. It is not clear if the architects were wishing to convey by this last feature that the library was already shipwrecked even before it was opened (and the students doomed to wander the scene of their own wreckage in conditions of extreme scarcity), or if they wished to suggest by the improbability of a large boat marooned so far up the Umtata River, that this endeavor, this ailing former homeland university, was itself poorly situated to float its community upwards and out of poverty.[71]

[71] Another improbable use of the form of a ship in hinterland architecture can be seen in the case of the far-inland Voortrekker Monument. It is certainly possible the architects of the UNITRA library produced this nautically-inspired facade in homage.

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From the campus darkroom, the photographer produced photographic prints for public relations: mostly new buildings, committees, and honorees. But his real talent, and his real interest, was in medical and forensic photography. According to him, he made these photographs for "teaching purposes."[72] The university included a medical school and is associated with a hospital from which, presumably, he located his subjects. However, the hundred or so images I saw, which were snapshot-sized, were a grisly parade with uncertain pedagogical application: the lower body of a woman who had been raped and murdered and whose mutilations rendered her anatomy unrecognizable; a big glistening liver clearly marked with striations from the impact of an automobile crash; poisoned children whose bodies had turned blueish and bloated; a skull with a large chunk of green glass embedded in it; punctured organs from failed operations; tubercular lungs; gunshot wounds. The medical examiner responsible for performing autopsies in the local hospital was familiar with the cases, and as he showed me the photographs, he narrated the events surrounding each case.

Black bodies, or parts of black bodies, were the subjects, though one could not be certain in the case of the organs. These images were more or less anonymous—the patient's, or corpse's, identity obscured by the photographer moving in close, so that the heads and faces were out of the frame, and the viewer's attention was directed to the specific injury or organ that was the subject of the photograph.[73]

On the wall of the room that enclosed the photographer's dark room, his office, actually, was a large photographic print, pinned to the bulletin board. This image was the only one on display of the hundreds or even thousands of images this photographer had evidently made. It showed the torso of a young man, who was being provided with a prosthetic penis after a botched

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[72] I asked him at the time if he had thought about exhibiting them, but it turns out that there was a potential problem: he could take unauthorized photographs "for educational purposes," but he could not use the unsuspecting dead, the fatally injured and the unaware anesthetized as photographic subjects in a documentary or art exhibit way, without explicit permission from the patient, if he or she was able, or the next of kin, in the case of a person in a coma, a child, or a corpse.

[73] In addition to educational purposes, for which these types of photographs are typically made, there is a body of work done in the United States that deals with "morgue portraits," generally thought of originating in the work of Weegee (whose crime scene photographs attained recognition as "art" in the 1960s). However, the legitimacy of these images is not secure. Indeed, one American man was recently sentenced to eight years in prison for exhibiting photographs of the dead, though in defense of the photographer, "[A] professor of fine art photography testified human corpses have been the subject of photos since the beginning of photography in 1839, most notably the civil war photos of Matthew Brady" (*Cincinnati City Beat* Oct 18-24 , 2001: 48). It is possible that these South African images were made or conceptualized in that way: as some variant of "art" photography—a perspective that raises troubling questions about the collaboration, or lack of, by the subjects. For a discussion of other forms of cultural appropriations, see *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, edited by Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

circumcision had so infected his body that his own penis had required amputation.[74]

The photograph was illustrating a surgical reconstruction.

Sewn-up incisions marked three sides of a square on the young man's abdomen—long incisions that presumably permitted surgeons to enter the abdominal cavity, locate the bladder, and attach the yellow tube that could be seen lying against the skin of his upper thigh. Flesh had not yet been wrapped around the tube, but it would be, the photographer assured me. Then he told me, smiling, that "No, it didn't work; it was just something to hold on to," as if he had heard a question about sexual function many times.

This display could hardly be termed an exhibition, nor could it really be called educational, as it was in a photography lab/office not a medical school lecture hall. Located in a space that could neither be termed private nor public, the photograph was commemorating a residue of what has been a long standing culture of appropriation and it functioned as a potent icon of privilege, in which the black phallus—presented as irremediably damaged by "primitive" indigenous custom (traditional circumcision)—was undergoing a reconstruction by way of "superior" western medical intervention. In addition to this materialization of two competing world views of health, social traditions, and efficacy, the photograph marked the site of a complex bitterness, a bitterness that might be characterized as a rearguard defiance on the part of those who are slowly yielding power and privilege. Indeed, the iconic image of a man being "given" a new penis by surgeons, after having lost his own, emphasizes what Paul Landau has called in an earlier era, "the lack of an individual status for the pictured colonial subject" ("Photography" 5).

This particular photographic print elicited strong reactions from those who saw it, reactions that ranged from the admiration of the transgressive risk of displaying the image as "art" to deep distaste, out of horror at castration made visible. According to Mandla Mlotshwa, an artist from Newcastle, South Africa, the image magnifies the "helplessness that black men feel in the hands of white versions of reconstructive narrative," or, said differently, magnifies the helplessness that nonwhite men feel in the shadow of contact, conquest, apartheid and post-apartheid narratives of power, perhaps even what Mbembe has called the "public account of ... subjectivity"(3) that the West feels compelled to make, and remake.

As well as pinning down (as specimen) the subject , the photographic print, as Landau has

[74] From a conversation with the photographer in November of 1999. The reception of the image might generate considerable questions, however. Was the amputation, in fact, necessary? Some viewers might have believed themselves to be encountering an instance of experimental cruelty, or an intensely sadistic bad joke. In Umtata, South Africa, there were a number of stories circulating in 1999 of medical misdeeds: a prominent white doctor playing "tricks" on his black patients. He would reputedly give injections of chilled B-12 (extremely painful) to black women coming to him after having been injured by abusive boyfriends or spouses—ostensibly so they would not bother him again with their petty complaints; purgatives were given out as pain medication to coworkers by his son, as a joke. While it is not my intent to cast doubt on the necessity of this particular surgical reconstruction, I wish to remind the reader that the context in which this image was "seen" is a context where the powerlessness of the medical subject can lead, and has led, to gross abuses of medical privilege. For this reason, the photograph of what appears to be a phallectomy in progress (or technically, the reconstruction after an offstage amputation has already been done), provokes many (perhaps unintended and deeply troubling) interpretations, including one of the photographer's most likely conscious "intents"— a critique of postpuberty and adult circumcision, which sometimes results in serious infections and even death.

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pointed out, can equally well be read as a way to capture the observer, as the "immobile perspective of the photograph cements the viewer in a single position" ("Photography" 7). Thus the photographer has fixed both the subject and the viewer in a rigid geometry, and any display or exhibition of a photographic print multiples this fixation many fold.

The existence of that photograph, on that wall, in that time, might be compared to the way European and European-descent hunters memorialize their often mutilated prey: by hanging a beasts' head or a rack on the wall of the living room, the foyer, or over the fireplace, or by displaying photographs of themselves, one foot raised atop a sprawled elephant, rhinoceros, lion or stag. Patriarchy thus asserts itself with trophies that signal the existence of an overpowering and even deadly force, and it does so by first establishing the iconic phrasing of mastery in informal settings.[75] The photograph under discussion, in a borderline space between public and private, and between art and science, exerts a *power-through-image* theatrics that can move, and often does move, towards a publicly articulated dominance (a dominance whose ultimate stage is large, public art commissions).

In other words, the mechanisms that permitted the photograph, and the display of the photograph, and the context in which it was displayed, amount to a micro-history, or a mini-narrative of usurpation: the body of the youth was no longer, entirely, his own.[76] This anesthetized body had been robbed of its generative identity and reconditioned in a diminished scale—the sexual organ had been reduced to an organ of excretion, a utilitarian appendage whose sole function was to *empty out*.

The suggestive and symbolic violence that adheres to this reconstructive privilege is one of the deformations that Coetzee's painting—and Brink's novella, from which it receives its central metaphors—contend with as they "playfully" reconstruct (or resurrect)two particularly troublesome Eurocentric tropes that are often present in contact, colonial, or apartheid-era narratives: the megapotent, unruly, or bestial black phallus (made impotent by the mutilations,

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[75] See James R. Ryan's "Hunting with the Camera," in *Picturing Empire Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997) and David Bunn's "Embodying Africa" (*English in Africa.* v15, 1988: 1). The assertion of mastery is not confined to European hunters, of course. A leopard face affixed to a ceremonial hat also confers status by the display of part of a mutilated animal. See Appendix 4.

[76] Though not a public event, this "exhibition" of the photographic record of a surgical reconstruction of a black youth's penis can be seen as part of a broad range of what might be called "appropriative" exhibits, of which the following is an abbreviated list: the 1996 *Miscast* exhibit (Khoisan skull and body casts, among other relics of the colonial period), curated by Pippa Skotnes in Cape Town, an exhibit that occasioned a debate about appropriative art and the prerogatives of representational privilege; the nineteenth-century exhibition of Saartjie Baartman in England and France, and the preservation of her remains in the Musée de l'Homme; the twentieth-century exhibition of a Mbuti man, Ota Benga, in Brooklyn, New York (in an an animal cage, supplied with straw); and the sale of postcards of nineteenth and twentieth century extra-judicial lynchings in the United States, one victim of which was first castrated. For the last see James Allen's *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (Santa Fe: Twin Palms, 2000).

dismemberings and reconstructions of colonialism)[77] and the stripped and vulnerable white woman, newly disembarked on the shores of southern Africa.

The Consolation of Topography

The Portuguese noblewoman Leonor de Sá was shipwrecked in 1552 on the coast of Natal when the galleon *St. John* ran aground somewhere near the Mtamvuna River mouth. Homeward bound from Cochin, India, it became disabled in a storm and over a hundred of the 600 slaves, servants, passengers and crew on board were drowned or fatally injured. And while the final tally of lost life was a great tragedy (only 25 survivors actually made it to Lourenço Marques), the loss of property was sorely regretted as well, for the *St. John* was the most "richly laden" vessel that had left India since sea-trade with Europe had begun (*RSEA* v1 134). While its primary cargo was pepper (a cargo of 4500 quintas was loaded though the ship could have held 12,000), it was also carrying boxes of merchandise such as cambric fabric, and 300-320 slaves, presumably from Malaysia or India, as there is no evidence that the galleon stopped in East Africa, nor is it likely that the ship would have picked up slaves in West Africa on its outward bound journey and carried them to Cochin and then back around the Cape to Lisbon.

However, it may well have been the presence of a vulnerable white woman on the shores of southern Africa that may well have fueled many subsequent retellings of this shipwreck.[78] Dona Leonor's story is a particularly interesting case because she was the first European woman on record to travel along the coast of southern Africa for a relatively long period of time (she lived for for five months after the shipwreck). Emblematic of the brief and tragic Portuguese shipwreck era,[79] the narrative of the shipwreck of the *St. John*, and especially Leonor de Sá's final desperate self-burial in the sand, forms one of the most richly detailed and widely disseminated accounts of the "first" Europeans in

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[77] See Major Raven-Hart's *Before Van Riebeeck: Callers at South Africa 1488 to 1652* (*BVR*)(1967) for excerpts of early travelers' reports that indicated the Khoisan amputated one testicle at birth, as a cultural practice. Raven-Hart has indexed eleven entries for "Testicles," which refers the reader to reports of castration, including this bizarre allegation made by from Jean-Baptiste Tavernier in 1649: "As soon as a male child is born the mother cuts away his right testicle and gives him sea-water to drink and tobacco to chew" (179). Under "Hottentot-penis covers" Raven-Hart supplies twenty-nine references. Interest in the genitals of subject people, as the symbols of the generation of their line, is a recurrent feature of contact literature. Marking the genitals as "different" in some sort of fundamental way evidently bolstered any articulation of systemic racial or ethnic superiority. This subject will be taken up in again in my examination of nineteenth and twentieth-century botanical art and specimen display in Chapter Five.

[78] See Appendix 5 for an annotated, alphabetical list of shipwreck survivor narratives, along with the dates and locations of the shipwrecks, voyage details, the number of survivors, the duration of the marches to a place of rescue, the author of the accounts, as well as references in various shipwreck anthologies and histories of southern Africa and the Indies. See Appendix 6 for a short historical list.

[79] The shipwrecks, or *naufragios*, from which these detailed accounts survive are geographically distributed along the South Natal coast, the Eastern Cape coast, and the Cape of Good Hope, a 400-mile stretch of the South African coastline.

southern Africa.[80] I will sketch the events surrounding her death briefly, as they were recorded in the "Account of the Great Galleon of the Wreck of the *Saint John* on the Land of Natal in the Year 1552," the English translation of which can be found in Volume 1 of Theal's *RSEA*.

Dona Leonor's emblematic "contact" with the physical ground of Africa was a deferred contact. For three or four weeks she was carried in a hammock of rugs or Oriental cloths (*RSEA* v1 136). Swinging in this improvised litter, suspended between the shoulders of four slaves, she may have experienced something akin to the the rhythms of the sea. However, this kinetic fiction was only made possible by the extraordinary efforts of the slave "porters." That is, Dona Leonor's "contact" with Africa, as the first European woman landing in southern Africa about whom we have record, was—in actual physical terms—a non-contact. This deferral of "landing" or "grounding" will turn out to be significant to my analysis of nineteenth and twentieth century texts by women about southern Africa, examined later in this study.

Although the representation of this first encounter with Africa shows her held above, out of reach of, the continent, her death tells a dramatically different story. As food became scarce, and as the injured or ill were abandoned along the way, claims to status delaminated: the slaves refused to obey any order and at times decreed themselves freed; splinter groups of survivors set off on their own; disagreements arose over barter practices and direction of travel. As part of this disintegration of the hierarchies of value, the improvised litter in which Leonor was carried was finally abandoned—and the privileges of her rank discarded with it. It was at this point, several weeks into the trek, that Leonor finally made contact with the land, became grounded on African soil. She began to travel by foot, and it is at this point that she is first explicitly extracted from her gender, as she is described as moving through the African landscape "as if she were a man" (*RSEA* v1 142). In the anonymous narrator's mind, then, her becoming "man-like" had coincided with her abandoning the privileges of class and gender, and with her having finally made physical contact with the land. In this new identity she comforted others, undertook physically arduous tasks, such as carrying her two children, and—more remarkable, perhaps, for the time period—took a vocal role in administrative debates about how to proceed.

Many factors contributed to the failure of this particular survivor effort: disorganization,

[80] The British Library holds a number of pamphlets or tracts which reproduce the story of the wreck of the *St. John*. See BL 1444 f 18, the first edition, published in 1554 and bound with other *relaçãos*; BL c.32e34, a version from 1564; BL 10095 b.37, a pamphlet printed with license from Antonio Alvarez by Frey Bertholameu Ferreyra, with *Prologo* in 1592; and the 1627 (1633?) edition, also printed by Antonio Alvarez. The British Library versions of this story were the basis for transcription and translation presented in *Records of South Eastern Africa* (*RSEA*). Theal asserts that the earlier originals from which he transcribed the "Account" in *RSEA* were published soon after the event and "under the authority" of the Portuguese government, and so he feels they are the most reliable. (See head note in *RSEA* v1 108). There are also a number of editions of Bernardo Gomes de Brito's compilation of Portuguese shipwrecks, the *Historia trágico-marítima* (*HTM*), of which the most well-known account is the wreck of the *St. John*. Josiah Blackmore has done a new translation of the wreck of the *St. John* in a new edition of *The Tragic History of the Sea* (2003). Manuel de Faria e Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (1666-1674) contains a retelling of the story (Tome II, Part II, Chapter IX (*RSEA* v1 18-19). The account has even been recently translated into Japanese by Kioko Kioso (with Hiroshi Hino) in *Boletin of Universade Ryotsu-Koisai* 32:2 Nov (1998): 39-70. Finally, Kioso's list of editions and creative works derived from the account includes the improbable: a comedy in three acts, Carlos Nunes' *Adamastor ou O nafrágio de Sepúlveda comédia em trees atos e um prólogo* (1972) (143).

lack of prior accounts which might have given them some idea of the nature of the hardships they were to face, harassment by indigenous Africans, brutality towards indigenous Africans, starvation, illness and injuries hampered the progress of the band, eventually bringing her husband—the head-injured or malaria-demented Captain Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda[81] —and the more hardy Leonor to their death. The final indignity arose out of a series of betrayals that resulted in the indigenous hosts' stripping of Leonor and her husband, along with the rest of their splinter group of shipwreck survivors. The passage commences with an ambiguous attribution:

> It is said (*Aqui dizem*) that Dona Leonor would not allow herself to be stripped, but defended herself with blows and struggles, as she preferred that the Kaffirs should kill her rather than to find herself naked before the people, and there is no doubt but that her life would then have ended, had Manuel de Sousa not begged her to let herself be stripped, reminding her that all are born naked, and since this was the will of God she should submit. One of the sorrows which she felt the most was to see two little children, her sons, crying before her and asking for food, without being able to succour them. Dona Leonor, seeing herself stripped, *cast herself upon the ground and covered herself with her hair*, which was very long, while *she made a pit in the sand in which she buried herself to the waist, and never rose from that spot*. Manuel de Sousa then went to an old woman, her nurse, who had still an old torn mantilla, and asked her for it to cover Dona Leonor, and she gave it to him; but in spite of all she would not rise from the spot where she threw herself down when she found herself naked. . . . The men who were still in her company, when they saw Manuel de Sousa and his wife thus stripped, withdrew a little, ashamed to see their captain and Dona Leonor in such a state. Then she said to André Vas, the pilot: "You see to what we are reduced and that we can go no farther, but must perish here for our sins. . . [I]f you should reach India or Portugal at any time, say how (*dizey como*) you left Manuel de Sousa and me with my children" (*RSEA* v1 146) [my emphasis]. [82]

[81] The captain suffered "in his brain from constant watching and many hardships .... [H]e was not in his right mind," and he "complained greatly of his head, and they tied bandages around it .... He was very ill and not in his perfect senses" (RSEA v1 141-143).

[82] What follows is the 1554 Portuguese text with orthographic differences from the 1564 edition in brackets. "Aqui dizem [dizé] que Dona Lianor nam [não] se deyxava [deixava] despir, & que as punhadas & as bosetadas se defendia... Hum [Hú] dos grandes trablahos que sentam hera [q ambos tinha] verem dous meninos pequenos [muito criacas] seus filhos diante [diate] de si chorando [], pedindo de comer [], fem lhe poderem valer. E vendose dona Lianor despida, lançovse [laçovse] logo no chao, & cubriose [cobriose] toda xom [có] os seus cabellos, que herao [erá] muito compridos [cópridos], fazendo húa cova na area, onde se meteo ate a cintura [cinta], sem se mais erger dalli [´qrer dali erguer].... Os homens, que estava ainda em sua companhia [copanhia], quando viraó [qndovirá] a Manuel de Sousa, & sua molher despidos, arredarase delles hum [hu] pedaço, pella [polla] vergonha que ouveram [ouverá] de ver asileu [asi o] seu Capitam & dona Lianor. Entem dise ella a André Vaz o Piloto. Bem [Be] vedes como estamos, & que ja nam [nã] podemos pasar daqui: & que aqui avemos de acabar... & se sordes a India, & a Portugal em album tempo, dizey como nos deixastes a Manuel de Sousa & a mi co meus filhos (unpaginated *relaçaoe* BL 1444 f 18).

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This staging suggests a willful repudiation of the maternal and a sacrifice of female generative identity or potential. We might understand this rudimentary, earthly shielding in one way as the body refusing what was considered a fundamental role for early modern women, the maternal role. However, by incapacitating herself in this way, Leonor's body *stakes dominion* even as it *empties itself of,* or refuses part of, its identity. Her sons—still alive at the time of her self-burial—are in effect abandoned by her immobilizing gesture, as she herself was abandoned by other, more fit, survivors. While her living, physical contact with southern Africa was deferred for many weeks—because she was carried by slaves—her dying body is *self*-embedded in the land. Even though this emblem of possession is revoked, as I will show shortly, by subsequent retellings, it remains a striking "first" image of European women in southern Africa.

Because the account of the wreck of the *St. John* was anonymously authored, the possibility exists that the textual authority of a Portuguese man is responsible for some or all of the curious details above, and surely for the syntactic and rhetorical arrangement. This being the case, these narrative details might be seen as early imperial masculinity's pressing need to stage the sacrifice of the (female) generative body. In this way the death or abandonment of European females on African soil, no doubt deeply troubling to a culture which typically kept women in such close confines, could be accounted for, and the elaborate choreography of extreme modesty might be understood as a compensatory ritual, overwriting the representation of (hyper-vulnerable) women in Africa.

Nonetheless, it is important to remember that these symbolic interpretations (repudiation, penetration, dominion) hinge on a very brief episode. Leonor was to die within a day, and her children within a few hours, so her renunciation of the maternal and the preservation of her inviolate being was quite probably not of any actual consequence. However, had she sought for food in the bush, as did her also naked and presumably shamed-by-nakedness husband, she might have survived, as might have her children. Equally plausibly, had she trekked on with the other survivors (who had also been stripped), she might have made it to the bay of Lourenço Marques, which would turn out to be but a one- or two-day march. And the "dominion" I have asserted for Leonor is far from any actual scene of an "originary" usurpation—as a political entity, the Portuguese made no durable land claims in what is now South Africa. It remains of interest, however, to examine the insistence of the body to speak itself in its last hours, embedded in the contact zone. For while Leonor's self-burial overwhelms what we might call "maternal" duties, it also extends the domain of her body—which is positioned to inscribe itself indelibly on the discourses of gender, landscape, and the metaphorics of southern Africa. Her gesture thus offers an alternative diagram of how dominion and heroic sacrifice are asserted in myths of origin concerning southern Africa—a dominion and a sacrifice that specifically concern the white woman in Africa.

Leonor's attempt to control the iconic terms of her story is remarkable. Whether the arrangement of visual cues in the passage above is entirely attributable to the author of the account or whether we accept that Leonor is speaking "through" the author, the reader's gaze is split. Leonor is positioned in the beginning of this passage as a woman "seeing" herself, a woman who is "seen" through other's eyes. Leonor has appropriated (or is described as appropriating) the

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perspective of those Portuguese, slaves and indigenous beings in whose presence she has been stripped, in order to "see" herself from their imagined (and horrified) perspective. That is, she first asks us to imagine the very image that is forbidden: the unclothed noblewoman.

After her self-burial, she commands that what is still visible (her body cut in half and made "decent" by the enshrouding sand) should then be "re-seen," and finally that the news of both her shame *and* her noble self-sacrifice be carried back to Portugal. Of course, what she is seeing, in the first case, is her own actual, shamed, and famished nudity, while what she wants to be seen at the end is artifice—a self recomposed as a divided self. Transformed into a landlocked mermaid, her body half-enfolded in the sand, and her (pure, European) children dropped from the narrative, the noblewoman becomes a death object that is revitalized, in its moment of death, as an active penetration. If this half body suggests a flag of conquest, planted in the sand, or a shaft, sunk for a mine, from which the riches of Africa might be extracted, or even a burial as avatar, then it can be read as an image of virility by which the topography is mastered, even by a woman, and even in death.

If we look back to Coetzee's painting (Appendix 3), we see that two indigenous women who are in water up to the waist are made to assume a similar position, with a similar result: an erasure of their procreative narrative. The attempted "Christianization" of indigenous women depicted in the left hand side, an encounter I have elsewhere called an eroticized baptism, makes visible the generative sacrifice that the collision of indigenous peoples with eventual European dominance appears to demand. However, Coetzee has racially reversed this diagram: the gesture is wrested from Leonor and applied to indigenous women, who are then in an iconic position to produce the sign of "sexlessness." And it is the European woman, in Coetzee's painting, who produces the figure of fruitfulness and reproductive plenitude

Coetzee's racial reversal of these diagrams of sterility and fruitfulness reinforces the belief, common in the twentieth century, that the promise of cultural redemption issues from regulations (or deregulations) of reproductive practices or notions of reproductive plenitude. This reversal of roles for indigenous and European women also can be seen in an engraving by Pastor that accompanies a late nineteenth-century edition of the *Historia trágico-marítima*. In this image Manuel is transmutated into virile savior, Leonor is rendered limp and enfeebled, and a black female slave takes Leonor's "place" in the half-sized grave. See Appendix 7-c, for a reproduction of this image from an abridged version of the *HTM* (1896), edited by Hygino Mendonça.

If the wreck of the *St. John* and the demise of Leonor are episodes in one of the most famous disaster narratives of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, then this is not merely a matter of the "heroic" Portuguese battling the "dark continent." That a high status white woman had been in the party of the shipwrecked and that she had been stripped—and possibly abandoned by the more fit seamen in a splitting up of the two factions of wanderers—was quite likely one of the most important narrative elements, fueling the wide distribution and popularity of this tale in

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Europe,[83] a prototype of later black peril discourse.[84]

The profound anxiety surrounding white women shipwrecked on the coasts of Africa (and elsewhere—South America, Australia, North America, the Caribbean—and the related genre of North American captivity narratives[85]) is a deep current feeding the West's formulation of the indigene during the early expansion age, for it is the indigenous culture in which the stranded white woman, or female child, may live. It is, at least in part, because the European reader wanted fully to imagine the actual plight of the shipwrecked woman's treatment in an alien culture, her ravishment or succour, that a powerful "ethnographic" curiosity developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, giving impetus to the publication and circulation of early southern African travel narratives.

In fact, Ian Glenn proposes that a later shipwreck on the Pondoland coast, the wreck of the *Grosvenor* (1782), was the "beginning of South African literature," because it provided the occasion for a number of search parties into the hinterland, which in turn gave rise to a number of published accounts that sifted the evidence for one overriding concern: whether or not there were still unrescued white women in the interior, in danger of becoming sexual prey to the indigene (Glenn 1-3). One version of the wreck and an account of the journey in search of survivors of the wreck, edited by George Carter, was published in Scotland in the same volume with François Le Vaillant's *Travels into the Interior* (Glenn 1), a recognition of how two preoccupations of the European reader were intertwined: speculation on the future life of this shipwrecked white woman or women, and more general understanding of the host (indigenous) culture in the African hinterlands. In fact, the data contained in travelers' reports suggested (indirectly and almost certainly incorrectly) the "terms of ravishment" that a white woman alone in Africa might experience, a preoccupation that had the markings of a kind of voyeuristic engagement—both

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[83] See Duffy's *SE* (37, 142) and Blackmore's *Manifest Perdition: Shipwreck Narrative and the Disruption of Empire* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2002, 57) for a discussion of the notoriety of this shipwreck account. The early Portuguese shipwreck narratives, along with other sensationalist literature, were printed in *relaçãoes*, a kind of pamphlet, and then often hung by a string in shops and other public places to be read. These broadsheets or pamphlets became known as *literatura de cordel* (string literature). While popular in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries, their reappearance in bound collections in the eighteenth century marks a more widely disseminated later phase (Blackmore xiii, xxiii, 57).

[84] In *Batavia's Graveyard* Mike Dash shows how an indignity meted out to the noblewoman Lucretia Jansdochter (her genitals, face, and legs were smeared with a mixture of dung and tar) was the originary crime in a series of mutinous acts taken by a group of seamen and officers on the Batavia in 1629 (99). In this case it was not the threat from black men that was of concern to the chroniclers, but the peril of internal elements, lower class Europeans, who would use gender violations to provoke mutiny or accelerate their mutinous designs on the fabulous riches on board. In the case of the bounty that was expected by the mutineers of the *Batavia*, up to nineteen million dollars worth of coin and jewels were on board, and these were intended to buy spices and to cement the relations between local Indonesian traders and the Dutch East-India Company (VOC).

[85] See the Introduction to Kathryn Derounian-Stodola's *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives* (London: Penguin, 1998).

horrifying to imagine and titillating to readers.[86] Depending on the nature of these reports (Le LeVaillant champions the "noble savage") the travel or ethnographically-oriented texts might mollify or inflame these European anxieties, by presenting a gentle, dignified race of default "rescuers" or a grotesquely savage band of monsters, intent on rape.

If, as Glenn proposes, a national literature of South Africa issues from shipwreck narratives, a subset of the general contact narrative, and if national identity issues from a sense of a nation's literature, as Kwame Appiah suggests (53-59), then we must scrutinize with some care the mechanisms by which the textual and visual literature of contact are remade. In cases where the generative body is distorted or erased in order to expand or consolidate a sense of national or cultural identity, treatments that reproduce the old tropes ironically continue to suggest, among other deformations, that the individual body is justifiably rendered sterile, castrated or halved, in order to elevate the mythic assemblage that has come to be known as "nation."

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[86] In 1866 Charlotte Barter, the devout spinster sister of a Natal trader, published a small, purple book, sized to the female hand. It was reprinted six times (Parle 485), although the title—*Alone Among the Zulus* strikes one as a bit of an oxymoron and its pseudonym (*by a Plain Woman*) seems ingenious. The book's description of a woman's "escape" to unregulated spaces amongst unknown people surely fueled its readers' speculations about possible transgressions, and indeed this convention of titling travel narratives seems to have been relatively widespread. Women travelers wrote *Alone in West Africa, Alone through Syria, Alone in Africa*, presumably as part of a campaign to assert the inviolability of British women overseas or a marketing ploy designed to draw in the reader hungry for salacious details; the only "Alone" title published in the twentieth century narrates events beginning in 1876: *I ... Alone: The Story of an Englishwoman's Sixty Adventurous Years in South Africa.* Amongst male travelers "Alone" titles were also common: *Alone through the Forbidden Land. Alone in the Arctic Wilderness. Alone among the Brigands. Alone in Sleeping Sickness Country.* But these signaled a heroic venture (the objectives were forbidden, wild, full of danger and held the threat of disease) and as such promised the valiant overcoming of various physical obstacles, rather than suggesting unobserved contact with a geographic area or a group of people.

CHAPTER 2

Portuguese Shipwreck Survivor Narratives

> *The disaster ruins everything, all the while leaving everything intact. It does not touch anyone in particular, "I" am not threatened by it, but spared, left aside.*[87]
>
> Maurice Blanchot

> *how long do we mean to last here?*
> *we who have been wrecked against this lush continent*[88]
>
> Antjie Krog

This chapter will examine shipwreck accounts from the long sixteenth century for episodes and emblems relevant to understanding gender in South Africa's narratives of origins. Because the shipwreck is, from the European perspective, a disruptive disaster, and from the southern African perspective, an inaugural tragedy, it produces a particularly double-faced set of cultural markers.

This chapter will establish Dona Leonor and Manuel de Sousa as potentially emblematic figures in South African literary history and examine their first reappearance in Canto V of Luís de Camões' *The Lusiads* (published in 1573)—an instance of two historical characters being dragooned into a scheme of mythological prophecy. Although the drama of Adamastor's foiled desire for Thetis (and their tragic immobilizations) and the actual deaths of the shipwrecked Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda and Leonor de Sá are in some ways narrative parallels and twin emblems of the loss, or potential loss, of reproductive agency and regulation, it is Adamastor's amorous disconsolability which has heretofore eclipsed any of the other important emblems of South African literary and historical origins arising out of, or concerned with, the contact zone.

Secondly, this chapter will examine more fully the dispossessive maneuvers that have been applied to the figure of Dona Leonor in subsequent rewritings (and rediagrammings) of her death scene. Her story, and her evident refusal to be made a symbol of maternal heroism or to serve a narrative of reproductive plenitude, will be examined in light of many Iberian historians' emphasis on the male Portuguese's readiness to intermarry with indigenous women in the exploration era and early colonial period. Because the possessive prerogatives of white women in Africa gave rise to a particular set of anxieties, the representation of one woman's trek through the coastal areas and death scene are a useful anchor to my analysis of European women travelers to southern Africa (such as are examined in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of the present work).

[87] *The Writing of the Disaster* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska press, 1986), 1.
[88] *Down to my Last Skin: Poems* (Johannesburg: Random House, 2000), 83.

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Finally, the radical transvaluations that occur in the shipwreck accounts (including the transvaluations that concern gender) will complete my analysis. Despite the presumed importance of the tales of shipwreck in general (and the story of Leonor de Sá in particular), the shipwreck narratives of the long sixteenth century have been almost entirely whited out of southern African literary history and originary myths. This chapter, then, will attempt to account for the sinking of the narratively rich vein of Portuguese shipwreck lore in southern African literary history and commemorative discourses.

Adamastor, an Emblem of Mis-Sized Yearnings

At the heart, or the center, of Luís de Camões' *The Lusíads* (1572-73), is Adamastor, a gigantic form rising out of the clouds over what is now known as Table Mountain[89] to give an account of his unhappy fate in being turned to stone. A figure employed in the service of the overall ambition of Camões' epic poem to celebrate the mercantile empire of Portugal in the sixteenth century, Adamastor is a significant emblem of the difficulties (and compensations[90]) of the early years of trade. Adamastor appears to the Portuguese seamen who were rounding the Cape as a minor deity of major size, sunk in self-pity and thundering out his misfortunes. But like dwellers in Dante's hell, Adamastor's inconsolable misery functions as an embodied warning of the dangers lurking ahead, in this case, the dangers of the overreaching territorial and trade ambitions of the early modern Portuguese state. Camões uses the looming giant rhetorically as the mouthpiece for a cautionary tale. The shapeshifting quality, the double form of both cloud and stone, underscored his extraordinary powers. But it was of his prophetic warnings that the passing Portuguese took heed, as he predicted for them a fate worse than death, a complex set of penalties that would surely plague them if they persisted in the project of risky global expansion. He told them that

> . . . many a shipwreck, and immense
> Variety of ruin shall befall [them],

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[89] Pocock's famous engraving "The Secret of the Cape" which appears as the frontispiece of James Clarke's *The Progress of Maritime Discovery* (1803), is drawn from the image Camões paints of Adamastor in Canto V— a spectral figure, both cloud and cliff.

[90] In Canto IX and X of *The Lusiads,* Camões introduces the Isle of Love, a reward promised Vasco Da Gama's seamen, wherein nymphs fall onto the ground in provocative postures, feigning vulnerability in order to inflame the sexual ardor of the Portuguese sailors. The entire episode is presented as an elaborate compensatory rape fantasy meant to bolster the spirits of the suffering seamen in order that they might better serve the greater fantasy of global trade domination. Gray calls the scene a "consolatory copulation," in that Vasco da Gama and his men avail themselves of what Adamastor was denied (*Southern* 25), though I would rather think that the consolation was in exchange for the very real privations and suffering (and often death) of shipboard life in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, and more or less unconnected to Adamastor's denial of union with Thetis.

Till death itself shall be least ill of all. (V 44) [91]

This sentiment was echoed (or perhaps originated) in the three or four shipwreck narratives that had been circulating in Portugal twenty years prior to the publication of *The Lusiads*. In these actual accounts, the survivors often wished they had perished when the mast was first broken, or when the ship had first run aground on rocks, not after weeks and months of the horrors of starvation, assault, thirst and exposure—afflictions which resulted, oftentimes, in the arguably far worse spectacle of seeing themselves and their shipmates turned into what they themselves called subhuman creatures.

To understand the dynamics of Adamastor's imposition of the penalties of unmeasured gale, interminable warfare, and the extended misery of shipwreck survivalism is to understand desire as a broader term than has been typically ascribed to the Adamastor story. I maintain that these penalties were imposed, in Camões' tale, not only to personify the menacing visage (and weather) of the southern African coastline nor to codify a prohibition against desire across the race line—the two more common interpretations put forward in South Africa[92]— but so that the sailors and intellectual authors of the *carreira da India* might recognize that the Portuguese expansionist policy itself was capable of producing a misery greater than any potential rewards.

That is, the real monster was excessive national ambition.

Seen this way, Adamastor might be understood as a conservative cultural figure, one that Camões has summoned in order to provoke doubt about Portuguese expansionism and triumphalism. This shadow of a doubt would have been difficult to articulate directly in *The Lusíads*; its very publication was dependent upon its praise of the resolute Portuguese character,

[91] I am using Leonard Bacon's 1950 translation for all quotations from *The Lusíads*. English translations were done by Fanshaw(e) (1600), Mickle (1779), Burton (1880), Duff (1880), Aubertin (1884), Atkinson (1884), Bacon (1950), Butler (Canto V only) (1987) and White (1997). The verse epic was first published in 1572-1573, the text and its author having survived a shipwreck somewhere near the Mekong Delta in present day Cambodia, and having survived, as well, any presumed objections by the Inquisitors, since the supernatural events (such as the appearance of Adamastor) could have been seen as a challenge to Christian orthodoxy and the one-God world of sixteenth-century Europe. See Josiah Blackmore's excellent analysis of the Inquisitors' report and the inquisitional conclusion that, in *The Lusíads*, the gods were merely ornamental (*Manifest* xx). See also Henry Hart's *Luís de Camoens and the Epic of the Lusíads* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), which includes the story of how the publishing of *The Lusíads* came about and presents a translated version of the Holy and Universal Inquisition stamp of approval. Hart maintains that by the insertion of thirteen stanzas praising the King in "obsequious terms," Camões secured the support of the King of Portugal and it was from this royal pressure that permission to publish was granted by the Inquisitor, even though the work was full of references to classical myth, and the gods intervene in decidedly unchristian ways (190-191).

[92] In South Africa, there are a number of interpretations of Camões' Adamastor. One important analysis appears in Stephen Gray's *Southern African Literature: an Introduction* (1979). The introduction to *Shades of Adamastor* by Malvern van Wyk Smith (1988) argues for the importance, even centrality, of the Adamastor story to southern African literature. See also Chapter 9, "The Adamastor Story" by George Monteiro in *The Presence of Camões: Influences on the Literature of England, America and Southern Africa* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 1996), 120-131. Jonathon Crewe's "Recalling Adamastor: Literature as Cultural Memory in 'White' South Africa" maintains that Smith's earlier 1988 treatment "exhaustively documents" the figure of Adamastor, but then Crewe goes on to call Adamastor a "preemptively fallen idol and thus a type of Satan" (80), a claim that is not entirely persuasive.

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the wisdom of Portuguese kings, and the maritime successes of the Portuguese fleet.

Adamastor's unconsummatable desire for a bathing nymph (he was a giant; Thetis, the nymph or nyaad, was mortal-sized) was the transgression that had caused his imprisonment in stone, but it was because of his *mis-sized* yearnings that he was punished, not because of his racially inappropriate choice. Adamastor confronts the Portuguese seamen with his own horrifying immobilization, I argue, in order that they might recognize the likely consequences of their immoderately-sized desire for the Indies. According to Camões, speaking through Adamastor, *grotesque disproportion* was at the root of the strategic error of Portuguese national ambitions.[93] At the time of Camões' writing, Portugal was a tiny nation of less than a million, whose prize (the riches of the gigantic Indies) was misprized, in his apparent view. Indeed, many pioneer Iberian historians, such as Manuel Faria e Sousa, João de Barros, Diogo do Couto, and Gaspar Correa indicated that Portugal *was* sacrificing quite a lot, arguably too much, to sustain the expansionist policy begun during the reign of Henry the Navigator (1415-1460), and their criticisms of shipping practices; economic and political corruption; and the overreaching of Portuguese global ambitions are well documented in James Duffy's *Shipwreck & Empire* (*SE*) and C. R. Boxer's *Portuguese Seaborne Empire (PSE)*. And while the nation-state was suffering the generalized effects of over-ambitiousness, the common seamen bore the physical brunt of the greed and corruption that propelled expansion-era trade: brutalized at sea, ill-fed, ill-paid, and sometimes even starved into insensibility (Duffy *SE* 73-75), the seamen were rarely there of their own accord.[94] The fears of those unwilling to ship out were well founded: many thousands did not make it safely back to Portugal: they either died in India or en route—long, drawn-out deaths from disease, injuries sustained in warfare, and shipwreck. Finally, the royal coffers were being seriously depleted by the financial demands of the *carreira da India*. All of these sacrifices were made in order to attempt an impossibly grandiose dominion: the conquering of the coastal regions of an enormous subcontinent and the overthrow of a maritime commerce long controlled by Arab traders, through complex trading-rights schemes that had been worked out over many centuries, according to C.R. Boxer in *PSE*.

The prophetic penalties outlined in Canto V of *The Lusiads* undercut the triumphalism associated with Portuguese national identity at that time. The nature of these afflictions, and their source in Adamastor's immobility, suggest that Camões is focused on economic, strategic and geographic realities, not sexual or racial ones. However, in this diagram of desires (or more properly, ambitions) the Cape of Good Hope is positioned as the pivot point at which a new consciousness of (Portuguese) national error might be born. Camões seems to be suggesting that if the consuming greed of the early modern expansion age is seen through the more familiar trope (to the sixteenth-century European) of the lust that fires gods' illicit yearnings, then the very real dangers of the *carreira da India*, as national policy, might be more readily recognized, and the subsequent national disaster perhaps even averted.

[93] Indeed a recognition of this fundamental problem of mismatched size has been translated into a disproportion of sexual organs in Brink's novella, *COS*, but the underlying critique of nationalism and cultural triumphalism is lacking.

[94] In the 1620s, for instance, outbound ships were staffed with men who were imprisoned in irons until the ship was at sea. See Boxer's *PSE*: 10-11.

It is specifically the southern African shipwreck (and its attendant miseries) that functions as the most powerful tool of leverage employed by Camões to dislodge or decenter the expansionist ethos, an ethos about which he may have had doubts not admitted elsewhere in the epic. This line of thinking is broached by Marina Brownlee when she indicates that we might be inclined to read beyond the "monstrous" Adamastor to see the "monstrous" Vasco da Gama and his single-minded quest for fame and fortune (184; 188), a quest whose legacy has yielded, for some colonials a "misery worse than death."

Even when Adamastor is warning of tempests and warfare, it is the shipwreck that he posits as the *coup de grace*; for it is the shipwreck (or ship sunk at sea) that consigns hundreds of seamen, passengers, and slaves to death, or death-like misery, in a single stroke, as well as sinking forever a cache of fabulous riches—either coin for the purchase of spices and other trade items or the valuable trade items. Although storms and gunfights at sea were often responsible for the structural weaknesses that led to the foundering and sinking of ships,[95] tempests and warfare alone accounted for few fatalities. Camões was surely aware that southern African shipwrecks were quite common at the time of the writing of *The Lusíads*, and Camões constructs Adamastor as the prophet of a set of afflictions that, in point of fact, had been occurring for many years.

Well over a hundred ships had already been lost at sea or shipwrecked during the first seventy years of the *carreira da India.*[96] And in the case of the wreck of the *St. John* (1554)—the first widely circulated account of Portuguese shipwreck on the southern African coast—details of the tragic deaths of Manuel de Sousa and Leonor de Sá had already been publicized via the popular *relações* (pamphlets of sensational occurrences) by the time the story appears as the main historical event to anchor Adamastor's prophetic warning in Canto V of *The Lusíads* (Stanzas 46-48).[97] Camões utilized a lived event by catapulting it into a mythic future. By future dating the horrors and sufferings, which were described as surpassing even death itself, Camões was able, however furtively and indirectly, to question the Iberian myth of glorious global dominion.

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Images of Leonor

Leonor de Sá's death scene, as reported in the anonymously-authored account of her end in

[95] Historians of the *carreira da India* attribute the high shipwreck rate of the sixteenth-century to the poor judgment of the captains of the ships and the financiers, the unwieldy size of the galleons, and the indifference or lack of training of the crew. The ships were overloaded and the cargo was often improperly and unequally distributed in the holds, making the vessels difficult to maneuver. Voyages were often begun at the wrong time, thus often encountering adverse weather. Ships were not properly careened between voyages, built of inferior wood, and ill-equipped with spare rudders or sails. These were the strategic mistakes. But the moral error was greed. The more cargo that the captain could bring back to Portugal, the richer he would be. Even crew members, who were allowed Liberty chests of trade goods, were sometimes complicit in these unwise shipping policies. See Duffy's *SE,* and Boxer's *PSE.*

[96] Duffy estimates in *SE* that close to 130 major vessels were lost in the later 1550-1650 period. (62). He also suggests that three or four vessels a year were lost during the earliest period of voyaging. The *carreira da India* continued after 1650, but the Portuguese trading empire was in serious decline by that time.

[97] The chronology is not conclusive. The first account of the wreck of the *St. John* was published in 1554, the second in 1564, ten years before *The Lusiads* was published. It is not clear whether Camoes was "rewriting" a version he had encountered in print or a generally circulated word-of-mouth account.

southern Africa, is important to the vexing question of European women's "place" in southern Africa, as read and understood by Europeans. However, her wretched vulnerability and the final gesture of self-burial are not visible in twenty-first century southern Africa commemorations of the contact zone—as the discussion of Brink's *Cape of Storms: the First Life of Adamastor* and the painting *T'kama Adamastor* indicate. Leonor's survival strategies and her attempts to intrude into the narrative are nevertheless the primary recorded instances with which we might begin to understand the signing of gender in early texts. To judge from the alterations in her story over time and the efforts to radically reframe her death scene, Leonor's embeddedness in southern Africa, her control of the narrative, and her ambiguously gendered roles were problematic narrative features.

In the written versions of the wreck of the *St. John*, Leonor is portrayed as strong, wise and even heroic while her husband, Manuel, is portrayed as weak and vacillating. He shows himself to be both incapable of good leadership and unwilling to cede his authority. (Because the account emphasizes his head pain, hallucinations, physical weaknesses, and poor judgment, he was most probably suffering from a head injury or cerebral malaria.)

Yet the relative positions of the two are reversed in all subsequent illustrations of this event: she is enfeebled and he is either relatively unimpaired or reinvigorated as heroic savior. One of the earliest images, from Jean Louis Deperthes *Histoire des naufrages* (1795) and reproduced in Josiah Blackmore's *Manifest Perdition*, shows Leonor reclining into a depression in the sand, leaning back against her servant, and wholly exposed to the two Portuguese men who hover around her (Appendix 7-a). Her husband is leaning against a palm tree, with his face buried in his hands in a gesture of profound grief. On the brow of a hill behind, dark figures cart off the spoils of their ambush. Just to the left of Leonor is a figure of a lion biting into a collapsed or expired person. In this engraving we can see that the unclothed noblewoman is the center of the illustration, hyper-vulnerable to the menace surrounding her, and the clothed husband is relatively unimpaired, and relatively disengaged from the scene, sunk in what looks like self-pity. Unlike his representation in the historical record as a ruined man, crawling about for scraps of food and stripped naked by the indigenous Africans, in this illustration he is still standing, seemingly well fed, and fully, though rudely, clothed. With his face in his hands, he is pictured as *unable to bear the sight* of his unclothed wife. And while the crew of the *St. John* withdraw (ashamed) when they see what has happened (in the written account), in this illustration they hover around her. Thus the husband has traded places with the crew: he is withdrawn, ashamed, and unable to face her nudity and exposure. And the crew and servants (as well as those outside of the frame) are salaciously engaged in "viewing" her as a theatrically-posed offering to early colonial ambitions.

This image provides other significant departures from the textual record: Leonor is not buried in the sand; neither is her upper body wrapped with a 'mantilla"—and these alterations suggest that her nudity was not shielded, but rather was utilized as display. Moreover, Leonor does not appear to have "scooped out" her own grave, but has rather been passively guided into a shallow depression in the ground. Her husband is fully clothed, and thus the engraving suggests that he successfully resisted the Africans' efforts to strip him, even though it was reported to be Leonor, and Leonor alone, who "fought with blows and fists" to resist her being stripped. In the text, Manuel himself readily acquiesced to the removal of his own clothes and begged her to

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cooperate, reminding her that "we are all born naked" (RSEA v1 146).

And there is another twist: Faria e Sousa's suggestion in 1647 that it was the *sole province* of a husband to see a woman's unclothed body (*RSEA* v1 18) is reversed in this engraving. In the illustration, it is the husband himself, the exemplar of imperial masculinity, who cannot bear the sight of the unclothed noblewoman—and the illustration suggests his inability to "face" Leonor's nakedness in this situation might be seen as a turning away from a particularly stark reality in the early exploration era. The successes of trade were counterbalanced by a loss of control over the reproductive bodies of European women, possibly naked and splayed out in front of servants, seamen, and indigenous people. Indeed, for the global trade and colonizing projects to proceed, Europe had to quite determinedly "turn away from" this spectacle. Yet, as the illustration suggests, even if the colonialism was bent on "not facing" this more or less constructed female hyper-vulnerabilty, the European "public" which presumably followed early exploration and colonial era news quite avidly (and the later reading or viewing public) was evidently titillated by this opportunity to image such a dangerous eventuality as the exposed and hyper-vulnerable European woman. It is surely possible that these types of images contributed to the justification of increasing the military and juridical powers used to secure European trade dominance.

The second image (Appendix 7-b) was also reproduced in Blackmore's *Manifest Perdition* and is from an early nineteenth-century history, the *Factus memoráveis da história de Portugal* (1826). In this version, Leonor is exposed in the foreground, and rendered insensible, while Manuel is grieving over her, unclothed this time, but still physically vital and seemingly well-nourished (as is she). As in the Deperthes image, Manuel has been returned to a position of relative strength and even heroic virility and Leonor has been recast in the form of a limp figure of passive hyper-vulnerability. The five bodies at her side suggest a similar exhaustion, or death. While the original account of the shipwreck of the *St. John* did suggest that Manuel was the last one alive of the family, it also established that he had already gone stark raving mad and indeed died within a few hours of his wife's death. This illustration, however, reanimates him, and recasts him in a heroic light, and his wife is altered as well: Leonor is unburied, and fully exposed to the viewer, as a sacrifice.

Manuel's strength is even greater in a later image, from an 1896 edition which condensed the *HTM* (Appendix 7-c) He is not only still standing, but he is carrying his weak and insensible wife. This half-sized grave is a vertical grave, not a scooped out depression in the sand, and a slave is evidently trying it out for size (will it effectively cover her lower body?) or has dug it herself. The lamentations are generalized, the children are nowhere in sight, and Manuel's graceful posture, with his weight on one leg, further invites us to see him as relatively unimpaired by five months of starvation and exposure. Only his overgrown hair and beard suggest that he himself has been stranded on southern African shores for an extended period of time. This image produces the most marked enfeeblement of Leonor, whose limp and unresisting body is presented as a sexualized offering to early colonialism in southern Africa. It is also the most dramatic re-virilization of Manuel.

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The Dead Body, a *Graphos* on the Land

In the aftermath of these traumatic shipwrecks, and during the subsequent difficult journeys to a place of rescue, many seafarers were deserted or fell by the wayside, in all manner of deeply affecting scenes: children, slaves, women, common seamen, servants and even noblemen. Troubling episodes, often intruding on the forward movement of the story, these abandonments, desertions, and effective maroonings, anticipate later discourses of rightful dominion that hinge on grave sites and trauma. The fallen and the dead marked—with their shallow graves, their piles of stones, their death scenes (passionately repeated in maritime lore and written accounts), their prayerful last words—the beginnings of a powerful European "claim" on the southern African land mass.

However, of the hundreds of abandonments, desertions, sorrowful partings and deaths described, Leonor de Sá was the only survivor who actually implanted herself, while alive, in the southern African sand. Despite the radical reversals detailed in the images above, Leonor's dying body in the text still marks an emblematic moment in the discourse of early shipwreck on African shores. While both the Portuguese deaths and the against-all-odds survivals were made mythological, in a general sense, by the narratives of shipwreck, the particular geometry of self-sacrifice seen in the case of Leonor staked an unusual claim on Africa, in part by the repudiation of her maternal and the generative self, and in part because of her "self-implantation" in the sand of southern Africa.

Leonor in *The Lusiads*

The emblematic nature of Leonor's death figures more prominently in Portuguese national mythologies than in the mythologies of the emergent national consciousness of South Africa, even though Leonor is an important figure in Canto V (46-48) of *The Lusíads* (which is well known in South Africa). Leonor is introduced in Canto V as a "most delicious dame" who is accompanying her "knight," her "lover" in a voyage around the southernmost extremity of Africa. Both Dona Leonor and Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda, according to Camões' reconstruction of the most famous episode of this particular shipwreck account, were permitted to survive the rough shipwreck only to be subjected to the greater misery of seeing themselves stripped of everything and their children starve before them. Adamastor's warning to the seamen rounding the Cape thus recycles this historical scene in order to use it as a future prophecy. This is Leonard Bacon's awkward translation of Camões' version of the death of Leonor, her husband, and her children:

> Starving to death, they shall see children dear,
> Begot and born in love beyond compare,
> And the fierce Caffirs, envious of her gear
> From the sweet lady all her vesture tear,
> And limbs, so beautiful and crystal clear,
> Naked in the sun and frost of windy air,
> After the long march when her delicate feet
> Have suffered the beach sands' ferocious heat." (V 47)

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. . . .

The lovers in their misery remain
Deep in the hot implacable wilderness.
There, when for bitter tears of grief and pain
The very stones seem not so merciless,
Those two, in close embrace, their souls shall free
From the fair prison of their agony." (V 48)

Communicated by Adamastor to the Portuguese seamen who were rounding the Cape, the story of Leonor's demise—the presence of her "children dear" at the death scene, the tearing from her of "all her vesture"—reiterates the bare facts recorded by the anonymous narrator of the shipwreck of the *St. John* in 1554: Leonor walked long distances before she died, she was stripped just prior to death, and her children and husband died along with her.

Camões, however, alters one significant detail: for the death scene itself, he encircles Leonor in her husband's arms, rather than show her implanted and immobilized in the soil of southern Africa. By doing so, he has re-assigned Leonor's transgressive role as penetrator—she is returned to European patriarchy's close embrace, her nakedness shielded by Camões' interposition of her husband's protective arms (rather than the soil of Africa, the sanctuary provided by the original narrator) and the emblematic nature of her dying gesture is made less intimate with the soil of Africa, less symbolically possessive.

An early Iberian historian, Manuel de Faria e Sousa, describes a death scene similar to that of the pamphlet of 1554 but he also amends the tale, preferring to underscore, or perhaps to manufacture, some additional explanatory motivations, taking the part of the omniscient narrator who can see into his subject's mind. In Tome II- Chapter IX of his *Asia Portuguesa* (1647) he explains that "Leonor endeavored to defend herself to no purpose and with hazard of life, till her husband persuaded her to choose the lesser evil [to permit herself to be stripped]; but *she thought it less ill to die than to be seen naked* by any but her husband"(*RSEA* v1 18) [my emphasis]. Indeed, Faria e Sousa attributes to Leonor herself ("she thought") the notion that the sight of a woman's unclothed body is the sole province of her husband, asking her to ventriloquize the possessive prerogatives of early imperial masculinity.

A further alteration occurs when Faria e Sousa describes the physical details of Leonor's self-burial. He reports that slaves stood around her, sheltering her, while she sits "down on the sand, [and makes] a hole where she covered herself to the waist" (*RSEA* v1 19). This slight change has repaired an implausibility in the original account, for hair long enough and abundant enough to cover effectively a naked and starving woman would have been unlikely.

Without digressing into a full-fledged analysis of textual changes as evidence of successive periods' cultural anxieties, I nevertheless want to emphasize that in the sixteenth century, a European woman's abandonment and vulnerability in furthermost Africa evidently generated considerable textual uneasiness. That this vulnerability was masked by scraps of clothing, the encompassing sand, the bodies of interposed slaves, or a husband's arms signifies efforts to recast

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Leonor into a "semi-protected" figure who is not entirely exposed to the eyes, the desires, or the reproductive designs of any indigenous being. By Faria e Sousa's removing her from her half-grave, she is also prevented from becoming an emblem of the possibility of female dominion over southern Africa.

In *The Lusiads*, a curious mix of historical figures and mythological figures position themselves, via a specialized rhetoric of dominon, on the land of southern Africa. The actual, "heroic" European woman who is stripped and martyred in southern African soil (Leonor), the mythological nymph who escapes Adamastor's brutish embrace only to be liquefied at his feet (Thetis), and the barbaric figure of thunderous rage, unmet desire, and immobilized impotence (Adamastor) all dramatize the earliest and most durable textual and mythic possessions of southern Africa, as they stake their rhetorical claims on the soft sand, the coastal sea, the rocky promontory, and the high clouds. As such, these figures become embodied in southern Africa by a renunciation, refusal or escape from the generation of their line, and their solitary sacrifices, the sealing off of their reproductive futures contribute to the authorization of the European presence in southern Africa.

The twenty-eight stanzas of *The Lusíads* having to do with southern Africa diagram several densely layered transactions, in which women, land, and the authority for the possession of women and land are contested, a terrain well established by Dorothy Driver's pivotal essay published in 1992 in *Perspectives on South African English Literature,* "Women and Nature."[98] Taking the question of women in *The Lusíads* more broadly, Joaquim Nabuco, the Brazilian Ambassador to the United States, remarked —no doubt facetiously—in a 1909 address to Vassar College (then an exclusively women's college) that "familiarity with *The Lusíads* might be of some danger for women: it might make them too conscious of their power." However, he went on to reduce his pitch for the importance of Camões' epic to a recognition of the strength of "womanly appeal" and to the fact that "beauty and gentleness operate miracles . . . disguised in mythological garb"("Camoens—the Lyric Poet" 28). There were, of course, no miracles operative in Thetis' unhappy transmutation nor in Leonor's slow starvation and humiliation. And later in the narrative, when Venus supplies Da Gama's bedraggled seamen with an island full of compliant nymphs, it is rape itself that is pitched as sexual fantasy and it is the woman's womb that is promised as reward to those who promote and participate in the expansionist drive (Canto IX, X). The miracle of which Nabuco speaks, then as now, is that actual catastrophes and human suffering can be recast by master-narratives that promise a violent compensatory sexual fantasy, an "Isle of Love," in exchange for dire physical suffering, permanent exile or death.

By repeating the tale of the death of Leonor and her children, Camões is warning that the

[98] In fact, the practical difficulties of gendering land and land-use persist into the public policy arena of this era in South Africa. In the introduction to *Women, Land and Authority* (1997), the editor, Shamim Meer, points out that "men's experience is often taken for the experience of the entire community" and "the assumptions of homogeneity arise from the need of policy makers to simplify reality" (2). However, this simplification of reality cannot conceivably rewrite the narrative of "land," as it does not take into account the reproductive, familial, marital, and social conditions of dispossessed black women. Within some land reform efforts in South Africa today, there is thus a resistance to both the colonial narratives of land, land use, and the overpowering mythic connection with land (as expressed in the Rhodes memorial epitaph) and the so-called traditional African, male-designed and maritally-coded allocation schemes.

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reproductive prerogatives of the Portuguese men will be challenged by the expansionist policies of sixteenth-century Portugal, as their European wives and mistresses, daughters, nuns, and orphan girls[99] will inevitably succumb to the dangers of the voyages that so frequently end in shipwreck (or, alternately, that they will be ineffectively defended by their male companions). Both Thetis, the desired, and Leonor, the "owned" wife, are thus made unavailable, according to Camões, to the reproductive needs of the new order—one removed by transmutation, one by death.

Even though Adamastor accuses the Portuguese of arrogance in their attempts to round the Cape, Camões nevertheless also uses this dramatic episode to express admiration for their courage and perseverance. This admiring stance has been hyper-virilized, however, by Leonard Bacon's translation. He showed that the mariners had broken through "forbidden bounds," and "pierc[ed] mystery inviolate / Of Mother Nature and the Ocean Sea" (V 42), terminology that suggests that the Portuguese maritime expansion is fundamentally intrusive in nature, and is violating hymenally-protected spaces.[100] In fact this "piercing" has broken into two female spaces: the oceanic mother and the earth-bound mother nature. In other words, where Adamastor has failed (he could not "pierce the mystery inviolate" of the nymph Thetis) and Leonor has been deposed (she has been removed, by Camões' revision of the story, from her embedded position in the sand and returned to her husband's embrace), the Portuguese seamen have succeeded, or can legitimately hope for future success, if they reconcile themselves to the sacrifices Camões deems necessary (such as the loss of their womenfolk).

Although he is a powerful emblem of impotent desire and ineffective defense, Adamastor is nevertheless a wholly manufactured entity, one that serves a specific rhetorical purpose in Camões' tale, but one that has also "intruded" into southern African literature. In his simplest gloss, as Gray and others have pointed out, Adamastor can be thought of as nothing more than a supernatural explanation for the high human and resource costs associated with the *carreira da India,* especially in that most dangerous of passages, the southern African cape—as well as a general embodiment of the unknown menace of the southern African continent.[101] Although Gray notes the generalized interpretation above, one that is widely accepted in Portugal, he also reiterates Purves' claim, namely that Adamastor is the "root of all the subsequent white semiology invented to cope with the African experience" (*Southern* 27). This assessment omits acknowledging the significance of Thetis and thwarts any serious inquiry into the way in which women are employed in these early mythic histories of southern Africa (Driver "Women" 456-457).

[99] According to Boxer, most voyages had at least three or four women (nuns, wives, mistresses, or prostitutes, or occasionally *orfás del-Rei*, or Crown Orphans, girls of marriageable age who were provided with dowries and shipped out to Goa or Cochin). Some years up to a dozen crown orphans were sent to India (Boxer *Tragic* 21). These crown orphans were rarely involved in a shipwreck, however, as the shipwrecks more commonly occurred on homeward-bound, rather than outward bound, voyages. Finally there were typically a dozen or more female slaves among the shiploads of four, five, or even occasionally up to six hundred men (Boxer *Tragic* 20).

[100] In Portuguese this line reads "Pois vens ver os segredos escondidos," which is literally "Since you are going to see the hidden places." Certainly calling the mysteries "inviolate" and the action a "piercing" over-sexualizes the notion of discovery.

[101] Helder Godinho associates Camões' treatment of southern Africa with the general Portuguese affinity for *saudade,* often translated as a "overwhelming and illogical sense of certain though sweet defeat" (78). Furthermore, Adamastor is, to Godinho, "the negative of what the Portuguese would have been . . . if they had given up their voyage" —impotent and simultaneously deformed by desire (82).

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In addition to Gray's passing over Thetis with his root metaphor, he has neglected the emblematic significance of Leonor, a figure who might be more accurately called the "root" of white semiology, as she is described as physically embedded in southern African soil. Although Gray mentions her death scene in *The Lusiads* as an example of the trade with the Indies as fostering a "fate worse than death" (*Southern* 26), he has not attended to the significance of how her death and self-burial have been recorded or utilized, nor what the diagramming of the situation of her death might mean for any explanation of gender and land in the contact zone. Leonor commands our attention because she was almost certainly an actual shipwreck survivor—and not a figure of speech created for literary amplification. While it is possible that some of the details of her trek through southern African coastal areas in 1552 may be apocryphal, she is nonetheless the most elaborated actual woman to have perished in the early shipwrecks along the coast of Africa. Significantly, Leonor was mentioned repeatedly, and in heroic terms, throughout the narrative of the wreck of the *St. John*. She was also mentioned in later southern African shipwreck narratives, suggesting that she had become a mythic figure both to the seafarers (who sometimes compared their tragedies with hers and her husband's) and the homebound culture, who apparently understood textual references to her without the later shipwreck chroniclers providing explanation.

However, Leonor might be seen not so much as *representative* (of European women abandoned or castaway in southern Africa) but as *transgressive* of expectations for women's conduct. The physical endurance attributed to her violated the gender (and class) expectations of her time. Once she had been turned out of her litter, she moved through the bush "as if she were a man accustomed to laboring in the fields" (*RSEA* v1 142).[102] Unable to succour her children (by burying herself to the waist in the sand) she refused maternal expectations as well. Finally, by her command to those who would survive the journey to "say how" she was left, how she died, Leonor was evidently attempting to exert control over the narrative of encounter in a way not customarily accorded women in the sixteenth century.

Given the (potential) symbolic importance of this image of embeddedness to the iconography of early southern African exploration texts, it is surprising that André Brink, in "A Myth of Origins," misidentifies a crucial detail of Leonor's self-sacrifice, referring to Leonor covering "her emaciated body with sand up to the neck," a body geometry first appearing in a footnote by William Julius Mickle in his 1775 (1778) English translation of *The Lusíads* (Brink *TAIASAP* 43). Blackmore's 2001 translation of the account of the wreck of the *St. John*, however, places the line of demarcation at the *cintura (cinta)*, or waist, as do the several *HTM* versions I have consulted. Indeed no known version of the wreck of the *St. John* indicates a neck-deep burial, although the previously mentioned alterations (Camões' removal of Leonor from her

[102] Kioko Kioso, in a close examination of an early manuscript that describes the wreck of the *St. John*, the first published edition (1554), and several editions of the *HTM* (1735-38), points out that the manuscript does *not* use the male form of the rustic or peasant ("vynha asym por aqueles asperos camjnhos como quallquer *robusta* dos campos"). The first published edition, however, does use the male term "vinha por aquelles asperos caminhos muyto *trabalhosos, como qualquer robusto homem* do campo" (113). There is no way to tell if the manuscript preceded the publication or was a hand-copy of it. However, the general anxieties over gender and class transgressions that I am associating with this story, both in Portugal and in South Africa, could not have arisen from an archived manuscript which would not have been widely circulated, only from published, and more broadly circulated, editions.

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embeddedness in southern African soil and his substitution of her husband's arms as a protective covering) suggest that the account was not stable through time.

While Blackmore himself refuses the doctrine of textual corruption for these much reproduced, pirated, and alluded-to shipwreck accounts (*Manifest* xiv), and thus rejects the proposition that the earlier versions are the "purest," Boxer suggests that Gomes de Brito, the editor of the *HTM* (1735-1738), was indeed responsible for adding some "ridiculous hyperbole" to the account of the wreck of the *St. John*, and he refers readers to the British Library versions—1554, 1564, 1592, and 1627(1633?)— as being more reliable than Gomes de Brito's version from 1735 ("*Introduction*" 10). Without necessarily privileging Theal and Blackmore[103] over Mickle and Brink, the difference between Leonor burying herself to the waist or to the neck might well be considered a fair index as to the extent that narrators, popularizers, and interpreters wish to embed her, or imprison her, within the body of Africa. Indeed, we might find that the greater the anxiety about exposed female flesh, the higher the textual sand rises. Alternately, we might suppose that the deeper the figure of Leonor is thrust into the ground of southern Africa by successive retellers of this episode, the greater the desire is for a woman's (dead) body to be the "phallus" that penetrates Africa. In any case, the alterations in the details of the death of the first European woman to die in southern Africa indicates general anxieties about the place of the European female in southern Africa during the contact era.

To try to understand what these unstable narrative elements might reveal, it is necessary to question the plausibility of the physical acts attributed to Leonor. How did Leonor get the strength for such an arduous task (digging a pit in the sand and covering herself) if she was starving and about to perish? How could it be that everyone was stripped, as "[T]he Kaffirs again fell upon him and his wife and the few in their company, and there stripped them, leaving nothing to cover them," but two paragraphs later Leonor's "nurse" was still in possession of an "old, torn mantilla,"which Manuel requisitioned in order to cover Leonor's breasts (*RSEA* v1 146)? The anonymous narrator seems to have been intent on underscoring the full scope of her humiliations but, at the same time, he appears determined to provide a corrective to the scandalous nakedness, and indeed the two questions raised above suggest that the narrator's need to cover Leonor was greater than his need to provide an internally coherent and physically plausible incident.

Although the account makes a distinction, furthermore, between the shameful exposure of Leonor's lower body and the somewhat less shameful exposure of her upper body (a torn mantilla covers less well than an all-enfolding earth sheath), both halves of this female body must be "covered," through the "cover" of an alleged eyewitness report: in this case a sole surviving female slave. Although there were "eight Portuguese, fourteen male slaves and three female slaves . . . with Leonor when she died" (*RSEA* v1 147) only a single female slave survived to tell about it (*Manifest* 72). The anonymous female slave, then, could be considered the source of this emblematic incident in early southern African history, and thus we might inquire of her motivations for producing the scrap of mantilla that somehow survived the stripping of all the survivors, and ask what prompted her invention, or reporting, of Leonor's heroic last gesture—bare hands scooping

[103] Blackmore's source texts derive from the eighteenth-century *HTM*, while Theal reproduces and translates an earlier pamphlet found at the Library of the British Museum.

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out the half-sized grave. If it was the presence of the Portuguese men that stimulated Leonor's fatal mortification at being left naked (or, alternately, that prompted the narrator(s) to offer an aftermarket veiling that might soothe the outrage of readers at home when asked to imagine this female European body, unclothed on African soil), it is to a female slave that this episode owes its claim of authenticity and to whom we owe, perhaps, the strangeness of those scant and elemental props, wrested from a scene of dire scarcity.

"Dizey Como"

As she is being abandoned by the more fit seamen, Leonor called out to the pilot, that if he reached India or Portugal to "say how [*dizey como*] you left Manuel and me with my children" (*RSEA* v1 146). This injunction suggests that Leonor made an effort to control the narrative of her shame, starvation and death in Africa. Of course, the durability of this particular shipwreck narrative (which has given rise to one of the most widely cited section of Camões' *The Lusíads*, which has itself become, after long neglect, considered a founding epic text of Western civilization[104]) testifies that Leonor's command was, in some ways, obeyed. However, to decompress Leonor's phrase, "say how" [*dizey como*] is to see how difficult it was for a record of women in southern Africa to reach the archives. While women were present on some voyages, and they were occasionally described, the opportunity to control the narrative of these tragic episodes is very limited. So we are obliged to understand Leonor's deathscene as a narrative that has been authored, in a way, by Leonor herself—in that she commanded that the survivors would *say how* she died. Despite the norms of female behavior that had confined her roles throughout her life, if we are to find her generally representative of the sixteenth century Portuguese noblewoman, in the events that followed the shipwreck, Leonor evidently violated these same norms and ended up exercising considerable influence. She participated in strategic planning and voiced her position on various matters.[105] She argued for the group not to give up their arms, for instance, though her husband overruled her and ordered the disarming of the band (a decree that ended up costing them their lives). The account notes that "No one who spoke against [the laying down of arms] except herself. . . . Then she said 'You lay down your arms, and now I give myself up for lost with all these people'" (*RSEA* v1 145). It was a day or two later that the small band was stripped, a consequence that she apparently had anticipated, and Leonor immediately buried herself to the

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[104] Yale University redesigned its world literature survey course in 2001, and it now includes selections from *The Lusíads,* alongside the *Aeneid*, Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*, Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, and other classics of the Western canon. See Vilashini Cooppan's "World Literature and Global Theory: Comparative Literature for the New Millennium" (18). Camões masterpiece has remained in print in Portugal four four centuries, and was widely translated even from the beginning. The Introduction to *The Lusíads* by William Mickles (1778) suggests that there were two printings in Portuguese in 1573, followed by two Italian, four Spanish, two French, three Latin, and one Hebrew translation within the first one hundred years. The sole English translation available before Mickles, done by Fanshaw(e) (1655), is classified by Mickles as "unfaithful and unpoetical" (xxxvii-xxxix). In total, there have been eight major English translations of *The Lusiads*. See n90.

[105] In this way, of course, Leonor's radically expanded and sometimes transgressive position in the shipwreck account foreshadows the greater freedoms to 'act' that nineteenth century British women also experienced. Furthermore, the contact era was also a radically expanded field for European women in South America. See Boxer's *Mary and Misogyny* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co, 1975).

waist in the sand. If she was determined that her abandonment would be recorded in any narrative by an ultimate survivor of this trek, her concern was consistent with her husband's prescient anxieties about desertion. In the beginning of the journey, Manuel de Sousa had recognized the inevitable temptation for his more fit crew and seamen to desert the slower members; indeed, he had asked for only one favor as they set off on their trek, that the "gentlemen and comrades . . . not abandon or desert me in case I should be unable to keep up with the rest, on account of my wife and children" (*RSEA* v1 136).[106]

Leonor's request that any survivors should "say how" she had been left unprotected and naked in southern Africa is an echo of her husband's earlier anxiety. Manuel had assumed from the beginning that the other seamen would not wait for his wife and children and that they would only be loyal to him in his "official capacity," his captainhood. He interjected himself between the impatient, even urgent, pull forward of the band of survivors—for every delay was equated with an increased likelihood of starvation—and the presumed slowest element, his wife and children. Even though the trek proved otherwise, as Leonor had great reserves of vigor, Manuel still undertook the journey with the assumption that women and children were liabilities to such a survivalist enterprise, liabilities that would (and should) enjoy no special considerations. It is important to note that although Manuel did not feel justified in asking directly for the band of survivors to wait for his wife and children, he did feel that it was legitimate to ask them to wait for him. The maritime command structure was evidently more durable than any nascent chivalrous code. This configuration of power and powerlessness outlined above indicates that the events and discourses of the shipwreck preserved some of the hierarchies of wealth, gender, race and maritime command structure, even though the disasters also dislodged some of the lines and braces that held these hierarchies in place.

Gray's assertion that southern African colonial texts issue directly from the single figure of Adamastor is inadequate in another way, in that many South African colonial and postcolonial texts are, in fact, attempts to *alter* (rather than obey) the terms that Camões has set up in his original equation (that trade success could only be achieved by forfeiting the virtue and safety of the European woman). Both the bodily sacrifice of the European woman and her subsequent claim to the spoils of colonialism are refused by the narratives of origin in South Africa, an instance of what Timothy Reiss has called the "shared forgetfulness" that quite problematically underpins the

[106] Lucy Delap's paper, "Shipwrecks and Chivalry in Edwardian Britain," traces the attitudes toward women shipwreck victims in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. Although the "women and children first" rule was standard as an ethic of shipwreck rescue as early as the 1852 wreck of the HMS *Birkenhead* on the coast of southern Africa, a wreck in which women were forcibly removed from their husbands and "dragged to the gangway by main force" (6), Delap provides ample evidence that the code was not absolute, even then. Rather, the prescript was "malleable"—most particularly when the disaster victims were racially, ethnically, and class diverse. The conduct of passengers (both chivalrous and non-chivalrous) on the sinking Titanic in 1912 occasioned a fierce public debate on whether women should or should not be privileged in the rescue sequence (10). In 1629, according to Mike Dash in *Batavia's Graveyard* (New York: Crown, 2002), Dutch women (of all classes) were accorded privilege in the off-loading sequence of the wreck of the *Batavia* near Banda Islands. Clearly in 1552, however, Manuel did not expect that the survivors would slow their progress for his wife and children, and it can be assumed that most bands of shipwrecked survivors were forced into making up their own hierarchy of human value.

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process of nation-identity (80). Twentieth-century South African interpreters of the Adamastor myth (and perhaps even, it could be argued, the legislated system of South African apartheid itself) have sought to manufacture a narrative of contact between the indigene and the European and European-descent peoples that does *not* require the stripping and sacrifice of the European woman and the potential loss of the racially pure offspring, a point made by Driver in her discussion of Thetis.

The twentieth-century representations of southern African encounter dramas do not appear to wish to restore to European-descent women any "possessive" role in the dominance of southern Africa, at least none that is not modulated by something akin to Camões' interjection of the husbandly embrace. Nor do late twentieth century rewritings seem to wish to restore dominion to the coastal indigene, if we take André Brink's novella *COS* and Cyril Coetzee's painting *T'kama Adamastor* as indicative. Thus, it is not merely the prevention of illicit congress between the white woman and the racialized-as-black Adamastor[107] that colonial discourses insist upon, but the blocking of another narrative: the "possession" or possible possession of southern Africa by white women.

While Adamastor, Thetis, and Leonor all have entered South African myths of origin through *The Lusíads*, only Adamastor has proven durable.[108] The figure of the ugly brute, the transgressor /defender has been employed, one almost wants to say obsessively employed, in South African literature. Whether Adamastor is termed an attempting rapist, a masculinizing of the landscape, a literary figure for bad weather, a harbinger of general Portuguese doom, or a grafting of Greek explanations of destiny (animate being turned to stone) onto the southern African pre-colonial imaginary, he is renewed by each new generation of white male South African writers,[109] while the figure of Leonor has grown less visible through the years—in southern African literary history, one might say that she is still half-buried in the sand.

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[107] Guy Butler, for one, mistakenly racialized the Adamastor myth by darkening the visage of the giant (others translate his appearance as earthen-white) and—more problematically—using "white" to describe Leonor. His (mis) translation of verse 47 gives *linda* (beautiful or comely) as a sign for maternity and *crystalinos* (delicate) for white. Here is his translation and the original: "Rapacious, cruel, savages shall strip / The mother's garments from her fair white form," (Smith *Shades* 53) [my emphasis]. "*Verão os Cafres, ásperos e avaros,/Tirar à* linda dama seus vestidos;*Os* cristalinos membros *e perclaros*" (Canto V, verse 47). Butler's evident desire to amp up Leonor's pitifulness by invoking motherhood and the "pure, white" race seems to reinforce the racial and gender codes that prevailed in high apartheid. Other twentieth-century South African critics follow suit, and also turn Adamastor into the "black man" who desires the forbidden white woman. See Dorothy Driver's analysis of the racializing of Adamastor and Thetis in "Women and Nature" (455-457) and Michelle Adler's claim that Camões' "writing adumbrates the basic tensions of white-black confrontation" (10).

[108] For a counter-view to this preeminence of *The Lusiads* and Camões, see George Monteiro's *The Presence of Camões*, in which he expresses surprise that Stephen Gray has included Camões (and the Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa) in his 1989 *Penguin Book of Southern African Verse.*

[109] See Malvern van Wyk Smith's *Shades of Adamastor* (Grahamstown: Institute for the Study of English in Africa, 1988), a collection of poetry about Adamastor that includes work by Thomas Pringle, John Wheatley, David Wright, Charles Eglington, Roy Campbell, and others. In the late twentieth century, see André Brink's *Cape of Storms: The First Life of Adamastor* (1984) and Cyril Coetzee's painting "T'kama Adamastor" (1999).

Literature of the Contact Era in Southern Africa

The long contact era for southern Africa is identified by Major Raven-Hart and others as commencing with the erection of the Dias cross at what is now known as Kwaaihoek (fifty miles east-northeast of present day Port Elizabeth) in 1488 and concluding with the settlement of Cape Town by Van Riebeeck in 1652. Raven-Hart's bracketing of the contact era is a useful one. His collection of highly abbreviated early narrative extracts, *Before Van Riebeeck: Callers to South Africa* is drawn from the same period as the Portuguese shipwreck accounts under consideration in this chapter. The extracts he has assembled contain a broad sampling of contact accounts concerned with the Cape Colony, but by apparent design his collection omits contact recorded on the more remote coastlines during this period, a "Cape bias" that is present in many early colonial histories. Only one shipwreck account is mentioned, the wreck of the *St. Benedict* (1554), and it is accorded but a paragraph (in which Table Bay is described). Raven-Hart chose, moreover, an odd title for his survey of early travelers' writings about southern Africa, since the political entity—"South Africa"—to which these callers directed their observations had, of course, not yet been "called" into being. Nevertheless, Raven-Hart's compilation supplied J.M. Coetzee's with much useful background material for *White Writing* (1988). Coetzee's examination of early colonial texts in South Africa, however, commences in 1652 with the establishment of the Cape Colony and is not concerned with the earlier Portuguese shipwreck accounts—in neither era nor genre. P.W. Laidler's A *Tavern of the Ocean: Being a Social and Historical Sketch of Cape Town from its Earliest Days* (1926),[110] because it is confined geographically, does not include any of the observations that the Portuguese shipwreck survivors made of southern Africa. Noel Mostert's excellent history, *Frontiers: The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (1992) seems to have skirted entirely the shipwreck accounts; he says , in fact, that the inhospitable coasts were to "keep the Xhosa from close contact with whites for nearly two and a half centuries after the Portuguese rounded the Cape"; Mostert acknowledges that "only through shipwreck, and much, much later, through hunting sorties" would the Xhosa and whites come into contact (83), but this sole mention of the Portuguese shipwreck literature—a general statement that appears to dismiss the importance of this body of contact literature— is not taken up elsewhere in the otherwise exhaustive 1355 page work. Several works do offer significant historical and geographic information about the southern African shipwrecks, foremost among them Malcolm Turner's *Shipwreck and Salvage* (1972) and José Burman's *Shipwreck! Courage and Endurance in the Southern Seas* (1986). Turner's work is the best source for geographical and chronological plottings of the more than five hundred known shipwrecks along the South African coastline from 1505 to 1986, though it is oriented towards the prospective salvor. And Burman has artfully abridged the accounts, beginning the narrative of the wreck of the *St. Benedict* with this memorable opening: "The best dressed among us had on nothing but a shirt without sleeves and drawers to his knees, for every one prepared himself when the ship grounded to be able to swim more easily" (*RSEA* v1 221). For a bibliography of various versions of shipwreck

[110] In Appendix IX, Laidler gives a selection of various travelers comments on the Cape and its people, which range from "Tis the fairest and grandest cape" in the world (Sir Francis Drake, 1580) to "The worst nautical position possible" (Admiral Pringle, 1797) and "There can scarcely be a landscape more gloomy and desolate than the sterile, rocky mountains and white sandy plans which . . . inclose [sic] Simon's Bay" (209-212).

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accounts, R.F. Kennedy's *Shipwrecks on and off the Coast of Southern Africa: A Catalogue and Index* (1955) remains the best source.

For analysis of the significance of the shipwreck narratives in Portuguese history, James Duffy's *Shipwreck & Empire* (1955) and C.R. Boxer's *The Tragic History of the Sea*, 1589-1622 (1957) were the most important studies available until the publication of Josiah Blackmore's more literary analysis in 2002, *Manifest Perdition.* Even so, these works by Blackmore, Duffy and Boxer have all approached the Portuguese shipwreck texts from the perspective of a period of European history, and have little to say about the narratives in relationship to southern Africa literary or cultural history, or South African commemorations of origins.

Aside from the analysis by Malvern van Wyk Smith in *Grounds of Contest* (1990) and mention in several essays collected in *T'kama Adamastor: The Invention of Africa in a South African Painting* (2000), the shipwreck accounts are rarely examined in the summaries of pre-colonial texts that have been produced within South Africa thus far. They are cited primarily to advance ethnographic theories in a (pre-colonial) historical context.[111] This is puzzling, as the early maritime, littoral discovery, and shipwreck history of present-day South Africa (and many of the primary documents that provide the basis of that history) can be found in the widely available archival study by G. M. Theal, *RSEA* (1898-1902), a nine-volume set of long extracts (in many cases complete documents) in the original Portuguese (and occasionally Spanish, Dutch, Italian, Latin). Eleven southern African shipwreck accounts are contained in Theal's *RSEA*, of the sixteen shipwrecks recorded on the southeastern coast of Africa.

Miscourse and Discourse

The shipwrecks associated with the discoveries of new worlds of the east are situated by Josiah Blackmore, in his analysis of Portuguese shipwrecks, *Manifest Perdition* (2002), and Calvo-Stevenson—in her analysis of early Iberian shipwrecks in the Caribbean and South America, *Sinking Being* (1990)—as more than maritime catastrophes and overland scenes of disaster. These events, and the texts associated with them, constitute an "interruption of the voyage of writing" and a challenge to the preexisting "epistemological order" (Calvo-Stevenson 8), and thus provide intermittent disruptions to the entire project of European expansion and eventual dominance. Blackmore stresses that the early expansion-era shipwreck text produces "breakage and rupture [in] discourse (*discurso*)" and points out that the term "discourse . . . encompass[es] both ships and texts" (xxvi). The predicaments brought about by a shipwreck force an "abdication" of both the ship's course and the "discourses" that attempt to mediate the effects of the maritime disaster by reinscribing it within a new, and dramatically expanded, normalcy. Blackmore suggests that a

[111] See Donald R. Morris' *The Washing of the Spears* (New York: Simon and Shuster [1958], 1998) J.H. Soga's *The South-Eastern Bantu* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1930); Graham Mackeurtan's *The Cradle Days of Natal (1497-1845)* (London: Longmans, 1930); Monica Wilson's "The Thousand Years Before Van Riebeeck"; and G.M.Theal's histories for utilization of the shipwreck accounts as historical/ethnographic evidence. However, in the case of more recent historians interested in specialized historical problems, the shipwreck accounts appear to be unhelpful. J. B. Peires suggests the shipwreck accounts were too "vague and unreliable" to be of use to the dating of "Tshawe," a term for royal persons in contemporary Xhosa lexicon, but which presumably derives from a specific historical figure. See *The House of Phalo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981): 17.

ship's inability to respond to the track of a predetermined course produces a crisis in the very European imaginary that has planned for a militarily-triumphant and economically-rewarding voyage. Instead of vessels of discovery, exploration, and trade-created wealth, the wrecked ships—as the most radically off-course emblems of the imperial project—plunge the European desire for expansion into doubt and challenge the myths of intrepidity and the emergent rhetoric of rightful dominion.

The process of navigation through uncharted waters (the early modern locus of chaos, unknowability and disorder) and the horror of shipwreck in unknown lands were both widely used metaphoric vehicles for conceptualizations of knowledge, crisis, and transgression.[112] Indeed the ship itself was considered a fitting metaphor for the state, and as such concretized the ordering of both the natural and the civic worlds. A group isolated itself within a larger, fluid matrix, and the invented boundaries and identifications of that group were figured as a ship's contours: a membrane between fluidity and unknowability, on one hand, and hard tangibility on the other. Think only of the Ship of Fools, the Ship of State, the use of boats or ships as vessels of the Dead. While the metaphorics of seafaring suggest an overcoming of the unknown, according to Calvo-Stevenson, the metaphorics of shipwreck indicate a crisis in knowability and provide an interruption in the process by which the unknown was measured, then mastered. Yet the southern African shipwreck is not simply the end of a plan, the failure of a project. It marks a beginning as well, both for those survivors who hoped to trek overland to a place of rescue and return to their European home, and for the emerging discourses of European-dominated global trade. To speak of the "textual performance of shipwreck" is to speak of a dynamic in which the event, as Calvo-Stevenson puts it, becomes "suspended between the end of discourse and verbal renewal, [between] total silence and proliferating signs" (45).

The narratives of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century shipwrecks that occurred along the coast of southern Africa were widely circulated in Portugal and Spain and thus constituted a vivid epoch in the European imagination, but these accounts were never central to the originary myths of South Africa. The shipwreck narratives were eclipsed, in South Africa, by more triumphant versions of foundational myths, and by myths more ethnically relevant to the Dutch- and British-descent population. Of course, this explanation does not account for the importance of the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama in South African narratives of origin nor for the place of Canto V of the Portuguese epic *The Lusíads* to southern African literary history. While the well-known Portuguese navigator and the figure of Adamastor have proven durable to South African myths of origins, why is it that the many shipwreck accounts have remained relatively unknown and that the story of Leonor's heroic trek and dramatic death is so infrequently invoked in reconstructions of originary myths?

I argue that these important chronicles sank into "deep history" and were removed from

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[112] See *The Rockes of Christian Shipwrackes,* a series of anti-Popist sermons written by Marco Antonio de Dominis, the Italian Archbishop of Splatao, and first published in 1594. According to this tract, the "rocks" of Christian shipwreck referred to a dozen misapplications of liturgical law or theological reason. The shipwreck itself was used as a metaphor for the tragic effect of a spiritual blunder.

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(or perhaps never made it into) "popular history" in South Africa because the shipwreck survivor narratives produce a radically different European, Africa, and African, than those of later travelers. Furthermore, the existence of female survivors from some of the Portuguese shipwrecks provided a troubling opening for contamination, in part because of what Anne McClintock has called a widely-held belief in the deleterious effects of the "porno-tropics"(*Imperial* 4)[113] While Portuguese men freely intermarried, according to historians of the expansion period such as Boxer, Portuguese women were considered the sole province of their husbands and countrymen.[114] Finally, the value of goods and people became so rapidly and radically deformed by the rigors of shipwreck survivalism that larger realms of ethical behavior and religious precept were threatened. Subsequent travelers' accounts of southern Africa (and even coterminous ones produced by unwrecked maritime visitors) use a number of rhetorical means to sustain the ethical, religious, and cultural superiority necessary to establishing slave, gold and spice trade dominance and the eventual full-colonizing impulse. Even though the shipwreck accounts might have destabilized European conceptions of the contact zone, in Portugal the genre kept its place in early colonial or pre-colonial literary history— at least through the nineteenth century. It is only in South Africa that the high anxiety about race and gender has prompted such willful misinterpretations and such thorough erasure of these texts. Evidently the barbarism of the European wrecked body, the largely successful pastoral culture described, and the hyper-vulnerability of the Portuguese woman abandoned in Africa amongst Africans was too frightening to consider.

Contemporary Reenactments of Contact Dramas: Image and Literature

Despite the lack of emphasis on Portuguese shipwrecks, contact dramas in general have been a strong focus for South African art, literature, and monumentalizing culture during the

[113] Two recent texts are concerned with the anxiety of European or European-descent cultures when it comes to the figure of the shipwrecked European woman. Stephen Taylor's *The Caliban Shore: The Fate of the Grosvenor Castaways* (London: Faber, 2004) demonstrates the long suppression (or neglect) of evidence that white women, shipwrecked in the eighteenth century, had "married" or were otherwise assimilated into a Mpondo clan. Roger Webster's 2001 compilation of 43 short radio presentations, *At the Fireside: True South African Stories* (Claremont: New African Book, 2001) includes short summaries of two sixteenth- century shipwrecks: the wrecks of the *St. John* and the *St. Jerome*. He concludes his brief treatment of the *St. John* (1552) with the following assessment: "What we fail to remember is that the *St. John* was a slaver, that the local tribes recognized some of the crew, and that what they did to them was but a *small revenge* for the misery that the trade in human flesh had caused among the Mozambique tribes. For Dona Leonor was *never touched*, she was just left to die" (64) [my emphasis]. First of all, there is no evidence that the *St. John* had called at Mozambique and picked up slaves, although there were many slaves aboard (presumably Indian or Malaysian). And there is no evidence that the treatment of Dona Leonor and Manuel de Sepúlveda had anything to do with indigenous southern Africans' knowledge of international slaving, nor was it a consequence of any precocious pan-African solidarity. In fact, the survivors of the wreck of the *St. John* were more likely disarmed, disrobed, and left to die because an armed group of Portuguese had conducted a cattle raid on behalf of their host chief (*RSEA* v1 139), and this radical intervention in local affairs would surely have disposed the aggrieved group against them. In any case, Webster's nervous assurance that Leonor was "never touched," speaks of the continuing anxiety over any transgression concerning white women in southern Africa. The (mistaken, of course) notion that she was rightly refused aid ("left to die") because of the intercontinental, century-long slave trade points to a surprising inference: the need to limit justifiable revenge for over a century's commerce in slaves as that which falls well short of rape or physical molestation of a single castaway white woman.

[114] The Portuguese noblewoman was considered so sheltered that she left her home only twice in her lifetime: once for her christening and once again for her marriage (Boxer *Four* 61).

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twentieth century. Cyril Coetzee's *T'kama Adamastor* (1999), a painting examined in the first chapter, dramatizes an African-European encounter and reiterates in parodic excess much of the dogma of dominion that is typically lodged in the one-sided representation of contact: the nearly naked "savage," the coercive baptism, the technological superiority of ocean-going vessels and beweaponed Europeans, the dragging and hoisting of the stone cross in an unsubtle echo of Calvary, the edenic tableau of "man" and "woman"[115] in pre-sin innocence, the abduction of a European woman, and her eventual return to "her" people. However, the positioning of some elements, most notably the bi-specied Portuguese (they are bird-headed in Coetzee's image) and the central figures of a scantily clad white woman lounging under a thorn tree with a Khoikhoi man, offers at least a partial reordering of the terms of this transplanted Eden. In other respects, however, gender, race, Christianity, and the forces of dominion take their predictable places, though a number of commentators make the claim that the painting reinvents, resurrects, reconstructs or reinterprets pre-colonial contact dramas, provides an alternative to more typical colonial representations, and does so, in part, by speaking "from the perspective of the indigene," a claim I dispute in the first chapter. It is precisely because icons that have the presumed power to help reintegrate a damaged and fractured nation are so longed for in the period of transition now underway in South Africa that there is a strong temptation to find acceptable such cozy *simulacra.* Even though Coetzee's project refuses to echo sexual prohibitions put in place during the South African late colonial and apartheid periods (by staging a scene of interracial sexuality, for instance), other, equally deeply-rooted colonial tropes are left intact.

In fact, the "missing" shipwreck narratives might have helped Coetzee form a more vigorously renovated picture of the dynamics and emblems of early contact. Had he consulted the (historical) shipwreck narratives, he would have seen desperate and famished Europeans confronting quite often a cast of handsome, dignified and pastorally prosperous indigenes—the Europeans neither victorious in their encounters nor virtuous in their behavior. Of course, Coetzee was readily able to vilify the white seamen in his painting (they are binding T'kama with ropes and leering over the indigenous women) on more widely available evidence than the shipwreck accounts: the early European presence in Africa, and in colonialism everywhere, produced limitless opportunities for concocting humiliations and brutalities, and for indulging in hypocritical lecheries.

While the formulation of founding myths of South Africa has been dependent upon the more or less exclusively male gaze and has perpetuated significant anxiety over the place of the white woman in the "possession" of southern Africa, available contact narratives also produce an unshakable sense of European omnipotence. The European interloper, the "I" whose armature gives shape to the accounts, according to Blanchot's reading of "disaster," emerges as a figure of

[115] The Pioneer 11 space capsule was catapulted out of earth's atmosphere and orbit in 1973, and included prominently among its signs and symbols (a schematic illustration of atomic hydrogen, for instance) an 9-inch gold anodized bas-relief of a naked man and woman, his hand raised in a gesture of good will (a gesture which Coetzee also used, as a visual allusion to Blake's Adam and an allusion to the San hunter's sign language for "presence of giraffes.") The spacecraft's radio signals went silent in 1995 and it is now a ghost ship. (See http://spacecraft.arc.nasa.gov/Space-Projects/pioneer.)

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godlike power, a figure in possession of a preternatural dominion over Africa even at the very moment when the spectacle of contact is beginning. That is, as soon as the foundational drama has entered the realm of representation, and looks back toward the half-seen shadows of an inaugural encounter, it assumes "dominion-over" as a given.

The "I" Blanchot claims untouched by disaster *is* this figure of European dominance, who is both *in* the disaster of contact (via shipwreck narrative, for instance) and *outside* it, as chronicler. The "I, who is spared, who is left aside," in Blanchot's formulation, is the figure upon which many subsequent contact reenactments are premised. Indeed the attachment to notions of European omnipotence remains strong in contemporary southern African literature, even in cases wherein the writer wishes to return to the contact zone (even specifically to a "site" of shipwreck) in order to address social or political anxieties. In Antjie Krog's poem "how long?" the shipwrecked of southern Africa are invoked.

> how long do we mean to last here?
> we who have been wrecked against this lush continent
> without ever indisputably landing in Africa
> we in our American Colonial style houses
> surrounded by parks and gardens
> to escape the claim of the landscape (*Down* 83)

In this stanza, Krog is marking a gap. Wrecked against the shores of Africa, the European "landing" that concerns her is deferred. It is no accident, I think, that Krog chooses the shipwreck metaphor to explore her subject: white South Africans' "place/out of place" in Africa. This absence of visualizable space—between the wreck and a "landing" that should follow— identifies a site of significant cultural blockage in South African literature and cultural memory. By marking this failure to complete a gesture of possession, Krog signals her willingness to question narratives of home and landscape, as they are filtered through a European population "accidentally" fated to occupy southern Africa, but incapable of bringing to an end the disputation that might legitimize its presence. The anxiety of being ungrounded is seen in an earlier deferral of the possessive interests of women (if we consider a subset of Krog's "unlanded" Europeans—women). When Camões relocates Leonor's dying moment from the literal soil of Africa to her husband's ineffective embrace, he contributes to (one might even argue that he originates) the formulation of a ghostly specter of the permanently unlanded—and interjects a scene of impotence and defeat into the masculinity of triumphant imperial expansion.[116]

Even though the gap between wreck and landing is highlighted, Krog nevertheless populates her scene of wretchedness with a specifically white tribe, gathering them into the

[116] Revathi Krishnaswamy suggests a similar challenge to imperial masculinity in the "homosocial economy of colonialism." He maintains, in *Effeminism* (1998), that the Oriental man was not portrayed to any marked extent as a phallic figure or sexual rival to the white male, but his potential for violation hinged on "an assumption of Asiatic duplicity" (35).

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metaphoric category of victims of a casualty beyond their control. By doing so, she skirts the problem of intentionality, and her poem-end claim that "we are after three centuries *nothing more / than* pieces of western curiosa" [my emphasis] blots out quite a lot of history in its haste to reduce a long epoch of white control of southern Africa to a "curiosa."

More importantly, the forebears of white southern Africans, presumably the "we" of Krog's poem, were not, of course, in any literal way thrown ashore in a storm from a capsized or sinking vessel. During the first two hundred years of shipwrecks, Europeans on board either died, were rescued and returned to Europe, or elected to stay with indigenous tribes. That is, those who survived the shipwreck and remained on southern African soil *were assimilated into indigenous black cultures and bloodlines, not white.* In fact, no landed "white" culture existed in the shipwreck period of 1502-1657, prior to Van Riebeeck's small settlement, and thus there was no white group with which to merge.

In later eras, when Europeans did settle in southern Africa,[117] they were typically *not* (ship)wrecked; they were offloaded with their sheep, their barley seed and their tea kettles, and even if a large majority of early settlers in the Cape Colony and the hinterland frontiers experienced deprivation, violence and tragedy, these settler-era difficulties were of a different order entirely from the long, grueling and unrelentingly terrifying shipwreck survivor experiences. The (ship)wrecked emblem, then, as deployed by Krog, sidesteps certain historical realities in its theorizing of whiteness, culture, and maritime catastrophe in Africa. Perhaps to Krog it is the equally unsteerable large-scope forces that rock the boat and wreck the world, but if that is the intent, she has made such an encompassing generality, that the "we" might as well be everyone, and the "lush continent" our own green earth.

While Krog gathers what are presumably European-descent South Africans into a heterogeneous white tribe of victims who are "wrecked against this lush continent," she is not able to mask or erase the sense of an ultimately powerful sense of self-determination. Krog leaves intact the willedness of whether they shall "mean to last" or not (certainly not a choice for any actual shipwrecked Europeans). Determined to challenge conventional versions of the contact drama (such as the typical narrative wherein the European interloper steps ashore and takes dominion in magnificent, well-dressed grandeur) Krog relocates this moment to an accidental and extreme event. But in the end, she is unable to escape the mark of omnipotence, a core omnipotence which underpins the long pageantry of European contact representations.

The shipwreck survivor, in all of his or her gaunt and spectral presence, is rarely recognizably memorialized in contemporary literary, visual, or popular versions of South African originary myths, although Sheila Fugard's *Castaways*, Yvette Christiansë's *Castaway*, and J.M. Coetzee's *Foe* approach the shipwrecked as an emblematic figure in a broad sense. In fact, what would a monument of wild-eyed, wild-haired, demented and famished Europeans—on hands and knees, scouring the close landscape for insects to eat—look like in the middle of Market Square in Port Elizabeth? Who would picnic in the shadow of such a monument?

[117] Five million people, according to Dorothy Driver, emigrated to the colonies between 1815 and 1860, and a significant number of these traveled to South Africa ("Woman as Sign" 5).

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Who would fund it?

No, it is not a heroic vision: undignified and emaciated mannequins crabbing along a dioramic seashore, their clothing hanging in thorn-sundered strips, the horror of starvation in their eyes. Indeed, what is described by the shipwreck chroniclers as the "barbaric and savage" deeds of Europeans, as well as the vulnerability to, and dependence on, the so-called savages encountered, are rarely recognizable in the mythographies of origins in twentieth-century South Africa. It is easy to see why shipwreck accounts figure far less prominently in twentieth-century examinations or interpretations of the contact zone. It is precisely because they do *not* show the Europeans hyper-saturated in power: victorious, virtuous, and providentially exercising dominion over both the wild and domesticated land and landscape.

The more common narratives of origin, such as the extracts reproduced by Raven-Hart, suggest that the frontier band was a divinely sanctioned and steadily expanding limit, representing an orderly growth from the strictly littoral transactions for wood, water, and cattle, outward toward the hard-won borders of present-day South Africa. This plot is made visible by conventional colonial tropes in which the enlightened encounters and slowly exterminates, subalternates or civilizes the savage. This flattening and smoothing of the progress of European dominion erases or deforms accounts which do not propel Europeans into the dominant and triumphant role.

Though not durable as a white tribe, as I have pointed out above, for the first long century of contact (1498-1647), most of the Europeans who made contact with what is now South Africa were, indeed, shipwreck victims,[118] not settlers, military personnel, missionaries or traders. And these shipwrecked Europeans reported on a radically different Africa and African. The indigenous people encountered were quite often described as successful herdsmen, and as having well-formed physiques and pleasing temperaments. Although there are exceptions, the shipwreck survivor accounts do not describe the indigenous man or woman in terms of pungent smell, foul eating habits, grotesque clucking, stupidity and venality,[119] as did the shorter-term, and intrinsically more powerful, visitors to the Cape: the traders, sea captains, settlers, unwrecked seafarers, missionaries, and administrative officials cited by Raven-Hart. These less dependent chroniclers whom Raven-

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[118] The number of shipwreck survivors thrown onto the coastline of southern Africa in the shipwreck era (1498-1686) might have been as high as 5000. Fifteen shipwreck accounts were published (and sixteen shipwrecks were recorded), and these suggest an average of around four hundred European, African, Chinese, Indian and Malay survivors from each shipwreck, a relatively high initial survival rate. With the exception of the *St. Albert* (1593, wrecked near present day East London with 285 initial survivors and 181 ultimate survivors), most of the shipwreck survivors from other ships died along the overland trek or elected to stay behind and were incorporated into indigenous kraals. And of these non-returnees, the Portuguese accounted for perhaps one third, though they were in general less likely to desert the band and stay behind. Even so, as many as 200 Portuguese might have elected to seek hospitality from the indigenous people because of illness, injury or fear. Add to this the fact that a number of unchronicled survivors most probably were wrecked on the coastline, and this estimate might be reasonably increased. As for landed whites in the same period (that is unshipwrecked whites), there were only fourteen free Burghers established in Cape Town at the end of the shipwreck period in 1680 (van Aswegen 76). For evidence of "intermarriage," see the account of the *Our Lady of Belem* (1636) *(RSEA* v8 217).

[119] For more details on European reports about the eating habits of indigenous southern Africans in the seventeenth century, consult the index of Raven-Hart's *BVR*. There you will find twenty-one entries for "Guts etc., eaten almost raw" and thirteen references to "Guts, worn on neck" (198).

Hart has assembled echo one another in representing the indigenous as subhuman. This insistence on the bestial (or Raven-Hart's insistence on selectively reproducing the passages asserting "subhuman" qualities) suggests, as Homi Bhaba has pointed out, that such stereotyping must be understood as the Europeans' response to deep uncertainties of identity (75).

There is one obvious reason that shipwreck survivors did not remark overmuch on the barbarity of the indigenous peoples: it was the Europeans themselves, in European-authored reports, who were filthy and bad smelling, who ate rotting flesh (even human flesh—for there are a several incidents of cannibalism reported[120]) and whose limited linguistic experience did not equip them to break the code of the native languages, even though their lives sometimes depended on it. Although the shipwreck survivors *did* register a felt superiority in two realms (religion and economy), they were most often at the mercy of circumstances.

The religious beliefs and practices of the Portuguese who survived shipwrecks were sometimes an enduring source of compensatory pride and deep solace, even in conditions of the most extreme duress. However, even as they clung to these deeply-felt consolations, such strong attachments tended to signify a kind of refusal to acknowledge *where they were*. The crucifix and blessed banner described below might be compared to Krog's suggestion that the contemporary American colonial houses in South Africa have been constructed as a way to escape "the claim of landscape." After the wreck of the *St. Benedict,*[121] Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello describes how they set out.

> [W]e put ourselves in marching order, carrying a crucifix raised upon a lance, and a blessed banner which was entrusted to Francisco Pires, the boatswain . . . and a picture of Mercy in the rear. We arranged ourselves in single file, one behind the other, the width of the road not admitting of more, and set our faces towards the interior by a path made by elephants, directing ourselves towards a height where it seemed to us we might discover some settlement or signs of it. While we climbed the hill, each one capable of understanding it was thinking in himself how blindly we were setting out upon this long, uncertain, and perilous journey, during which we must certainly die of want and privation . . . . We reached the top of the height, but found . . . we were surrounded by valleys so low and mountains so high that the latter seemed to reach to the stars and the former to the abyss (*RSEA* v1 227-228).

One can almost see the movement of the southern African landscape soaring outward to occupy all visible space, and the talismanic effect of the banner and crucifix melting away. Although the survivors from the wreck of the *St. Benedict* had many reasons to despair, faith in the ultimate justice of God's will was among the last of the home country beliefs to fall. Confessions were practiced in the most extreme conditions, and individuals left by the

[120] The account of the overland trek of the survivors of the *St. Benedict* (1554) reports that they "seized a Kaffir whom they found on the sea-shore, and carrying him into a wood they cut him up and roasted him to furnish their wallets" (*RSEA* v1 257). The account of the *St. John the Baptist* (1647) reported cannibalism of both whites and blacks (*RSEA* v8 90).

[121] This was quite probably the same ship which had carried Camões to India a year before.

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wayside were ritually commended to God's mercy. While this enduring belief system was decidedly not the same as an expression of omnipotence, it nevertheless functioned to connect the miseries of shipwreck to a larger field of individual and group destiny in a strongly Catholic world view.

Barter practices that were advantageous to European shipwreck survivors and disadvantageous to the indigenous people were common. Exchanges among shipwreck survivors themselves (jewels in exchange for being carried, grains of hoarded millet for coins) and between bands of survivors and indigenous groups dominate most accounts—a fish being equal to the price of a large farm in land-poor Portugal, for instance (*RSEA* v1 250). The most generous terms of barter (for the shipwreck victims) were obtained in the remote stretches (along what is now called the Wild Coast) and in the early years.[122] The survivors from the wrecks of the earliest ships, the *St. John* (1552), the *St. Benedict* (1554), and the *St. Thomas* (1589) usually were able to establish favorable trading terms. The survivors of the *St. Benedict* journeyed for twenty-two days before they were able to obtain provisions—cakes made of a seed like mustard, roots, and other things. Several days later, near what is now the St. Lucia estuary, they came to a place where goats, millet and fish were freely provided, "the most plentiful and cheapest halting place which we found . . . . It was the last hour of relief we should find on our whole journey, for thenceforward all was hardship, sorrow and gnashing of teeth" (*RSEA* v1 234-238). By "cheapest," of course, the narrator is referring to the spectacularly cunning trade techniques that the Portuguese utilized, even while facing near starvation.

Race and Gender in the Southern African Contact Zone: C.R. Boxer in Johannesburg (1960)

The reports that described shipwrecks were often undertaken at the insistence of the ruling monarch—Dom João III (1521-1557), Dom Sebastão (1557-1578), Dom Henrique (1578-1580), Dom João IV (1640-1656) or the Spanish rulers of Portugal, Dom Felipe II, III, or IV (1580-1640)—and thus had a "political" purpose—presumably to exculpate certain individuals from charges of nautical or command misjudgments or personal misdeeds; they also functioned as an accounting of valuable merchandise and personnel. The loss of cargo and personal wealth would have been the subject of a round of explanations, recriminations, and either judicial or popular assignment of blame, and a written account of the events might conceivably have been used as evidence. However, the shipwreck narrator himself often seems to have gone far beyond these narrow objectives. Often written by "participant-observers," many of these accounts seem intent upon exorcising the demons that haunt those who have witnessed extreme suffering and whose responses, deeply conditioned by religious prescript and cultural norms, have been warped by unimaginable circumstances. At the same time, these narrators often convey southern Africa, and Africans, as a mere backdrop for European suffering, which was, after all, the primary focus of their accounts. In this way, their writing resembles other, later travelers' accounts, who utilize "southern

[122] John Barrow reports quite favorable terms in 1801, as well: "A cask of brandy was the price of a whole district and nine inches in length of an iron hoop the purchase of a fat ox" (v1 7).

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Africa" as the background for their own exhibitions of gender emancipation, plans for superior stewardship of the land, or religious authorizations of a divinely-sanctioned occupation.

The shipwreck narratives were also sometimes written by early historians of the Portuguese presence in India, such as Diogo do Couto, Keeper of the Archives in India, or Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello; these narrators are at pains to account for the deaths of important personages, to record what happened to any salvaged or "transportable" wealth associated with the voyage,[123] and to formalize and categorize problems with shipping practices, decision making during maritime crises or criminal behavior.

A third purpose, usually quite explicit, was to issue a cautionary tale to subsequent voyagers, and to provide information to travelers who might find themselves in equally dire straits. Advice was provided about which beans were poison, which indigenous groups were friendly, where the food resources were most scarce, where the river banks were steepest, the water unavailable, and the terrain most inhospitable. Several of the accounts make reference to the experiences of those involved in previous shipwrecks, and, in fact, report encounters with seamen from previous wrecks who had elected to stay behind. Thus the cumulative effect of the narratives was to produce a more well-informed, and presumably forewarned, victim of shipwreck. In not all cases were the judicious recommendations heeded (not to alienate the indigenous groups with murder and plunder; not to leave pieces of the ship that contained iron on the shore, as they would be burned to extract the iron, and then the value of the iron used later for barter would fall). However, repeated mistakes through the long sixteenth-century continued to decrease the likelihood of survival, as well as to alert the indigenous peoples to the strain on their food resources that they were likely to experience as shipwrecked bands of hundreds of Europeans and slaves devoured enormous quantities of food (cattle, millet, chickens, and milk).

A fourth purpose of these narratives, of course, was literary: the European appetite for sensationalist tales, published at the time as pamphlets or broadsheets, was great. Their popularity was attributable to the new printing capability, but also presumably by the general public's interest in the tragedies (and the incredible new fortunes) associated with the *carreira da India.* Because of Portugal's small population, and because of the constant need for men to crew the ships and for officials to manage the trade, virtually everyone must have had a relative or friend en route to, returning from, or posted overseas in India, China, Japan, or the Indonesian islands. Additionally, the general interest in the expansionist enterprise was fueled by the political environment, especially in the last half of the shipwreck era. Portugal's sense of autonomous national identity had been damaged (as Portugal had been joined to Spain under the dynasty of Spanish Habsburgs from 1580 to 1640), and the Portuguese state was badly in need of triumphant myths of expansion that would fortify an independent national identity and influence the monarchial and popular will to finance more voyages. Amid the strands of "celebratory" nationalism that narrators were obliged to produce out of these chronicles of tragic failure, some accounts offer sharp criticism of Portuguese behavior (either condemnation of the common seamen as ruffians and brutes or disapproval of administrative practice). However, the criticisms were subtle, done by individuals

[123] See Mike Dash's *Batavia's Graveyard* for a sense of the importance of any shipwreck band keeping close tabs on the wealth of the voyage.

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personally immune from censure, or delayed in publication.[124]

Portuguese maritime exploration itself had a related set of objectives in the long sixteenth-century of exploration. The earliest fleets that went out were instructed to produce sailing directions (*roteiros*) with which subsequent pilots could navigate the round trip from Lisbon to the conquered outposts in India at Goa or Cochin, and then they were to secure these trade routes, through maritime violence, if necessary, and to establish settlements, such as the one at Sofala. Secondly, and from the very beginning, silks, porcelain, carpets, pepper and other spices, and other Eastern trade goods were to be purchased with coins of the realm, and brought back to southern Europe, where they commanded high prices and secured the fortunes of a new aristocracy.

The oceanic environment of the sixteenth-century had not coalesced into a coherent realm, and no "transnational" set of laws governed its use or regulated passage through it. Elizabeth Mancke has pointed out that the "politicization and militarization of oceanic space . . . distinguished European oceanic expansion from that of other seafaring peoples"(1). But even so, pirates, localized sea-going forces, and European trade enterprises competed in the waters off west and east African, southern Indian, and the islands of the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese ships operated politically as aggressors, overcoming defending groups along the coast of India, or as plunderers themselves of local Arab fleets plying the trade routes among Indian, East African, and Arabian ports.[125] They also attacked Dutch or English vessels attempting to establish trading ports in the later period (the mid-seventeenth century). The Portuguese maritime trade was established via locally negotiated treaties and agreements beginning with Goa and Sofala, which were themselves entered into and maintained by the existence or the threat of military might, or, not infrequently, by deceit, manipulation and slaughter. The killing of "infidels" was, of course, justified by a felt religious superiority. Because Arab traders enjoyed a virtual monopoly on trade items from the Orient during the early period of the Portuguese expansion, the overthrow of the existing Arab dominance was a prime objective of the sixteenth-century maritime efforts of Portugal. Martin Fernandez de Figueroa's narrative emphasizes, like others of the time, the religious differences of the contesting groups, but he is nevertheless critical of the Iberian seafarers who landed at Brava, on the coast of India, saying that the event

> occasioned severe cruelty, for the men, blinded by avarice rather than enlightened by mercy, so as not to lose a moment's time, cut off the arms and legs and the ears

[124] The most critical accounts, for instance, were not immediately published. Diogo do Couto, the earliest historian of the Portuguese in India and East Africa, and author of the *Decadas*, a ten-volume history of the "deeds done by the Portuguese in the discovery of the seas and lands of the east" (qtd in Boxer *Tragic* 33), condemns many maritime and trade practices in his account of the wreck of the *St. Thomas* (and in other books of the series), a factor that contributed to the delay in publication of his multi-volume history. Only four of the ten *decadas* were published during his lifetime, and his conclusions about navigation, loading policies, the conduct of many captains, and the outfitting of ships were discredited by the ruling class (Boxer *Tragic* 34).

[125] As Mancke makes clear, the notions of piracy, sovereignty and trade rights were by no means static prior to to the wide acceptance of maritime supremacy as a "defining characteristic of power amongst European states" in the high Imperial age (7). And though the Safavid and Mugal Empires did not have "state" navies, unofficial groups controlled local waters. "Official" rights to trade were granted by land-based governments, and typically secured by military muscle, but the sea routes leading to these trading ports were controlled with less certainty (8-10).

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> which bore the jewelry, without a trace of pity. Good men would never do such a thing, if only because women are vessels of generation and of tender, delicate flesh and gentle condition. What man would not have been moved to pity contemplating their beauty?. . . Worthy of reprimand are such cruel victors and their cruel deeds (McKenna 75).

It is difficult to classify this sort of butchery as "trade," and the more general objective, national pride, appears, in this instance, equally unsupported by the men on the ground, even if official policy had trade dominance and the articulation of national pride as its goals.

Nevertheless, C.R. Boxer, the most important English-language historian of the Portuguese in Africa, produces a narrower set of motivators than the ones outlined above, saying that the expansionist policies of the Portuguese monarchy were born of four more or less specific objectives: "(i) crusading zeal, (ii) desire for Guinea gold, (iii) the quest for Prester John, and (iv) to obtain spices" (*Four* 6). Though Portugal was the last country formally to relinquish the slave trade (a proclamation of 1858 declared that all slaving should cease by 1878), the procurement, transport, and sale of slaves—a commerce spreading to four continents, and in evidence as early as the 1434-1460 period during which Portuguese fleets plied the West African waters (*RSEA* v5 414)—were not factored into Boxer's rather benign picture of religious zealots and gold-seeking merchants.[126] Boxer's remarks about the four motivating factors of the Portuguese expansion were made in Johannesburg, South Africa, in May of 1960, during the first of four public lectures he gave as Visiting Luís de Camões Professor at the Ernest Oppenheimer Institute of Portuguese Studies, and his lectures were later published by the Witwatersrand University Press, as *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey* (1961).

Though Boxer's less succinct *Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (1969), a 409-page examination of the same period, corrects this odd omission in the catalog of expansionist propellants and includes the slave trade as a significant part of the Portuguese maritime project, he consistently understates one other motivator: the substantial effect of the far-reaching maritime conquests on Portuguese national pride and the stabilizing alignments of ethnic and cultural identity around myths of national triumph, played out on the maritime stage. (James Duffy prefers to emphasize the inverse, proposing that the maritime drama of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth century can be collapsed into a discourse of "decline" of Portuguese hegemony.)

Although Boxer does note that maritime exploration and military engagements were aggressively pursued, he emphasizes the *convivencia* of the Portuguese, claiming, along with James Duffy in *Shipwreck & Empire* and A.J.R. Russell-Wood in *The Portuguese Colonial Empire*, that

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[126] The Portuguese expansionist policy that propelled geographic and maritime exploration, as well as the most long-enduring and pernicious period of slave trading, was authorized by the *Romanimus Pontifex*, a Papal Bull that in 1455 granted a trade monopoly to the King of Portugal (though it was an ineffective assertion in terms of the Arab trade dominance in the Indies). Portugal's political position was later strengthened by the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which divided the emerging global discoveries between Spain and Portugal (Boxer *Four* 7, 13), though even this document did little to limit the Dutch, English, and French traders who, beginning in the middle of the seventeenth-century, contested the trade routes, attacked important trading ports, and muscled into the European markets.

the Portuguese (the men, that is) set down roots, intermarried and adjusted themselves to the customs of their host culture with great ease. This easy accommodation with a potentially hostile host population meant that the Portuguese adventurers, traders, seafarers and even missionaries were particularly successful at insinuating their values, their culture, their commercial designs and their political and religious beliefs into the indigenous social structures in the colonies and trading cities of the sixteenth century (as well as, of course, adopting their hosts customs and taking on "native" wives, for instance). Margery Perham, in a frankly apologist account of colonialism, *The Colonial Reckoning* (1962), primly and disapprovingly underscores this marked capacity of the Iberian early colonists and traders to blend with their colonial subjects, saying that they did not (like the British and Dutch) "draw a rigid racial line between themselves and the natives" (105).

The tensions between what Boxer, Duffy and Perham, among others, have identified as the permeable sense of culture associated with the early modern Portuguese, on one hand, and the use of narratives of maritime dominance to assert a myth of national pride, on the other hand, produces a paradox. What permits these early texts to demonstrate cultural permeability while at the same time functioning as narratives of Iberian triumph (considering that rapid cultural assimilation overseas would be antagonistic to declarations of a strong Iberian identity)? And, if we can move to this era, how does the disjunction between national identity (which is strongly attracted to 'borders" and hybridization play out in reconstructions of this contact period in contemporary South Africa founding myths?

Boxer announced in his 1960 lecture series that it was many centuries of Moorish domination that had softened the Portuguese (men) up for their widely accepted disposition toward interracial sexual relationships and the resultant genetic, language and cultural hybridization. Boxer speculates that, along with the obvious geographic advantages Portugal had by being located on the southernmost peninsula of Atlantic Europe, its success in early colonial efforts and trade with the Indies (and South America) was attributable to the stimulating effects of Moorish domination:

> [C]ertain racial characteristics evolved in eight centuries of struggle with the Moors. The long Moorish domination of the peninsula had accustomed many of the Christian inhabitants to regard the swarthier Moor or Arab as a social superior, and the brown Moorish woman as an enviable type of beauty and sexual attractiveness (*Four* 3).

In this statement, Boxer has inexplicably termed an eight-century cultural shift in the Portuguese national character, if such a *longue durée* can be usefully theorized, as an evolution of "racial characteristics," terminology that is perhaps consistent with some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century notions of race, according to Saul Dubow's analysis in *Scientific Racism in Modern South Africa* (1995), but certainly not any recognizable categorization of a southern European nation of ninety-two thousand square miles that was populated with under ten million people in the middle of the twentieth century (http://www.census.gov/ipc /www/idbconf.html), when Boxer was speaking (and an estimated average of one million in the era of Moorish dominion about which Boxer is

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theorizing).

Although Boxer has been long considered the most influential English language scholar to examine the role of the Portuguese in Africa, it is not clear what his objective is in this comment, particularly as it is half retracted several paragraphs later (we musn't "push this [idea] too far," he says). In the end, he distances himself from this surprising explanation of the readiness of the Portuguese early modern explorers, seafarers, traders, and even missionaries to intermarry and interculturate, pawning the idea off on the original "protagonist[s] of this viewpoint," Gilberto Freyre in *Brazil: an Interpretation* (1945) and *The Masters and the Slaves* (1946), and Roy Nash in *The Conquest of Brazil* (1926).[127] Boxer then races off to cover four centuries in his succinct survey.

Yet, by speculating that domination fuels desire, Boxer seems to be suggesting, at that time and place in South Africa, that there might be a scholarly rationale, an early pre-colonial source, for the black peril anxieties of South Africa, for if the audience of white (presumably male) academics who were listening to Boxer applied Freyre's axiom to their own country's racial dynamic, the (white) state's dominance of black men would be fomenting, therefore, a stealthy desire for white women.[128]

Although this idea was inserted in the beginning page or two of Boxer's lectures, and thus occupies an inaugural space in the very pared-down survey that followed, Boxer never returned to the proposition that desire is inflamed by subjugation. Nevertheless, the publishers, in subdividing his lectures, have a section called "miscegenation" (*Four* 59), and thirteen pages are indexed under "miscegenation," including a single, incidental reference to "Mulatto descendants" (*Four* 24), presumably an aftermarket attempt to draw the South African reader's attention to the dangers of such. So, while the publishers have perhaps artificially highlighted any reference to interracial sexuality, Boxer himself gives mixed messages, in that after mentioning the dominion-yields-desire-across-racial-boundaries theory, he refutes this notion by referring to violent dis-accommodation on the part of the Portuguese to Moorish rule, saying that "Hatred and intolerance, not sympathy and understanding, for alien creeds and races was the general rule" (*Four* 4).

While it is impossible to be certain of Boxer's intentions with this ambiguous allusion in his lecture series (was he criticizing South African racial policy and calling for interracial "tolerance," perhaps even proposing that interracial mingling was "natural"? Or was he stoking white fear of cross-race desire?), it is important to note that the model he proposed for understanding integration of the races was located, at least in part, in the Portuguese seafarers' being conditioned to such by many generations of domination in the home country.

[127] José Ortega y Gassett had perhaps a similar phenomenon in mind when he proposed in "The Sportive Origin of the State," that warfare itself was born of the "inclinations of youth," who had banded together and experienced a "strange and mysterious disgust for the women of their own kind with whom they live in the horde and an appetite sharpened by imagination for the others, those alien women, unknown, unseen or only fleetingly espied." He goes on to say the earliest organization into family, a matriarchal organization, was one that was opposed to the state, at least the sportive proto-states which arose from these "restive and covetous youths" who, like Greek athletes, "imposed trials of asceticism and secret bachelor cults upon themselves" (28) when they were not out raiding for alien women.

[128] Of course, it is not surprising that women's desires are not figured into Boxer's diagram of dominance.

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European Barbarity in Africa: "Let this not amaze you"

Let me now take up the question of barbarity. One of the reasons I have asserted that the shipwreck material was neglected in South African myths of origins is that these accounts reflect a picture of Europeans that is unattractive for memorialization or narratives of national (European-descent South African) triumph. Beginning with Herodotus' writing, the physical descriptions of Africans were often phrased in subhuman terms, and relied on tropes of the gigantic, the deformed, and the monstrous. But after early modern contact had begun, the messages sent back to Europe were mixed, containing descriptions of both indigenous "savagery" or "barbarity" and episodes that praised indigenous African culture. Subsequent sifting of the earliest narratives appears to have filtered out most of the depictions of Africans who were honorable, dignified, pastorally prosperous and handsome, as well as those accounts which showed Europeans sunk into "barbarity."

However, few of the shipwreck survivor narrators bestialize the indigenous southern African, as other early reports obsessively do, particularly those that were produced by less desperate Europeans.[129] Most of the excerpts from travelers to the Cape cited by Raven-Hart in *BVR* were produced by ship captains who were simply anchoring for a few hours, days or weeks in order to secure water or animals to slaughter.

More often, in fact, the accounts of shipwreck survival underscore the cumulative effect of months of hardships as "bestializing" the Iberian noblemen and women, the sailors and ship boys, the religious figure and the trader. The narrator of the wreck of the *St. John* claimed after just one month of privation that the survivors no longer had even "the semblance of human beings" (*RSEA* v1 145). In pleading to be abandoned, Antonio Sobrinho de Mesquita insisted that his devoted brother go ahead and leave him behind, as he had already become "only a dead body and a little earth" (*RSEA* v1 254). In this instance Mesquita has removed himself from humanity in order to assuage his brother's guilt for leaving him.

The Europeans also emerge from the shipwreck accounts as culturally and morally degraded: they are described by the narrators as filthy, greedy, dishonest, barbaric and cruel—the survivors' language sinking into the incomprehensible jabber of dementia, their diet consisting of raw or rotten animal flesh, insects, or even one another, and their clothing hanging in shredded rags, ill-arranged to hide their privates. For scholars of early exploration texts, the terms outlined above, of so-called barbarity, are precisely those oft-produced in descriptions of indigenous Africans. With sufficient time in Africa (or with insufficient food), the shipwreck chroniclers appear to be suggesting that the Portuguese would revert to a set of barbaric practices more or less parallel to those attributed by later records to the indigenous people themselves. In 1554, the survivors of the

[129] Both Zine Magubane and William Beinart have mounted strong arguments against this generalization, saying that certain travelers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reject what I am taking to be the more frequently reproduced (and more well-known) stereotypes of indigenous Africans as filthy, savage, and degraded. Beinart highlights the favorable descriptions and evident admiration of indigenous peoples in the reports published by Anders Sparrman, William Burchell and others. See "Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape" (*Journal of Southern African Studies* 24:4 Dec, 1998): 775-799. Magubane's argument rests on the descriptions culled from Burchell, Pringle, and Liechtenstein's writings. See "The Body of the Savage: Humanitarian Narratives, 1800-1827" 23:1 Winter (1997): 1-22 and "Labour Laws and Stereotypes: Images of the Khoikhoi in the Cape in the Age of Abolition," *South African Historical Journal* 35 (1996):115-134.

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St. Benedict came upon a Portuguese man who had been left behind by an earlier band of shipwrecked victims, probably from the *St. John,* which had wrecked two years earlier. The author reported that this man was "so altered in appearance that there was no difference between him and the natives" (RSEA v1 238). According to the recently wrecked Portuguese, who had not yet themselves turned "savage," this was a man who had slipped the bindings of civilization, who had sunk below recognizable civilized norms. Since these early accounts indicate that such a degradation or degeneration could occur so swiftly and completely (not in two or three generations, nor from the intermixing of blood, but from a mere year's *contact*, in conditions of scarcity), it is easy to see why early accounts such as these would be winnowed out by any processing of cultural memory based on significant "natural" differences between indigenous people and European explorers and settlers. In later centuries it was the question of the "elevation of the native" which occupied the minds of those concerned with the disequilibrium of "humanity" in the contact zone; the radical slip into barbarity from a civilized point was obviously not trotted out to support colonialist or racialist policies.

Food was, of course, a principle preoccupation of the survivors, and it is in the descriptions of how food was obtained and consumed that the chronicler's sense of the castaway Portuguese as "barbaric" is most readily seen. The narrator of the wreck of the *St. John the Baptist* (1622), for instance, makes no apology for the survivor's practices: "It was our habit," he said, "not to reject anything but the large dung. . . the smaller, with the hoofs, marrow of the horns, and hide, were all eaten. Let this not amaze you, for such food was welcome to those who ate all the whites and negroes that died" (*RSEA* v8 90). While nearly all of the early (non-shipwrecked) travelers to and settlers in southern Africa reported to be sickened by the eating habits of the indigenous peoples,[130] it took but three weeks for the shipwreck survivors a century earlier to perform an even more culturally repugnant act. In fact, cannibalism was readily admitted by several of the shipwreck chroniclers, horrifying as this extremity must have been to the starving bands (and to those who heard of it back in Portugal).

Aside from the survivors of the *St. Albert* (1593), who enjoyed the most favorable bartering conditions and the least food scarcity (attributed by subsequent historians such as Duffy and Boxer to the prudent, wise, and just leadership of Nuno Velho Pereira), the journeys were attended with prolonged periods of desperate hunger and and maddening thirst. The narrator of the *St. Benedict* reported that a chronic lack of water drove them to stumble along beyond their human capacity, saying that "as diligence and necessity overcome everything, we walked so far that at last we found a little muddy water in the footprints of some elephants. . . . (for these are the crystalline

[130] For details of seafarers', traders' and travelers' attitudes toward indigenous food consumption in the earliest recorded journals, ship logs and other documents, see Raven-Hart's *BVR.* The references to indigenous cannibalism, helpfully indexed under "Hottentots—cannabalism," turn out to be almost certainly specious. Only Pyrard de Laval reports declaratively that "[Hottentots] eat human flesh and entirely raw animals" (qtd in Raven-Hart 47). All other accounts, including several earlier ones, report only speculations, such as Cornelios Claes' in 1609: "*as far as we could perceive* they were cannibals" (qtd in RH 45) [my emphasis]. The projection of a culture's deepest shame upon another culture is not, of course, in any way remarkable. However, it *is* worth remarking that the anthrophagic incidents concerning the Portuguese shipwreck survivors of the sixteenth-century were not repeated in any subsequent summaries of this contact-era literature in southern Africa or Portugal, or are not to be found in any that I have read.

springs of that country)" (*RSEA* v1 239, 262). And he rehearsed in great detail the extent to which the Portuguese had sunk, both morally and physically, because of their privations.

> Anyone who found the bone of an animal bleached with age till it was white as snow ate it reduced to charcoal as if it was a plentiful banquet. Through this want of food the people became so weak that thenceforward they fell into disorder, loitering at the foot of shrubs and falling on the road at every step. All were reduced to such insensibility, and were so affected by their suffering, that even those who remained behind did not realize that they must die in a few hours in abandonment, and those who went forward, expecting the same fate themselves at every moment, showed no sorrow at a sight so fitted to call it forth. Thus they passed over each other . . . as if they had been a *herd of irrational animals*, grazing in that place, their eyes and attention fixed upon the surrounding country to see if they could discover herb, bone, or insect on which they might lay hands . . . and if any of these things appeared all rushed to seize it first; and there were often disputes between relations and friends over a locust, beetle or lizard, so great was the want and suffering which made such base things of value" (*RSEA* v1 251-252) [my emphasis].

These "irrational animals" were capable, nevertheless, of understanding the complex transvaluations that were going on, despite their hallucinatory state. Indeed, the depiction of circumstances by which "base things" became valuable is a recurrent focus of the shipwreck accounts. The transvaluations of behavior, new uses for tangible property, and recalibration of human worth preoccupied many chroniclers. Twenty days into the journey undertaken by the survivors of *Our Lady of Atalyia* (1647), a ship boy came up to a fire burning near the tent of a nobleman and took off his "shoe . . . roasted it and devoured it very greedily in order not to share it with any other." Others warmed water and pepper for sustenance, roasted the covering from a bale of cinnamon or chewed amber (*RSEA* v8 316). At one point,

> the Kaffirs of the underpilot, Balthazar Rodrigues, going apart in search of shellfish, found in a ravine a tyger's head, very rotten, covered with vermin, and of an evil smell. They immediately ate the tongue, and brought the rest to their master very joyfully. He set it to cook with his comrades and Dom Duarte Lobo, first drinking the broth and keeping such good watch that while it was cooking he stood ready with a gun to defend his prize from the others in case they should attempt to steal it; and a religious who asked for a small piece could not obtain it (*RSEA* v8 317-318).

These are the same survivors who had nevertheless set out on their journey three weeks before this moment with some optimism, for they had carried in their wallets those items that they considered indispensable for the journey: copper for barter and "linen for cleanliness" (*RSEA* v8 308).

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Although their copper proved useless for most of the journey (there were no cattle available for trade, indeed no cattle even visible on the horizon), they also rapidly realized, no doubt, that the linen they had packed away was based on unreasonable predictions of their future needs. It was a precipitous fall from civilization that would find clean clothes an utterly superfluous item for the seafarers' survival. And the evident loss of status (and loss of consideration in food distribution) by a religious figure who had survived the initial catastrophe marks a deeper, more substantial delamination of the pre-shipwreck courtesies of a heretofore well-established and firmly stratified social organization.

Though there is less evidence of the sort of automatic attribution of sub- or nonhuman qualities to indigenous peoples that Mary Louise Pratt finds in later travel and exploration accounts from South America (and that Beinart and Magubane dispute in selected cases concerning southern Africa early travel texts), these shipwreck testimonials did demand from the European chronicler in some respects a radical reorganization in both the symbolic and practical realms. It was necessary to revalue nails, jewels, coins, and trade goods, and so a set of altered barter practices was put into place, wherein the African's domesticated animals and the Portuguese copper, bronze, and iron figured prominently. A new hierarchy of human value elevated the hardier slaves and made overweight noblemen and enfeebled women into group liabilities. A new set of rhetorical practices and representational "norms" worked to recalibrate human experience.

Radical Transvaluations in the Shipwreck Literature

When significant cultural norms were overturned, shipwreck narrators often sought to reinscribe these episodes of behavior-at-the-limit into a new kind of normalcy. The shipwreck narrators typically seek to explain the abandonments, protections, punishments, and favors extended to individuals of various classes, races, positions of social status, age, and gender for a home-country reader who may or may not readily comprehend the extreme deprivation, daily terrors, and high fatality rate of these survival marches to Lourenço Marques. However, recognition of the great suffering occasioned by early shipwrecks, and the survival treks associated with them, was one way in which eventual European dominion over southern Africa was legitimized, as if the aggregate of individual European misery carried the promise of collective rewards (such as the political or military control of trade routes, trading rights with specific ports and peoples, and the opportunity to establish colonies). Further, by the very rapid transfer of a significant percentage of the indigenous people's most important resource, cattle, to the shipwreck bands and the other ships who anchored along the shores for reprovisioning, an early and irreversible step was taken in a four-century domination of the indigenous people of southern Africa. A similar rapid transfer of cattle wealth has been noted in studies of a later historical period, and has been theorized as a critical step in the impoverishment of the indigenous people of southern Africa. Richard Elphick has calculated that in the Cape Colony alone, during 1662-1713, the Dutch took as booty or secured by unfair trade fifty thousand of the Khoikhoi sheep and cattle (Schrire 111). Arguably, a similar figure would apply in the period under discussion (1552-1646).

In marked contrast to Adulphe Delegorgue's early nineteenth-century exploration and travel accounts (he reported herds of wild game that stretched from horizon to horizon in Natal), the

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animals of southern Africa mentioned in the shipwreck accounts are almost entirely domesticated animals, suggesting that the herd animals of that period dominated available grazing land.[131] Though the shipwreck survivors of the long-sixteenth century were quite often starving, when they *were* able to procure food, it was almost always from the slaughter of cattle, not from the shooting or trapping of game. Few accounts let more than two or three pages of the narrative pass without an inventory of cattle secured by barter, killed for food, trained to carry packs, or (in the times of scarcity) urgently needed. Sheep were occasionally encountered, and near Port St. Johns the survivors of *Our Lady of Atalyia* marvel at the rare abundance by which each survivor is allotted five hens, and then several days later, eight hens (*RSEA* v8 340). Wild animals were remarkably absent from these accounts, often simply appearing as prints in the mud, tracks through the grass, snares and pitfalls to entrap wild beasts, or other indirect traces. And even though a number of survival parties had guns and powder, there were very few instances recorded of wild game being shot.

The ways in which the southern African "natural world"—the landscape, seascape, plant and animal life, and weather—was animated, by turns made sinister or made to bear the providential sign of salvation, mark these texts as founding or key texts in an emerging imaginary intent upon mythologizing southern Africa. The extreme anxieties, actual sufferings, or situational horror of the trek decompressed or delaminated established codes of (European) behavior. Commerce, whether as barter for food or another form of exchange (for instance, the exchange of the intangibles of knowledge, power, and hospitality to achieve intratribal status or to better the chances for actual survival) was refashioned in the shipwreck accounts. In addition, the place of suffering and the promise of salvation were urgently refitted to accommodate the assault on the limits of experience that a sixteenth-century shipwreck on the coast of southern Africa engendered. The battered but ultimately durable symbols of spiritual salvation, and the tragic conundrums with which the shipwreck victim was faced (the forced choice between impossibly discomforting alternatives) altered the countenance of religious belief and challenged the terms of ethical action. As such, the narratives of the early modern tragedy of shipwreck function in much the same way as classical tragedy, which sharpens itself on the nuances of misfortune only insofar as there is an expectation for chance reversals of fortune, implausible interventions by the divine, or deliverance accomplished by something akin to enlightenment rationality.[132] Finally, while the environment through which the travelers moved, even the seascapes, were animated by the teller's tropes, the narrated body itself moved closer towards a de-animated sign, an abstraction or sign relegated to

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[131] The account of the shipwreck of the *Santiago* (1647), in the Mozambique channel, is an exception. The narrator reports stags, birds, buffaloes, antelopes, elephants, lions, tigers, lizards, crocodiles and hippopotami; also reported was a flourishing indigenous agricultural settlement (millet and other crops) (*RSEA* v1 351-352). Manuel de Faria e Sousa's version of the wreck of *São Gonçalo* (1630), wrecked near the Plettenberg Bay, includes the comment that "there is an infinite number of wild animals of extraordinary size..." (*RSEA* v6 418), but this assessment is not made from direct observation, and is contradicted by numerous first hand accounts from both the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries.

[132] This characterization is from Terry Eagleton. For a much more detailed discussion of the debates surrounding tragedy's history and its various theorists, see Eagleton's *Sweet Violence: The Idea of the Tragic* (2003).

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the service of an expansionist ethos. This growing need of the Portuguese shipwreck chronicles to elevate the suffering body to symbolic significance was propelled by the existence of a particularly fragile sense of nation. Indeed both the overextended, overreaching Portugal, and European colonization in southern Africa in the eighteenth century, called for the sacrifice of the body, in the interests of building a more triumphant version of European expansion and dominion.

The Revocation of Privilege: Transvaluations of Gender and Class

Some of the most significant fault lines appear in the shipwreck tales when the order by which individuals might be disembarked from a sinking ship was established, when rationalizations had to be made for whom to abandon and whom to assist, or when protocols for punishments according to race, gender, and status as slave or servant were required.

Bento Texiera Feyo, the author of the account of the wrecks of the Galleon *Our Lady of Atalyia* and its sister ship, *Sacramento* (1647) (and an actual survivor of the shipwreck of *Our Lady*), reports an increasingly frantic three-day drama of off-loading survivors and supplies, and he is rather scrupulous in noting exactly how a hierarchy of value was established for the off-loading sequence. The first trip to land took supplies of food and arms, and guards for the supplies. The second group off-loaded included all of the noblemen, the two European women (Dona Barbara and the nun Joanna do Espirito Santo) and "all the negresses" on the galleon.

On the second day, however, fifty people were drowned when "A Chinese of Dom Sebastião Lobo, who remained on board, cut the surf-line" (*RSEA* v8 305), which had been stabilizing the off-loading boat in the high winds, either as a desperate act of revenge for his being left on board to perish, or as an apocryphal explanation of accidental tragedy meant to recalibrate the class and race hierarchies that directed, to a considerable extent, the terms and likelihood of eventual survival. The treachery of Dom Sebastião's Chinese servant was reported by the several slaves who made it to shore by swimming or hanging onto pieces of the ship, but it is not clear what these slave survivors would have had to gain by fabricating such an inexplicable action, unless it was to increase their own value (as the lowest status beings) by decreasing the value of the Chinese servants. One thing is clear, however: the slaves who reported this act of treachery, regardless of its truth, had themselves been barred from all the rescue trips to shore, and they were surely aware of their own relative unimportance in the Captain's hierarchy of value. Had they not made it to shore on their own, they would have drowned.

The ship's breakup on the third day left two hundred people still aboard the floating halves. Even unrescued white men, "with no refuge but a rail of the poop on which was an image of our Lady of Atalyia" (*RSEA* v8 306), were reported still on the ship by several negroes who successfully swam ashore in the last hours before the ship went down—an instance, if true, of a significant alteration of several hierarchies, as I will show below, although the report was conceivably a ruse, like the report of the surf line being cut, meant to initiate a last, very dangerous rescue trip to the sinking vessel. Either way, it appears to be an instance of the slaves using their understanding of shipboard and shipwreck values to manipulate the uncertain hierarchies emerging, or sure to emerge, out of the post-shipwreck events.

It is important to note that the offloading sequence assigns the male slaves a place

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decisively below that of the slave women, who were put ashore in the second of seven boatloads. Whether or not the stories of the Chinese servant's treachery—and the Portuguese men abandoned on a sinking ship while female slaves were saved—were fabricated, there was no doubt a struggle underway among different groups trying to avoid occupying the lowest (and sure to be abandoned) rank in the shifting categories of the worthy. On July 7, 1647, three days after the first survivors had reached the shore, including the Portuguese women and the female slaves, "the ship went entirely to pieces . . . . To this was the wealth of such a mighty ship reduced, and here many found themselves poor and naked, who a short time before were rich and well clothed" (*RSEA* v8 300). Feyo reflects on two changes of status, from rich to poor, and from well-clothed to naked, but in fact, a number of valuations remained intact, as the wealthy noblemen and the high ranking officers continued to exercise control over resources and decision-making, at least for the first several weeks, "naked" and "poor" though they were.

One position, however, gave way immediately. Two days into the march, the privilege of gender, evidenced in the women's early rescue from a sinking ship, was revoked. The white women survivors, although presumably uninjured and not ill, were demoted to the category of the "incapable," and effectively equated with those whose injuries rendered them speechless or beyond all hope. Through a facade of democratic process,

> the Captain called a council to determine what was to be done with the women and the incapable, who prevented us from traveling with the necessary speed . . . [S]eeing . . . that the pilot, the notary, Dona Barbara, and Joanna do Espirito Santo could not accompany us, and by waiting for them we all exposed ourselves to perishing of hunger, it was resolved to tell the women to walk in front, there being now no question of the pilot and notary, for one was already speechless and the other past all hope (*RSEA* v8 309).

This maneuver accomplishes what is, in effect, an abandonment, by decreeing that the women would have to walk in front and thereby set the pace for the trekkers. After the group met and rendered its decision, the women resigned themselves to their fate and told the others that they could not (or would not) go on. Dona Barbara and the nun Joanna do Espirito were left without food on the second day of the trek by a group decision-making process that articulated a set of rapidly shifting criteria for human value, one that would grow increasingly warped by the rigors of starvation, intermittent combat with indigenous groups, and exposure.

Three weeks later, a small band of survivors from the *Sacramento* (*Our Lady of Atalyia's* sister ship), which had wrecked near present day Port Elizabeth, came across Dona Barbara. This group of survivors had an opportunity to rescue her and take her along with them (the nun had died), but when they asked Dona Barbara if she could walk (and when she responded, no), they also left her to die. The account does not reveal how the two women stayed alive, one of them for more than three weeks, as they had been left without water or food. However, once again, the ability to walk was the capacity without which Dona Barbara could not expect to be welcomed into the band.

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The narrator's initial assessment, that the survivors from the *Our Lady of Atalyia* found themselves on the southern coast of Africa naked and poor, a condition that would have muted or erased visible class distinctions, turns out to be but a figure of speech. A high-ranking fat man was, in fact, carried for six or seven days into the trek, and he not only was clothed (for it was from amongst the folds of his clothing that he drew payment for services rendered), he was also rich: the nobleman had rubies, relics, crosses, and coins on his flesh-burdened self. Here is Feyo's account of how the corpulent Portuguese was initially treated: "Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira was so unfit for walking, being very much burdened with flesh, and having other complaints, that he could not take a few steps on his feet; and therefore he asked the ship boys [to] . . . . carry him in a net which they made of fishing lines, he paying eight hundred xerafins to each ship-boy" (*RSEA* v8 308).

If a hierarchy that extended considerations to Portuguese women broke down in two days, it took just five days for the considerations afforded the wealthy to disintegrate. The ship boys (a term for grown men of low status, as well as the very young and inexperienced seamen) evidently could, in this situation, refuse to go on carrying the nobleman, as their assistance was a purchased service, negotiated in a free market, and not a duty of their seagoing contract. On the sixth day of the trek, the ship boys did indeed refuse, making it clear that the command structure of shipboard life was no longer in effect, now that the shipwreck had delaminated individual "place" in a stratified system of human functions, values, and responsibilities. Currency, jewels and, more remarkably, the promise of eventual payment continued to have a weak and intermittent power in the economy of survival. As a promise of payment some time in the future was a particularly lightweight transaction, it was favored by many of those healthy enough and vigorous enough to assist others. These promises to pay were duly noted in a "King's Book," a document also recording available resources, official responsibilities for various duties, the details of transactions (both intragroup and with the indigenous groups encountered along the way), punishments meted out, and geographic data, particularly the estimated distance between rivers that needed to be forded, and the depths of these rivers. Most of the treks carried this book with them to the end, and it was the document from which the formal testimony was quite often constructed.

After the ship boys refused the labor of carrying Dom Sebastião over difficult ground, sixteen sailors were induced to carry him, by the promise of riches. But just one day later, this arrangement also proved too cumbersome, and the precious energy expended not worthwhile to the sailors. Energy, vitality, and strength then rose in value, and gold, silver and rubies abruptly became valueless. Dom Sebastião resigned himself to his fate, as had the women five days earlier. He had ruby rings, which he distributed to those who had carried him, and he gave away his small copper kettle, his cross and relics, and other valuables. The narrator reported that "he remained without any food whatever, for there was none, and all parted from him with just sorrow, leaving him under a little cloth tent, fat and in good health, with his strength unimpaired, because he would not venture to proceed on foot" (*RSEA* v8 312). This refusal to go on is much like Leonor's refusal to move from the spot where she was stripped; that is, Dom Sebastião exerts a final desire not to be driven to the edge of extremity by circumstances, but to meet death on his own terms, in so far as that was possible. To refuse to walk was suicide, but ahead, he no doubt reasoned, was also certain death,

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made more awful by the unendurable humiliation of being "voted out" of the category of worthy humanity. He had surely noticed that Dona Barbara and the nun Joanna do Espirito were abandoned precisely because they could not, or would not, walk (or perhaps because they could not walk fast enough). Therefore, he chose to be the author of his own last scene—fat man sitting in a little cloth tent, in good health.

Slaves also experienced changes of status, sometimes a mere shifting of the terms of their place in the band of survivors, sometimes a decided improvement. While the Portuguese lost little time in reinventing a new hierarchy of value for European survivors (which often valued resourceful sailors, good marksmen, or particularly strong individuals more than noblemen, noblewomen, religious personnel and even ship's captains), slaves' loyalty for a time adhered, or was made to adhere by who knows what admonition, to the old order. It was reported that "a little Chinese and Kaffir, who had belonged to Domingos Borges de Sousa" (*RSEA* v8 312) remained with Dom Sebastião, although this is in conflict with the narrator's remark that the nobleman remained "alone." Presumably "alone," in this instance, means without other European companionship.

Freed by the death of their masters, slaves then made their own decisions about whether to stay with a nearby kraal or continue on. In one instance, "[A] freed negress and her son, who had belonged to the nun Joanna do Espirito Santo, fled from us, taking another negress of the Malay race, the slave of Domingos Borges de Sousa . . ." (*RSEA* v8 337). Must a free person flee? The narrative is unclear, but it seems to indicate that the freed negress had "legal" rights in the delaminating environment of a shipwreck survivor trek, but that the slave of Borges de Sousa did not. She was still a slave, until her owner died.

Slaves were sometimes rewarded on precisely the same terms as the Portuguese, especially for attempting dangerous tasks that would benefit the entire group. When a negro from the wreck of the *St. John the Baptist* (1622) was sent to sound a river in order to establish a fording spot, he was paid with a gold chain. The narrator, Francisco 'd Almada, reasoned that "he might do it with a better will" if there were a payment involved (*RSEA* v8 123). The writing of this particular shipwreck account was directed to his Majesty's Council of the Treasury, and, perhaps for this reason, the generosity needed to be justified. By way of explanation, d'Almada reported that "here, [the slaves] *were not our captives* and to prevent them from escaping and joining the natives it was necessary to keep them well satisfied" (*RSEA* v8 123). Although there were certainly differences among the various shipwreck policies regarding the desertion or abandonment of personnel, a strong slave was evidently worth more to the bands of survivors than the fat, the female, the injured or the ill.

The difficulties of the trek thus made the status of individuals unstable, and the abandoned, deserting, and mortally ill were, in certain circumstances, capable of asserting their individual rights—in defiance of the will of the majority and in defiance of their status before the shipwreck. When resources were scarce and group survival was most desperate, new hierarchies were established, and these changes of status were moderated by various rhetorical means.

Approaching the area near present-day Port St. Johns, after two months of extreme scarcity moving from somewhere near present-day Haga Haga, the fertility of the area and the easy

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availability of barter items tempted several survivors of the *Our Lady of Atalyia* (1647) to violate the ban on bartering individually for goods. A trial was held. The master found that three whites and three negroes had traded illegally, and it was "decreed that two of the three whites should be led through the camp by a rope, their offense being proclaimed and their hands pierced" (*RSEA* v8 321). The third white was let go, proof lacking, and one slave was executed by a "mulatto," lots determining which of the three slaves would fall to this ultimate, but evidently scapegoatish, punishment. The remaining two slaves were whipped through the camp. A similar punishment was meted out to "a page of the captain, who was hoisted on the shoulders of a negro and severely whipped, with proclamation of his offense" (*RSEA* v8 321). This bizarre calibration of punishment presumably subdivided the force of the whipping between the back of the slave and the page himself. However, in both punishments above a borderline is significant—in one case, the mulatto, a boundary figure that might have been considered to have divided allegiances or be a neutral agent, is charged with executing the punishments. And the double whipping was perhaps designed to distribute the punishment, to provide a sort of surrogate participation.

The De-Animated Body: The Re-Animated Natural World

To consider the European body itself, as it is represented in these shipwreck accounts, is to confront a stark repudiation of European superiority, a repudiation which defies the master narrative of global dominion emerging out of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. The body, falling into its shallow grave, trudging into starvation, descending into speechlessness and abandonment, confronts and even challenges the subsequent mythologizing of early Europeans in southern Africa, narratives which more typically assert a heroic European and a barbaric indigenous African.

Descriptions of the privations and afflictions of the shipwrecked who landed more or less unprotected on southern African shores were not the only purpose of these accounts, of course. The European body, in circumstances of extreme duress, emerges radically refigured as a *graphos* on the land of Africa. If textually there is ample evidence of the body remaking itself into a signifier on the land, it is only after both the shore and the sea themselves shift from emblems of safety into animated figures of menace. In the case of the *St. Benedict* (1554), for instance, both the sea and the ship itself move from entities representing security to loci of horrifying peril.

> It was a frightful thing to see . . . [the] torture which the fury of the sea inflicted on all for everywhere there appeared some who could swim no farther in the last painful struggles with the water which was choking them . . . others who were wounded by the debris . . . were finished by the waves which dashed them upon the rocks; others were wounded by the lances and nails in floating timbers . . . the colour of the water was red with blood (*RSEA* v1 220).

In the passage above, the sea is brought into the realm of the sentient, and figured as a torturer, capable of entering into "painful struggle" and of "choking" the seamen, the waves themselves not merely natural forces but, in fact, emergent beings with malign and even sadistic intent. And,

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while the sea turns sinister, the very ship itself transmutates: pieces of the wrecked ship are refigured into "lances," and the nails that had held the ship together become the injurious means by which the seamen, slaves and passengers are pierced and even crucified. Although the ship maimed the survivors as it came apart, it was also accorded a religious status (as it was still visible in the water) and the survivors thought of it as a remnant of their home, a synecdoche of origins and safety. As they departed from it, the ship seemed to them a "relic and a certain portion of our desired country, from whose shelter and company we could not separate ourselves without deep feeling" (*RSEA* v1 228). In other accounts, the wrecked ship does not stay put as ship, symbol of home, or even as weapon, but gets dashed against the shore, and becomes embodied (like the animated landscape), morphing into a scattering of elemental wood scraps, in the case of the *St. John* with "not a piece of the galleon as large as a man's arm remaining" (*RSEA* v1 134).

The distressed body proves rhetorically flexible. Captain Fernao d'Alvares, from the wreck of the *St. Benedict*, a man whose "nobility, illustrious virtues, lively discretion, unblemished chivalry and honorable age" could not protect him from the plotting of the younger, abler seamen who wanted to press on faster, was drowned when fording a river. His drowning blocked his last prayer to God, so he "raised [his] hands to heaven in confession of faith, [as] the water prevented [him] from confessing with his lips" (*RSEA* v1 243). According to the narrative, the river water was an obstacle to the Captain's observance of religious rite, but his hands took over the job; raised to heaven, they performed what his lips were barred from doing, an instance of the expiring body itself overcoming the indifference or malignity of the African elements.

Thus, while the shipwreck survivors (and the corpses) take an increasingly abstracted form, as the bodies fold down onto or into the land, and the seascapes (emblems of possession—a European history beginning to write itself on the "blank body" of Africa), the natural forces, such as the topography itself, the wind, and the sea, are animated and are represented as responsive to the predicaments of the survivors, by turns spiteful or grudgingly helpful. In most of the high moments of the shipwreck drama, the natural elements alone orchestrate the events, freighted as they are with either active or potential menace. The inadequacy of the human to counteract these sinister natural forces is usually evident, although sometimes magical beliefs intervene. In the case of the *Sacramento* (1647), someone saw "our Lady appear upon the maintop with a light like a crown of great brilliance" and later "the fathers were obliged to relieve each other in the stern every hour and continue blessing the waves, for if they desisted for a moment we were overwhelmed" (*RSEA* v8 302). During the shipwreck of the *St. Thomas* (1589) the voyagers passed the last night onboard ship in "great trouble and distress, for everything they could see represented death. Beneath them was a ship full of water, above them a sky covered with the deepest gloom and darkness, as if conspiring against all. The air moaned on every side as if it was calling out death! death!" (*RSEA* v2 190). Diogo do Couto, Keeper of the Archives in India, (and a survivor himself of the wreck) compiled this account of shipwreck eleven years after the fact, at the behest of the widow Dona Anna de Lima, and his horror at the seafarers being at the mercy of the sinister elements that were "conspiring against them all" is palpable.

The death of one passenger on the *St. Benedict* (1554) was deeply mourned, and because of the courage with which he met the various misfortunes attending the voyage, this death was a

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particularly difficult challenge to the seamen's understanding of religious justice, and was rationalized by seeing God's intervention as a way of protecting the victim from further evils. Here is the dead man's "elegy":

> Dom Alvaro de Noronha . . . in this disaster plainly showed that if human effort could have averted it, his heroic efforts and unwearied care and vigilance would have sufficed to do so, and the esteem merited by his past deeds and his behavior in this and other adversities was so rooted in the hearts of all, that his death was unanimously mourned. . . . the Lord was not pleased to preserve him for the many evils which were certain to ensue (*RSEA* v1 221).

Perestrello, the narrator, then goes on to make an explicit emblem of his body, in its violent death, reporting that a "careless, deaf and furious wave dashed [Dom Alvaro de Noronha] from the mast on which he was and drew him under the sail from which he never rose again" (*RSEA* v1 221). The "careless, deaf and furious wave" comes alive through personification in the same textual moment that Noronha goes under and dies—a momentous transference of animating energy.

The scene is formulated symbolically, in that Biblical emblems can be understood in the figure that is sketched out—the mast as cross (and the body clinging to it becomes a kind of failed sail) and the non-resurrectable finality of a burial at sea. Noronha's body is transformed into an ideogram overwriting the seascape: the drowned body replaces the wind in the copious folds of the waterlogged sails, the dead body quickened into legibility as it curls into a sailcloth pouch that has been swept underwater. This disordering of the elements of air and sea, this reversal of cloth sail into underwater trap and wooden mast into failed armature, this deafness of the waves to prayer or placatory ritual, suggests a radical rearrangement of symbolic orders that puts forward the body itself, in corpse form or in postures of extremity, as what marks, and then possesses, southern Africa.

Dramatized on a rhetorically embellished stage that spotlights bodily suffering, rather than the trade-based, frontier war, or emigration enterprises that more frequently are invoked in the meta-narrative of the pre-colonial or early colonial era, this occupation via textual account produced a rapid cycling of the tropes of body, boat, sea and land. In fact, the shore itself (which from afar seemed as though it might offer salvation, seemed to be the only hope left as the ship is breaking apart and sinking) turned into a monstrously unresponsive entity, capable, in fact, of more than indifference—the very shore is represented as an active agent, equipped to wound and injure. When the shipwreck survivors were disembarking from the disintegrating *St. Benedict* (1554), "the soundest [were] carrying those who were badly wounded on their shoulders, for all were wounded more or less, some in the sea, and some by the sharp rocks on which they had landed, which were so rugged that none could save themselves without being wounded by them" (*RSEA* v1 221). If the shoreline wounded, the waves behaved with deaf fury, and the ship itself was transformed into a battery of weaponized menaces, the whole sphere of the seen landscape was likewise transformed by the multi-graphic impulses of the text: its capacity to wound marred the sense of imminent salvation in these accounts and deferred the triumphant spectacle of survivorship.

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Instead of a site of deliverance, the African shore became a kind of *tabula rasa,* which might be overwritten by the actual debris of the boat, the trade goods, and the bodies of the dead. When, for instance, the survivors of the *St. Benedict* (1554) shipwreck emerged at dawn to find what might be salvaged, they discovered, in what might be called cinematic or theatrical terms, that the shore was

> strewn with dead bodies disfigured by hideous wounds and deformities, which gave evidence of the painful death they had suffered. Some lay above and some underneath the rocks, and of many nothing was visible but heads, arms or legs, and their faces were covered with sand, boxes and other things. No small space was occupied with the property cast up from the wreck, for as far as our eyes could reach both sides of the shore were covered with scented drugs and an infinite diversity of goods and precious things, many of them strewn round their owners, to whom they were not only worthless in their present necessity, but . . . by their weight had caused the death of those who had been excessively attached to them in life (*RSEA* v1 222).

If the precious cargo became irrelevant and useless in time of shipwreck, that mutability is understandable. The trade goods could not then be converted into cash in public salvage sales, as were the trade items washed ashore in the next centuries, such as the salvage from the Dutch ship the *Willem de Zwyger*, which was wrecked in 1863 (Turner 56), in order to make up for some of the losses suffered by the ship's captains, financiers or royal sponsors. But Perestrello, the chronicler of the wreck of the *St. Benedict*, goes even farther, and accuses the "precious goods" of being the *cause* (by their weight) of death—and, like the boat, the shore, the sea, and the wind—rhetorically turned from "wealth creators" into unwholesomely desired and physically dangerous liabilities.

Trade goods, then, were seen as collaborators (along with evil weather, evil sea, and evil ship design) in the mighty misfortunes and mass drownings, and "caused the death" of those who loaded themselves with gold, gems or specie before they jumped overboard. But the nonperishable items that were "offered" up by the sea, in a kind of tardy beneficence (mostly those goods which floated, such as casks and some textiles) were put to good use. In the case of the *St. Albert,* a shelter was made.

> From the surplus of things thus cast away we soon provided ourselves with what was necessary . . . . [I]n a few hours [we made] a superb lodging . . . of rich carpets, pieces of gold cloth, and silk, put to a very different use from that for which they were made, and for which they were intended by their owners (*RSEA* v1 222-223).

In the opposition of intended use to actual use in the passage above, we can see that the shipwreck survivors' salvaged trade items are produced as mutable. The mutability, in fact, signals a defiance

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and they operate as functions of a new epistemology, in which the "rich carpets, pieces of gold cloth, and silk" are remade into something actually antagonistic to the desires of the owner, that is, their desires for profit or luxurious products. Both trade items and nautical supplies jockey for position in a radically reordered world, and the processes of revaluation or transvaluation mediate the contest.

The survivors of the *St. Alberto* (1593) also made use of the trade goods, and the narrator specifically recognizes that the new context provided a new "identity" to the goods being transported for profit, and that in the hard choices and slim margin for error that characterized the economy of survival, the opulent trappings of wealth were only as valuable as the use to which they (newly) could be applied. When they had collected themselves and all that had washed ashore, "[T]hey made tents of valuable carpets . . . of rich quilts, of gunjoens chests and mats from the Maldive islands, which had been laden in the ship for a very different purpose; and in these they took refuge from the cold and night and the sun by day" (*RSEA* v2 290). Once on land, the altered values of the people and goods surviving the wreck made the choices of what, or whom, to carry difficult. Dom Sebastião Lobo da Silveira's large body was carried for an enormous sum, for instance, but the payment form—coins—was itself a burden and so, ultimately, both weights were discarded.

Although there are many cases of the coins, brass, beads, guns, iron or jewels that had been brought along on the survival trek *causing* the death of those trying to ford a stream or climb a mountain, the loss of those items was also, on occasion, seen as a lethal loss. In one case, iron bartering material was equated with actual biological life. On a day that was termed that of "greatest hardship,"

> the ascent was so steep that it could with difficulty be accomplished by an unburdened person, but to those encumbered with arms and other hindrances it was so impossible that we were forced to abandon most of the iron we had with us, and afterwards our want of it was so great that we knew full well that what we left there was not iron but lives (*RSEA* v1 229).

Thus, the landscapes and seascapes through which the shipwreck survivors move in their agitated state are animated and produced as "careless, deaf, and furious," and the trade items either cause death by their weight or cause death by their absence. At the same time, the body itself moves toward a more and more abstracted presence: Noronha, the man, in death becomes a curled graphos, and the figure of the chaste Leonor (a corpse that stiffens into a conduit) connects the land of southern Africa with the eventual discourses of occupation. In addition, she is positioned as a figure which conceives of, gives birth to, an authorizing discourse—her body-in-the-text signifying obedience to the imperial need to secure European *female* chastity, modesty, and racial purity in its overseas campaigns (as opposed to the widely commended disposition for Portuguese men to intermarry and interculturate). Most significantly a foremother of the later female European travelers to southern Africa, Dona Leonor de Sá can be also understood as occupying a number of seemingly contradictory positions. Her emblematic self-burial in the soil of southern Africa

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produces a gesture of irrevocable possession and the materialization of her modesty produces an improbable assurance of the fantasy of female inviolability.

The first European women on record to travel in southern Africa were Portuguese noblewoman—accidental travelers, starving and stumbling along elephant tracks or deliriously picking their way up steep and rocky mountainsides. The records of these women's contact with southern Africa (of which Leonor de Sá's was the most remarkable) have produced a neglected diagramming of gender and space, of the body and the land. These are historically and symbolically vital texts that might well have spoken, or might yet speak, to the commemorative discourses of present-day South Africa.

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PART 2
The Gender Contact Zone

If the presence of Portuguese women marooned in southern Africa in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries produced uncertainty in the texts and images circulating in Europe at the time, surely the explicitly colonial era, wherein European women were intended to settle in southern Africa, would call forth its own specific, and related, imperial anxieties. I am concerned in this part of the study with trying to understand how women travelers' impressions of southern Africa were intertwined with imperial objectives in their own era, but whose stories are also relevant to the development of national identity—and the notion of (white) female hyper-vulnerabilty—in present-day South Africa.

British women travelers and their texts about southern Africa parallel an era of change in the colonial status of, and imperial objectives toward, southern Africa, a change marked by a turn from the casually administered "provisioning" colonialism that characterized imperial relations with Cape Town and the surrounding countryside, beginning in 1652, to the landed-settler colonialism of the late eighteenth century. This turn from a provisioning settlement to a landed-colonialism has a parallel in the writing by British women about southern Africa. The move toward a landed-settler colonialism can be dated from 1779, the year of the first frontier war (van Aswegan 138).[133] Although there were earlier (nonsettler) forays into the interior for ivory, and individual farmer-settlers had begun to move inland, there were few organized settlements far from Cape Town which required military defense. The military engagements of the first frontier war were deemed necessary in order to legitimize the increased pace and geographic spread of European claims on hinterland spaces, particularly in the Graaff-Reinet and Fish/Sunday River areas during the late eighteenth century (van Aswegan 137) .

The increase in inland settlement, and consequent conflicts between settlers and the indigenous people being driven out, was paralleled by an influx of European women, as both new residents and travelers. While early female settlers, such as Sophia Pigot (an early nineteenth century diarist) and child diarist Iris Vaughn (late nineteenth century), provided terse and abbreviated accounts, the women travelers and temporary residents often left a more expansive record of their encounter experiences or recorded their observations with new eyes. Lady Anne Barnard's letters and journals, especially, are very detailed and cover a more or less continuous

[133] Professor Saunders has termed this the beginning of the hundred year war, according to Mostert's *Frontiers* (230).

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period from 1797-1801. Mary Ann Parker's experiences were recorded in 1795, Priscilla Wakefield's in 1801, and Ann Hamilton's in 1810. The long nineteenth century era of women's travel and occasional writing concerned with southern Africa would reach a peak at the end of the nineteenth century—the period leading up to and following the Anglo-Boer war (1898-1902)—with over fifty works published between 1880-1910. (See Appendices 8a, 8b and 8c for bibliographic and graphic information about this era of women's writing about southern Africa.) This later period of women's writing coincides with an intensified British will to assert dominion in South Africa.

Traveling women's letters, articles and books had an impact on how anxieties toward colonial intimacies and female safety were understood in Great Britain, and thus presumably they had an influence on subsequent settlement strategies and home-country attitudes toward the safety of those women already emigrated to southern Africa. The *corpus* of writing by female travelers to southern Africa in the early, mid- and late colonial periods consists of over one hundred and twenty published works: casual memoirs, jaunty travel texts, inspirational missionary records, trade expeditions, accounts of botanical explorations, hinterland journals, collections of letters and journalists' impressions. Rarely examined as a distinct body of literature that had implications in the development of the South African state, these works are nevertheless important to understanding how British efforts to proclaim dominion in South Africa hinged, in part, on securing the belief that a sphere of safety or inviolability would surround women's movements through the frontier spaces of southern Africa. These traveling, writing women were the vanguard force that created what was understood to be a trustworthy representation of spaces in which women might safely settle, as male travelers and hinterland explorers expended little or no effort in tracing out the social circumstances or expectations for physical safety which settler women would likely encounter should they emigrate to southern Africa. That is, male travelers evidently did not perceive their reports as addressing emigrating or soon-to-emigrate women, nor were they bent on assuaging home-country fears about the safety of women already resident in South Africa. Instead male travelers reveled in the homosocial world of hinterland exploration and industrious cataloguing, highlighting their own triumphs over topography, intrusion into indigenous spaces, or plans for productive utilization.

The periodization for women's writings I have used in this part of my study will provide a more useful category than the "strict" nineteenth century or the Romantic or Victorian era—the

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more typical indicators for travel periods.[134] Because I am concerned with discursive patterns, rhetorical authorizations for the exercise of dominion, the creation of an expectation for female inviolability, and the British woman's bodily relationship with southern Africa—rather than contributing to a short segment of historical knowledge—I have permitted myself this extended period. Although I identify these two subgenres in terms of period, I am securing my argument to a discursive rather than an historical rationale.

That is, I do not argue that anxieties about European women's presence in Africa provoked by the early shipwreck texts found utterance in later British women traveler accounts in any straightforward way. Instead, I suggest that British women's texts were responding to more generalized fears about the loss of control over women's bodies—fears which had been well circulated in exploration and frontier narratives around the world for over two centuries.

Generalized fears about European women in the contact zone had been a significant force since the mid seventeenth century—and these fears were fueled principally by the many publications of North American captivity narratives, of which Mary Rowlandson's *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, a Minister's Wife in New-England, Wherin is set Forth the Cruel and Inhumane Usage she Underwent amongst the Heathens, for Eleven Weeks time and her Deliverance from them*(1682) was the first well known one. The material conditions for women from New England, especially, were quite precarious, and the capture, sale of, and murder of women and children were relatively common. Katherine Zabelle Derounian-Stodola estimates that tens of thousands of colonists were captured during the American expansion from coastal areas inland and then westward. Of these, hundreds wrote of their ordeals. Readily published and widely circulated,[135] this genre was in many ways the first literature of the Americas and individual accounts were often fictionalized, anthologized, or elements were incorporated into other forms of art, theatre, or storytelling (xv).

Thus the earliest wave of southern African travel writing, up until the mid-nineteenth century at least, was produced for a British readership that would have been habituated—via North

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[134] Ina Ferris uses the Edwardian and Romantic Eras as temporal markers in "Mobile Words: Romantic Travel Writing and Print Anxiety" (*Modern Language Quarterly* 60:4 Dec (1999): 451-459; W. H. Davenport Adams used the nineteenth century in *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century* (1883). Dorothy Middleton favored the Victorian, in *Victorian Women Travellers* (1965), as did the reference book editors, Barbara Brothers and Julia Gergits, in *Dictionary of Literary Biography, British Travel Writers, 1876-1901: Victorian Period* (1996). Michelle Adler, in *Skirting the Edge of Civilization: British Women Travelers and Travel Writers in South Africa 1797-1899* rolls the century back a few years, almost certainly to include the writings of Lady Anne Barnard which cover a period of time from 1797-1801. My greater extension also is designed for capturing an important early record, the letters of Mrs. Kindersley (published in 1777) which describes a landing in Cape Town in 1771. No records written by an European woman exist before 1777 (at least none that I have located), so I am extending the more conventional nineteenth-century period in order to include this important "first" document. Likewise, at the other end bracket, it would be difficult to separate the writings of British women about the Anglo-Boer war from the earlier writings about southern Africa (if only to include them statistically) so I have used the date 1910 to capture a significant explosion of women's writings about South Africa. Although I do not introduce these writings in any detail, I do provide a survey of this blossoming of texts written by outsider women and directed, in part, to the re-establishment of a sense of female inviolability in the frontier or colonial spaces of southern Africa.

[135] See <http://www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/rbm/kislak/colonial/rowlandson2.html> for a selection of title pages of various editions of Rowlandson's work.

American captivity narratives—to considering women colonists a hyper-vulnerable group. As was the case in Adamastor's warning of the perils of sixteenth-century maritime trade, captivity by "savages" was considered a fate worse than death, especially for women who might be pressed into sexual relations or "marriages," or be witness to horrific violence, such as the much publicized "scalpings" in North America.[136] The wide circulation of captivity narratives stoked, rather than assuaged, fears about the safety and status of women in frontier societies.[137] In this case, the emphasis of dangers to settler women via captivity was conceivably instrumental in legitimizing military and *ad hoc* retaliations that dramatically reduced the indigenous population of North America and drew colonial settlers farther and farther west.

The colonial project almost foundered on the anxieties provoked over the situation of European women taking up residence in colonial outposts or traveling in unmapped hinterlands. Ann Laura Stoler underscores this in the beginning of *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, when she reports that one of the "principal architects of French colonial education policy," George Hardy, suggested that the well known problems of male impotence, failed intimacy and rampant cross-race liaisons— looming threats to colonial dominion—were due to the absence of white women in the colonies. Stoler highlights his admonition that "a man remains a man" only when he is under the benevolent "gaze" of his European wife (qtd in Stoler 1). The gaze of which Hardy speaks, as it is recorded in Stoler's brief reference, emanates, in a sense, from what might be likened to a "vaginal eye," which conducts a perpetual surveillance in order to hold onto (or attract to itself) the only sanctioned form of sexual energy. Evidently considered capable of anchoring men's sexual energies, this civilizing gaze was nevertheless not available to all overseas men. Only top members of the colonial forces might avail themselves of such a benevolent form of control. For the lower echelons, Dane Kennedy suggests,

[136] Though commonly attributed to North American "savages," this grotesque practice was apparently utilized by both settlers and indigenous people. See Diane Foulds' "Who Scalped Who? Historians Suggest Indians Were As Much Victims As Perpetrators," in which she describes a monument of Hannah Dustin in Boscawen, New Hampshire. The escaped captive is portrayed with a "fistful of scalps." Her biography suggests that in 1697 she had killed her captors, including women and children, as they slept, and then returned for the scalps in order to claim the bounty. <http://www.hawthorneinsalem.org/ScholarsForum/MMD2263. html>.

[137] When settler women were themselves the narrators of frontier discourses, or when the overall political objective in the wider society was the elimination of those with prior land claims, their stories of captivity presumably fueled protective anxieties. This was true even as late as the 1850s in the United States, when, for instance, most of Olive Oatmen's family was killed on the Gila trail byYavapai Indians and she herself was taken captive. Mrs. Rachel Plummer's *Narrative of the Capture and Subsequent Sufferings of Mrs. Rachel Plummer*, a tale of capture by the Commanches in 1836 and the earlier work by Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together, with the Faithfulness of his Promises Displayed Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (1682), are both well known examples of women's texts that might well have contributed to stepped up military harassment of indigenous groups. A bibliography of captivity narratives, currently at 83 entries, is maintained by Donna Campbell and can be found at <http://guweb2.gonzaga.edu/faculty/campbell/enl310/capbib.htm>. Kay Schaffer's examination of the Eliza Fraser shipwreck (1836) in Australia (and the subsequent rewritings and redeployments of the story) speculates on motivations for slippage in the story details, suggesting that colonial anxieties toward women in unregulated spaces were at least in part responsible. See *In the Wake of First Contact: The Eliza Fraser Stories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

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the presence of European wives was either prohibited or very uncommon during most of the nineteenth century (and certainly before that), and thus those subalterns wishing to preserve their own "manliness" and uphold racial purity were denied the very instrument "proven" to guarantee these two objectives. Kennedy suggests that

> a white wife was commonly regarded as the surest safeguard against the loneliness, alcoholism, and sexual deviancy that afflicted men in the colonial tropics. Yet marriage was not an option for most of the men who made their livelihoods in the colonies. In order to keep down wage costs, the colonial civil and military services, banks and merchant houses, plantations, and other employers discouraged or even prohibited their junior staff members from marrying. The restraints against marriage were often even stricter for soldiers, railway engineers, and others on the lower rungs of white colonial society (1).

The above critics, concerned with the sexual politics or gender diagrams in early colonial spaces, are focused on how the presence or absence of women impacted on their husbands' virility and ability to function sexually, a condition that, by extension, was thought to be related to the successful administration of colonial law and trade matters.

Women's travel texts suggest a different, but related, concern.

If men were thought to be vulnerable to debilitating sexual habits and domestic arrangements because of the absence of the civilizing gaze of a European woman, what might the dangers be for colonial women outside of the civilizing gaze of a man? In fact, anxiety about women's *presence* in the colonies was related to, but not identical to, cultural anxieties about the *absence* of European women in overseas colonies. For one thing, relatives often had fears for these women's safety, fears which traveling women's letters and journals home typically worked to allay. Secondly women travelers to southern Africa, by allaying fears held by their home-country correspondents or reading public, were helping to lay the groundwork for a more massive female immigration. They accomplished this by asserting that an effective zone of safety surrounded them in their travels. Their labors were not, therefore, directed to the repair of colonial men's so-called sexual deviancy or the more generalized threat to colonial masculinities. Women appear to see in the Cape Colony a space that might be more congenial to female existence in general, so their emphasizing of a theatrical "viewing" distance between themselves and the indigenous people surrounding them, their proclivity to effect a premature memorialization of the indigenous cultures via funeral tropes, and their repeated return to metaphors of miniaturization and domestication to describe the landscape and people worlds were directed toward allaying fears held by their intimates, and directed toward prospective female settlers who might wish to travel to South Africa only if they had an expectation of female inviolability. That is, these writers, by their itineraries, their textual aims, their rhetorical proclivities, are holding up a prospect of female autonomy, and, by extension, a nascent form of female possessive agency in southern Africa.

Many of the women travelers under consideration in this study move within southern Africa

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of Schreiner's warning about female parasitism is the uncritically formulated virtue of "productivity."

Founding myths of South Africa (and other European colonies) are fixated on myths of productivity and reproducibility. In fact, hybridity itself, in the Darwinian sense, has become the sign for colonial hyper-productivity. In the preceding chapters, I argued that the shipwreck texts of the exploration period were whited-out of popular representations of the contact era in South Africa because they did not fit the pattern for the triumphant European man, nor did they assuage any anxiety about the (symbolic) possessive interests of European women nor the threat to the racial purity of any children born of castaway European women. In this chapter, I turn to another contact era, one that is connected to the construction of European values in southern African spaces.

Schreiner's call for women's "productive activity" is part of a well-known and widespread colonial chorus. The age of industriousness followed the age of industrialization, and nineteenth-century colonials were no slackers when it came to promoting the virtues of hard work—especially if it was someone else's back bending to the task. While Schreiner wants to see a transference, from women wielding the hoe and grindstone (46) to women wielding abstract power in the formation of a more just society, she leaves a significant lacunae in her sweeping gesture: the hard physical labor still must be done, by someone. And she does not always remind herself and her reader of this problem: even if (dominant class) women joined the ranks of dominant class men in their "new intellectual pursuits," a move she explicitly suggests, the subject race upon which these intellectual pursuits is built remains unliberated.

Nonetheless, her discussion of "parasitism" does close with a stance strongly critical of South African racial and economic policy, and at times during *Women and Labour* she emphasizes that "unearned wealth" based on the strenuous labor of others is one of the primary factors that makes what she terms "female parasitism" possible. While she warns that women should not become dependent on their "sexual functions alone," and characterizes intercourse and child-bearing as the "passive labor of sexual reproduction"(116), elsewhere, she equates the *productivity* of child-bearing and tending with the *productivity* of intellectual labors, a social equation that creates an equally troubling diagram.

The Ungrounded Traveler / The Grounding of Burials

A chair strapped to the back of a "native" or a traveling hammock suspended between the shoulders of porters who have been dragooned into service are both enduring and shameful emblems of the nineteenth-century traveler. How the traveler made his or her discoveries, the position from which he scribbled down notes about landscape oddities, social customs, or mercantile potentials was quite often upon the literal back of (or swinging between the very shoulders of) another human or humans. The cover of Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1996) shows a barefoot Andean *silletero* climbing the side of a mountain with a chair strapped to his forehead; the chair holds a booted European man writing in his diary or letter under the barely adequate awning of his wide-brimmed hat. The rain is etched into the plate, falling slantwise in the far landscape and falling in rivulets from the chair rungs. The cover of Patricia Romero's *Women's Voices of Africa: A Century of Travel Writings* (1992)

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shows Mary Eliza Blackwell Gaunt (who traveled to China, Siberia, the West Indies and Africa) being carried in an awninged hammock by four porters. The only one of Marianne North's 832 paintings in which she has included herself shows North being carried up a steep Himalayan mountainside in a hammock, with a string of dozens of porters following her with her art supplies and other necessities. And Leonor de Sá, the first recorded Portuguese noblewoman to die in southern Africa, was carried in an improvised litter by slaves for more than a month of the overland march toward a place of safety, despite the fact that she was perfectly capable of walking. The ungrounded position, however, from which early explorers, adventurers or shipwreck victims encountered what would rapidly become subject territories, was accomplished via the laboring efforts of legions of slaves, indigenous peoples, or even home-country subalterns.

Even though traveling women and high status men were kept "off" the ground during their colonial stays by their positions suspended from the shoulders and backs of native bearers, Europeans' claims were nevertheless in the end grounded by burials. Schreiner wished to be buried in the "wilderness," far from civilization, but her highly-choreographed gesture of self-monumentalizing was achieved at enormous effort, by others. Before her death, she had already arranged for a huge sarcophagus to be dragged up to the top of a outlying *kopje*, at Buffleskop. A stone monument was constructed on the hilltop as well. These labors were not an afterthought. Schreiner's instructions about her gravesite and monument constituted "the most important term in her will," according to Schreiner biographers First and Scott (330). The ironstone sarcophagus required many "native" workers to pull it to the top. They are shown working along with the cattle in one photograph of the preparation of the site. In this case, Schreiner has taken up the (so-called male) productive labor of registering a site in symbolical terms, but has not put her own shoulder to the wheel.

While Schreiner may well have been asserting a kind of solitary dignity through the remote siting of the monument, it is also possible to read the solemn theatricality of her monument as a prolongation of her conflict with Cecil Rhodes, her "chief adversary in Cape politics,"according to First and Scott (photo caption).[139] Schreiner's gravesite and monument, high above the surrounding hills, may be thought of as a rival declaration, still signaling across the landscape to Rhodes Memorial in Cape Town. They both make claims on colonial southern Africa, claims built on competing visions of how a European-dominated society might situate itself in the landscape and on the land, although of the two, only Schreiner tried to understand what that positioning might mean for women. By the difficulty of access and the remoteness of her grave and monument, Schreiner casts herself in death, as she did in life, as patrolling the high ground of marginality—in opposition to the very central, very aggrandizing and very public memorial statement produced for Rhodes.

While in *Women and Labour* Schreiner suggests that "the males of the dominant class have almost always contrived to absorb to themselves the new intellectual occupations" of their day (81), and Rhodes is an exemplar of that active contrivance, Revathi Krishnaswamy's analysis

[139] While the Rhodes memorial was erected in 1906, the Schreiner memorial was built in 1911, when she was reinterred at the remote Buffelshoek site. See Ruth First and Ann Scott's *Olive Schreiner* (London: Women's Press, 1989).

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in *Effeminism* suggests otherwise, in the case of India at least. Krishnaswamy claims that the "narratives of late-nineteenth century British imperialism frequently fail to reproduce [the image of] imperial masculinity"(3). The representation of "native men" as effeminized and pleasure-seeking is common, especially on the Indian subcontinent, according to Krishnaswamy. British accounts of Dutch farmsteads frequently commented on the idleness or the indifference of the Boer to decorum or hygiene, even amongst the women. Barrow reports that "The women of the African peasantry [Dutch women] pass a life of the most listless inactivity. The mistress of the family. . . makes no scruple of having her legs and feet washed in warm water by a slave before strangers. . . . The tub with the same water is passed round through all the branches of the family, according to seniority" (v1 80).

Imperial Masculinity and Colonial Women

Despite what Schreiner observed of her culture from within the late nineteenth century, the broader colonial record suggests a quite different imperial masculinity, one that has already taken a step towards what Schreiner calls a "parasitism" upon the labors of others. And, as a closer look at women travelers to southern Africa will show, there is abundant evidence that some women were fully occupied with the scientific, social, political and even intellectual, vanguard during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. If they did not practice agriculture, they labored in other strenuous ways, indefatigable in serving a more ambitious cause than the larder of the immediate family. That is, they were "absorbed" in the new intellectual occupations (and occupations of land) of the nineteenth century: promoting settler colonialism.

Schreiner's ideas about dominant-class women, and their inclination to forswear active labor, proves pertinent to the following discussion of European women in Africa, and is also pertinent to the charge that a constructed female hyper-vulnerability was entangled in the furtherance of colonial ambitions in southern Africa. For one thing, although few white colonial South African women or British women travelers to South Africa were bowed to what Schreiner has termed the necessities of their "hoes and [their] grindstones" (46), they did occupy a fair range of social positions and demanding physical roles, throughout both the pre-colonial and colonial periods. And because of the dilation of the space they could occupy socially, politically, and intellectually, many travelers (both men *and* women, of course) to southern Africa threw themselves with great energy into mapping, recording, prying and prodding the newly annexed—or soon to be annexed—land. However, the dramatically expanded social range that British women travelers encountered in the colonial context was balanced, as virtually every commentator has noted, with dramatically increased opportunities to act oppressively in the these newly-opened intellectual or political vistas.

Though there is little disagreement in the broad contours of the biographically-oriented analyses of women travelers in general and women travelers to southern Africa in particular, I will nevertheless summarize the frames within which these women's texts have been seen by anthologists, biographers, and textual critics. W. H. Davenport Adams, in *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century* (1883) was one of the earliest commentators to understand the emancipatory potential of travel for Victorian women. Adams rightly saw that the small daily

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freedoms afforded the traveling woman and the acceptance of travel writing as a suitable endeavor for women resulted in greater opportunities for what we might now call "self-realization." Adams recognized the "arbitrary" cultural confinements that women were subjected to, and pointed out that the appeal of the traveling life was entirely reasonable. In an oft-cited comment (one of the few judgments he casts, as his work consists almost entirely of long extracts), he explains the situation thus:

> Fettered as women are in highly civilized countries by restraints, obligations, and responsibilities, which are too often arbitrary and artificial, their impatience of them is not difficult to be understood; and it is natural enough that when the opportunity offers, they should hail even a temporary emancipation (184).

But even in this astute observation Adams is careful to modify his proposition: it is only women in "highly civilized" countries who feel the chafing fetters; in less civilized places women are either unaware of the fetters that bind them—or their lack of refinement, Adams seems to suggest, would render them insensible to such chafing. Adams misses, or refrains from noting, the expressions of racial superiority, class privilege and general dominion that are present in the writing of these newly unfettered travelers.

Critical analyses, stretching from Catherine Stevenson's landmark *Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa* (1982), through Sara Mills *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (1991) up to the introductory material and the section notes to Foster and Mills' *An Anthology of Women's Travel Writing* (2002) tend to collapse the debate to this point. Critics either emphasize the emancipatory potential of travel, and travel writing, on European women (Stevenson, Birkett, and Adler) or caution readers to be ever aware of the complicity of the European woman traveler in forms of colonial oppressions (Chaudhuri and Strobel, Foster and Mills, Franey, and Stoler). It is easy to see that the first serious critical treatments of women's travel writing about Africa were engaged in the heavy lifting of bringing ignored texts to the surface, and that visibility was the most urgent scholarly task at hand. However, taken historically, the movement has been away from reading the travel texts of women as traces of rare personal freedoms available only to the extremely brave, the monumentally determined, or the unusually fortunate. More recent analyses challenge this notion, and the anthologists of late twentieth and early twenty-first century editions of women's travel writing, or critical work on women's travel writing, typically refuse to shield female European colonialists from an examination of their entanglement with the forces of dominion on any such single criterion as the fact of their sex. Those critics who continue to wish to see women travelers as exceptional are not entirely convincing. Adler, in fact, fails to mount a persuasive argument that these women are engaged in providing a "counter-hegemonic" voice in colonial history. Her analysis suggests that she is unable to accept that nineteenth-century travel writing, almost by its very nature, has an implicit, and occasionally explicit, function as an arm of colonial policy. This is especially evident when one considers that the publication of these travel texts generally provided reassurance that women could travel within the colonies in safety. In this respect, women's travel texts were always

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assisting in the project of relocating sizable portions of an unsustainable European population. If the early exploration and trade texts were about the import of slaves, spices, textiles and porcelain to Europe from Africa and the Orient, the later colonial period's travel texts had as their transportive objective the redistribution of white Europeans to colonial settler societies.

The case of women travelers to southern Africa in the period, 1777-1910, suggests a set of rhetorical practices that echo, in many ways, the allegorizing of contact associated with the shipwreck narratives and other early encounters. Because women travelers have been seen in most cases as anomalous (Adler 14), their journals, letters, travelogues and memoirs mostly have been read with an eye toward the exceptionality of their personalities or the notoriety of their presence in the colonial environment.

The Publication Record of British Women's Travel Texts

Consideration of gender in early southern African contact discourse is dependent upon women's perspective, in the form of diaries, journals, letters, travelogues and memoirs, being circulated or otherwise readily available in the archives. However, the publication history, library availability and critical attention suggest that there are some problems of access. In the first place, women's travel writing about southern Africa was often not published, and the texts that were published and circulated were far from representative. In the second place, South African libraries have very incomplete holdings in this subgenre of travel writing, so research has been impeded.

In terms of the publication problem, common to so-called unofficial documents around the world, many of the following records were not published until a hundred years after they had been written, and all of them were delayed for publication until well after their author's death: Mary Elizabeth Barber's essays; Lady Anne Barnard's diaries, letters and journals; Catherine Bell's letters; Bella Craw's diary; Marianne Churchill's diaries and letters; Francis Colenso's letters; Augusta de Mist's diary; Lucie Duff Gordon's letters; Margaret Fontaine's travel narratives; Jane Franklin's journal; Lady Grey's letters and journals; Gertrude Hance's memoirs; Rosalie Hare's voyage narrative; A.F. Hattersley's narrative; Margaret Herschel's letters; Emily Hobhouse's letters; Marie Lippert's letters; Margaret Marquard's letters; Ellen McLeod's letters; Violet Milner's memoirs; Mary Molesworth's description of a shipwreck off the Cape of Good Hope; Emma Ruthersford's letters; Anne Penny's narrative of a voyage to Algoa Bay; Sophia Pigot's journals; Elizabeth Lees Price's journals; the recollections of Elizabeth Rolland; Louise Ross's account of life at the Cape; Iris Vaughn's child diary; Jane Waterson's letters; and A.M. Wilson's unpublished diary (For full bibliographic details and a chart showing distribution over time of these works, see Appendices 9a, 9b, 9c).

Critical attention to the writings and impressions of most of these women, with the exception of Emily Hobhouse and Lady Anne Barnard, has been slight. And the utilization of these texts in understanding how originary myths have been formulated in southern Africa is even more unusual. Although these texts were produced with, among other things, an evident intent to secure an expectation of female inviolability in the Cape and inland areas, their actual importance to such a campaign, with the exception of Barnard's letters to Henry Dundas (who was at the time influential in colonial policy) would have been confined to their correspondents or journal

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recipients—as they were largely unpublished.

Although a number of the works above have yet to be published, at the close of the twentieth century, these writings—and other early writing by women—have received more attention of late. *Women Writing Africa: The Southern Region,* edited by M.J. Daymond, *et al* (2003), for instance, introduces a dozen early South African works retrieved from the archives, including rare African women's perspectives such as those contained in Emma Sandile's "Letters and Land Submission," (1860-1883) and Eliza M.'s "Account of Cape Town" (1863).

A small but important body of women's writing *was* published in the early and mid-colonial period. However, of the approximate first two centuries of colonial occupation and nation-building (1650-1850), and even after the textual recovery projects of the late twentieth-century, the following few published records have come to light: several paragraphs about the Cape of Good Hope by Jemima Kindersley (from letters published in 1777), a couple of paragraphs in Mary Ann Parker's *A Voyage round the World, in the Gorgon Man of War: Captain John Parker. Performed and Written by his Widow* (1795), several paragraphs in Priscilla Wakefield's *The Traveller in Africa: Containing Some Account of the Antiquities, Natural Curiosities and Inhabitants* (1814), Ann Hamilton's journal (1818), a section from Sarah Lee's travel account (1835) and Harriet Ward's *Five Years in Kaffirland: With Sketches of the Late War in That Country, to the Conclusion of Peace* (1848) (See Appendices 8-b and 8-c for two graphic representations of writings about Africa published by women during their lives. This chart shows at a glance the few documents written by women that mentioned southern Africa before the mid-century). Few works were published and available during the writers' lifetimes, and two of these writers (Ward and Kindersley) provide the most extreme examples of women's harsh and demonstrably inaccurate observations on southern Africa.[140]

The third general category of travel writing by women that might be usefully designated as a group occurred during the explosion of women's writing about southern Africa in the 1880-1910 period, when over fifty works by women about Africa were suddenly published (See Appendices 8-a, 8-b, 8-c). This proliferation of texts may well reflect the European interest in South Africa due to the discovery of gold in 1898, British interest in "first hand" accounts about the Anglo-Boer war, and the more general appetite for travel narratives by a newly mobile middle class. See Appendix 11 for the travel or adventure texts that remain unpublished.

Finally, in the twentieth century (1920-2000) several significant republications were produced, most importantly the journals and letters of Lady Anne Barnard (1925; 1927; 1973; 1994; 1999) and Lucie Duff Gordon (1921; 1998 internet); the travel memoirs by Marianne North, *Recollections of a Happy Life* (1882-1883/1993) and Charlotte Barter's *Alone Among the Zulus* (1866/1996). (See Appendix 10 for bibliographic data for these "double" published works—that is, works that were published in the writer's lifetime and deemed important enough to be republished in the twentieth century.)

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[140] Harriet Ward's books are well-known for their virulent racism. Kindersley's misapprehensions are less well known. She reported in a letter home written in 1772 that "as soon as a child is born, they rub it all over with oil and lay it in the sun; this they repeat until it becomes brown and [they] always break the infant's nose, so that it lays close to its face" (88).

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In terms of the library holdings, the University of Cape Town library, for just one instance, has fewer than a tenth of the published works by British women or written in English about southern Africa. And the National English Literary Museum in Grahamstown is missing most of these works as well. I go to the trouble of cataloguing to some fairly precise degree the historical distribution and geographic availability of these works in order to highlight the special impediments to understanding the implications of sex and gender in the foundational myths and narratives of southern Africa.

Critical Work on Women Travelers

Investigating the women travelers to Africa and their writings, the critics Dea Birkett and Michelle Adler both take pains to establish the effects of travel to remote places on the woman traveler herself (they both find it emancipatory), to explore the motivations for travel and to determine the conditions out of which travel was even possible. Adler also examines the reception of their published texts and some of the common perceptions of the "lady traveler's" eccentric dress, behavior, or attitudes. The intentions of Birkett's *Spinsters Abroad* and Adler's *Skirting the Edges of Civilization* are to open up biographical and scholarly space for women writers/travelers and to trace a strand of cultural history, as seen in these women's life paths. In both projects, the critics sought to disprove the notion of the Victorian woman as frail, incompetent, or subject to unassailable forces of social or familial control. Travel itself, Adler and Birkett both suggest, served to fortify the constitution and give rise to a sturdier physical body and a more alert set of senses—capable of producing, out of its manifold social expansions, a new woman. Consistent with first-wave feminist scholarship, and informed by more recent theories of empire and feminism, these treatments resurrect women's texts to display them in a valorizing light. Adler's explicit aim, in fact, was "archaeological" that is, a recovering of lost, ignored, or hidden work by women, and her study is, by her own claim, "the first comprehensive study of the varied experiences and writings of British women travelers in South Africa." Even so, the last sentence from the abstract, "[T]heir writings, read as a corpus, constitute a critique of dominant colonial discourse, from its margins," does not propose a useful positionality, and, in fact, stunts Adler's potentially most interesting lines of inquiry. The margin as a discursive location must be very broadly constituted to accommodate Lady Anne Barnard, the highly-placed administrator's wife and confidante of Henry Dundas, Great Britain's Secretary of State; Marianne North, a privileged heiress and one of the most widely traveled *Bloemsoekers* of the nineteenth century; and freewheeling journalists such as Florence Dixie and Violet Markham, all prominent figures in their home settings and equally notable in their traveling guises. These were women with tri-continental stock portfolios and friendships with royalty, leading scientists, politicians, and writers of the day; furthermore, they made a significant number of their life decisions more or less independently. If their writings constitute a "critique," it is only insofar as it's the general nature of texts to raise arguments with other texts.

If we leave southern Africa, and turn to the travels and writings of nineteenth-century women—throughout the Eastern Europe, the Near East (particularly Egypt), the Far East and South America—we find an enormous body of literature, but a body of work which is even now

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insufficiently examined, beyond the biographical sketch. So the travel writing by women about southern Africa might justifiably be termed "marginal" in terms of contemporary scholarly attention, and marginal in terms of use of the texts in the evidentiary club of periodicity, but it is fair to say that all traveling women's lives were far from marginal, and their take on southern Africa shared much more with the dominant discourses of the time than Adler is prepared to acknowledge.

While having power is not the same as exercising authority (women of means still needed a nominal guardian for their landholding and for many of their financial dealings[141]), it is still quite true that if race and class are built into the analytical grid, well-to-do white women from Europe were more "central" to economic and political life in the nineteenth century, than the anonymous toiling masses at home of both sexes and other races, and the entire group of the "colonized." For while Britain's experiment in indirect rule situated some of the male tribal leaders and princes in analogous hierarchal equality, as David Cannadine and other have argued,[142] this was always at the pleasure of some British authority, and could be (and often was) revoked with the slimmest of strategic goals or due to the most minor of personal slights. Jenny de Reuck insists that women journalists and even diarists were complicit in the imperial project. In her discussion of Harriet Ward, journalist and wife of a General who administered the "War of the Axe" in the Eastern Frontier (1851), she says that:

> One of the consequences of this analysis of a single woman's voice from the maelstrom of a bloody frontier war is an awareness of the ideological overdetermination of the situation of gender politics where material issues of class, economics, race and ethnicity exert their pressures in a political praxis of usurpation and violence (44).

This "overdetermination of the situation of gender" can mar attempts to examine the women's travel texts critically, and is a fair complaint, even absent any "bloody frontier war."

It is no surprise that women living in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who made lengthy journeys to relatively unknown places had the wherewithal to do so, and it is no surprise that they were almost all childless (Lucie Duff Gordon and Harriet Ward are two well-known exceptions) and many of them even unmarried, as Birkett and others have pointed out.[143] The great majority of traveling women made a definite choice *against* marriage and children, and do not appear to have been childless or unmarried by default. Birkett makes the reasonable claim that "Women who took to traveling were often influenced by an upbringing which clearly pointed out the way in which the role of wife and mother could injure a woman both physically and mentally"(18). For women like Marianne North, the opportunity to travel unaccompanied by a

[141] Until the 1882 Marriage Women's Property Act, married women had no independent rights to manage their own finances. See Susan Morgan's introduction to *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North* v1 (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 1993): xv.

[142] See Cannadine's *Ornamentalism*, 136-139, and R.E. Robinson's *Africa and the Victorians: The Climax of Imperialism in the Dark Continent* (with John Gallagher, with Alice Denny. New York: St. Martins Press, 1961): 1-5.

[143] Adler mentions this in her introduction (15); See also Blunt, Allison, and Rose, eds. *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994).

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man as "chaperone" was, for the time period, a particularly unusual condition of her world travel, However, the privacy and the freedom of movement as a "solo" traveler[144] compensated for the physical discomforts and anxieties attendant on the absence of a male decision-maker or negotiator; or the lack of an officially organized or sanctioned itinerary. When the act of traveling itself was seen as an emancipatory project, (and the relative freedoms of colonial life supplied some very real opportunities for women), then the documents produced were seen as evidence of that emancipation.

Birkett goes farther than Adler in questioning the implications of the writings of these women, and confesses in her preface that as her research advanced, the women "became increasingly unattractive role models, [her] admiration for them [grew] awkward" (xi). The deflation of her admiration is not especially evident in the book, but might explain the turn toward biographical summary rather than the close textual analysis or wider political/historical scope that could have augmented or even surpassed her biographical focus. Margaret Lenta concentrates, in "Wife to the Secretary," on Barnard's position as a decisive player in the early colonial administration of the Cape Colony, in defiance of customary "roles" for women in nineteenth-century society, and sees the political occasion and the social openings as factors which allowed Barnard to achieve what she did during her stay at the Cape. Lenta does not turn to the subject of how Barnard's very usefulness to the colonial project, and her self-emancipation from British patriarchy, were complicit in the colonial subjugation. While in the previously mentioned essay by De Reuck; Chaudhuri and Strobel's *Women and Imperialism*; Pratt's *Imperial Eyes,* Darian-Smith, et al *Text Theory Space,* and Blunt and Rose's *Writing Women and Space* all call for a renewed consideration of "the legacy" of women's roles in the formation of the imperial projects of mapping, imagining, and representation, there has been insufficient attention to specific southern African texts in terms of how the project of colonialism was gendered. About half of the women writing of southern Africa in the long nineteenth century were attached to men— missionaries, traders, administrative officials and military personnel—and if these attachments created formidable barriers to the breadth of their experiences, they also afforded valuable entrances to relatively inaccessible, though narrow, sectors of colonial life, such as hinterland posts and trading expeditions, and permitted several of them to be privy to—or even to affect—certain administrative processes and colonial decisions (Lady Anne Barnard is the most well known example of this category). Professional duties also gave women a certain mobility and opportunity for self-determination sometimes lacking in their home societies: Florence Dixie, the horse-riding journalist who came to champion Cetshwayo, the deposed and jailed King of the Zulus, and Violet Markham

[144] I am not suggesting by any means that Marianne North actually traveled alone. Many of her excursions were made possible by dozens of bearers and servants, even though she herself would call this sort of travel "traveling alone" because no white male accompanied her. The only image of the 865 paintings in the North Gallery at Kew Gardens into which she painted herself is a picture of her being carried in a hammock round the bend of a steep mountain in India (No. 226), and there are perhaps thirty or forty bearers accompanying her. There is ample textual evidence of the presence of servants in most of her travels, although her South African travel account mentions only oxen drivers and farm hospitality. Charlotte Barter's incredible journey through the hinterlands of Natal, accompanied by a Zulu driver and a kitten, was an even earlier "solo" journey (1855), and was conducted in considerably rougher circumstances. See *Alone Among the Zulus by a Plain Woman: The Narrative of a Journey through the Zulu Country* (Pietermaritzberg: University of Natal Press, [1866] 1996).

were two of the late nineteenth-century Victorian women writers whose assignments as journalists to South Africa gave them a reason to explore, interview, and come to conclusions about their observations of colonial life.

The hinterland became "known" to Europeans by the gestural (and textual) act of penetration, but the coastlines became "known" by an unveiling. If this explanation seems to mimic in broad outline the stages of one form of a seduction—that is, first to undress and then penetrate, we recognize the trope: the body bears the rhetorical markers of the acquisition of knowledge—the body is a woman's, or is feminized as receptor. In fact, a broad range of forays (medical and scientific, for instance) were characteristically rendered in the notation of unveilings, so that the subject might be most well known when it was finally unburdened of unnecessary and obfuscating layers, (which, we might note, in other symbolic orders would be called "protective" layers). Odd that it was the naked, or unveiled and penetrated, that was deemed authentic and true to the Victorians. The clothed or veiled (that is, paradoxically, not known) land of southern Africa was taken as unreliable, unstable, diabolical, unreadable, and so on—until it was disrobed, that is, perceived intimately, by faculties tuned to a finer level of knowledge than mere rumor.

To the reading public of these journals and memoirs, and to the private recipients of letters, the southern Africa depicted *was* newly visible to the mind's eye (stripped of some misconceptions and newly veiled with others), and this "informal" view was presumably as influential[145] as the official, administrative reports.[146] Reviewers of travel books from 1798 to 1803, such as Henry Brougham, recognized that there were two valences to the travelers' record, as published, and responsible reviewers were at pains to pick "usable data out of the wayward text" in which they were embedded (Ferris 452). An odd thing happens, however, when information so fascinating to the Victorian, that data sifted out of the 'wayward text," because of its exoticism (in the case of unknown wonders of nature or culture) or the soft enchantment of personality or "character," (faith in god, triumph over adversity, personal epiphany), is transported to an age when the colonial-era wildlife, colonial brutality, journey as metaphor for spiritual quest, and commercial considerations are all more or less familiar to us, and a hippo and a Hottentot are no longer the unwieldy or titillating monsters of *différance* that the late Romantic and Victorian travel writers pried loose from their African context and presented as commodity spectacle to the European and American consumer. No, the information about where the Fish River runs and the texture and productive potential of the soil is known to us. That the hair of indigenous southern Africans is "curly," no one doubts, and at some point the pilfered locks sent home by travelers such as Lady Barnard were no longer needed.

Monsieur LeVaillant, the flamboyant French explorer, hinted that he copulated with a virgin ape, or at least that's what John Barrow disapprovingly reported in his Vol II of *Travels into the*

[145] In the 1802 , there were a substantial which ranged amongst all the disciplines: science, philosophy, art, literature and political analysis.

[146] For evidence, consider the proportion of travel books reviewed in the *Edinburgh Review*: in a single edition from 1802, seven travel books were reviewed—about ten percent of the whole publication (the articles reviewed books from amongst all the disciplines: science, philosophy, religion, literature, politic, history, art and poetry).

Interior (Barrow, Vol II, 21), along with other complaints about the outrageous claims or geographical inaccuracy of his forerunners in the descriptive and mapping projects concerned with the Cape Colony and the adjacent hinterland areas. Father Tachard never left Cape Town, Kolbe was operating on rumor, Sparrman's map was "miserably defective," and the whole lot of them were reproducing what they had heard from some "ignorant boors" (Vol II 15). However, if the Orange River isn't where Le Vaillant said it was (Vol II 22), and if every nautical chart maker from Da Gama on narrowed the southern triangle of Africa by "several degrees" (Vol II 17-18) , it's nothing to us. If we are incredulous at Kindersley's explanation of skin pigment and facial features (see n139), it is only because we have had the benefit of more than two centuries of more "accurate" anthropological, medical, sociological, and physiological data. The multiplication of informal sources and observers, and the mountain of published texts from seasoned travelers and formally constituted scientific expeditions, have enabled us over time to triangulate accounts and corroborate data, and to sift out the myths, the downright lies, the fanciful ornamentation of fact, and the wishful thinking.

The unofficial mode of letters, journals, and diaries that women more typically produced was a less carefully-designed, less carefully-calculated product, and so they had fewer arguments with one another, or with the male travelers. But what might be an explanation for the harsher descriptions—the thoughtless titillation of "hideousness" that was applied to the indigene? it might have been from the simple fact of exoticism. Many of the women travelers were in the country for six months or less (while the male writers were writing from a more sustained and in many cases more intimate experience with native culture), and they were no doubt genuinely surprised by the sights and sounds. Here is Lady Duff Gordon, a married traveler on an excursion for her health, whose letters were written to her husband at home. Speaking of a servant or slave she encountered in Cape Town in 1864, she reports that "a hideous demon at last chirruped a wish for orders, which I gave ... He then glided with fiendish noiselessness about the room" (12). Her first day in town she was "wild to get out and see the glorious scenery and the hideous people"(12). She describes a "little black girl," whose petticoat is tied round her waist and who "displays the most darling little round legs and behind, which it would be a real pleasure to slap" (14). The Hottentot driver's eyes have "the dull look of a viper's" (28) and so it goes, for 88 pages. When admiration surfaces, as it does sometimes (particularly for the Muslims, whom she describes as neat, tidy and colorful), it is occasionally sounded in the odd register of acquisition:

> Yesterday, I should have *bought a black woman for her beauty, had it been still possible.* She was carrying an immense weight on her head, and was far gone with child; but such stupendous physical perfection I never even imagined. Her jet black face was like the Sphinx with the same mysterious smile; her shape and walk were goddess-like, and the luster of her skin, teeth, and eyes, showed the fulness of health;—Caffre, of course. I walked after her as far as her swift pace would let me, in envy and admiration of such stately humanity"(16) [my emphasis].

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Even assuming that it is only a *fantasy* of possession that suggests enslavement is an acceptable way to honor beauty or reward "stupendous physical perfection," Gordon has made both the repulsive and the beautiful commodities by her descriptive prerogatives. She has prematurely memorialized this anonymous woman by returning her to the rhetorical position of an icon of ancient Egypt, thereby suggesting the obliteration of the culture in which she moves.

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CHAPTER 4

Lady Anne Barnard in the Cape Colony

On Thursday, May 24th, 1798, toward the end of Lady Anne Barnard's only extended tour into the interior of the Cape Colony, she describes the vista from the top of a long pass near Tulbagh, and in the process turns a natural feature of the landscape into a fantastical emblem from medieval architecture.[147] In this magnificently ambitious reordering, she transforms the culture and the natural world into a prematurely "memorialized" (thus dead and gone) entity, and in the process, she rewrites the Adamastor myth.

> As we reached the summit, the sun was beginning to set, and [we] start[ed] at the image which presented itself—a jet-black castle, turreted all round, with a strange oddity of a rock or building at a small distance, on the top of which was placed an enormous urn, which seemed to be the sarcophagus of some giant who had been slain by the prince of the castle. . . . I was grieved to hear that it had no history, but was simply a production of Madam Nature's in one of her freaks. . . . [S]o, I'll give it a history, write an original Hottentot song, translate it myself, put it to Hottentot music, and celebrate the fair maid confined by the cruel giant in the dungeon of the Black Rock till rescued by her lover, the Prince of the Caffres (*Letters* 149).

Barnard has usurped the position of the Hottentot song-writer, has transformed the landscape via fanciful interpretations, has figured herself in all roles—originator, translator, musician and historian—and has done so as an impresario who sees these events through the lens of a *memorializing re-enactment*. This is one of many instances in which Barnard theatricalizes the landscape via northern-hemispheric tropes (the turreted castle is European and the sarcophagus is Egyptian) and hatches a replacement "history" built on her invented *simulcra*. But equally important, Barnard's inverts the Adamastor myth. It is the fair maid who is confined and immobilized in the "dungeon of the black rock"and the cruel giant of the Black Rock (reminiscent of Adamastor) is re-animated into a figure of active and mobile menace, who contrives to keep the lovers apart. In this fanciful fairy tale of love triumphant, the races are united by something of a patricide, but it is a patricide that is oddly valorized by

[147] See Geraldine Heng's *Empire of Magic : Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) for an excellent discussion of the durability of medieval romantic tropes in the rhetoric of empire.

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the memorialization act: the giant (father)—who was slain for his keeping the races apart (if we take "fair maid" to mean white woman)—is honored, in Barnard's diagraming, by the grand sarcophagus or enormous urn. What is being memorialized, put to rest, honored in the safety of its dead and goneness, we are led to believe, is the cruel giant's prohibition on interracial sexuality, a prohibition that dies when he dies.

Barnard positions the victorious (and transgressive) Prince of the Caffres as having achieved his aim, and in a palimpsest of royalty, Barnard converts the "prince of the castle" into the "Prince of the Caffres." It is not clear in this passage (although other passages indicate she knows the difference), if she is elevating the so-called Caffre and erasing the so-called Hottentot. The songs, music and 'history' that Barnard will produce to explain natural features of the landscape are identified by her as "Hottentot" songs and music. That it, it is her presumption of the *Hottentot perspective* on interracial desire that she is determined to "write." Absent, strikingly absent in this densely-peopled trope, is the European man, who is granted no actual power or symbolic status in the transactions of passion and violence that Barnard has brought forward as a pre-memorialization.

Lady Anne Barnard (1750-1825) became the first lady of the early Cape Colony by default. Since the two more senior officials had no wife or family with them, the Barnards took up lodging in the largest Government house in the Castle, the grandest by far, and the one most conducive to entertaining the visiting officials, the local notables and the hinterland folk. Lady Barnard was no doubt surprised to find that this Government house in farthest Africa was not primitive. In fact, the pleasure of "occupation" was palpable; Barnard describes it by comparing it to a

> *pallace*, containing such a suite of apartments, as makes me fancy myself a princess when in it, but not an *Indian* or *Hottentot* princess as I have fitted all up in the stile of a comfortable plain English house, Scotch carpets, English linen & rush bottom chairs with plenty of lolling sophas which I have hd made by Regimental carpenters & stuffd by Regimental Taylors (*Letters* 43) [emphasis Barnard's].

She establishes the grandiosity of her residence by virtue of the racial distinctions she insists on, as she imagines herself a princess therein, "but not an Indian or Hottentot princess." Her privilege and status are reenforced by the specter of royalty that lodge in the words "palace" and "princess," and by way of the suggestive indolence afforded by the plentiful supply of "lolling sophas." The regimental taylors [sic] and carpenters merrily stuffing away, public employees consigned to the Barnards' private comfort, complete her notation of grandiosity. Britain had just acquired this spot of real estate, in the British occupation of 1795 (de Kiewiet 282). The regimental tailors and carpenters , as military persons the world over, were advancing and protecting the "beachhead' of indolent respectability, a collateral military function, to be sure. In fact, the stature of her residency in the Cape Colony is such that she begins to see her home itself as a "naturalized" feature of the colonial landscape: It was from the social promontory of this "palace" that Lady Anne Barnard took her place as first lady of the Cape Colony, and from

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which she sallied forth to mark precise valuations of the environs; to encounter and describe the customs, appearances, and exchange protocol of the native peoples; and to record a rapid social, military and administrative evolution of the Cape Colony itself. And as she "naturalizes" her own presence, she estranges (via tropes of domesticity, theatricality or premature memorialization) the presence of the indigenous cultures she encounters.

We have her unofficial report on the process of colonial maturation in the form of thirty-seven letters to her patron, Henry Dundas, the Secretary of State for War (1794-1801), and in a published journal, her "Tour into the Interior" (composed of material included in her letters to Dundas, as well as to her sister Margaret and other correspondents). Though a general sort of mapping of the potentials for colonial development (her way of "being of some use") was the ostensible object of these letters home, they also promoted a sense of female inviolability and premature memorialization of the indigenous culture.

Producing an imaginative reordering of the scenic, commercial, political and symbolic attributes of the southern African land and people, the letters utilize a broad palette of rhetorical devices: comparisons, personifications, inversions, and other tropes. In Cape Colony, as in other contact societies, this imaginative reordering preceded and then augmented the maneuvers that took place during more overt colonial occupation, annexation, and governing stages. If indeed and in general colonialists were in the practice of "seeing what was not there" as a preliminary mechanism of transformation, Barnard had set her sights on rhetorically producing a surrogate eden, a conglomerate of economic and social interdependencies, with Britain at the economic and cultural apex.

Lady Anne Barnard had the social (and perhaps amorous) connections to promote her husband's career, and was able to engineer his appointment to the post of Secretary to the Cape Colony through her long-standing friendship with Dundas. Just forty days after her marriage in 1793 to the much younger Andrew Barnard she was writing to Dundas to remind him of his promise to find employment for her husband (9) [emphasis Barnard's]. Six months later she was again entreating him to place her husband in some kind of service before he retired. It was almost three years later, in April of 1796, that she finally thanked him for proposing a post for Andrew at the Cape, and Barnard explains in this letter that even though she would have preferred "employment at home" for her husband, she was determined to accompany him there and that "perhaps some use might be derived from [her] being there" (16). She closes this letter with some rather enigmatic references to the "defeated regards which have subsisted between us," and how he must feel "doubly bound to make [her] heart and situation comfortable." Finally she gets down to a more exacting tabulation of who owes who what. She does so by saying that it is generous of him to

> take my husband by the hand and make Me thro him as Happy as you can! to pay me All you have, & still owe me, you never *can*, but what you can you should & you have yet before you the pleasure of obliging me, I have paid you tears of gratitude for the Hearty manner in which you pledge yourself to serve us (17). [emphasis Barnard's]

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Within this twisted and incomplete syntax, unusual in Barnard's elegant letters, we can identify a transaction: we see that there is an economy and it is measured out in terms of units of pleasure, gratitude and loyalty–one is to "pay," and another has "paid" and one still "owe[s]." This balance sheet resembles nothing more than a kind of soft blackmail, a light, caressing pressure that is detectable as a series of coercive ripples, just under the surface. What kind of surrogate transaction is this, wherein the Honorable Henry Dundas, Secretary of the State, might take her husband by the hand and pleasure Lady Anne through him? What "defeated regards"? How many tears of gratitude equal a post in Africa? And, are these "tears of gratitude" full payment for Dundas' endlessly deferred service ("you have yet before you the pleasure of obliging me"), his never completely-done pleasuring, his unending obligations? He owes her, it seems, and he does deliver, but through the ghostly intermediate of Andrew Barnard's post in Cape Town, and even so the debt may not be entirely discharged. Several months later Barnard is still indulging in a little pimping of her husband to Dundas:

> I know no man more fitted ... than him as his extreme activity, Judicious good sense & excellent conciliatory temper would render him a person equal to any quantity of business—perfectly capable of improving on ideas given to him & of carrying them into execution, while he has *none of the presumptuous conceit of ability* which *instead of cooperating with the views of his masters might sett itself up to judge for them*"(17) [my emphasis].

Relying on her accounting in the later letters, it seems that the conciliatory Andrew Barnard indeed did know his place and operated within its mysterious borders: "improving ideas," yes, but not judging the "views of his masters." It is Barnard herself who employs some fairly "presumptuous conceits," and it is Barnard who produces some modest judgments of colonial administration (judgments that might be termed non-cooperation with the official view). Since she was not an "official" of the colonial administration, and, paradoxically for a woman, presumably had no "official" master, aside from her weak husband, she takes many opportunities to advance positions.

Though Barnard herself was born late in her father's life (her father being sixty when he married, the formidable Lady Anne Dalyrumple was almost forty years his junior) (Anderson ix), she might well have inherited what W.H.Wilkins, the editor of the 1923 edition of her letters, called her mother's "almost masculine strength of mind"(Anderson xvii). José Burman emphasizes instead that her graciousness was a social device that "had a great deal of condescension in it"(11). On most counts, her analysis does reflect both strong-mindedness and condescension, and when she self-deprecates, the modern reader just takes it for a stylistic tick that was deemed to be necessary as packaging for her "masculinist" intellect. Susan Blake, in "A Woman's Trek: What Difference does Gender Make?" claims that for women travel writers in Africa the impact (or effects) of gender emerges in "incident" rather than in the overall conceptual design or explicit rendering of a political position, and that often there is a notable contrast between the theoretical

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position vis-a-vis gender that these women travelers might take, and the actual lived and recorded events as they are cast in narrative (20). Consistent with many women writers of the time, Barnard regularly registers the silliness or weakness or the unimportance of her views and remarks. She tells Dundas at one point that

> I think, my dear friend, I ought here to make you common sense apology for the many vague things I say and repeat. I never mean to be unjust or erroneous, but *ignorance may often make me so*, for which reason I confine myself more to the subject of things than of people, as the first cannot be equally injured by any misapprehension of mine (96) [emphasis Barnard's].

That she would believe that "things" might be immune from "misapprehensions" turns out to be a convenient license to misreport or misunderstand those "things": the land itself—in vista and in topography—as well as its botanical and zoological products and potentials, and the unnamed slaves and servants, muted to the sum total of their gifts (both received and proffered) and services. Nevertheless, her protestations of ignorance and her acknowledgment that she is prone to "conceited folly" and "miserable female notions"(35) are commonly followed by well-argued positions on administrative, commercial, social or political matters. This is an instance of Blake's judgment that the textual narrative of events experienced have a tendency to contradict the modest or self-deprecating self-descriptions of women travelers. Barnard's enthusiasm for future colonial potential, for instance, was rightly tied to the development of roads and transportation. In an early general summary of the Cape Colony, Barnard remarked that

> . . .barren and ill cultivated as it now is, it strikes both Mr. Barnard and me to have *great powers in itself* to become one of the finest countries in the world . . . . Whether it will be more for England's advantage, and that of our possessions in India, to keep it subordinate, so that it may never interfere, while it aids and assists the to and fro constantly going on between England and India, is for you to determine and you only. . . . [T]here is nothing this place is not equal to, particularly if we can suppose the intercourse between the inner parts of the country and Cape Town rendered more easy"(96) [my emphasis].

In the passage above, Mr. Barnard functioned as a dummy assent, simply nodding in agreement. In fact, the Cape Colony itself, as entity, was envisioned much in the way that Andrew Barnard himself was characterized: as subordinate, non-interfering, while aiding and abetting Britain's grand imperial design. The analysis itself is standard colonizing fare, and no doubt all the colonies had representatives, official and unofficial, who were clamoring for imperial recognition, military reinforcements and material assistance—and predicting all the while that *their* outpost of empire might become "one of the finest countries in the world" (96). Furthermore, the power for transformation is lodged, according to Barnard, in the land—in latent, we might imagine even unassisted, plenitude—the source of transformation present in the "great powers" the colony has

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"in itself." The letters also investigate the directions that agricultural development might take: schemes for canal building were put forward by Barnard, fortification locations were analyzed, and treatment of native laborers was criticized; Barnard proposed, even, that the wines produced in the Cape be graded before sale (84).

As these letters inventory the forms (and norms) of social life with close observation and analysis, they also carry out, in an inexact and unscientific fashion, an inventory of resources and potential directions for resource development in the southern most European-settled part of Africa. The ground itself—both in its capacity to compose itself into vista from afar, what I am calling the symbolic valence, and in its productive value up close—was of primary interest. To Barnard, clearly a non-specialist, the soil was fertile, but the husbandry was indifferent. In speaking of the under-utilization of the Cape's farming potential, stuck in the unproductive relationship of "Hottentot" slave and Dutch master, she summons a line of poetry: "at present unwilling Drudgery, toils unthankd, for Indolent apathy"(84). She points repeatedly to the social and commercial dysfunction between these two groups as the evidence of the failure of earlier colonial administrations.

Situating Herself

But before she ventures out into the domain of commerce and agriculture, the hinterland scenery, and the "Hottentot "and settler relationship, Lady Barnard situates herself within her narrative and within the physical conditions of her residency. She begins her first letter to Dundas by describing herself as enclosed within a comfortable social setting, boarded "inside the garrison" (35), but also in a place scenically dominated by Table Mountain, which towers above them. From the onset, two levels of overriding forces frame Barnard's expressive variables: the more or less predictable forces of imperial protocol (such as the living arrangements and social boundaries) and the unpredictable forces of towering nature, represented as grand vista. These two systems pressing in on her early consciousness form the unsurprising brackets to Barnard's preliminary account of a "frontier" Cape Colony experience and the empirical boundaries of her social and political reportage as a early colonialist. But close on the heels of this ordinary reading of her own subjectified position, in the same sentence, the scope is closed down rapidly to the view from the window of her bed chambers, from which she can see "a spacious square pond of water supplied from the head and tail of a spouting dolphin"(35). Already her descriptive project has been disfigured by a curious breakdown of causal forces, in this case of hydraulics: in a notoriously water scarce peninsula[148] (Barnard 41, 44; Amphlett 12, 19; North 5), water is produced by a dolphin, presumably carved of stone and, by description, open at both ends. In a land whose animal life has stimulated, from the first glimpse, careful description and meticulous cataloguing, it is surprising to see that her first animal of mention is an improbably bi-directionally plumbed dolphin, capable of issuing water from an inexhaustible internal source; it had indeed "supplied" a pond. This, it would seem, is the new Africa for a British woman at the end of the eighteenth

[148] The emigration pamphlet entitled the "Guide to the Cape of Good Hope" (1819) cautions the "landrost to be particularly cautious in the distribution of ground, so as to preserve waters. . . [because of] the supposed scarcity of springs in the district [of the Cape]."

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century: a protected enclave suitably dominated by remote and symbolic "nature," in the conventional trope of towering Table Mountain, but privileged with abundant, magical access to the products of real "nature."

Before long in Barnard's first letter, she is domesticating Table Mountain itself, maneuvering it away from the discursive position of the towering giant, and re-presenting it in a tamed trope that, though not original, becomes a particularly complex conceit in her hands: the mountain range turns into a fully articulated lion whose animated rump whisks the "vapours off with its tail." After finishing a nice meal, this lion drops the "necklace" of clouds/napkin that had been surrounding its "erect throat." The silenced phallus is thus suggested—the stone that cannot speak but stands generatively ready. It is a figure for the whole of the southern African land mass or landscape, whose potential to "speak" has been muted or throttled and that potential converted to an erect readiness for a monstrously megaproductive plenitude, a plenitude that will come to congregate around the three staples of Victorian commercial and colonial ideation: utopian agricultural and land-use visions; mining and deep-resource development; and the use or breeding of wildlife and livestock. The drama of erect throat and whisked vapours was taking place high above the "Low white card houses . . . scarce large enough to hold an ant (37). Barnard was approaching by ship, and it was from this vantage that the existing Dutch settlements and slave quarters were miniaturized and the raw landscape domesticated. The date is May 5, 1797.

Barnard's description of the landscape goes further than domestication, miniaturization and phallic suggestion: with its vapours dropped to a seductive half-mast—and in a moment of personified beneficence toward Lady Barnard herself, the mountain showed its face and "smiled." The mountain's first sign, then, after the preliminaries of veiling and removing the veil (these mark a feminizing of the trope), was a gesture of friendship, a gesture that signaled an acquiescence to its own conscription into the British colonial invention of southern Africa. Here is the full choreography:

> Then, as if by one consent, the Lions rump whisked off the vapours with its tail; the Lions Head untyed, and dropd, the necklace of clouds which surrounded its erect throat, and table mountain, over which a white damask table-cloth had been spread half-way down, shewed its broad face and smiled (37).

As a volley of cannon fire sounded, to signal Governor Macartney's arrival in the same fleet, Barnard observed that another kind of response from the peninsula:

> The distant hills who coud not step forward to declare their allegiance, by the awefull thunders of their acquiescing echoes, informed us that they were not ignorant of the arrival of the Governor who was that moment putting his foot on Land (37).

Can we imagine a more determined neutrality as "Informed us that they were not ignorant"? Might we devise a more non-committal acknowledgment? What the governor received is not the

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language of welcome, but a grumbling, half-hearted press-ganged choir. Barnard registered its response in the form of an "acquiescing echoe" of "awefull thunders." Her exacting calibration of these two land mass responses diagram a certain inversion of power: while Governor Macartney's arrival (the more senior colonial) warrants an acknowledgment in the form of an echo, Lady Barnard's arrival signals the more inviting, more intimate gesture: the very stone of Table Mountain, breaking out in a smile.

Adroitly miniaturizing and domesticating both natural elements (the land mass and animal worlds) and cultural elements (the white card houses and the domestic water supply), Barnard is also able to reposition herself as the more favored of the two interlopers sailing into the bay, closer in affinity or affection to that nature she has domesticated to her own size. What is the difference between the quiet intimacy of a smile and the bombastic echo of a gun salute? Volition. By insisting on being party to a kind of receptive volition (rather than a merely reproductive echo) she is privileging her own untested, highly speculative *relation to* the Cape, before, narratively, she has even stepped ashore. It is through the imagined superiority of her moral vision, the attributes of her specific colonial fantasies, or the figurative rendering of the physical realities of the land mass and animal worlds, that we might begin to see the contest, writ very small, between two versions of British colonizing impulse: the official booming male discourse of power-driven colonization—and the female, unofficial discourse of collusional appropriation. In these letters, and in her "Tour into the Interior," she rarely returns so explicitly to the idea of her natural, even superior, communion with the land itself (especially in comparison to such a well-liked colonial official as Governor Macartney) though she often promotes her own "natural" superiority over others.

Since the existence of, or the quality of, communion with the land signifies one of the crucial nodes of contestation even in present-day South Africa, and certainly throughout the colonial era, it is not surprising to find this claimed intimacy with the "land" to appear so soon, in fact, on the first page of her 126 pages of letters. A chummy continental wink, arcing over the heads of those locals of the "white card houses ... scarce large enough to hold an ant," would be no more telling a gesture of collusion.

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Productive Utilization and Transvaluation

This *pleased collaboration* of the subjects of her descriptions reoccurs often in her letters, and it is applied to many encounters as she makes her way through the social, economic and cultural milieu that was the Cape Colony and adjacent hinterlands in the late 1700s.
In fact, the miniaturizing of the most dramatic landscape feature of Cape Town continues with her trek to the top of Table Mountain in June or July of 1797, accompanied by John Barrow. She describes the mountain top as presenting

> roots, and some flowers, and beautifull Heaths on the edge of the rocks, but the soil was cold, swampy, and mossy, covered in general with half an inch of water . . . and sprinkled all over with little white pebbles, some dozens of which I gathered to make *table mountain earrings* for my fair European friends" (*Letters* 49).

If the dramatic visage of Table Mountain had been animated into a dining lion at first sight, at closer range, the process of fetishization takes over—the mountain pebbles gathered and *designated* ornaments. For by designation, the mineral material of the most prominent feature on the southern African coastline, a mountain she calls elsewhere "stupendously eccentric"(*Letters* 44) is put to civilizing use, and a link is forged, tenuously, between the loved ones from home and the peninsular Table Mountain. Indeed, the pebble might have surfaced back in England, as it was intended, dangling on the end of a fair Englishwoman's ear, and in this way a gesture in the synecdoche of imperialism is performed.

While attesting to a privileged communion with the miniaturized landscape,[149] Barnard at the same time accomplishes two reductive rhetorical moves with these early figurations: a falsification and domestication of the (wild) animal world and an unearned intimacy, even complicity, between the land mass and the colonizing impulse. Wild animals have been removed from their world and their very anatomical structure has been revised. They are yoked into service, both in the case of the dolphin and the erect-throated lion, as symbolic figurines of inexhaustible plenitude. In both cases the wild has been tamed and relegated to a domesticating routine: the dolphin supplies water, rather like a servant in stony obedience, and the ridge line of Table Mountain has been civilized as a silent lion who has been put to dine at the table. This last rhetorical move is a triple displacement—first from mineral to animal, then from wild animal to tame, and then anthropomorphized to a human-like diner. Finally, in the background, barely visible, is the hand of God, the great consent giver, who causes both ends of the Table Mountain / Lion's Head figuration to participate in the welcoming drama: the head to drop the necklace of clouds, and the tail to whisk off the vapours, in "one consent" (37). It is not difficult to imagine Barnard's subtext: the "one consent" that is attached to the movement of clouds and vapours (and which originates in divinity) being extended to the whole set of colonial prerogatives Lady Barnard and Governor Macartney adopt as they take their first appropriating steps ashore.

The animal husbandry potential of southern Africa—both the use of domesticated animals and the management and slaughter of the wild animals—in many ways rivaled the mining, farming, and other forms of commerce available to the enthusiasms of the later settler and colonial administrator. In fact, the existence of vast herds of wild game and the potential for development of cattle and sheep husbandry, were, prior to the discovery of gold in the late nineteenth century, at the center of both commercial development schemes and colonial fantasies of plenitude.

For Barnard and most other early colonials, animals meant, for the most part, meat—and Barnard goes into some detail as she describes the meatfood/animal forms of Africa to her beloved Dundas, himself a gourmand. At Wellington, she reports that "we had for supper a Cape Ham, fat enough, but it was fat hurried on a lean pig, [and] a buck's hindquarters *served up as you would*

[149] Helen Prichard also uses domestication and miniaturization in her description of the landscape of the Eastern Cape: "I...looked down upon King Williams Town, which lay at the bottom of a green basin like an egg that was going to be beaten." She goes onto to complain that dominion could have been more grandly established. " It seemed strange that the first settlers should have pitched their tents down in a hole, when they might have perched like eagles, upon those charming hills" (68).

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serve a child going to be whipped" (*Letters* 46) [my emphasis]. A remarkable conversion of food described in frankly animal terms, and then transmitted up to symbolic human, the buck/child is "served," as we are led to believe, for punishment— in a ritual display of power. The conflation of sensual pleasures suggests that the process or act of "whipping" someone bent low in an ape-like gesture (for the great apes, gorillas and orangutans use the posterior presentation to signal voluntary submission) is a kind of nutritive practice. A willing collusion with the entire colonial power apparatus —that we first glimpsed with the personified smile of Table Mountain—develops into high-contrast visibility. Furthermore, the shift to second person, rarely used by Barnard, invites us to consider that the spectacle of domination has been transferred; in fact, Dundas occupies a dual position in the figure: he is picturing the main course from the visual perspective of a diner, but he is syntactically placed in the sentence as the "server," further suggesting, perhaps, the troubadourish mode she has cast him in: the lovelorn, distant admirer whose most important job is to "serve" his lady.

In an early encounter with an African chief we see a man described by Barnard initially as sculpture, but sculpture in the serviceable mode. She compliments this chief by returning him to the status of raw material, molded to a frozen posture of service. Here's her form of praise: "He was as fine a morsel of Bronze as I ever saw & there ought to have been a pair of them with candlesticks in their hands" (*Letters* 56). Might this be read as an erotic aside? Might Dundas imagine (from the beginning we have suspected that it is by indirection and surrogateship that the erotic valence of the friendship between Dundas and Barnard proceeds) Lady Barnard's pleasure, whilst he himself is reading by the fire in a gloomy English winter? A nighttime service is suggested, and "morsel," a term even in the late 1700s for food, suggests delectability. The symmetry of a pair of them doubles the pleasure, and each is imagined with stick in hand.

While humans were turned into animal-like beings, insects, or sculpture, animals themselves were the object of real conflict with Barnard. She was particularly vacillating when it comes to the treatment of oxen, and no doubt her calls for better roads to the interior (*Letters* 96) were fueled by her distaste for the legendary animal cruelty necessary to traverse the rough wagon tracks and deeply cut ravines of the new colony. In the eleventh letter, on July 10, 1797, Barnard remarked that the oxen respond with "perfect docility to the crack of [the driver's] whip" (*Letters* 38). However, by 1798, on a trip into the interior, she had altered her view.

> How much the poor animals had suffered in our service, their sides streaming down with the blood which the knives of their savage drivers had brought. They are very cruel here to their cattle; the whip itself, which carries away with it the hide, is not thought enough on some occasions; with their sharp knives they cut the poor creatures, till, bellowing and kicking, they perform their almost impossible task, and [the drivers] are sufficiently good anatomists to know exactly the vital parts to be avoided (*Letters* 110).

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The connection with Barnard's own travel, her desire to travel, the actual weight of her own body in the wagon, is severed from the suffering of the cattle. It is "they" who are cruel to "their" cattle, and the idly curious colonial out for a bit of local color is a mere weightless consciousness, hovering above the actual theatre of suffering, taking notes.

Barnard's sympathies with the brutalized oxen of the colonial southern Africa waver, and a few paragraphs on in the same letter, she reports that "driving from the Kloof," the oxen "were so strong that they pulled us with ease up ascents which made me almost think they could pull us up to heaven like Elijah . . . ." (*Letters* 111). Everywhere the colonials went on excursions into the interior were at the expense, and occasionally the very life, of the laboring oxen. In fact, most Cape Colony commerce was oxen-facilitated, and oxen were both an important index of hospitality and a form of currency, for travelers were customarily afforded teams of fresh oxen on their trips into (and out of) the countryside, and trade with native groups was frequently initiated (even during those periods when it was illegal) in order to obtain oxen; sometimes a brass button or handful of glass beads was sufficient barter value for an oxen, and this was three centuries after the shipwreck survivors had established a more or less equivalent exchange rate.[150] Additionally stock theft was the central dispute between settlers and tribal groups, and was one of the most important flash points for the Frontier wars.

On Sunday May 6, 1798, at the foot of Hottentot Kloof (about one mile north of the present Sir Lowry's pass), Barnard reports the capacity for sentience of the oxen, when she records that

> A farmer at the bottom of the ascent stood ready with twelve fine, stout, beautiful oxen, with horns that spread from pole to pole, ready to be put to the waggon ... [M]uch did they dislike the business they were going on, and lowed piteously when they found themselves in the yoke. We were advised to let them draw us up as far as we chose to sit.—the ascent is about a mile and a half or two miles long; but we soon preferred leaving the waggon, the sight of their exertions being painful to me; besides, I wished to take a flying sketch from the Kloof itself of Gordon's bay, the wide prospect we were leaving, where bay succeeded to bay and hill to hill, carrying on the eye with an infinity of bare beauty (109).

It is at this point that Barnard is beginning to feel the connection between her actual weight and the suffering of the oxen, but the alteration in arrangements (her walking instead of being pulled up the mountain) is presented as a change brought about by "the *sight* of their exertions" in a curious appropriation of pain. She has not decided to walk up the mountain to relieve the oxen, but to relieve her own pain at the "sight" of suffering, to abandon, if you will, the site of suffering.

[150] A letter from Mr. Collin at Port Natal to J.W. G. Van Oordt on Sept 3rd, 1834, contains this remark about the securing of a lucrative ivory monopoly with beads and cloth: "I am happy to inform you that, in my relations with the king of the Zoolas, he shows every disposition to continue on the most friendly terms .... For my dealings with him he has acted with the greatest fairness, and has supplied me with 9000 lbs. of the very finest ivory, and is now hunting for me and swears he will not in future deal with any other. I have so happily hit his taste to beads and cloth." Africana Collection. University of Cape Town Library BC 159:397.

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Writing Herself into the Picture

Barnard's descriptions of landscape, of potential for resource development, of animals, and of the commercial systems that the early colonialists used to lay actual and imaginative claim to the new land are numerous, produce a legitimate critique of the European colonizing impulse, and expose some of the discursive supports peculiar to the ways in which "informal texts" navigate those impulses. But it is a related movement that I am interested in here: the mechanisms by which Lady Barnard *writes herself into the new southern African world*: the landscape, the systems of transactions through gift and pay and barter that she builds up around herself and the matrix of animate beings with which she finds herself.

She has recorded, we must take care to recognize, attempts to block her progress *into,* though they appear inadvertently. They lodge in her account as resistant, sullen ghosts. The letters and journal describe a period from April 30, 1796 to September 21, 1803. In this period Barnard's writing does not always show simple attitudinal homogeneity and is not always simply a case of cultural imposition (as the most early colonial or mission writing has more commonly been seen) but more of a patient, slow-motion *writing into.*

What textual or conceptual mechanisms pulled her forward and what forces lodge in the text, as impediments? There are a number of examples of these counter forces. One has to do with a slave's little plot of potatoes and one with a Khoisan's queu (sic) of hair. At Lady Barnard's retreat cottage, she earmarks an area as ideal for potatoes. She reports that Paradise

> has not enough of ground uncleard to have a cow, but it will at least raise us chickens & *potatoes*. . . . There is a little hasty stream of water, a clump of firs, a good many old orchard trees a few orange trees—a perpendicular Rock behind & far extended view of mountains & sea before, the intermediate space uncultivated heath or short stubbd wood, good for little but the oven (53).

It is a scene composed for the reader in terms of the conventional English landscapes of the time: foreground, extended view and intermediate space, all of which are locales to which there is implicit or explicit utilitarian function assigned. That the scene is threaded together by a stream of water completes the convention. But it is the potatoes that stand out in this passage, that are italicized (in the original, underlined) and it is presumably Barnard's taste for the potato that inspires her first reported agricultural appropriation, to which the resistance of a slave was ineffectual.

On May 7, 1798, two days into her only extended tour into the interior, she arrived at a farmhouse and was appalled by the "nasty little kitchen . . . into which we did not much wish to creep." She found her packed food had come in handy (boiled tongues, a couple of fowls). And the "poor people of the house" contributed a "little dry fish and a few hard eggs." But, in addition to these victuals, she prided herself on being "mistress of a jar of butter, and by signs got an old slave to dig [her] up a few potatoes which [she] saw in his little garden"(111). We can imagine the pantomime by which the slave contrived to misunderstand Barnard's "signs" so that his little garden of potatoes might grow a bit bigger. Although we are not told what signs finally

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convinced the "old slave" to give up his spuds, we can imagine that the extraction of this gift was doubly resented when the scene of feast commenced. Here is how Barnard describes the meal, with the gift potatoes: "Table we had none, but we had the top of an old barrel, and by no means any want of company,—cocks, hens and every living thing assembling round to partake, and they all had their share . . ." (*Letters* 112).

In this scene, it is the well-off colonialist's prerogative to adjudicate share, to distinguish between the cocks and hens, and slaves and Dutch hosts—or to treat them all as one, as the sentence suggests, in what must have seemed like a bizarre egalitarianism to the highly stratified hinterland social economy of a late eighteenth century settler's homestead. And, as if to balance the antipodes of appropriation and generosity, and to impart the colonialist terms of commerce and interdependence to the hinterland communities, she left "the slaves happy with knives, handkerchiefs, and a sprinkling of Danaes" (*Letters* 112), this last an elevation of herself to mythic or goddess-like status. Derrida, Mauss and Hyde all remind us that a gift has in it an implied debt, that a gift draws the recipient into a kind of indebtedness that is not easily discharged, for its terms are unspecified and so it is impossible for the recipient to provide an exact equivalent. This "sprinkling" of gifts echoes Barnard's description of Dundas himself as one who cannot ever repay *her* for unspecified favors rendered. If the recipient of a gift always is laboring under such an unsatisfied lien, then there is nothing that marks the end of his repayment.

Barnard is thus in control of all aspects of the commerce: determining the recipient, the share, the gift, forging out of her own notions of worthiness both sides of the exchange, and of course, determining the narrative itself, the record of the event. It is Barnard, in Barnard's account at least, who judges all needs, all desires, and all worthiness (firstly, her own desire for potatoes), and this is a function of both her individual personality and her position as high-status British (Scottish) woman and high-ranking colonialist.

She writes herself out of, or above, the "nasty little kitchen," and writes herself into the slave's little patch of garden—who, by convention even then, was allowed to plant and reap for his own use a certain amount of food, on land that was nominally at least, "his." By inserting her needs, and asserting her right to appropriate in order to satisfy those needs, she is utilizing a persuasive register that is nearly disguised in the colorless verb, "got." If she is writing herself out of squalor (the kitchen) and into a plenitude (the potato patch), she is also writing herself into the micro-economy of Mynheer Cloete's settlement. For by setting the terms for both "given" and "received," she is assuming a pseudo-official administrative position: perhaps transient deity or nominal chief.

Odder still is the narrative of the hair. This lock of hair, a braid really, this "modern relick" that Barnard acquired was intended for Lady Jane, Dundas' wife, but on second thought, and because it "ws so odd and *uncouth*" that it might "frighten" her friend, she sent it to Dundas, presumably enclosed with her letter (*Letters* 187). The British Museum is full of the synecdoche of empire, the sized-down and postable representations of the reach of empire, the visible trace of the acquisitional gaze as it turns around the axis of its newly visible colonial world. But we have few accounts of the exact circumstances by which these souvenirs made their way into the possession of the British representative abroad.

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This bodily appropriation occurred just prior to the letter of May 4, 1799, two years into her stay and at a time when her confidence had grown, and the borders of her acquisitiveness had expanded from minerals (the Table Mountain pebbles) and potatoes, to the actual hair on the head of an indigenous man. The occasion was a "Boshie man's" visit to the Cape to see Captain Barnard. Here is her description of the event:

> . . . his hair was perfectly different from the hair of any other Human creature I have seen, as it was like fringes of fine knotted black worsted, such Knotting as old ladys do for beds, in the front of his forehead he wore a little button hanging down. . . . and behind he had a Queu . . . viz, pig tail, which hung down an insh [sic] with two shells in it" (187).

She goes on to describe the presents that she had distributed, among them a clay pipe which the "Boshie man" had stuck in his hat, preparatory to bowing his respects. When the pipe crashed into a table at the bottom of the bow, "it was shivered to pieces," and Barnard claimed that "never did painting convey such an Attitude, or the feelings of nature speak so plain . . . he covered his face at once with his hand" and he was about to burst into tears when another pipe was brought to him. "With a deep sigh and a consoled Tankee [he] wint [sic] off" (187). For Lady Barnard, this was a fortuitous disaster, for she had earned, with her double gift pipes, a social credit with him, and these were the terms for repayment: "a little of his queer hair & his queu" which she asks him for and then takes. She reports that he was "greatly flattered by my request & held down his head to have it cut off" (*Letters* 188).

If a Scotswoman stationed temporarily in the Cape Colony at the end of the eighteenth century has the capacity to imagine someone "flattered" to have his hair cut off as a souvenir, it is no more surprising than an imagination which might transform the landscape itself into memorial or funerary monuments. On a trip into the interior, Barnard was told that on the other side of the Hottentot Kloof

> a new country would open on me. . . . hillock on hillock, mountain behind mountain, far as the sight could reach . . . and the only objects on which the eye found anything to pause were sometimes a few pointed stones on the summit of rising grounds, under which fancy would fain have laid the bones of Hottentot heroes slain in battle, had not observation pointed out that this was only the natural form of the country (*Letters* 110).

By Barnard fancying a few pointed stones visible on the summit of distant hills as monuments to dead Hottentots, she is able to disregard the fact that large-scale topographical features exist beyond or outside of human intervention—and this rhetorical embellishment is consistent with how she has rendered the natural and built landscapes elsewhere. Table Mountain, Table Bay, the Castle, and other spots described during the first weeks of her stay in southern Africa, were

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miniaturized, domesticated or brought into collusional intimacy by the attachment of symbolic or imagistically rich "signs" to the land features and built environments that she encountered. In fact, the Hottentot heroes slain in battle represent not a heroic emblem, in Barnard's imagination, though she calls them "heroes," but quite the opposite: the last defiant specimens of a tribe destined to become a vanquished nation and people, who can only be "honored" when dead, absent, or memorialized away. When Barnard uses such fanciful funeral transposition, such as an "oddity of rock" being interpreted as "the sarcophagus of some giant" (149), she is, by memorializing the dead or missing, providing a false "culture" for what is determined to have no culture, the indigenous southern Africans prior to European settlement.

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CHAPTER 5

Marianne North's Vision of Eden

The force that through the green fuse drives the flower
Drives my green age[.] [151]

Dylan Thomas

[T]he flower expresses an obscure vegetal resolution. . . . [Yet] the marvelous corolla rots indecently in the sun, becoming . . . a garish withering. Risen from the stench of the manure pile, even though it seemed for a moment to have escaped into a flight of angelic and lyrical purity, the flower seems to relapse abruptly into its original squalor. . . . reduced to a wisp of aerial manure. [F]lowers do not age honestly like leaves, which lose nothing of their beauty. . . ; flowers wither like old and overly made-up dowagers and they die ridiculously on stems that seemed to carry them to the clouds.[152]

Georges Bataille

The maiden, she ornaments the spring with [rooi klip] *when she becomes a maiden; she wishes that the spring may not dry up (lit. go out); because she wishes that the water might remain quietly in the spring. Because she wishes that the water may not dry up; that the water may remain in the spring. Therefore they adorn the spring, when they become maidens. . . . Therefore, they (the maidens) adorn the young men, on acct. of it; for the rain comes out (in) the young men*. Therefore they (the maidens) adorn them on acct. of it, with* [rooi klip], *that the rain may not come out (upon them). Therefore they adorn them, on acct. of it.* [153]

R., Transcribed and Translated by Lucy Lloyd.

** as sores, R. says*

As the epigraphs above suggest, plants—especially flowers and herbs—are particularly potent emblems of the "magical" forces that control or symbolize processes of reproduction, the

[151] Thomas, Dylan. "The Force that Through the Green Fuse Drives the Flower," *18 Poems*. ed. Edward Lucie-Smith. London: Turret Books, [1934] 1967.
[152] Bataille, Georges. *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings, 1927-1939*. University of Minnesota Press, 1989.
[153] M. J. Daymond, *et al.* ed. *Women Writing Africa: the Southern Region*. New York: Feminist Press, 2003.

maintenance of bodily health, and the capacity for spiritual ascendance. They have been long associated with tropes of human sexuality. In light of this intersection of sexuality, colonial botanical science and women's writing about southern Africa, this chapter will examine another form of female traveler, one who is focused on plants rather than cultural aspects of southern Africa, and one who is decidedly metropolitan-oriented. Marianne North (1830-1890) wished to bring the colonial world home to England, rather than, as in the case with Barnard, to transplant British culture to southern Africa. To this end, she depicted southern Africa as a space in which even the lone female artist might safely gather her images undisturbed.

North traveled the world for more than twenty years in search of flowers, plants and scenic vistas to paint. Single and self-itinerizing, her interest was in locating and representing a region's typical plants and flowers—as well as its rarities. She also collected wood panels from around the world, wrote a three-volume autobiography, supervised the design and construction of a building that was to house a permanent exhibit of her paintings and wood collection at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, and traveled to remote colonial outposts in order to accomplish these twin, self-memorializing projects: the autobiography/travelogue and the exhibition of her worldwide painting collection in a temple/gallery.[154] In these several long-range projects, she accomplished something relatively unusual. According to Monica Anderson, her unique claim to fame is that "she built her own monument" (59).

At the age of 39, and at the death of her father, North became at one stroke both free of care taking duties (she had nursed an ill mother for many years, and then had traveled widely with her elderly father until his death) and financially equipped[155] to make use of that freedom.[156] She traveled, in the end, to six continents in search of exotic plants and scenes to paint. While North was engaged in a fairly ordinary hobby for upper class travelers, "botanizing,"she also undid a number of typical stereotypes, especially expectations about dress, itinerary, and sociability—conventions which circumscribed the lives of the vast majority of middle- and upper-class Victorian women. North was regularly given rare cuttings from the public gardens at Kew to take home with

[154] North had worked with an architect on the design of the exhibition space, which included features such as clerestory lighting and doric columns, and was modeled in part on Greek temples. Whether the design derived in any part from Robert Thornton's very famous sexualization of flowers in the plates from *The Temple of Flora*, the third volume of a larger work (the *New illustration of the sexual system of Carolus von Linnaeus*) is not clear. However, the temple-like setting for North's highly sexualized images suggests there may well have been a conscious allusion to the earlier botanical work.

[155] Even after the considerable expense of her twenty years of world travel and the funding of the North Gallery building at Kew, the disposition of her estate shows that her investments in colonial stocks (Canadian, Australian, Indian, South African), U.S. rail and Gas companies, and British Gas and Coal companies left a generous £23,000 at her death. See the papers which record the disposition of her estate. PRO IR 59/138.

[156] North's mother had died when North was in her twenties. The biographical details of North's life are readily available. See Dorothy Middleton's *Victorian Lady Travellers* (1965); Anthony Huxley's introduction and Brenda Moon's biographical essay (234-239) in *A Vision of Eden* (1980); Dea Birkett's *Spinsters Abroad* (1989); Susan Morgan's "Introduction" in *Recollections of a Happy Life, Vol I* (1993); Laura Ponsonby's *Marianne North at Kew* (1996); Michelle Adler's *Skirting the Edge of Civilization: British Women Travelers and Travel Writers in South Africa 1797-1899*. Ph.D. Thesis. London: University of London (1996); and Barbara Brothers and Julia Gergits, eds. *Dictionary of Literary Biography. British Travel Writers, 1876-1901: Victorian Period* (1997) for similar accounts of North's family, childhood, relationship with parents, and summaries of her travels.

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her to her private hothouses to root, grow, or propagate, and to reproduce in paintings, as she desired. From the field, four species and one genus were named after her, including the *Nepenthes Northiana*, a large pitcher plant with a hairy sheath and a vulva like opening, which was "discovered" in Sarawak, Borneo.[157]

In the second volume of her travelogue / autobiography, *Recollections of a Happy Life*, North records her impressions of South Africa, where she completed one hundred and ten small oil paintings, the largest number from a single country. It was one of the last areas she visited, and her observations had become increasingly, one might say obsessively, concerned with the idea of borders.

She describes the town of Worchester as being "[B]uilt on an exact square of ground, the green grass edging leaving off and the desert beginning in a perfectly straight line on each side, as if cut with a ruler and knife"[158] (erc.lib 9). In this carefully delineated division between the wild and the civilized, North has employed the two tools that perhaps best symbolize *measurement* and *categorization*. By invoking the ruler that calibrates and the knife that separates, North registers a certain tidy satisfaction with classificatory practices and habits of mind that were dominant strains in eighteenth and nineteenth-century British science and culture,[159] especially as they pertained to representational practices in the botanical and zoological sciences.

While the brief description of Worchester suggests her attentiveness to boundaries, she herself spent a good deal of energy breaking out of the social and cultural constraints typically applied to the lives of (upper-class) Victorian women (Middleton 4). North traveled alone on long sea and land journeys, lived in temporary camps in both tropical and mountainous environments,

[157] However, the whole discourse of "discovery," when applied to botanical and zoological sciences and geographic knowledge, is founded on a misleading premise. One can "discover" that a mold produces an antibiotic that can cure an infection, but to "discover" something that is in plain sight is a peculiar conceit of Western science and historiography. By and large plants and animals had been exhaustively catalogued by indigenous peoples round the world, though the systems of knowledge were typically local. Levi-Strauss reported in *The Savage Mind* that "The Coahuila Indians in southern California . . . were familiar with no less than sixty kinds of edible plants and twenty eight others of narcotic stimulant or medicinal properties. A single Seminol informant could identity 250 species and varieties of plants." The Hopi Indians could identify 350 plants, and the Navaho 500. The botanical vocabulary of the Subanun of the southern Philippines greatly exceeds a hundred terms and that of the Hanunóo approaches two thousand. In Gabon an ethno-botanical list of eight thousand terms was assembled from twelve or thirteen neighboring tribes (5). Henderson and Harrington report that "The Tewa Indians of New Mexico have distinct terms for all or almost all the parts of birds and mammals (qtd in Levi-Strauss 9) Forty terms are employed in the morphological description of the leaves of trees or plants, and there are fifteen distinct terms for the different parts of a maize plant (7). Indigenous groups not only had and transmitted via family and specialist training useful information about botanicals that were important in the food or resource management, but also typically had names, and a classificatory system, for plants and animals of no discernible "practical" use.

[158] All quotations from "Chapter XIV—South Africa, 1882-1883" are taken from <http://erc.lib.umn.edu:80/dynaweb/travel/nortreco/@Generic__BookView> and are paginated from the beginning of the chapter onward. The print version of the South African chapter can be found in *Recollections of a Happy Life*, Vol II, Chapter XIV (1892). I have made reference throughout to the more easily accessible version of North's writings on South Africa, though the paginations are approximate, depending upon one's browser and other technical considerations.

[159] See Mary Louise Pratt's *Travel Writing and Transculturation*, as well as Paul Carter's *The Road to Botany Bay* and *The Lie of the Land*, for critiques of the classificatory and naming practices of colonial cultures, though with emphases on South America and Australia.

and took no husband.[160] She scoffed at mild discomforts, excessive formality, and many of the petty conventions and accommodation arrangements that colonial societies sought to impose upon her. In these significant ways, she was an atypical upper-class Victorian woman.

In her attitudes toward empire, other races, domestic and farm labor, slavery, political self-determinancy for women, and the privileges automatically extended to the wealthy, she expressed more typical sentiments. Like Mary Kingsley (1862-1900), whose travels to West Africa and accounts of those travels are perhaps best known of the Victorian women explorers, and Gertrude Bell (1868-1926), who traveled to Syria and Egypt and was involved in the dismantling of British control in Iraq, North was not a keen advocate for women's rights (Birkett *Spinsters* 276). Though not as publicly active as Bell, who was a founding member of the Anti-Suffrage League, North still privately opposed women's aspirations, ridiculing in a letter to a friend an attempt of some "clever women" to start an "agricultural college for women" (qtd in Birkett *Spinsters* 200). In a passage of North's manuscript (edited out by her sister, Kathryn Symonds, before publication) North claims that "I should be terribly bored by the possession of a vote, and those sensible women would certainly not use it if they had one . . . and another thing struck me—how ugly all those strong-minded females and their pet parsons were! They ought always to be kept down" (qtd in Birkett *Spinsters* 200).

Toward the end of her travels in South Africa, in May of 1883, North described the frontiers of Bishop Colenso's garden near Verulam in much the same terms as her early observation of the borders of Worchester. Noting that animals had become bound to the household by the artificial environment which had been created, she imagined something like an invisible barrier had been erected by the utter forbiddingness of the harsh "natural" environment which surrounded them. Inside the tamed and edenic world "[c]ats, rabbits, and a crane wandered about the pretty garden all sociably together, and never strayed further, as they found (like myself) that there was no place to stray to when once they left the oasis. All round was a pathless desert of long burnt-up grass, inhabited only by grass-ticks" (28). No place to stray to? For such a freewheeling and indefatigable traveler as Marianne North, the claustrophobic prospect no doubt aroused anxiety as surely as the notion of "oasis" supplied comfort. What she liked most was to be at a permeable frontier between the civilized and the wild, not a boundary drawn with high-contrast precision that offered two equally unattractive choices. While she chafed at being confined indoors to the drawing room, she also did not care to find herself too far, for too long, from a bracing cup of tea. She had little taste for "true" wilderness, the "pathless desert," outside Eden, or at least no desire to tarry there for long.

The animals in this Rousseau-like composition are positioned to defy their given places as either "pet," or "domesticated food animal," or "wild bird." Their sociability is enforced, however, not by a mystical fraternity of innocents before sin, but by the "pathless desert" that surrounds them, what might be usefully called the negative capability of the experienced landscape. Marked by a sense of categorical fluidity, her writing produces a counter force to the classificatory

[160] The Married Women's Property Act was not implemented until 1882, so North's considerable personal fortune might have been forfeited with marriage (Morgan xv).

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borders that were the foundation of botanical art and science. Baboons are reported as "black people" (8); Zulus take their "frog-like position of humility" (24); people treat plants as "pet children" (29); and a dog is greeted with the honorific "noble chief, brave warrior" (24).

Both North's paintings and her travelogue derive some of their appealing tension from this wish to record, and be obedient to, borders, especially as pertains to the classification of botanical species, habitats, and cultural distinctions, and the counterpoised desire to break through or disrupt cultural—and even physical—frontiers. For instance, her paintings defied botanical art conventions of the day by showing the plant in the midst of its usual habitat rather than floating in a neutral background (though the scenic paintings were often hackneyed in their obedience to conventional landscape composition). Her traveling destinations and modes challenged expectations for feminine behavior. Finally, in her *Recollections*, the "place" of animals, plants, humans and races in relation to one another shift via figurations that subvert the classificatory, cataloguing fever that directed her strictly botanical observations.

North's detailing of individual flowering plants—the pistils, stamens, stigmas, corollas, leaves, stems and so on—and her notations of size and color are in most cases reliable enough for botanical identification, according to Laura Ponsonby.[161] Generative anatomies and processes are essential to how biological categories are fixed, and to how the borders between genera, species, classes, orders, and even races, in the case of most colonial spaces, are maintained.[162] Thus, while it was existence of core morphological characteristics that organized plant and animal categories around the world, including in colonial social and cultural spaces, these defining features did not always hold; there were sites, and circumstances, in which these very principles of "group" and "kind" might be violated via metaphor, and so-called "informal" texts such as letters, diaries, journals, and autobiographical works are likely depositories of this alternate discourse. It is in North's travel writing that this slippage via metaphor most often occurs (not in her paintings, which provide few instances of border crossings).

Although North had traveled frequently with her father on sketching expeditions through Europe, when she was left to her own devices, she set off on increasingly more remote journeys,

[161] The 1882 *Official Guide to the North Gallery,* reprinted, revised and augmented in 1914, identifies the plants North painted by their botanical names. Laura Ponsonby additionally thanks 12 Kew botanists for checking the "scientific names" of the plant paintings reproduced in *Marianne North at Kew Gardens* (1990): 125.

[162] For instance, the elongated labia of the Khoisan women —"discovered" and inspected by a number of prying colonial men—was a core characteristic by which the group was understood to be "outside of" the rival, and superior, group, "European human." That the Khoisan man covered his privates indifferently, with a penis sheath or by a strip of hide, were additional characteristics that signaled, to most European visitors, inferior status. The persistent rumor that the Khoisan removed one testicle, either at birth or at puberty, was an alleged marker of difference (that is, inferiority) in the 1700s. Even as late as 1958 Donald R. Morris reported in *The Washing of the Spears* that "The [bushman]'s penes were set at a perpetual semi-erect angle and the females' labiae formed an external flap that looked like an apron" (18). The earliest European visitors (British, Dutch, Portuguese, French and German) to southern Africa distinguished themselves from the indigenous peoples not only by descriptions of the indigenous people's sexual parts and coverings (or lack of), but by the indigenous southern Africans' pungent smell, their preferences for not well-cooked intestines, and for the unusualness of their language, with its "clucking" sounds. See Raven-Hart's *BVR.*

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traveling alone to remote places to paint hundreds of botanical specimens in their native habitats and, less frequently, domestic scenes, landscapes, animals, and vases or indoor arrangements of flowers. She conveyed the sense that she moved freely in these spaces, and like many other British women travelers in the last half of the nineteenth century, she does not record a single incident, of menace or danger.

North's memoirs appeared in three volumes, *Recollections of a Happy Life,* Vol I and II (1892) and *Further Recollections of a Happy Life* (1893). Though the writing has more in common with travelogue than with reflective autobiography, its title and the evident intent of the author was to address the *vita*, not necessarily to provide an account that would be of use to those who wished also to travel to exotic lands. As Dennis Porter has pointed out in regard to Charles Darwin's *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1839), many nineteenth-century books with a scientific aim invite an "approach that relocates the representation and the practice of science itself to the matrix of an individual"(147). I would add to this, that the practice of science (and botanical art) by women was a significant testament to the "suitability" of colonial spaces for expansion or settlement.

The North Gallery at Kew Gardens: A Vision of Eden

Even now the only permanent exhibit of a female artist in Great Britain, 120 years after its establishment (Birkett "A Victorian" 30), the North Gallery at Kew Gardens has been the home of 832 of Marianne North's paintings (packed in, side by side, into a two-room gallery space) and 246 wood panels that she collected from remote outposts around the world. The exhibit still produces a dramatic effect, startling the visitor with its dense display of botanical paintings—studies of rare plants, groupings of flowers from a single area, and common or typical plants set in their "natural" habitat, a display that Wilfrid Blunt described as a "giant botanical postage stamp album" (qtd in North *A Vision* 12). Occasionally she even painted scenes of indigenous life—such as in Painting Number 397, "Vegetation of the Addo Bush with Kaffirs and their Habitation" (Ponsonby 102), and in these the "natives" are displayed, as well, in their "native habitat," fully articulated types which by the framing and captioning, might defy future admixture. The vegetation, the "Kaffirs," and the habitations are all fixed into a static, interdependent entity. The painting indeed seems to forbid these particular "Kaffirs" anything but the Addo bush, and forbids the Addo bush anything but this particular style of "habitation," and forbids this style of habitation anything but these kind of "Kaffirs," as if each pictorial element were in fact a single "anatomical" feature of a larger organism, fixed and immutable.

In this way, North's compositions are "proto-ecological" in that habitat is intertwined with (and relevant to) depictions of individual species. But North registers one significant defiance to her own semi-"holistic" principles, thereby rupturing any pretense toward a fully integrative botany, when she painted herself into a scene (Painting Number 226), an intentional intrusion. North pictured herself being carried in a hammock along a steep mountainside in the Himalayas, accompanied by dozens of bearers. This painting can be seen, then, as an especially rare hybrid, in which the representation of North has provided an invasive term in a region's typical scenic equation, a playful interjection of a foreign note, a notable visual instance in which North suggests

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that the border between represented and representer is not entirely impermeable.

Specimen plants dominate North's pictorial spaces, draping the top and sides as if they are hanging in midair, and often frankly overshadowing any scrap of distant view with enormous and pendulous plant parts, hanging and thrusting leaves, drooping stems, splayed flower petals and occasionally a stark and "phallic" inflorescence. In the case of the "Male Inflorescence and Foliage of a Screw Pine, Natal" Painting Number 349, one of the largest canvas in the display (12 inches by 38 inches), the oblong collection of flowerlets dominates not just the individual canvas but an entire wall of paintings. The foreground of nearly all of North's paintings is so crowded with these "anatomical" close ups that, as Antonia Losano notes, the viewer's sense of "proportionality is disrupted" (443) and the assaultive, even percussive, effect of the dense display space is echoed in the slightly menacing effect of the individual plant parts in their frame-filling gigantism, swollen and magnified even as the landscape itself is muted, distanced (and even sometimes deprived of the middle view entirely). However marked were the deformations that North imposed on scene and specimen, she refused the representational "violence" that Judy Dyson insists was the norm for strictly botanical depictions during that same era, a process which relied on the dissection of blossoms, whose exterior petals were often splayed to reveal the sexual organs (Screen 4).

The Flower as nineteenth-century Emblem of Colonial "Productivity"

North was adept in two especially indeterminate enterprises: travel writing and flower painting. As Dyson reminds us, flower painting and botanical illustration are interwoven categories which, although they typically refuse one another in the artist's or draftsman's presumed intent, they are often employed interchangeably—freely serving as illustration, decoration, and scientific evidence, as the situation demands (Screen 1). However, this ambiguity is not absolute: while the morphologically accurate botanical illustration might float downward into decoration, "flower painting" does not often rise into scientific authority, except perhaps in the absence of an actual pressed specimen or a page in a botanist's notebook. Ina Ferris has made a similar point about travel narratives themselves: that the undisciplined nature of Romantic and Victorian era travel writing assures that these documents will never fit neatly into art, science or entertainment, and they will always permit the roving consciousness of the traveler to intrude, the observable world to imprint, and the insights and anecdotes of other travelers to be freely imported (451-453).

The depiction of plants was, in its earliest recorded instances, related to the transfer of useful herbal lore, and this recording and circulation took place on a more or less local stage and supported the medicinal uses of plants. While all the parts and forms of plants, such as mosses, leaves, roots, fruits, and branches, concern the botanical artist, the flower is the premier subject, the most significant part of the plant for classificatory ritual and botanical art. As a *cultural marker of both gender and place,* the flower has a dual purpose: by the form of its specialized organs of reproduction, the flower is responsible for slotting the plant into a global grid—for it is the reproductive organs that place a plant within a descriptive system. By the plant's location, in a particular habitat, it is slotted into a symbiotic set of relationships that function on the local

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level—typically between other plant species, animal and insect species, and humans. It is the flower that mediates these twin systems: the local set of interrelatedness and the global system of compartmentalization.

The flower is perhaps uniquely situated in the catalogue of the symbolic, as it speaks both of love and death, occupies both the sign of desire and a primary role in the funeral ornamentation of all Western cultures and many other cultures. Not surprising, says Bataille, that love is associated with flowers, as their "natural function" is reproductive—although he distinguishes between parts of the flower, noting that when love is expressed by way of a flower, "it is the corolla, rather than the useful organs, that becomes the sign of desire" (11). If the corolla is the first part of the flower to wilt, it is also the first to attract the notice of pollinators; the "useful organs" are functional, and rarely produce a legible sign to either pollinators, casual observers, or those determined to elevate the flower to symbolic status. As for love and its fading, Gertrude Stein deploys the flower in a witty refusal of symbolism itself in the title of her 1931 book, *Before the flowers of friendship faded friendship faded.*

Even with much of its general symbolism durable over centuries and across cultures, the flower itself is a highly impermanent feature of a much longer-lived entity, and it is in this transient role, this quick withering, that the flower speaks of death. In fact, the flower is but a "diversion . . . and then [it] dies ridiculously on the stem" (Bataille 12). The speed with which buds form and corollas unfurl and then the rapidity with which the whole flower collapses in on itself is in contrast to other plant parts, like the roots, which endure for the life of the plant and which participate in the plant's nutrient cycle virtually invisible to botanist and casual viewer alike. Even the stems and leaves outlast the flower, and perform their hydraulic and photosynthetic duties day in and day out, often for decades or years, and even despite severe climates.

Yet the flower's visual existence or actual transience is in contrast to its function, for the flower is the center of the most far-reaching drama of botanical life: fertilization and reproduction. This is the flower's paradox: it has a bright and showy short life (often the only part of a plant recognized by the non botanist) and then fades, but embedded in this impermanence is a *kind of* permanence, for the flower occupies the most intimate link with the longevity of the species: genetic continuation.

The tension created between the opposing poles of ultra transience and ultimate durability might be one sort of magnet which attracted an artist and amateur botanist such as Marianne North to the flower as subject. Furthermore, the colonial project was itself "reproductive"—it sought to "reproduce" European cultural, ideological, commercial, political, and judicial models by transplanting them into (or grafting them onto) outposts round the world, where the host culture might take up these practices and eventually become, instead of something separate, something that has endured an irreversible graft. This colonial effort sought, then, to "generate," to give spectacular rise to a created thing out of its weakened, impotent or incomplete constituent parts. Finally, as the early critics of the American painter, Georgia O'Keeffe, never tire of pointing out, the flower can be seen as an emblem of repressed sexuality; thus, some fascinations with the flower, though not necessarily North's, are akin to the ecstatic swooning of twentieth century neurotics (or adolescents) at the zoo, mesmerized at the bars of the chimpanzee cage, as the female

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announces her "flamboyant" readiness to copulate and both parties inspect one another's sexual or excretory anatomy (Tuan *Escapism* 50-52).

Because reproductive parts and processes were key to the Linnaean classification system, the flower had, as early as the eighteenth century, assumed a central place in botanical science,[163] as its parts were crucial to identifying and organizing plants. Plants did disrupt the system, and got reshuffled and shifted into and out of classes and orders, but in general the borders set up first by Linnaeas in *Systema Natura* (1735), and then revised by Michel Adanson (1727-1806) in order to expand the classificatory criteria, were part of a system which kept the plants and animals within a rigid grid (Snijman 78-79).

Re-collecting South Africa

Significantly less well known than the North Gallery at Kew, North's *Recollections of a Happy Life* and *Further Recollections of a Happy Life* were written during the years 1886-1888. North's accounts often included, along with lists of the roadside plants in long catalogues of Latin and common names (which can prove tiresome to the non botanist), witty and sometimes cynical social observations. Her anecdotes often focused on animals, plants or people who had in some way slipped their "regulatory ideal." In addition to the generous botanical information, incidental reports, and descriptions of the scenery of little known regions, these accounts accord us an admittedly narrow glimpse into the culture and economies of a number of mid-nineteenth century colonial and postcolonial outposts—India, Australia, Brazil, Jamaica, the United States, Borneo, Java, and South Africa—as well as into the ways in which botanical exploration, representation, and naming proceeded under the twin authorities of science and art. North rarely mentions, for instance, the difficulties of her travels, or much of any information of a personal nature. Yet even her casual observations reveal a "position" about colonialism, about slavery, about blacks, about dominion. However, interpreting these inadvertent leaks of "personhood" requires caution, according to the editor of the only edition published in this century, Susan Morgan.

We are met at the door, so to speak, with a firm directive from Morgan, who wrote the introduction to the 1993 edition of Vol I of *Recollections of a Happy Life*. Morgan urges future critics of North's work, particularly North's "reactionary" views on race and indigenous cultures and peoples, to refrain from merely inventorying a list of the ways in which North's thinking and patterns of representation err in unsurprising Victorian ways.

Although Morgan does admit that "the international geographic emphasis of nineteenth-century English botany is inseparable from English imperialism" (Morgan xxviii), she claims that

> it is easy to point out, in sophisticated and multiple detail, the imperialistic colonial function of such Victorian travel writing as Marianne North's *Recollections* . . . . But for a critic to perform just this act . . . may carry an implicit exoneration of the critic's own writing from the ideologies of his or

[163] Flowering plants belong to 23 classes, based on the number, union and relative length of the stamens or male organs. These classes are further subdivided into orders, based on the form of the female organs of the flower (the pistils). See Dee Snijman's "The Mind and the Eye" in *South African Botanical Art: Peeling back the Petals*, ed. Marion Arnold (2001): 78.

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her own culture (Morgan xxiii).

This is a peculiar preemptive strike, an attempt to shield North from future critics who might wish to examine women's travel writing by reinscribing it in imperial discourse, refusing for it (temporarily, for the sake of another, in some ways more pressing, argument[164]) any sort of special case as an example of British women's emancipatory discourse; further, the accusation that critical attention to the complex network of rhetorical deformations embedded in imperial design may carry an "exoneration" of any critic's own "ideology" proposes a critical conundrum that, if heeded, would certainly grind much critical work to a stop, or equally unhappily, encumber critical work with a predictable provisionality.

Morgan would have the future critic of Victorian women travel writing extract the woman travel writer's texts from the discourses of imperialism and reposition them in a narrative of gendered emancipation. Nonetheless, while urging critics of Victorian travel discourses to go beyond mere exposés, Morgan offers no persuasive alternate focus, aside from the mistaken suggestion that North's defining personal achievements were her "contempt for shows of magnificence, for laziness, and for the blindness to the beauty" of other people and places (Morgan xxxv).

According to Morgan, these three versions of contempt were uniquely North's, the individual woman, in contrast to the arch-colonial mentality and imperialist attitudes arising out of the "time" North lived in—attitudes which would permit North to report that the slaves in Brazil were perfectly happy (qtd in Morgan xxxiv), that the American Indians were as "near to animals as mortals could be" (*Recollections* 75) and that the bloodhounds of Jamaica "have a hereditary dislike" of blacks (*Recollections* 104), to give just three examples.

But are industriousness and an appetite and appreciation for scenes and peoples from faraway places rightly positioned in this case as personal values rather than attitudes born of the times? Is not the condemnation of the laziness of the "native," in fact, a discourse that comes from "the accumulated weight of two centuries of denunciation of idleness, from the pulpit and the judicial bench, in Europe" (Coetzee *White Writing* 23)? Was North not modeling both her bustling efficiency and her contempt for lazy people on prevalent social values of mid nineteenth-

[164] See the introduction to *Writing Women and Space* (1994), edited by Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, who urge those interested in women's writing and space to "trace the legacy" of women's colonial and postcolonial geographies. "It is vital" they say, "to begin thinking about the intersection of race, gender, sexuality, and class in the representation of other places and people. We feel that this critical interrogation of modes of representation is necessary before other, more emancipatory forms of representation can be formulated. For the question of complicity is not self-evident"(8). Sara Mills reinforces this in "Knowledge, Gender and Empire" (1994), saying that what is called for is "less a concentration on women's writing per se, than a reorientation of our views of imperialism, so that we resist the projection of imperial expansion as adventure and concentrate more on the lived experience of all those involved in colonial life" (47). See also the introduction to *Western Women and Imperialism* (1992) edited by Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, in which a similar call is made. *Text, Theory, Space* (1996), edited by Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner, and Sarah Nuttall neither makes a call to attend to the emancipatory figuration of women's writing in the colonial context, nor a call to expose white European women's complicity in the imperial project. Instead, the editors confine themselves to introducing the anthology by reference to the various essays' commentary on colonial spaces: the myth of an empty landscape at the European arrival; the heightened symbolism of crossing the equator for settlers heading south; the effect of the "discordant" memory on colonial and postcolonial nationalism; and gendered representations of land and nationalism.

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century Europe? Even though Coetzee was describing the discourses of the Cape, the denunciation he was referring to was regularly applied to marginal cultures: indigenous peoples, immigrants, slaves, and the Irish, throughout the entire British empire,[165] a type of denunciation that persists, barely disguised, in some forms of international aid programs; economic development programs; and cultural, anthropological, political, and historical discourses, even into this day.

Further, the representational patterns of exoticizing "otherness" (well rehearsed and endlessly modified in Postcolonial theory beginning with Said's *Orientalism)*[166] in fact, placed a high premium on the "exotic" (the beauty of other people and places); indeed fashions in mid-nineteenth-century art, domestic furnishings, curio cabinets, and fledgling amateur ethnographic commodification (Benedict 17) provided a refined aesthetic template to assist in the Victorian contemplation of the beautiful other, even as the appreciation was closely bounded on all sides by subjugation. Appreciation of the beauty of other places and peoples defined, in fact, much of the aesthetics of the nineteenth century, and Morgan can hardly claim that this was a virtue North possessed that was *not* of her time, though perhaps it was less common to those of her gender, and more typically mediated by objects, and their acquisition, than by travel itself.

Finally, it is necessary to pause on Morgan's suggestion that North was intolerant of "shows of magnificence," if as critics we are to restrain ourselves from "merely" cataloging the imperialist encodings in her text, without attending to the "female narrator's discursive liberations" (Morgan xxv). Although North did maintain that she relished solitude and simple quarters away from centers of idle colonialist sociability and excessive ceremony,[167] there is certainly one obvious example in which she reveals herself to be spectacularly dedicated to "shows of magnificence." The North Gallery, located at Kew Gardens by virtue of her close personal relationship with the then director, Joseph Hooker, was designed by the architectural historian James Fergusson and included features of "Greek temple architecture," principally clerestory lighting (North *A Vision* 10-11), and paid for by North herself. For an artist who is described in lukewarm terms as "reasonably talented" by Anthony Huxley in the 1980 introduction to *A Vision of Eden* (and who is only moderately rated as an artist and botanical illustrator by subsequent critics), the location and permanence of the North Gallery at Kew Gardens, indeed the only permanent botanical exhibit by a woman artist in all of Great Britain and the former British

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[165] See Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather* (1998) for a discussion of the Irish, domestic work, and idleness at home. See Henry Mayhew's *London Labor and the London Poor: A Cyclopedia of the Conditions and Earnings of Those that will Work, Those that Cannot Work, and Those that will not Work* (1851) New York: Harper & Brothers Publishing, in which the author catalogs the tricks that the Costermonger, the Hindoo tract Seller and the Patterer (among dozens of other occupations) employ to avoid real labor and to "turn an unfair profit." Note that it was just thirty-seven years after the publication of this critique of the underclasses' "unfair profit" that North's stock portfolio was cashed out with an over 1000 % profit from her investment in the East India Company (North's estate papers are held at the Public Records Office at Kew, PRO IR 59/138).

[166] See Edward Said *Orientalism* (1977), for an analysis of the ways that discourses advance the enterprise of imperialism. See Robert Young's "Edward Said and Colonial Discourse" in *Postcolonialism* (2000) for a summary of some of the theoretical positions that have sharpened themselves in opposition to Said's theoretical coordinates.

[167] North calls the visitors to her lodgings in Grahamstown "a perpetual succession of dull, dawdling society (erc.lib 17), among dozens of examples.

Empire,[168] seems to suggest a kind of cultural pinnacle attained not by a widespread consensus toward a body of great work, but by other, perhaps more dubious, mechanisms by which sites of cultural privilege are established and occupied by the economic power of the elites. This "Greek temple" erected by the private fortune of a Victorian woman on the grounds of a public institution is indisputably a grandiose self-memorializing gesture, enacting the very "show of magnificence" Morgan would have us believe North eschewed.

In *South African Botanical Art: Peeling Back the Petals,* North is but one of 214 botanical artists who painted the flora of what is now South Africa between 1693 (Nicolas Witsen) and the present (Auriol Batten[169]) and whose biographical data are supplied in the "Concise Dictionary of Botanical Artists" at the end of the volume. She is mentioned briefly in an essay by John Rourke, "Beauty in Truth" (39), and in the final essay by Marion Arnold, in which North's paintings are termed "robust," "lush" and "strongly coloured" (153; 155). To many botanists, North's accomplishment are two fold: she recorded a number of rare plants, many of which were, indeed, to disappear in the next century, and she declined to isolate her subject plant from its habitat; in fact, she made quite arduous journeys to see the plant in its natural setting, though by no means the first or only artist to do so.[170] However, even if she observed a plant in its native habitat, it is quite clear from the contrived designs of her paintings that she did not necessarily reproduce her specimen plants in compositional obedience to the viewed landscape.

Artists likewise distance themselves from any position of unambiguous praise,[171] and her travel writing has been examined mostly in broad analyses that are concerned with "Victorian women travel writers," and almost entirely within the emancipatory framework of recuperated women's writing, and so North's work has been sidelined to stand as the "quaint" period piece. Outside of the serious nineteenth-century categories such as art or science, North and her writing and painting projects are also beyond the stereotypes of frailty that still dominate popular belief about the lives of Victorian women (although this notion has long been abandoned in literary, feminist, and cultural studies).

Morgan misdirects our attention, at a crucial juncture, as we begin to read of Marianne North, and she attempts to close off a certain kind of inquiry, one that might discredit the accomplishments or blight the monuments of those nineteenth-century women who, against all odds we are often told, exercised a defiant power over their own lives. It must not be forgotten,

[168] Dea Birkett makes the claim that the North gallery is the only permanent exhibit by a woman in Great Britain in an article in *The New York Times*, "A Victorian" 30. By making a narrower category, female botanical artist, I hope I have not introduced an error by a extending the geography to other countries: India, South Africa, Australia and so on.

[169] Batten characteristically shows a specimen plant in full colour against a black and white habitat background, an arrangement which underscores the artificiality of how specimen/background information is combined in most botanical art. See Plate 48 and Plate 72 in *South African Botanical Art: Peeling Back the Petals* (2001).

[170] According to Wilfrid Blunt, individual plant studies were used even in the seventeenth century to "fabricate" densely planted "close" landscapes (121). See also in Plate XX "Plants mainly from South Africa," an oil painting by Laurens van der Vinne the Younger, c 1737, for another example of a profusion of specimens crowded into a "close" landscape. North has a number of precursors when it comes to natural history artists: Maria Merian (1647-1717), botanical artist and traveler, went to Surinam to paint flowers and insects. Her *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium* was published in 1705 (Blunt 129).

[171] Both Wilfrid Blunt and Anthony Huxley register mild objections to the artistic value of North's work.

however, that these exceptional women exercised significant power over others' lives as well.

Selective Recollections

Marianne North's travels to South Africa during 1882-1883 took place four years after the Ninth Frontier War. This was when the British were engaged in overpowering the Zulus in order to extend, by annexation, British administrative control of the most fertile remaining agricultural areas. Shepstone had warned in a long memo of 1882 that Natal contained insufficient land for the large native and European population, and that some, at least, of Zululand should be annexed. If Cetshwayo was returned to rule, as Shepstone thought likely, a portion of Zululand could be reserved for "the redundant population of Natal, or more correctly, for that portion of the population of Zululand that has from time to time been driven by the past barbarism of Zulu rule to seek protection in Natal" (qtd in Guy 66).

Amidst this conflict between the Boers and the English and the Zulus (the Boer War was to erupt six years after North's trip) and the continued periodic skirmishes along the Xhosa frontier, North's "scientific" and "artistic" project unfolds in a tense and even militarized environment in which the dominion over the land and plants and animals was key. However, and consistent with North's other "recollections"—in India, Ceylon, Sri Lanka, Chile, Borneo and the Seychelles—she has almost nothing to say of what we might call political realities and she casts no judgment on the colonialist / indigenous relationship. North gives surprisingly little news of the social and cultural turbulence of the time, referring dismissively to the Colenso's "family mania" (27) for Cetshwayo, on her 1883 visit to Bishop Colenso's house at Bishopstowe.

She does, however, reveal some of her attitudes about dominion indirectly, in her patterns of representations, and located in these incidental passages of description are various counter narratives. Particularly interesting are the slippages that occur in the "categories" of animal, plant and human in North's descriptions, even as she herself was contributing to a single branch of science that was fully engaged in establishing and maintaining a rigid classificatory practice, first articulated by Linnaeas in *Systema Natura* (1735), an identification protocol that was moreover dominated by the use of reproductive parts and processes as a primary measure of both difference and relatedness (McClintock 34).

In North's descriptions of South Africa, however, indigenous people were given animal attributes, plants were permitted personality, and animals were asked to bear the prejudices of their human masters. Plants and animals and landscape were reshuffled for their symbolic currency—thereby reinscribed into European-designated aesthetic and classificatory systems. Flowers were often destroyed by dissection, and rare plants sacrificed for specimen collection—to say nothing of unprecedented land use changes which violently proceeded to "civilize for agriculture" the wild landscape and bind into servitude indigenous peoples. Both the imperatives of broad agri-industrial development and the aesthetic bias toward a tamed, ordered, picturesquely-coherent visual environment were produced out of the European yearning toward Edenic plenitude. This type of salvage botany (rightly) predicts a deluge of destruction and, like zoos and certain anthropological projects, provokes an immoderate desire to preserve, even if the "preservation" destroys the unrecorded plant, and even if the preservation relocates the rare or rescued botanical,

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zoological, archaeological, or cultural artifact or specimen permanently to Europe, to be placed in herbarium, archive or protected enclave, such as Great Britain's museums, libraries, and Botanical gardens.

North and Southern African Social Relations

Most colonial officials that North encountered were disposed of with a few dismissive sentences. The indigenous people that North encountered most frequently, and that are mentioned most often in her *Recollections*, were servants. As Anne McClintock has pointed out in *Imperial Leather*, domestic functions in Victorian England were kept by and large invisible, and class position was marked by (white, middle and upper-class) women's evident idleness, as well as by the necessity for the actual work to be offstage (McClintock 21-74). However, North does record incidents in which servants engaged in serious border crossings.

Topsy, a servant of Miss Duckett's on an ostrich farm at Groote Post, was found "pretending to paint in a pair of straw spectacles, with a bit of white rag on [her] head like my cap and cross sticks for an easel, the others roaring with laughter" (erc.lib 3). This pantomime might have been taken as an insult, as mimicry is understood now to function subversively in the colonial context, but North chose to interpret the "pretending" favorably. Because Topsy later asked North if the painted flowers "faded like the other flowers, when kept," she was given a six-pence tip (erc.lib 3).

If Topsy was equating the painter's skill with a power beyond even nature—which habitually obliges the blooms to wither—it is understandable why the compliment was worth the extra tip. Yet simply seeing this mimicry as an inflation of North's earthly jurisdiction might be inadequate. It might be useful to see Topsy as reenacting a set of magical processes (all of the steps in North's act of representing) and by doing so imbuing *herself* with power, not North. By Topsy's deployment of the white artist's props, she was appropriating the power of the process—but with significant aspects of the diagram missing. For one thing the (flower) representation itself was not there (there was nothing in the air between the crossed sticks). Secondly, there was no "natural" subject to which Topsy's intent (and reproductive) gaze was directed. Finally, there was no clarifying lens to fill the empty frames of the straw spectacles.

It is not hard to see why North might have been especially pleased by being mimicked by a young servant girl, a "little creature who [was] black as coal and full of fun and games" (erc.lib 3), for North assumed that the performance of imitation—because of its incompleteness—left her with her power intact; she was still the sole "representer." Yet Topsy's reproduction of "the representing European" parodies North's project. For it is the conspicuous emptiness in the cross sticks of Topsy's "easel" and the absence of a gaze-anchoring subject that show a refusal of European forms of representation, a parody that we might even choose to see as meaningfully and strategically incomplete. The emptiness of the spectacle frames, in fact, signifies the ineffectiveness of the European lens of looking.

Topsy's lenseless glasses do, however, magnify, or focus on, one thing: They become the sign that North's act of looking and painting is unassisted by clarifying perceptual aids. In addition, the emptiness of the easel and the absence of the subject both reinforce the notion that the

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European artist / observer is really looking at nothing, and thus is intent on reproducing— nothing. Topsy makes a case that the European artist in colonial South Africa is incapable of a consciousness which would permit "seeing," lacking both the perceptual apparati to recognize what is in front of her and the facility to reproduce it.

In imitating North (and, in this one respect, actually "like" North) Topsy was nevertheless most preoccupied with her effect on her audience, who in Topsy's case was obligingly roaring with laughter, and she was utterly unconcerned with whatever plant or flower or scene which absorbed North so deeply, as she herself had no need of fixing for recollection the sights around her. Topsy did not need to stop history, to record, classify and memorialize, for her environment was familiar; it was North herself who produced the exotic element, and who drew Topsy's representing attentions.

For North an insistence on the invisibility of domestic work, and the façade of idleness at times feels like a willful hallucination. Stopping for a fortnight at a farmhouse in Cadles, where sometimes forty people showed up and were "stowed away without any confusion or discomfort"(12), she observed that "the native Kaffirs...*lounged about* with pipes always in their mouths, in all manner of strange and picturesque attitudes, at the doors of their huts. *No one seemed to work, yet everything was well done*" (erc.lib 13) [my emphasis].

While North maintains that the Cadles farmstead where she boarded organized itself without apparent human labor, she also claims that in the midst of this idleness that strikes a pose, the "elder [slaves] are perpetually dancing and laughing"(erc.lib 13). That the endless chores of domestic work would be rendered invisible is consistent with the aspirations of both the colonial, and the home country, middle and upper classes, as Anne McClintock's analysis in *Imperial Leather* makes clear. That it would be invisible to someone who boarded at Miss Duckett's ostrich farm for nearly a month and could report details such as "every morning a sheep was killed, and every week a bullock" (erc.lib 3) seems to signal a very willful blindness. North has, in effect, removed the slaughterer from the picture. However, if we remember the lenseless spectacles that Topsy manufactured to represent North's act of looking, or "seeing," and the empty easel at which she pretended to work, then selective sight lines that would eclipse domestic work on a large farm becomes more easily understood.

North describes a "Kaffir" baby who was brought to her at Cadles as "stark-naked and supernaturally solemn," in contrast to the laughing and dancing older generation (erc.lib 12). Since she claims that she never saw the elders "unhappy," the implication is that the indigenous people's natural inclination for solemnity is countered by the civilizing effect of being associated with an European household, which yields over time a "perpetually dancing and laughing" specimen. Even as North promotes the idea of servanthood being "good" for the indigenous peoples, thus making them more "human," agricultural workers are discursively returned to authentic savagery by the details in a trope of bestiality that North composes. At Tongaat, cotton was being harvested during North's visit in early May, 1883, and she describes the "curious crowd of Zulu men and woman" who were at work harvesting cotton as a "merry race" (erc.lib

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26). Entirely (and inexplicably) at odds with other contemporary accounts which portrayed the Zulus as a despotic and savage bunch sorely in need of civilizing subjugation,[172] North is delighted by the Zulus' gaiety and good cheer. In fact, she was utterly charmed by the "grand scramble" that was performed every evening, as "guavas were thrown to them" (erc.lib 26), presumably their evening meal.[173]

Another encounter was cast in the theatricality of performance, and though North's written version of the choreography lacks rhythm, she was actually quite physically close, as both she and her observed "natives" were in a boat on the Umzimvubu river near Port St. Johns. She writes that she

> enjoyed the scene, all glittering in the sunset lights, and the rowers in front of me performing the most fantastic gymnastics between each stroke: putting a hand behind their backs or throwing it out straight before them, or the back of it to their foreheads, singing at the same time a wild sort of chant" (erc.lib 21).

As a traveler to remote places, Marianne North sees the world through her spectacles, a *Teatro Mundo* whose theatricality rests in the privileged position from which she could settle into her panoptical role as an audience of one, and then, as she records and recollects, she is able to digitize the world as a sequence of visual or textual frames, frozen by imperial privilege. Imagine the difficulty of recording a dancing, or signaling, warrior atop a hill. Here is North's valiant attempt:

> Once we saw a warrior having a war-dance all by himself.... After throwing himself backward so far that he would have fallen but for the counterbalance of his long weighted spear and shield, held out at some length in front, he would make great springs forward, or crouch on the ground like a leopard preparing to spring (erc.lib 22).

North has wisely deferred the subject, "he," to quite late in the sentence, to get the effect of a deep backward bend, but again the rhythm is off, and the strain of describing movement, as opposed to immobile plants, is evident. The description ends with the best North could muster, an analogy to animal behavior.

While visiting at Bishop Callaway's house at Port St. John she reported that the Bishop had an old dog which the "natives treated with profound respect" (erc.lib 24). This was an

[172] See Dan Wylie's *Savage Delight: White Myths of Shaka.* Pietermaritzberg; University of Natal Press (2000) 83-104, for an analysis of one very influential early traveler text about Natal, Nathaniel Isaacs' *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa* (1836). Historically this text was influential in how the indigenous people from Natal were characterized and understood, but there is no evidence that North had read it.

[173] Yi-Fu Tuan gives another example of the grand scramble in describing an incident concerning Theodore Roosevelt's Grand Tour of Europe. "[T]he Roosevelt family came upon a group of Italian beggars. Young Teddy happily reported, 'We tossed the cakes to them and fed them like chickens...and like chickens they ate it. Mr. Stevens (a traveling companion) kept guard with a whip with which he pretended to whip a small boy. We made them open their mouth and tossed cake into it. We made the crowd give us three cheers for the U.S.A. before we gave them cakes" (qtd in Tuan *Escapism* 128).

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instance of classificatory permeability whereby the European dog was imbued with the authority of its master, and was elevated above the indigenous men who came to the settlement.

> [The mastiff] used to curl himself up in unexpected places amidst the coarse grass ... and when the Zulus came strutting up in all their war-paint a sudden growl would bring them down to their usual *frog-like* position of humility. Then they would *make the dog long speeches, addressing him as 'noble chief, brave warrior,'* etc, to which he replied by a series of suppressed growls" (erc.lib 24) [my emphasis].

In this anti-Babel, the dog's growl is pitched in a language understood by the Zulus, and the Zulus speak to the dog in English, which North evidently considers is the natural idiom between mastiff and Zulu. In addition to this dog/zulu conversation dissolving language barriers, the figures cross other human/animal borders with the Zulus taking a "frog-like" posture, and the lurking dog receiving the reverential titles of "noble chief, brave warrior," Zulu terms of respect, which were nevertheless uttered in English and referred, presumably, by surrogateship, to Colenso. The dog thus becomes both a boundary guard and a figure that "stood for" Colenso, and by extension the whole specter of colonial domination.

North likewise used theatrical terms to describe her encounters with "wild savages," as they are glimpsed from oxen wagons, boats, or horse carts. "The Pondos are well worth the journey," says North, in phrasing remarkably similar to the spectacle orientation and acquisitive economy of modern travelers. "They wear the bones of fish or birds stuck through their ears" (erc.lib 21). On the train to Port Elizabeth, North observed a group of indigenous people from the safety of her seat, the windows of the train tending to frame the passing environment. She describes their huts "covered with skins and bits of cloth dyed a rich red colour" and the people themselves "in red drapery and feathers." She likens them to "sleek stage Mephistopheles," in a type of simile she often summons up to theatricalize her travels and the sights she encountered. She comments on the women's "bumps," on which children sit astride, and enthuses that all this exotic scenery (including "genuine savages") was "too good to be real" (10).

Both artifice and authenticity are thus being invoked, as if North can't quite make up her mind exactly what part of the scene is "genuine" and what part "staged." She doesn't know if the pleasure of her spectatorship is most deeply indebted to the authenticity of the people and scenes encountered by chance or to her own ability to define her observation by comparison with scenic artifice. In the end, she does acknowledge one important thing, that the gaze was not returned: "I saw one man, followed by his wives and children, all marching with superb dignity through the bush. They never even turned their heads as the train passed" (10).

If humans (both European and indigenous) were noticed from some distance and mentioned infrequently, relegated to ornamental artifice or authentic other, animals do sometimes get a privileged and relatively sustained attention. On one of North's last home visits in South Africa, she stayed with the Colenso family at their compound near Durban. Bishop Colenso kept

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as a pet a lemur from Madagascar who "spent the hot hours of the day in a guava-tree, eating and spoiling the fruit, till it was time to go and fetch its friends home to be milked, after which it cuddled itself up close to me for the night" (North erc.lib 29). The pet lemur sleeps with the white woman, spoils the food, and "fetches" the cows to be milked, indicating that it had a role much like an overseer, one very decisive step up from the domestic animals that "give" milk. The diagram that North makes annihilates the differences between provident humans (who manage the natural world with a sense of foresight) and the profligate animals who care not for orderly extraction of resources. This is an anti-edenic scrambling of hierarchy, and one which might indicate that North used the narrative form to escape from the categories that so tidily guided the discovery, contemplation and reproduction of botanical specimens and southern African scenes that she painted.

North was sometimes keen to "humanize" the animal world as a particularly responsive domain. Visiting Groote Post, the ostrich farm owned and managed by Miss Duckett, North observed the hatching of an ostrich, and did the emerging bird's portrait in Painting Number 451, "Coming out of a Cape Beauty," the only animal recorded in South Africa. "The one I painted" says North, "half in and half out, turned its head to look at each person who spoke, and seemed to be attending to what we said" (erc.lib 3). While the family group "marching with superb dignity" through the bush near Port Elizabeth refused to even turn their heads to look at the passing train, the newly born (commercially raised and domesticated-for-profit) ostrich, still half in its shell, registers an exquisitely attentive presence. In this, North is unwittingly perhaps reinforcing the fantasy of responsive collusion with which the greater colonial project ventured forth.

North and the Southern African Landscape: Plant Descriptions and Funereal Tropes

On the way to Wynburg, she noted, "Australian gums, wattles and casuarinas were in full bloom...oxalis of the most dazzling pink; yellow, white, and lilac heaths, bulbs of endless variety, gazanias and different mesembryanthemums" (erc.lib 1). Throughout her writing, plant lists appear as chants to edenic plenitude, to abundance and variety, a cornucopiatic hymn. Just a paragraph after the Australian gums, wattles and casuarinas, and coming round the spurs of Table Mountain, North's first road trip in Africa provokes a cascade of flora description: "the silver tree, shining like real silver in the setting sunlight" and several protea, and krippel blooms with their "rich yellow flower" and indeed, "the hills were covered with low bushes, heaths, sundews, geraniums, gladioluses, lobelias, salvias, babianas, and other bulbs, daisies growing into trees, purple broom, polygalas, tritomas, and crimson velvet hyobanche" (erc.lib 2). Marianne North has gone just seven and a half miles into Africa, and has produced just over one page of her thirty-page chapter on South Africa, and already she has named forty-two plants or plant parts.

When North describes a scene, she typically starts off with a long view but soon zooms into a close up of a plant, or plants, much like what has been noted in regard to her painted images. Within ten or twelve words, her landscape description will typically degrade into plant inventory, as if North is incapable of staying focused on a grand vista and is disposed to particularize instead. Near Port Elizabeth, just after the encounter with the dignified indigenous trekkers,

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> [W]e *descended from this wild country and came to cultivation again, and to a river* blue with large nymphaeas standing well out of the water, their great saucer-leaves floating around them; *miles of sandy flats*, with low heaths and pelargoniums of many colours, and lovely cotyledons in quantities, three of four bunches of their exquisite coral bells from one crimson stalk, sometimes salmon-tinted, sometimes bronze coloured (erc.lib 10).

The passage above starts out with a panoramic description, but once the sweeping gaze hits the water, the large blue nymphaeas swallow North's attention. Later on in the passage, she again attempts a landscape gesture, with her "miles of sand flats," but then she releases the sentence without the verb, the syntax trailing off into botanical geometry and close colour comparisons, and the intensifying adjectives like "lovely" and "exquisite" provide a static and sentimentalizing fixative. North's gaze is directed irrepressibly downward, to plant level, and the plants themselves, and their colours and forms are the magnet to that gaze.

Only when she comes to Port St. Johns does she sustain a landscape description for a full sentence, calling the "great gates . . . prodigious, with their rocky crowns, three hundred feet of sheer granite precipice a thousand feet or more above the water, the intervening slope... covered with unbroken forest down to the river's edge" (21). This descriptive mode is what Bunn called, in reference to the Rhodes memorial in Cape Town, the "masculine energy of the scanning eye" (Bunn "Whited" C4 - 7), a descriptive mode that in North's writing seems out of place, forced. Containing two spatial notations associated with the far and middle distance, the description is similar to those produced by many of the male explorers in southern Africa, like Livingston or Barrow, who both dramatize their views by implicating their position on a viewing promontory: a stage-like extension which simultaneously intrudes into the landscape and retreats back from the reading audience. We can piece North's description together, graph it almost, and picture the vertical thrust of three hundred feet and then the gradual downward slope of one thousand feet, the hypotenuse upon which the forests cling.

When occasionally the landscape is given symbolical weight, it is with funereal tropes. The everlasting plants looked to North "like tombstones at a distance" (12) and the euphorbia trees were "standing out like white skeletons against the bush" (16), both gloomy observations on the attempted obliteration of indigenous lifeways that was accelerated during the nineteenth century and a premonition of the widespread environmental degradation that would be the result of economic and political policies in the next century.

The colonies in the East and West Indies, South America, India and the Cape, according to Wilfrid Blunt, "acted as a great stimulus to botanical draughtsmen" (121); in fact, the Cape itself was considered by many botanists the most exciting botanical environment in the world, home to an astonishing variety of plants. Among other consequences (most of which were quite dire and associated with the pillage of newly colonized regions of the world) the invasion of botanists also gave rise to playful instances of misinformation. North recounts that one botanist at Cadles was tricked by the children who used to "send him on wild goose journeys in search of impossible

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plants, and [who] made up strange flowers to puzzle him" (13). The children, then, turned the scientific examination of their intimate environment into an opportunity for them to register a kind of defiance, and their imagined plants, like the animals at the verifiable fringe of fifteenth and sixteenth century bestiaries, for a short moment challenged the great global effort that was being exerted toward the systematization of the natural world.

North noted from the beginning the "extraordinary novelty and variety of the different species" in South Africa (erc.lib 1). In North's loving description of the protea one can see how these more intimate descriptions of single specimens permitted her prose its natural cadence.

> But the proteas were the great wonder.... I had not formed an idea of their size and abundance: deep cups formed of waxy pointed bracts, some white, some red or pink, or tipped with colour, and some fringed with brown or black plush, others with black or white ostrich feathers. These gorgeous flower-bracts were bigger than the largest tulips, and filled with thickly packed flowers. One large variety seemed to carry its stamens outside. While painting it, I saw them begin to dance, and out came a big green beetle. I cut the flower open, and found an ants' nest. The energetic little creatures had pushed the stamens out to make room for their colony. I found all the other flowers of that kind possessed by ants, and in every nest a beetle. The young shoots generally sprang from below the flower-stalk of the protea, so that when the cone which succeeded it became ripe, it was protected and half hidden by three leafy branchlets (erc.lib 1).

Aside from the "violent" dissection, this description affords the reader a less contrived bit of categorical permeability, a scene of "holistically" experienced southern Africa, as the ants indeed are part of the protea world, and not just metaphorically involved. The proteas are the more or less permanent home of the ants. The beetle was evidently a stable part of the interdependence as well, all three entities cohabiting cozily, with animal food and plant pollination provided in a close knit neighborhood-like arrangement, a symbiotic utopia. Furthermore, the "prolapsed" stamen most probably enjoyed greater pollen dispersion, and so the ants colonizing was seen, by North, as botanically helpful, not visually disfiguring. When North says that the proteas, in fact, were "possessed by ants," there is a hint religious ecstasy, or amorous swooning. In fact, sexual descriptions abound, and the strelitza, a sexualized blossom by any standards, has in addition a mechanical appeal:

> The slightest touch to the end of its blue arrow (when ripe) jerks out the pistil and stamens, and might, I fancy, set the pollen flying. The frill which encloses them is wonderfully made. I dissected one of the great flower-heads, and found at least a dozen young flowers, with their gaudy bracts, tucked away in their honey-bed inside (erc.lib 5-6).

The fetal compaction, the enclosing frill, the energetic blue arrow, are all borrowed from, or

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suggestive of, reproductive phrasing, but the dissection cuts across the metaphorizing with a scientific precision that is always lurking near North's rhapsodic views.

The Colonial Repository

The Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, the repository of exploration era, colonial and postcolonial era seeds, plant descriptions, cuttings, roots and other forms of botanical material gathered from around the world, has been the site of numerous horticultural trials since its founding in 1802 (*Royal* 79). A three-hundred acre former royal estate bordering the Thames River in southwest London, for two centuries Kew has been an enclave of botanical rarities, horticultural trials, and exhibition gardens. It is the central repository of one of the most concentrated minglings of botanical specimens from around the world, both living and preserved.[174] Kew owes its preeminence to a small army of "avid collectors, visionary curators, inspired landscape architects and redoubtable gardeners"(*Royal* 80), as well as a fair number of enthusiastic patrons. Marianne North was, in fact, one such patron—a woman who funded, designed and supervised the construction of a permanent gallery of her work at Kew. She determined how her paintings were to be framed, hung, and displayed. Her vision of the space has remained unchanged for more than a hundred years. Curious memento, potent relic from the Victorian era with its mania for collecting curiosities, this frozen period piece, like the Palm House (another Kew landmark of Victorian architecture and sensibilities) preserves undisturbed the hundreds of paintings North selected for inclusion. However, this gallery also preserves a set of cultural assumptions toward botanical art and science, assumptions that have to do with the sexual aesthetics of colonialism in the nineteenth-century British empire.

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, as collection projects slowed, Kew adopted an equally important public relations brief: to serve the public's general horticultural education needs; provide for a steady round of seasonal displays, sculptural displays, watercolor classes, and guided walks; and to update texts and pictures on its web page (from which comes the excerpted photocall and press release provided below, concerning the *Amorphophallus titanum).* These current public

[174] The *Herbarium* at Kew contains some seven million preserved botanical specimens, representing ninety-eight percent of the known *genera.* In the living plant collection there are fifteen species which have become totally extinct in the wild and two thousand species which are threatened or endangered (*Royal* 84). A brief history of Kew Gardens can be found in *Royal Botanic Gardens Kew: A Souvenir Guide* (no publication details or author noted). For a more comprehensive treatment, see *The History of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew* by Ray Desmond (1998). The current mingling of live specimens, often in outdoor and greenhouse bed plantings made up of plants from two, three or even four continents, is in marked contrast to the ideological disposition of botanical inventory associated with the Botanical Garden's early, colonial history, in which the borders of genera, species, and family were established and policed with considerable rigor. It almost seems as if the geographic and morphological distinctions so arduously set up in early phases of botanical science are being, in fact, intentionally violated in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century display practices, as a performative version of re-dominion. Consistent with this radical disassociation of plants from their habitats, for the Ninth annual orchid festival, in February and March of 2003, a half million orchid stems were flown in from the Botanic Gardens in Singapore, to "adorn pillars and trees... creating a steamy orchid paradise in Kew's Princess of Wales Conservatory" (Kew Brochure). This is a transaction that recalls the excesses required by systems of tribute imposed upon the conquered in feudal times. Peter Campbell suggests that even the resident plants are "brought in like circus performers at the moment of flowering, and then sent back behind the scenes" (29).

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education and display functions are not all strictly scientific in nature; they give an extra dimension and an extra cultural significance to the Royal Botanic Gardens' work. In fact, the twentieth and twenty-first century public education projects, speak from sites of representational privilege quite similar to those of the colonial era, and advance similar displacements and deformations of what might be called the "indigenous" and the "generative." By making the "exotic" plant both strange *and* familiar; simultaneously gravely beautiful and scandalously wicked, the plant is preserved in its own authentic foreignness, but it is paradoxically freighted with a ambassadorial role as well, as a botanic bridge between Sunday afternoon visitors and the exoticism of the densely complex and infinitely elaboratable source habitat.

Coddled specimens, basking in their temperate zone hothouses, operate in a grand and persistently imperial version of synecdoche—the African or Asian part that gestures weakly toward the African or Asian whole. This is, of course, a decontextualizing and epistemological violence that is well known in the case of menageries, public zoos and museums, stocked as they are with architectural, zoological, cultural, and funereal pillage: the orphaned wild animal, the captured and captivity bred, the living and dead emblems of place and dominance, oftentimes exchanged by royalty.[175]

Additionally, in the layers of scientific authority that the Royal Botanic Gardens assumes in its position at the hub of various colonial Botanic Gardens can be found the mechanisms by which the associated figures of botanical collecting and description, even uniquely privileged amateurs, such as Marianne North, are gilded with reverence, enshrined in part for their plucky determination to endure difficult traveling and living conditions while carrying out important inventory and classificatory tasks related to the establishment and preservation of European colonies.

In May of 2002, Kew publicized one of its several headline-worthy[176] and striking botanical curiosities, in all of its spectacular gigantism, in phrasing that was sexually insistent, yet seems at the same time to be born of a kind of fascinated repugnance, an attraction/repulsion that is familiar from accounts of indigenous Africans in which the living habits, sexual organs, and general appearances of the indigene simultaneously fascinated and repelled.

Three blossoms, the largest a record-breaking seventy-five kilograms, had arisen out of a single specimen of *Amorphophallus titanum* (often referred to in its shorter nomenclature, *Titan Arum*), after a Kew horticulturist coaxed it through the mysterious process of bud formation—"inseminating" it, we might say, by his scientifically calibrated attentions and by reproducing with some exactitude the plant's natural habitat by supplying a mix of coir, fine bark

[175]A giraffe was given to Charles V in 1827 by Muhammad Ali, viceroy of Egypt—the first giraffe in France and only the second to appear in Europe since the Roman empire. The animal traveled for two years before its arrival, and was intended to "cement relations at a politically tense time." See Margaret Foley's review of Michael Allin's "The King's Giraffe" (*Discover* 19:11 Nov 1998).

[176] The Kew Brochure calls attention, for instance, to the 1991 flowering of the *Agave americana*, whose flower stem grew so high that a pane of glass had to be removed from the Princess of Wales Conservatory; the coconut plant that fruited for the first time in 1993; and of course the spectacular *Amorphophallus titanum*, flowering in 1901, 1926, 1996 and 2000.

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and loam, amended with slow fertilizer and liquid feeds throughout the year;[177] the weak English sun was supplemented with a small dose of unnatural light per day. These artificially applied forces yielded optimum conditions that in the end propelled a single shoot to grow 10 cm a day and to burst forth in a "stunning display of crimson" over 2 meters wide (http:// rbgkew.org.uk/titanarum.html). The process is represented by Kew Garden publicity material as a form of paternalism that might be called reproductive surrogateship, in that the scientist has replaced both the "natural forces" of reproductive botany (he provides liquid nutrients and hand pollinates the waiting pistils), but also the religious mysticism of reproductive symbolism.

Flowering only rarely in cultivation, like similar resistant animal species who refuse to reproduce under the captive gaze, the blossoms, as they are represented on the web page and in press releases, emerge as ciphers of botanical "otherness," but an otherness still tethered to anthropomorphic descriptive values. Represented by a bisexuality or botanical hermaphroditism and with a smell described as both excremental and funereal, the display and characterization bring to mind an uncomfortable set of descriptive practices well-documented in regard to early travelers' accounts of native peoples round the world, especially in southern Africa.

Under special cultivation this specimen reproduced in a scale never seen in the plant's native Sumatra—where under ideal conditions the *Amorphophallus titanum* flowers only rarely, individual plants sometimes taking decades to produce a bloom. And presumably because the nutrient competition in so-called natural environments is much more fierce, at least in comparison to the dedicated ton of rich earth with which the Kew Gardens specimen is furnished, the wild versions of the plant typically produce large but not gigantic blossoms.

It is worth quoting part of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew Press Release and Photocall for this horticultural event of the early twenty-first century, as it appeared in early May of 2002:

> The massive crimson giant of the flower kingdom, the vast *Amorphophallus titanum* has just burst into flower and is currently giving the sexual performance of its life at Kew. The tumescent fleshy flower sheath of this massive plant has split open within the last few hours and it is now in full bloom . . . .
>
> The huge phallic flower has now unfurled to reveal its blood-red interior. The plant has begun to heat up, giving off a pungent aroma, described as a mixture of rotting flesh and excrement (http:// rbgkew.org.uk/titanarum.html)

This description issues from a sophomorically prurient gaze wherein the flower's attributes are made into sexualized terms. By reference to at least three sensory realms—the tactile (heating up), the olfactory (the smell of rotting flesh and excrement), and the visual (a blood-red interior)—the plant is rendered in very un-plant like terms. Kinetic imagery abounds as well; the splitting open, swelling in tumescence, and unfurling suggest that the plant has escaped the limitations of

[177] From an interview with a horticultural student who was available for questions in the Prince of Wales Conservancy, where the *Amorphophallus* was on display. Feb 21, 2003.

immobility that is part of Henri Bergson's criteria for consciousness.[178] That the flower is deemed "phallic" and also has unfurled a "blood-red" (presumably intended to signify vaginal) interior has the effect of double-sexing the plant. Aside from confounding what Judith Butler has called the "regulatory ideal" of gender (*Gender* viii-xi)—as the botanical world and even the animal kingdom often do—the description inverts the usual connotation of the word "aroma"—which is more common to products of the perfume bottle or the kitchen than to "excrement" or "rotting flesh." According to an informational sheet available at the *titan arum* display in 2003, forty-nine thousand visitors queued up to see this spectacle in 2001, all of whom got a scandalous whiff of the outhouse and the grave.

The images and metaphoric comparisons which Kew botanists and public relations staff have chosen to describe this plant echo some very well known tropes produced with regularity by early travelers to Africa, Asia, South America and Australia and might be seen as twenty-first century versions of the kind of classificatory slippage that have been shadowy back stories to botanical and ethnographic discourses, even in Marianne North's age.

The seamen landing in southern Africa in the sixteenth and seventeenth century southern Africa quite frequently noted variations of the "pungent aroma" of the indigenous man or woman. As well, they were incredulous at the diet of the southern African "Hottentot" (the most prized food was reported to have been sheep or cattle intestines, incompletely emptied of their excremental contents) and fascinated by the hidden glory of the indigenous man and especially the indigenous woman's sexual organs, often displayed for small portions of tobacco or brass. Here in the twenty-first century, the *Titan Amorphophallus'* anatomical particulars, and what is billed as its "sexual performance," can be had for an entrance fee of two pounds, approximately the cost of a pack of cigarettes or a cheap brass candlestick.

It is possible to read these early twenty-first century flower tropes as examples of displacements, or perhaps close reiterations, of descriptive patterns more commonly recognized and noted in exploration era or early colonial era travel texts, out of which the indigenous men and women of southern Africa emerge as repugnant (and pungent) in smell and whose sexual capacity and organs generated great interest to passing Europeans. Because we are accustomed to attribute these tropes of "othering" to a faraway world, a distant time, and a human subject, we typically treat them as historically, perhaps even anthropologically, sealed off, and the practice of assembling more examples might appear a tedious elaboration of what is already known. However, as we find the sexualized representations to persist, in contemporary expressions such as André Brink's novella *The Cape of Storms: the First Life of Adamastor* (1983), Cyril Coetzee's painting *T'kama Adamastor* (1999), the North Gallery botanical art exhibit, and the display text of a flowering plant at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew (2002), all of which rely on grotesque figures of gigantism and an artificially-enhanced notion of sexual spectacularity and peril, we are obliged, I think, to seek more aggressively and examine more attentively the cultural sources of textual and pictorial tropes

[178] See, for instance, Elizabeth Grosz, *Time Travels: Feminisms, Nature, Power* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

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that mock and parody human, animal, and botanical sexual or reproductive function. For these parodies carry many of the rhetorical markers that can be found in explicitly colonial texts, and, in the case of southern Africa, were applied explicitly to newly encountered indigenous peoples.

If Kew Garden's most recent reincarnation (lodged in the *Titan Arum* description) signals the present point of a genealogy wherein the botanical specimens are heralded for the spectacularity of their sexual organs, can this be understood as a practice related to the foundational myths of human geographic exploration and the contact zone?

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CONCLUSION

In this study I argued for expanding the notion of the southern African contact narratives to include both the early accounts of shipwrecked Portuguese, trekking through what is now the Eastern Cape and Natal, and the subgenre of nineteenth-century British women travelers' writings. Because Camões' Adamastor has dominated the metaphoric literature of contact in southern Africa and Vasco da Gama and the later male explorers have dominated the historical and geographic discourse of contact, considerations of gender have been poorly integrated into South Africa's understanding of its "first" or inaugural cultural encounters. Despite the silence surrounding women's presence in the early eras of exploration, trade, and early colonial expansion in South Africa, I have found that a strong current of anxiety concerning the place of the European female. Indeed, the pressure to produce (or the political need to neutralize) a rhetoric of female hyper-vulnerability closely parallels periods of crisis in the development and elaboration of European cultural ascendancy in southern Africa, either in the "looking back" or re-invention of those periods or in the production, circulation and archival availability of the primary texts.

The subgenres under discussion in this study have several intrinsic links. In the first place, both literatures foreground the predicament of the fate of women's bodies in pre-colonial or colonial southern African spaces. Secondly, it is useful to think of the long sixteenth-century shipwreck literature as itself a form of travel writing, what might be called "extreme" travel writing, and as such related in "genre" to the later British women's travel texts. The shipwreck narratives serve as apt introductions to how the emblems of alterity and possession that would come to dominate the rhetoric of colonialism in southern Africa were first deployed, even in scenes unfolding in an atmosphere of considerable precariousness. Finally, nineteenth-century British women's writing about southern Africa also contains something like an 'extreme" element: coded in these texts is a future traumatic event, and its sign is a (premature) memorialization of the existing indigenous cultures.

Although the Portuguese shipwreck accounts are occasionally brought into commemorative discourses or pre-colonial histories in very general ways, these works have not been explored by literary historians or contact theorists, and it was this curious indifference that helped me formulate my initial research question. Why, I asked myself, had these important, dramatically moving and historically significant texts been slighted? I reasoned that there must be some element that was considered by twentieth-century historians, literary historians or cultural critics to be shameful, dangerous, transgressive, or inconsistent with political or cultural goals. Their neglect was

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particularly surprising because of their status as the first sustained record of contact between indigenous people and Europeans, on a geographically diverse stage (that is, the Eastern Cape and Natal coastline). Because G.M. Theal's *Records of South Eastern Africa* includes accurate transcriptions and very good translations of the full shipwreck accounts and is available in every research library in South Africa, the neglect of the shipwreck material does not seem to be due to a lack of archival availability, so that line of explanation was easily abandoned. I then considered that because Theal had fallen out of favor as an interpretive historian, his archival work had become tainted as well. This explanation would point to a contemporary wariness toward nineteenth-century versions of contact history that would seem, on the face of it, quite reasonable. However, Theal's archival efforts in making the shipwreck accounts readily available appear to be both accurate and useful, and they should have been been judged by a different set of criteria than that which is applied to interpretative history. I concluded that this explanation was also untenable.

A third plausible explanation was that the shipwreck material was neglected because it was associated with, or connected to, an ethnic group not well represented or politically powerful in South Africa today, the Portuguese. However, I concluded that this explanation would be hard to defend, given the importance of Vasco da Gama to South African contact history and commemorative discourses, and given the strong attachment of South African poets to the figure of Adamastor first presented in the Portuguese epic, *The Lusiads*.

This led me to consider that there were *internal features,* rather than external conditions, that might have made these texts seem inhospitable to white South Africans historians, literary historians, or what we would call now, cultural critics. What I found was that the shipwreck narratives contained two narrative strands or elements that would have been difficult, presumably, for institutions responsible for asserting European cultural dominance in South Africa to face (and, of course, it is institutions that by and large fund scholarship and provide publishing opportunities). One factor was that the Europeans who were shipwrecked were described (in all cases but the narrative of the survivors of the *St. Albert* in 1593) as sunk below recognizable norms of civilization: turned "savage" or "barbaric" by their unexpected "contact" with southern Africa, and thus these depictions would have been utterly unusable in any master narrative of (European) cultural superiority. Related to this is the fact that that most shipwreck chroniclers describe the indigenous Africans as pastorally prosperous, dignified, handsome, and generous—a further indication that apartheid-era historians bent on legitimizing white rule (or the institutions which controlled to some extent the focus of these historians' scholarship) would look the other way, for their task was to reinforce the notion of the lazy, dishonest, degraded indigenous man and woman.

Secondly, the presence of European women on the survivalist marches along the coastline—oftentimes stripped, usually unprotected, and constructed as hyper-vulnerable—might have influenced those interested in South African early history to skirt these important accounts. Because "woman" was seen in the sixteenth century as a "site" of origins, the loss or sacrifice of women in exploration age accounts would have been an intolerable loss and thus poorly suited to commemorations or memorializations of the exploration age. And it appears as if this sense of

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"intolerable loss" was transferred to South African myths of origin, and by the twentieth century took the form of a silenced or inaudible contact thread. Many images and redeployments of key scenes in which women are abandoned in southern Africa indicate that the loss of the white European woman was posited as a sacrifice necessary to securing the success of the imperial dream.

While I expected to find a theatricalized female hyper-vulnerability in Portuguese-authored texts of contact with southern African, I found quite the opposite: a nascent form of *female possessive autonomy*, in the figure of Dona Leonor de Sá. Described as having broken with her class and gender throughout the trek of the survivors—and as having refused to honor the expectations of maternal conduct and female narrative reticence associated with sixteenth century noblewomen, Leonor was also represented as *self-embedded* in southern Africa, that is she buried herself to the waist while alive in the soil of Africa. Her nakedness, her embeddedness, her refusal to succour her children, her breaking into the narrative with something like authorial responsibility, her taking on physical challenges outside of her gender and class might have been responsible for one of the shipwreck accounts (the narrative of the trek of the survivors of the *St. John* along the Natal coast) to have generated significant gender anxiety. Surely in Portugal the portrayal of Leonor in *The Lusiads* and in the images that accompanied the *Historia trágico-marítima*, suggest that her dying moments in southern Africa provoked considerable unease.

My claim is that something akin to the profound cultural anxiety that caused certain details of her story to be altered so significantly in Portuguese art and literature is also at work in South African literature, art and the historical discourses of contact. In the silence or radical misrepresentations of Leonor's story, or in the reincarnation of a generic "Portuguese noblewoman" in South African art and literature today, we see the expression of a deep uncertainty and a long-standing fear about the European woman's presence in southern Africa, and these fears bear most heavily on her generative being. Although the Portuguese noblewoman, as generic figure, is present in such late twentieth century works as André Brink's *Cape Of Storms: The First Life of Adamastor* and Cyril Coetzee's commemorative mural *T'kama Adamastor*, she is merely the foil for declarations of imperial notions of masculinity, a masculinity that is, in the two cases above, transferred rather crudely to representations of the so-called indigenous man.

Because the narratives of post-shipwreck contact were male- or anonymously-authored, we have no access to women's perspectives on contact. This was the reason I turned to the first substantial corpus of works *written by women* about southern African contact: British women's accounts of travel. For this subgenre, as was the case with the Portuguese shipwreck narratives, I had to first account for the neglect, or the near neglect, of this body of literature, *as a corpus*.

I found that British women's writing about Africa has not been granted sufficient status in terms of the understanding of South African narratives or myths of origins. These texts have been mostly considered as emblems of an emancipatory factor in individual women's lives. When individual women's works are taken up, such as the case with Anne Barnard, for instance, it has been primarily in this liberatory frame. I found ample evidence that what was termed the emancipatory discourse for European women, largely Victorian era travelers—was, seen from the southern African perspective, part of a long-running tragedy. That is, I found that women's travel

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texts often had an implicit imperial aim—to secure the expectation that a sphere of safety or inviolability would surround white emigrants to southern Africa. In this way texts that were markers of gender emancipation were simultaneously entangled in the consolidation of dominion over southern African spaces and peoples.

The problem with integrating these texts, as a corpus, into South African narratives of contact is that many of these texts are not found in South African libraries, and none of them are collected in anything like Theal's *Records.* The University of Cape Town Library, for instance, is missing over half of the published travel texts written by British women about southern Africa, and the National English Literary Museum (NELM) in Grahamstown is missing an similar number of published works written by British women or written in English about southern Africa prior to 1910. These factors, then, suggest fundamental, structural impediments to the study of British women's travel writing that are quite different from the "disposition" to not consider the shipwreck material as relevant to founding myths or narratives of origin.

Individual work on female travelers or missionaries exists, most notably Karel Schoeman's analysis of Ann Hamilton's missionary memoir, *A Thorn Bush that Grows in the Path: The Missionary Career of Ann Hamilton, 1815-1823* (1995), a text that has regrettably just come to my attention. Margaret Lenta and Dorothy Driver's significant work on Anne Barnard constitutes serious scholarly consideration of an important British woman traveler. And a handful of journal articles address individual women travel writers. However, Charlotte Barter's memoir of trade in Natal in 1855, *Alone Among the Zulus*, remains virtually unknown as does Lady Barker's memoir, Florence Dixie's journalism, Violet Markham's political analysis and over a hundred other diaries, memoirs, travelogues and letter collections written by women in the 1777-1910 period. It would be inadequate merely to complain that these works have been deemed irrelevant to considerations or reconsideration of the origins of the modern South African state, without a close textual analysis that might establish the importance of these texts. At the same time it would be impractical and unsatisfactory to try to cover such an substantial body of work in summary. My efforts have thus been divided between two imperfect foci: I have compiled a set of short statistical and bibliographic summaries which have suggested that writings by British women coincide with periods of intensified British will to dominance in South Africa. In the second place, I have supplied close readings of two of the most important women writers about southern Africa, Lady Anne Barnard and Marianne North. I find that both of these writers use rhetorical means to render the South African landscape harmless and thereby fit for future female emigration. They theatricalize, domesticate, miniaturize and—to clinch the deal—memorialize the living indigenous culture out of existence. I speculate that these rhetorical proclivities are in support of the imperial public relations machine, in that their records help to secure the expectation that southern Africa was a geographic region in which white, European females could move without fear.

I have shown that the gender and racial anxieties attendant on the modern South African state have two important sets of textual sources, the Portuguese shipwreck narratives and British women's travel texts. Their neglect speaks of a general lack of interest in the traveling or shipwrecked woman's body moving through southern African spaces as, in some ways, a self-itinerizing figure. But their neglect also speaks of a *continuing anxiety* about the possessive

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interests and dispossessive potential of European women's bodies in intimate contact with the land. What I found is that early narratives of contact between Europeans and southern Africans have been formulated and manipulated in dramatic ways in order to try to account for the existence of (and the potential loss and sacrifice of) the hyper-vulnerable European woman in southern Africa.

Some works of art, literature, and reenactments drawn from the archival colonial record in South Africa arise out of a strongly nostalgic form of longing for a united national consciousness. Because the nature of this longing provokes a revisiting of the contact era, the relatively crude expressions of gender, sexual, and racial diagrams that have been developed in the service of this reconciliatory mood, are doubly objectionable. How the commemorative vocabulary or the project of social reconciliations might be more broadly developed or finely tuned is a question for the artists and writers, and the funders of representations of the contact era, to take up. I am certain, however, that the neglected contact era texts introduced in this study might provide an enormously rich terrain from which to look again at what has happened to "gender," "race," "sexual imagery," and "ethnicity" in the articulation of South African myths of origins.

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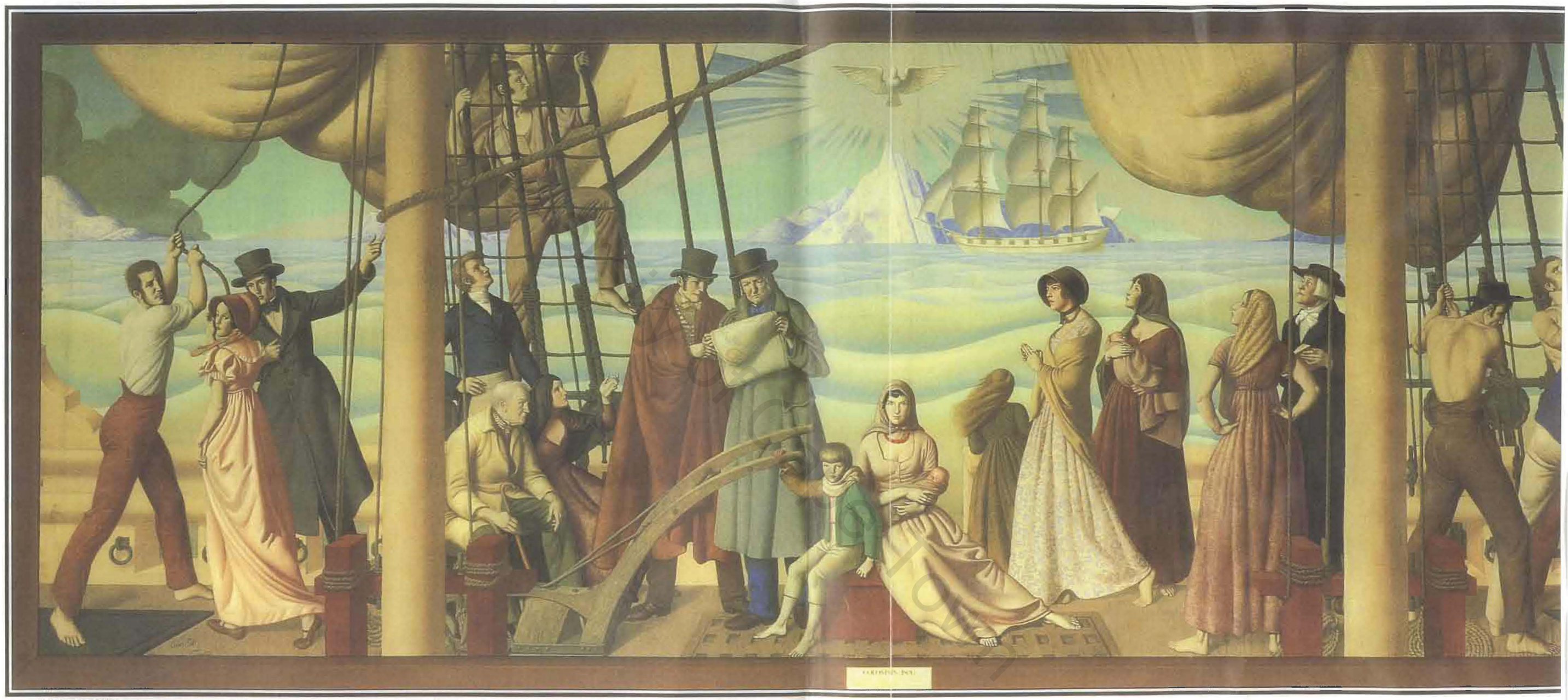
Appendix 1

" Colonists: 1826" by Colin Gill (1934)
Witwatersrand Cullen Library



Colin Gill, *Colonists 1826.*

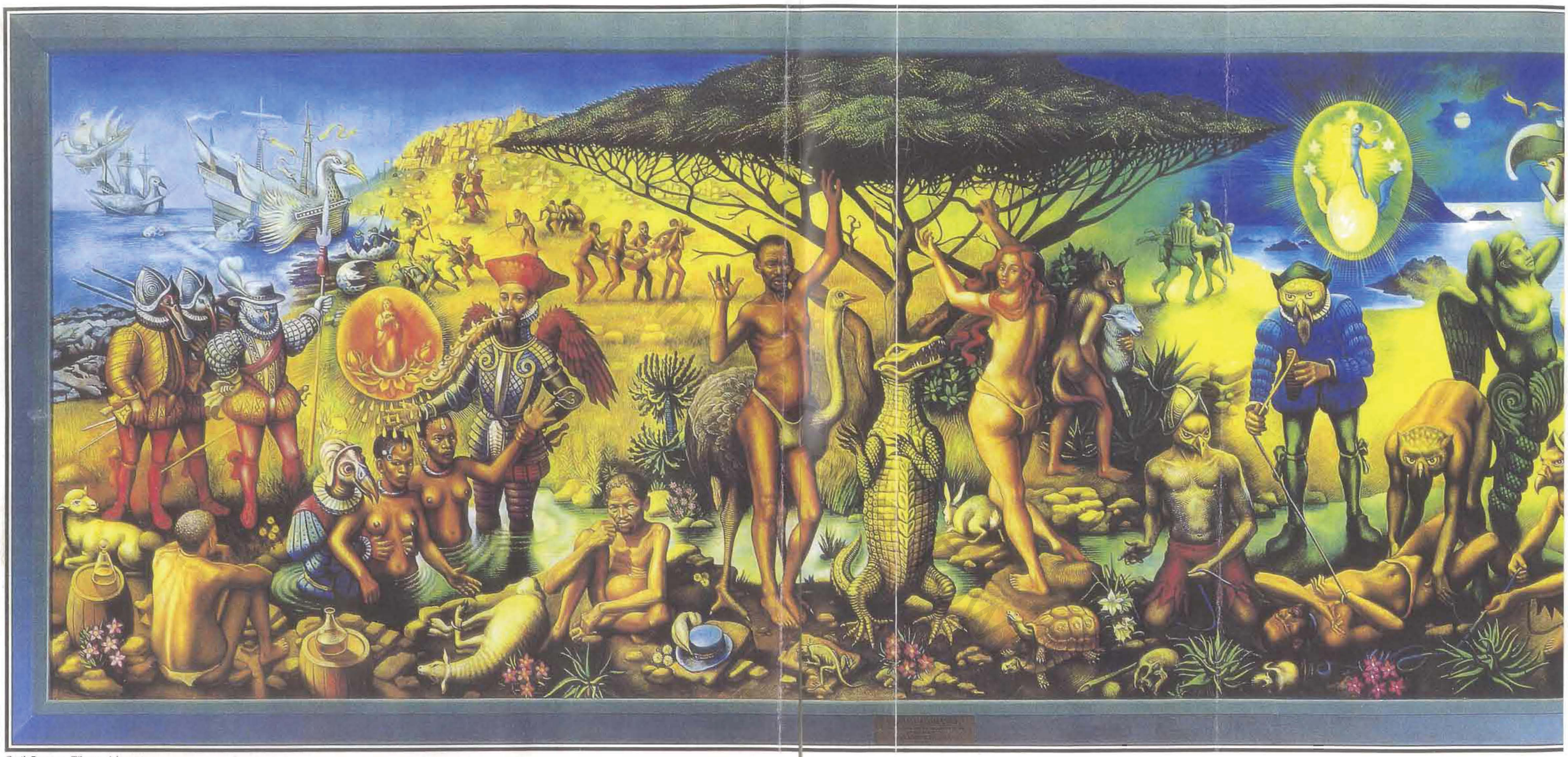
Appendix 2

"Vasco da Gama—Departure for the Cape" by J. H. Amshewitz (1936)
Witwatersrand Cullen Library

J.H. Amshewitz, *Vasco da Gama – Departure for the Cape.*

Appendix 3

"T'Kama Adamastor" by Cyril Coetzee (1999)
Witwatersrand Cullen Library



Cyril Coetzee, *T'kama-Adamastor*

Appendix 4

The dignitary shown in this photograph was attending the installation of Patekile Holomisa as Paramount Chief, an event that took place in 1999. Photograph by Ismael Achirri Chibikom.

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Appendix 5

Annotated List of Portuguese shipwrecks:
Southeastern coast of Africa, 1501-1686

Nossa Senhora de Atalia do Pinheiro (1647)
Our Lady of Ataylia

Homeward bound, from Goa to Lisbon: Left Goa 20 February, 1647.
Wrecked near Cefane River mouth, 30 km NE of East London, 4 July, 1647.
Account by Bento Teyxeyra Feyo, first published in 1650, at the office of Paulo (Pedro?) Craesbeeck.

Number on board at time of shipwreck:	est 500
Number lost in initial shipwreck:	—
Number of survivors of initial shipwreck:	—
Number finally rescued	35

Overland journey northeast to Lourenco Marquez:
Length of journey (time in southern Africa):

Notable events on board before shipwreck:
Death of Antonio de Faria Machado, who had been Inquisitor in India for seventeen years.
Weakening of ship and leak caused by a salute of the sister ship, the *Sacramento*, on Easter, 19 Apr.
Abandoned ship on 4 July, 1647

Notable Cargo and tangible goods:
Diamond seal, rubies, other jewels, copper, bales of pepper and cinnamon, porcelain, bronze canons

Translation in *RSEA* v8: 295-360.
Turner's *S&S*: 212.

Nossa Senhora de Belem (1635)
Our Lady of Belem

Homeward bound from Goa
Wrecked just NE of Port St. Johns
Account by Joseph de Cabreyra (first published 1636)

Overland journey northeast to Lourenco Marquez:
Length of journey (time in southern Africa): 6 months

Notable events:
Survivor from this wreck, named João, was encountered by survivors of the *Our Lady of Atalyia* in July 27, 1647. He spoke Portuguese, had married, and refused to go with them as guide.

Translation in Theal's *RSEA* v8:187-234.
Turner's *S&S*: 63, 215.

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Nossa Senhora dos Milagros (1686)
Our Lady of Miracles

Homeward bound from Goa
Wrecked near Cape Alguhas, 16 April, 1686
Account: Cape Archives V.C. 10

Cargo: pepper, saltpetre, jewels
No information about numbers on board or survivors, though Turner says "many perished."
Survivors tried to reach Cape Town.

Turner's *S&S*: 80, 174.

Santiago (1585)
Santiago

Outward bound to Goa
Wrecked in the Mozambique channel: 18 August 1585

Number on board at time of shipwreck:	450	(Portuguese and slaves)
Number lost in initial shipwreck:	—	
Number of survivors of initial shipwreck	—	
Number finally rescued:	est 32-50	

Length of overland and sea journey to place of rescue: nearly 5 months.
(Struck a shoal on 18 August 1585; survivors arrived Mozambique island 10 January 1586)

Account extracted from survivors' testimonies, not written by a survivor.

Translation in *RSEA* v1 (342-354).
Turner's *S&S*: 47

Santo Alberto (1593)
St. Albert

Wrecked (presumed) NE of East London, 25 March, 1593.
Homeward bound from Cochin.
Account compiled from the mss kept by the pilot, Joao Baptista Lavanha, Chief Cosmographer to the King, in 1597.

Number on board at time of shipwreck:	347	(153 Portuguese, 194 slaves)
Number lost in initial shipwreck:	62	(28 Portuguese, 34 slaves)
Number of survivors of initial shipwreck	285	(125 Portuguese, including 2 women, 160 slaves)
Number finally rescued	181	(116 Portuguese, 65 slaves)

Overland journey northeast to Lourenco Marquez: 3 1/2 months
Length of journey (time in southern Africa) (reached Mozambique on 6 August): 4 1/2 months

Mackeurtin, *Cradle Days of Natal* 29-33.

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Translation in *RSEA* v2: 283-346.
Turner's *S&S*: 14, 64, 213.

Santo Espiritu (1608)
St. Spirit

Homeward bound
Wrecked (presumed) near Haga Haga

Account by A. Botelho de Sousa, *Subsidios para a historia Maritima da India (1585-1669)*, Lisbon, 1930.

Turner's *S&S*: 213.

Santa Maria Madre de Deus (1643)
St. Mary Mother of God

Homeward bound
Wrecked (presumed) near Bonza Bay, East London

Mentioned by Bento Teyxeyra Feyo

Translation in Theal's *RSEA* v8, pp 295-360.
Turner's *S&S*: 211.

Santissimo Sacramento (1647)
Sacramento

Homeward bound from Goa; left Goa 20 Feb 1647,
Wrecked in Cannon Bay, SW of Port Elizabeth; 29 June 1647

Narrator of journey: Bento Teyxeyra Feyo, survivor of the wreck of the sister ship, *Our Lady of Ataylia.*

Overland journey northeast to Lourenco Marquez:	6+ months (arrived Island of Shefina 4 Jan, 1648)
Length of journey (time in southern Africa):	16 months (set sail for Goa on 22 June, 1648)

Number on board: not specified	est.	400-500
Number lost in the initial shipwreck	est.	328-428
Number surviving the initial shipwreck		72
Number surviving and joining with the survivors of the *Our Lady of Atalyia* late in the trek		9

Mackeurtin. *Cradle Days of Natal.* 46-52.
Translation in Theal's *RSEA* v8: 295-360.
Turner's *S&S*: 30,49,51,103-107,188.

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São Bento (1554)
St. Benedict

Wrecked on the Pondoland coast, near the island at the Msikaba River mouth (32.33° latitude, Infante river)
Homeward bound (presumed from Cochin)
Narrator: Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, a survivor of the wreck.
Overland journey: NE to Lourenco Marquez: 72 days traveling; 150 days waiting for a rescue
Length of journey (total time in southern Africa): +7 months.

Number on board at time of shipwreck:	est.	500	(142 Portugues and +324 slaves)
Number lost in the initial shipwreck:	est.	+150	(44 Portuguese and +100 slaves)
Number of Initial survivors :		322	(98 Portuguese, 224 slaves)
Number abandoned, absconded or died enroute		298	(78 Portuguese, 221 slaves)
Number who made it to place of rescue		62	(56 Portuguese 6 slaves)
Number who boarded rescue ship		25	(22 Portuguese, 3 slaves)

Mackeurtin *Cradle Days of Natal*. 20-25
Translation in Theal's *RSEA* v1:218-285.
Turner's *S&S*: 30, 49, 51, 52,105,107,214.

São Gonçalo (1630)
St. Gonzalo

Homeward bound from Goa
Wrecked in Plettenberg Bay (called Bahia Fermosa in the seventeenth century)

Number on board:	est.	300+
Number lost in the initial shipwreck:	est.	130+
Number surviving the initial shipwreck:	est	100+
Number making it to a place of rescue:		unknown

Notable Events: Survivors encamped near shore for 8 months, growing food and building a boat.

Account by Manuel de Faria Y Sousa (historian) (1675)
Translation in Theal's *RSEA* v6: 411-421.
Turner's *S&S*: 80

São João (1552)
St. John

Wrecked on the Natal South Coast near the Mtamvuna river
Homeward bound from Cochin
Narrator: Anonymous
Journey overland - Northeast to Lourenço Marquez
Length of Journey - 5 1/2 months

Number on board at time of shipwreck:	est.	600+	
Number lost in the initial shipwreck:	est.	100+	
Number of survivors of initial shipwreck:	est.	500	(120 Portuguese, 300-320 slaves)

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Number who made it to Lourenço Marquez: 25 (8 Portuguese, 17 slaves)

Various editions:
BL 1444 f 18 (1554) Bound in a compilation of *relações.*
Historia da Muy Notavel perda do Galeam grande Sam Joam

BL C.32 e34 (1564) *Historia da muy notavel perda do galeao grande sam joam.*

BL10095b.37 1 (1592) Pamphlet printed with license from Antonio Alvarez by Frey Bertholameu Ferreyra, with *Prologo. Historia da muy Notavel per da do Galeam grande Sam Joam.*

BL 10095b.37 3 (1627) (1633?) pamphlet printed by Antonio Alvares, with *Prologo. Historia da muy Notavel per da do Galeam grande S. Joam.*

Events from this shipwreck account fictionalized in the following sixteenth century works:
Camões, Luís. *The Lusiads*, Canto V, v 46-48 (1573).
Corte-Real, Jeronimo. *Naufragio Elastimoso Sucesso da perdicam de manoel de sousa de sepulveda, & dona LIanor de Sa fua molher & filhos, vindo da ndia para este Reyno na nao chamada ogaliao grande S. Joao que se perdeo no cabo de boa Esperanca , na terra do Natal.* (1594).

Translation in Theal's *RSEA* v1: 128-149.
Turner's *S&S*: 35-36, 52, 63, 64, 216.
Webster's *At the Fireside: True South African Stories*: 62-64.

São João Baptista (1622)
St. John the Baptist

Homebound from Goa
Ran aground near Fish River, 33° latitude.
3 October 1622 - people and supplies landed
6 November 1622 - set out for Sofala
15 August 1623 - arrived Sofala

Account by Francisco Vaz d' Almada, a shipwreck victim. Addressed to Diogo Soares, secreatrary of his majesty's Council for the Treasury, published in 1625.

Number on board:	est.	300-550
Number lost in initial shipwreck:	–	
Number surviving the initial shipwreck:		279 (several Portuguese women (4) and children)
Number reaching Mozambique		27 Portuguese and unspecified number of slaves
Length of time in southern Africa:	est.	10+ months,

Notable cargo: bales of cloth, jewels, carpets, musk

Notable events:
many killed in a one-month sea battle with two Dutch ships
a Frenchman on board
a Portuguese man married in Sofala and stayed there.

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First use of term "Wild Coast" for former Transkei shoreline

Translation in Theal's *RSEA* v8: 69-137.
Turner's *S&S*: 42, 63, 65, 220.

São João de Bescoinha (1551)
St. John of Bethlehem

Wrecked near Ponta de Oura on the Natal north coast
Homeward bound from India
Account by Manuel de Mesquita Perestrelo

Turner's *S&S*: 221

São Jeronymo (1552)
St. Geronimo

wrecked north of Richards Bay
Homeward bound from Cochin
Account by Diogo de Couto, in *Da Asia* (1778-1788) v3, part 2.

Notable circumstances: traveling in the company of the *São João.*
No account of survivors.

Turner's *S&S*: 221.

São Thomé (1589)
St. Thomas

Wrecked homeward bound
Account by Diiogo do Couto, Keepr of the Archives in India
Translation in Theal's *RSEA* v2: 188-244.
Turner's *S&S*: 15

so-called "**Soares Wreck**" (unnamed) (estimated 1501)

wrecked presumed near Mussel Bay
homeward bound from Calicut
mentioned in account by Joao de Barros (1771)

The details above were obtained from G.M. Theal's *RSEA*, R.F. Kenedy's "Shipwrecks on and off the Coasts of Southern Africa, a Catalogue and Index," and Malcolm Turner's *Shipwreck & Salvage*. Where the figures disagreed, I have used Theal's translation of the shipwreck accounts as the most reliable source.

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Appendix 6

Historical List of Known Portuguese shipwrecks: Southeastern coast of Africa, 1501-1686

1501	so-called "Soares Wreck" (an unnamed vessel)
1551	São Joao de Bescoinha
1552	São João
1552	São Jeronymo
1554	São Bento
1585	Santiago
1589	São Thome
1593	Santo Alberto
1608	Santo Espiritu
1622	São Joao Baptista
1630	São Gonçalo
1635	Nossa Senhora de Belem
1643	Santa Maria Madre de Deus
1647	Santissimo Sacramento
1647	Nosso Senhora de Atalia do Pinheiro
1686	Nosso Senhora dos Milagros

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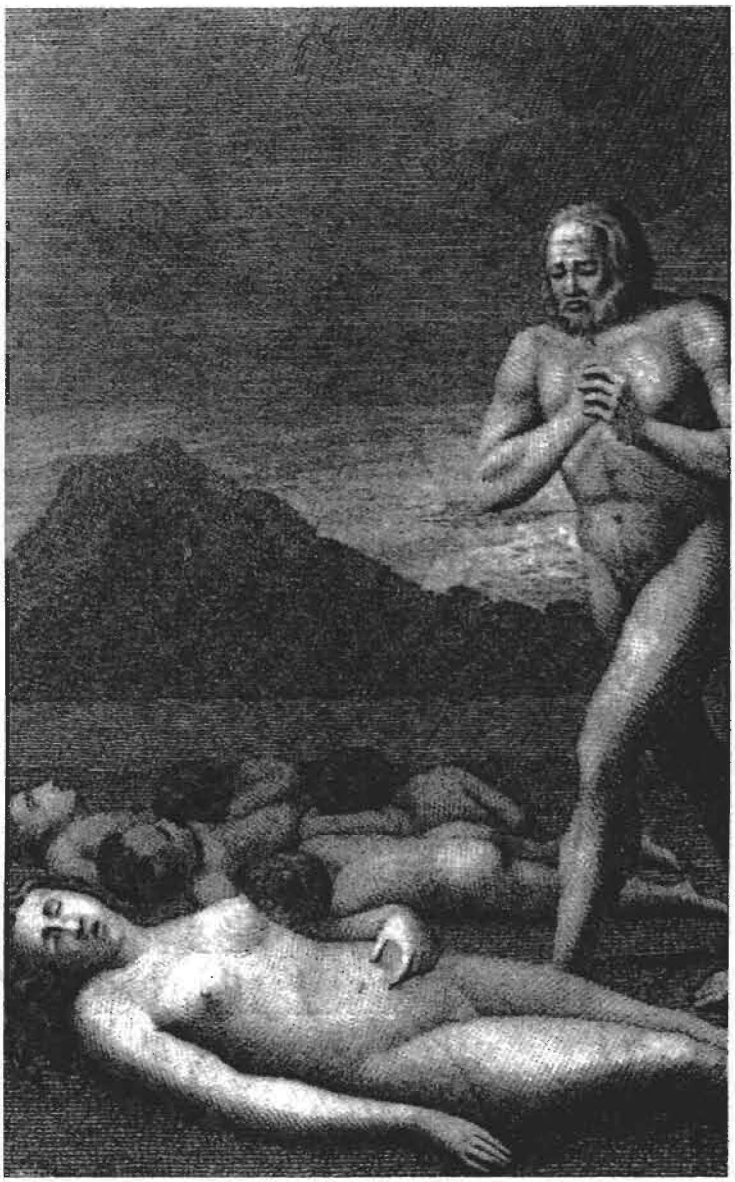
Appendix 7-a

In this image, Leonor is enfeebled and assisted by servants and other crew members into her inadequately shallow grave. Her husband, Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda, remains clothed and unable to assist or protect his wife. His failure is underscored by the artist showing him covering his face with his hands, a way of signaling his inability to "face" his wife's tragedy, and of imperial Europe's inability to face the loss of European female bodies.

From Jean Louis Hubert Simon Deperthes' *Histoire des naufrages, ou recueil des relations les plus interessantes des naufrages.. & autres evenemens funestes sur mer; qui ont ete publiees depuis lequinzieme siecle jusqua* (1795). Reproduced from Josiah Blackmore's *Manifest Perdition : Shipwreck Narrative and the Disruption of Empire (*Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

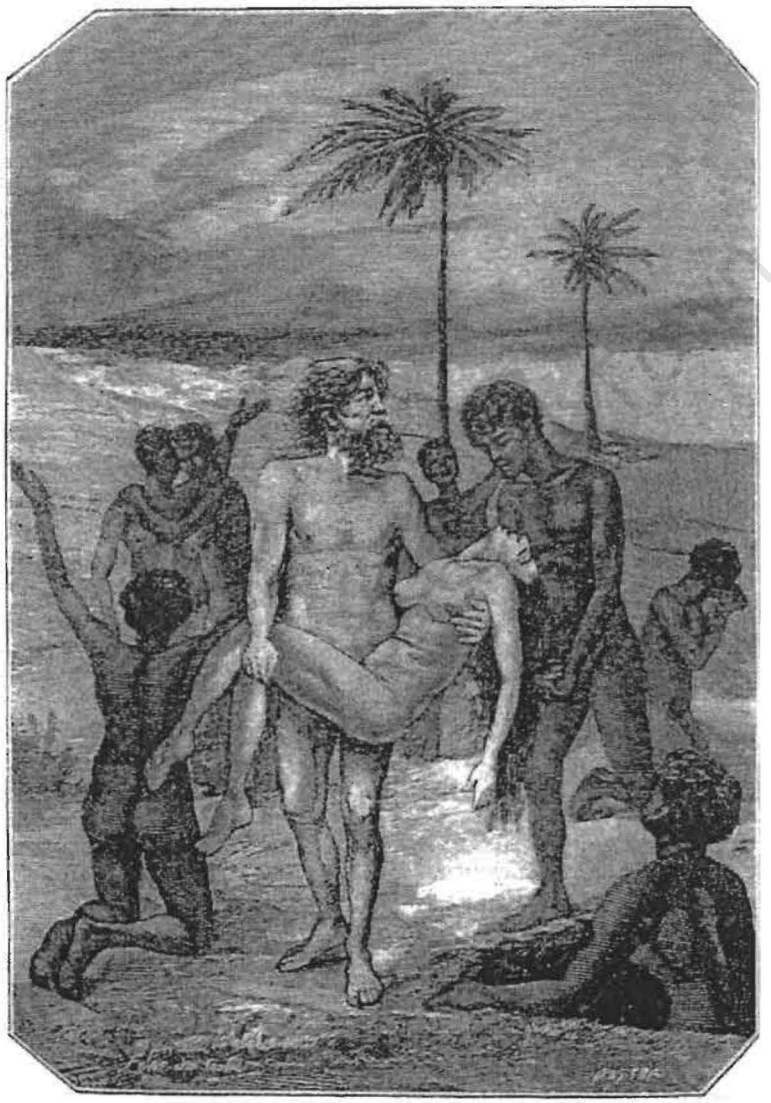
Appendix 7-b



In this image, Leonor is stripped, as is her husband. She has expired on the ground unburied and he is mourning her death.

From *Factus memoráveis da história de Portugal* (1826). Reproduced from Josiah Blackmore's *Manifest Perdition : Shipwreck Narrative and the Disruption of Empire (*Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

Appendix 7-c



In this image, Manuel has regained his full vigor, Leonor is collapsed into insensibility, and a slave is either digging the half-sized grave or trying it out for size.

From *Centenario da India História trágico-marítima de Portugal.* Illustrada com vinte gravuras; extracto feito do livro de Bernardo Gomes de Brito por Hygino Mendoço: Lisbon, 1896. Reproduced from BL 8805 ff.28

Appendix 8-a

Women's travel, exploration and missionary texts on southern Africa, published in English during the writers' lifetimes or shortly thereafter.

1777-1910

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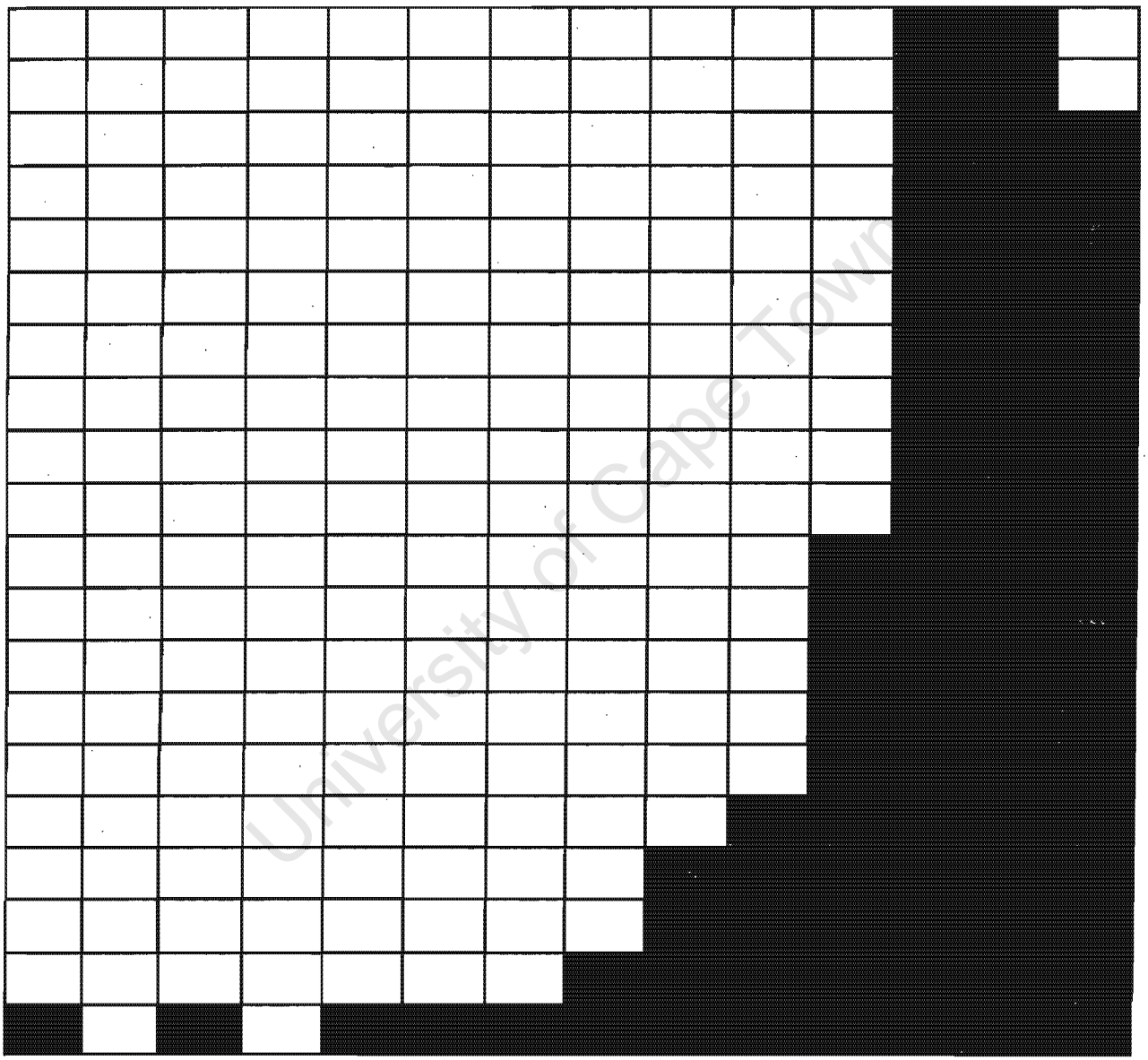
This list was derived in large part from a bibliography of women's travel, exploration and missionary writing about southern Africa which was compiled by Davis A. Bullwinkle. It can be found at <http://www.africabib.org/book/title.htm> and is indexed by country and by author's name. I also utilized Michelle Adler's annotated bibliography from *Skirting the Edges of Civilization: British Women Travellers and Travel Writers in South Africa* (1995); "The Colony of Natal to the Zulu War; 1843-1878," a bibliography compiled by Shelagh O'Bryne, University of Cape Town, School of Librarianship: Bibliographic Series; and the catalogs of Edinburgh University Library, the British Library, the Rhodes House Library, the Bodleian Library and the University of Cape Town Library. I thank the librarians from each of these institutions for assistance in verifying the entries.

Appendix 8-b

Women's travel texts concerned with southern Africa
Published during the writer's life, 1770-1910



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Appendix 8-c

1 text		1		2		1	1	5	4	9	17	16	19
				Hamilton 1810				Parlby 1850			Boomer Colenso Pitman Prichard 1880	Maturin Cavendish 1890	Butler Caddick Hicks Markham Robb Sykes 1900
										S.G. B Barber 1871/7			Hunt Brooke-Hun Rollerston Bron 1901
										Broome 1872	Heckford Long Dixie 1882		
											North 1882-83 Bridges Morrel 1883	Colville Hayes Dixie Barkley Shaw 1893	Burton 1903
				Wakefield 1814					Duff Gordon 1864				Broome Bicknell 1904
								Somerset Pfeiffer 1855		Anon 1875		Balfour 1895	Graham 1905
								Mackenzie 1857	Robertson 1866		Lindsey 1886	Cary-Hobson 1896	Bartol Rousby 1906
								Armstrong N.D.	Barter 1866/67	Broome 1877	Feilden 1887	Hammond Fraser Warner Phillips 1897	Halll 1907
										Awdry 1878 Roche 1878	Vescelius 1888	Green 1898	Kirkland 1908
Kindersley 1777		Parker 1795				Lee 1835	Ward 1848		Mackenzie 1869	Pender Hutchinson 1879	Brassey Hutton Emma D. 1889 Moffat 1889	Pember 1899 Casey 1899	Butler 1909 Southey 1910

1770 1780 1790 1800 1810 1820 1830 1840 1850 1860 1870 1880 1890 1900

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Long nineteenth century manuscripts published either for the first time in the twentieth century in English, substantially after the time of authorship, or republished.

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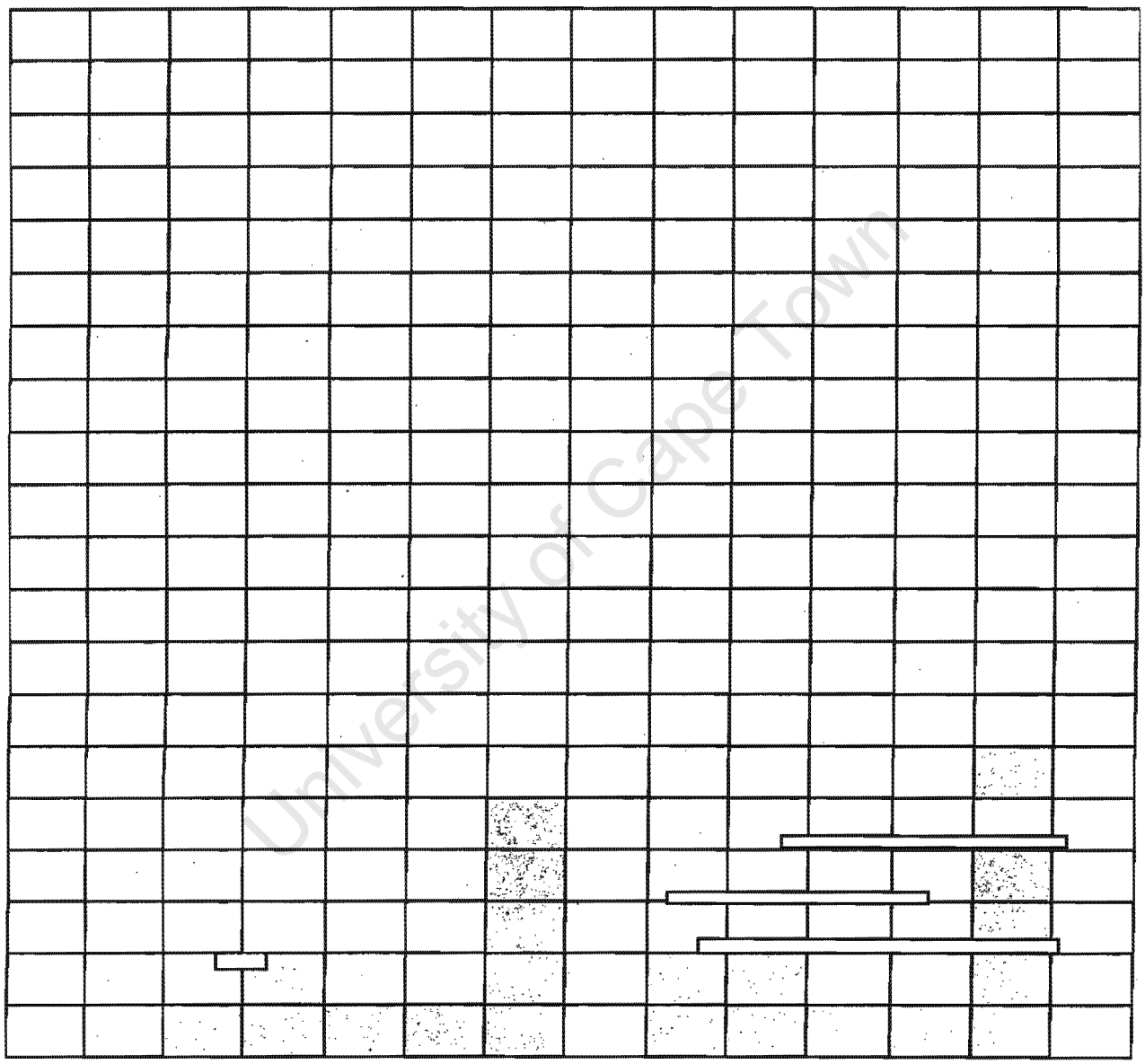
Appendix 9-b

Nineteenth century women's travel texts concerned with South Africa:
published in the twentieth century (from the archives)



Journals, letter collections, travelogues or articles

Collections of letters spanning multiple decades, or works of great import: Barnard (1797-1802), Waterson (1866-1905), McCleod (1850-1888), Price (1854-1900).

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Appendix 9 -C

Nineteenth-century travel texts written by women in English (or translated into English) and published from the archives in the twentieth century.

Barnard 1901		Duff Gordon 1921					Craw 1970	Fountaine 1980	
							Bell 1971		
						Barber 1962	**Barnard** 1973	Waterson 1883	North 1992
						Ross 1963			
		Barnard 1925					Ralls 1975	Franklin 1985	Barter 1995
					De Mist 1954		Franklin 1974		**Barnard** 1994
					Price 1956				
			Rogers 1937					Rolland 1987	
					Colenso Vaughn 1958				
						Churchill 1979			**Barnard** Vigne 1999

1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970 1980 1990

Publishing Date

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Appendix 10

Women's travel texts on southern Africa
Works published in the nineteenth century *and* republished in the twentieth century

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Appendix 11

Nineteenth-century British women's travel texts: Unpublished

Anonymous [A Lady]. *Notes from the Diary of a Voyage from Cape Town to Bangkok and Back.* Undated pamphlet. South African Library.

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Barber, Mary Elizabeth. *Journal.* (1879-1881) Mss. Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, SouthAfrica.

Casey, Mother Agnes. *Boer War Papers and Letters* (1897-1902). Mss. Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London.

Potts, Margaret. *A Nursing Sister's Diary of Events in the Transvaal in the Early Days.* Mss. no date. Harold Strange African Studies Library, Johannesburg.

Smith, Helen. *Diary of a visit to Graaf Reinet 1889; Diary of a journey to the sea and back 1880; Visit to Natal 1881.* Mss. Harold Strange African Studies Library, Johannesburg.

Treadwell, Mrs. M. *Diary written During the Siege of Kimberley*, 1899-1900. Mss. Harold Strange African Studies Library, Johannesburg.

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