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Fiction, Ideology and History: a critical examination
of Hans Grimm's novel 'Kaffernland'

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Abstract: Fiction, Ideology and History: a critical examination of Hans Grimm's novel Kaffernland.

This dissertation aims to place Hans Grimm's uncompleted epic, Kaffernland, eine deutsche Sage (Kaffraria, a German Legend) within the context of the historical discourse of the nineteenth-century as it has been challenged by present-day critical historiography. Central to Grimm's text is the problematic relationship between fiction and historical reality. It reproduces historical documents and relies on the scientific aura of a bourgeois realist discourse to present itself as having reference to an extra-textual reality. These truth-claims are examined with Roland Barthes' structuralist techniques.

I locate Grimm's text within an intertext dominated by the ideologies of German nationalism, colonial space and fate. His portrayal of mid-nineteenth century political questions is shown as a contradictory amalgam of partisanship for both the bourgeoisie and the small peasantry, of romantic anti-capitalism and pro-imperialism. The authoritarian narrative discourse affirms Britain's colonial subjugation of the Xhosa and negates Xhosa resistance. I focus on speaking positions in the text and the power of the colonizer's practice of designating and signifying. The rhetoric of the text is seen as a continuation of politics against Britain's exploitation of the British German Legion and of German missionary work in British Kaffraria. Grimm reproduces and embellishes the mythology of the German Legion as saviours of Kaffraria and Germany. He inverts history to re-make the negative record of the German Military Settlement. I show how mythic signs

and a moralizing discourse stimulate an envisaged pre-World War I readership to recognize Kaffraria as a German colony and to reflect on how, in its own times, Germany can be regenerated through acquiring colonial space. The mythological discourse is also viewed in the light of the text's attempts to manifest the external factual reliability and inner truth of bourgeois realism.

While Grimm deploys the literary conventions of the modern novel, as an epigone he draws on the forms of legend, saga and epic cultivated in the nineteenth century. He alludes to the Icelandic saga also to legitimize a claim to Xhosaland. This first book of the epic, presented as complete, attains a measure of cohesion through techniques of parallelism and contiguity. The text parallels the fate of the German and Xhosa nations and simultaneously signifies the Xhosa as destroyers of Xhosaland and the cattle-killing movement of 1856-57 as a diabolical plan. I see this mythologization of history as the ideological justification for the expropriation of the Xhosa and show that Grimm's colonialist fiction is in fact a colonizing discourse.

List of Contents

	Page
<u>1 INTRODUCTION</u>	1
<u>2 INTERTEXTUALITY, PRODUCTION AND RECEPTION OF 'KAFFERNLAND'</u>	9
2.1 Authorship and intentionality	9
2.2 Shifting narratorial positions in <u>Kaffernland</u>	12
2.3 Omniscient, colonizing survey of Kaffraria	14
✓ 2.4 Ideologies of colonial space and fate	18
2.5 Grimm's credo of the writer's political task	19
2.6 National-Socialist reception of <u>Volk ohne Raum</u>	21
2.7 Genesis of <u>Kaffernland</u> in pre-War Germany	23
2.8 Fate, space and nationalism in 'Kaffraria' and <u>Kaffernland</u>	25
2.9 Reception of <u>Kaffernland</u> in the late 1920s	27
2.10 Grimm's nationalism in the 1930s	30
2.11 Grimm's literary praxis from 1933 to 1945	31
2.12 Grimm's idiolect in relation to the sociolect	34
2.13 Fragmentation of <u>Kaffernland</u>	37
<u>3 THE PROBLEM OF GENRE: ARCHAIC GENRE ELEMENTS AND BOURGEOIS REALISM IN 'KAFFERNLAND'</u>	39
3.1 Elements of 'Sage' and 'Saga'	39
3.2 Elements of 'Prosa-Epos'	42
3.3 Fixed types in epic	44
3.4 Fixed forms in epic and solidified metaphors	46
3.5 Historical novel: didacticism and moralizing	50
3.6 <u>Kaffernland</u> as an ensemble of discourses	51
3.7 Discourses of narrative action and enigma	53
3.8 Realist narration: levels of <u>vraisemblance</u>	57
3.9 Cultural and semic codes and characterization	59
3.10 Reader orientation of realist narration	62
3.11 Focalization of the German Military Settlement	64
3.12 Mimetic speech, dramatic-scenic narration and the illusion of character	67
<u>4 HISTORY, MYTHOLOGY AND TRUTH IN 'KAFFERNLAND'</u>	73
4.1 Historical fiction: facts and bias	73
4.2 Outer and inner realism: the Legion and the land	75
4.3 Partisanship, objective history and myth	83
4.4 History as fate and history as 'a prose poem'	85
4.5 Mythologizing the Xhosa and their agriculture	88
4.6 The land and nature as mythic signs	91
4.7 Kaffraria: waiting for the white working-man	94
✓ 4.8 'True and false narration'; history as a cycle	96
4.9 Fiction, reflection, truth and referentiality	99

<u>5</u>	<u>THE ACT AND DISCOURSE OF COLONIZATION</u>	108
5.1	German Nationalism and Peasant Emancipation	108
5.2	Formation of the British German Legion	113
5.3	Signifying the German Military Settlement	116
5.4	Moralizing discourse on British imperialism	120
5.5	Colonists vs Xhosa, Germans vs English	125
5.6	Force and discourse of power: Demarcation of British Kaffraria and military villages	127
5.7	Cultural transformation by force	131
5.8	Discourse of force and the 8th Frontier War	134
5.9	Derogating sovereign chiefs to stipendiaries	135
5.10	Call for Xhosa labour and the German Legion	137
5.11	The cattle-killing as a 'diabolical plan'	139
5.12	The colonizer - and his word - as the Law	145
<u>6</u>	<u>THE RESISTANCE AND DISCOURSE OF THE COLONIZED</u>	150
6.1	The Xhosa vs the British military machine	150
6.2	The 7th Frontier War: triumphs and defeats	152
6.3	The 8th Frontier War; Mlanjeni's prophecies	154
6.4	The 1850 rebellion of the Kat River Khoi	156
6.5	The Xhosa voice vs the all-knowing narrator	157
6.6	Waiting for the Redeemer: The Broad-Chested One	160
6.7	Negation of Sarhili's assertion of Xhosa values	161
6.8	Significations of the cattle-killing	162
6.9	Lungsickness epidemic; Nongqawuse's prophecies	164
6.10	The "chiefs' plot" and Grey's settlement plans Expropriation after the cattle-killing	167
6.11	The cattle-killing as savagery or resistance	171
6.12	The rationality and innovative blend of Xhosa and Christian beliefs in the cattle-killing	172
<u>7</u>	<u>CONCLUSION</u>	177
<u>8.</u>	<u>NOTES</u>	180
<u>9.</u>	<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	186
<u>10</u>	<u>APPENDIX</u>	198

1 INTRODUCTION

In 1911 Grimm began to write the epic Kaffernland, eine deutsche Sage (Kaffirland/Kaffraria, a German Legend),¹ and stopped work on it in 1915. His ongoing interest in this project focused on the German Military Settlers about whom he considered writing a doctoral thesis. He fostered a life-long desire to complete Kaffernland, yet this ambition remained unfulfilled. As an early work and as a fragment, Kaffernland nevertheless contains all the central concerns of this German nationalist writer of colonialist fiction.

Despite the obvious importance of Kaffernland in Grimm's life and his oeuvre, there is no substantial analysis of, and very little reference to it in the growing body of Grimm criticism. I view this epic fiction from a socio-historical perspective, comparing its colonialist discourse of history to a critical historiography. In so doing, I see Kaffernland as paradigmatic for both the way in which colonialist fiction represents the material and discursive practices of the colonizer, and for Grimm's particular view of history.

The text Kaffernland portrays events from 1845 to 1857 in Xhosaland, which Jeff Peires denotes more precisely as 'emaXhoseni, lit. 'at the place where the Xhosa are' (The House of Phalo, p. 1). The ideological project of Grimm's text emerges from a comparison of his use of the term 'Kaffernland' with the terminology in his source material. First, the term 'Kaffer' that he uses, needs to be seen in its historical context:

The Dutch and then the British applied it to the Xhosa, despite evidence from at least as early as the 1820s that the latter disliked being called by that term. From the mid 19th century it came to be applied more

generally to all Cape Nguni. (Christopher Saunders, Historical Dictionary of South Africa, p. 92)

Jeff Peires adds to this to explain the term 'Kaffernland':

for the settlers, 'Kaffir' was the standard translation for 'Xhosa', which many of them could not pronounce because of the click.

'Kaffraria' or 'Kaffernland' derives naturally from the term 'Kaffir'. 'Britisch Kafferland' is a translation of 'British-Kaffraria', the official name of the period for what is now the Ciskei.

(correspondence 20 July and 30 August 1987)

A. E. Du Toit explains that 'British Kaffraria' denotes

that part of the Eastern Cape between the Keiskamma and Kei Rivers When Sir Harry Smith annexed this territory on 23 Dec. 1847 it included the present districts of East London, King William's Town and Keiskammahoek. ('Kaffraria', in Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa, p. 267)

Grimm's main source work: Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern im

östlichen Südafrika nach seiner Geschichte, Eigenart,

Verfassung und Religion² states:

At the peace-talks on 23 December 1847 the land between the Keiskamma and the Fish Rivers ... was called 'Britisch-Kafferland'. (p. 65)

This book was written in 1889 by the missionary Albert Kropf. His work in Kaffraria from his arrival there in 1845 is itself a subject of Kaffernland. He became minister of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Stutterheim, where he died in 1910. Hans Grimm himself worked as a trading clerk and foreign correspondent for German newspapers in East London from 1897 till 1910.

Kaffernland largely relies on Charles Brownlee's Reminiscences of Kafir Life and History and focuses on his work, first as a government interpreter, and, from 1847, as Commissioner to the 'Gaika' (Ngqika-Xhosa) in British Kaffraria. Reminiscences records events in 'British-Kafraria', with very few references to 'Kreli's country'.

Grimm's other source, Britisch-Kaffraria und seine deutschen Siedlungen (1914)³ was written by Johannes Spanuth. He was a pastor from 1903 to 1911 to the German communities in the Eastern Cape. Spanuth explains that 'the additional name "British" was supposed to distinguish [the annexed part] Kaffraria from the then still independent Kaffirland, Caffraria proper' (p. 3).

Kaffraria, annexed to Britain in 1848, became annexed to the Cape in 1866, and the Transkeian territories were annexed to the Cape between 1879 and 1886.⁴

The first two chapters of Kaffernland tell of the Seventh Frontier War (1846-47) and recreate the peace talks in January 1848, when the land of the Xhosa peoples constituting amaRharhabe section of the nation is annexed as 'British Kaffraria'.⁵ The text, however, refers to the change of name incidentally as 'the new province Kaffraria':

Die Versammlung fand bei der Station des Missionars Brownlee statt, wo schon einmal der Ort King Williams-town geplant war, der nun frisch angelegt werden und die Hauptstadt der neuen Provinz Kaffraria bilden sollte. Der Gouverneur kam angeritten durch die Reihen der Truppen auf die Häuptlinge zu. (Kaffernland, p. 24)

Throughout Kaffernland the authorial narrator refers to 'British Kaffraria' as 'Kaffernland' or 'Gaikaland', and once as 'dem englischen Kaffernlande' (p. 190). 'Gaikaland' is often correctly used because the narrative shows how events affected particularly the Ngqika-Xhosa, ruled by Paramount Chief Sandile, son of the former Paramount Chief Ngqika. The designation Gaikaland, of course, naturalizes as homelands the increasingly smaller, ecologically deficient areas within Xhosaland to which the Colonial State relocated the Ngqika-Xhosa. Kaffernland focuses also on King Sarhili ('Kreli'), ruler over the other division of the

Xhosa nation, the amaGcaleka in the land west of the Kei. Peires writes that the creation of British Kaffraria 'sealed the division of the Xhosa kingdom between the Gcaleka and the Rharhabe', stripping Sarhili 'of his political authority' over the Rharhabe (p. 117). Except for one passing reference to 'Galekaland' (Kaffernland, p. 202), the text uses the topos 'Kreli from the other side of the Kei' to reinforce the portrayal of him as the Other, 'lying in wait for Kaffernland' (p. 205). It uses the term 'das Kaffernland' also to distinguish it from the 'Kolonieland', 'das Land der Weißen', in an opposition 'Kaffirland' versus 'the land of the whites'.

Grimm's book was published posthumously in 1961 as Kaffernland. He, however, always referred to it by its full title: Kaffernland, eine deutsche Sage. Grimm believes that 'Kaffirland/Kaffraria' was developed solely by German settlers and German missionaries: hence he avoids using the term 'British Kaffraria'. In 1909 Grimm had entitled a sixty-one page essay, 'Kaffraria', in which he uses the term 'British Kaffraria'. The essay commemorates the German settlers' 50th jubilee celebrations of their arrival in British Kaffraria between 1857 and 1858 and can be seen as a preliminary work to Kaffernland.

The political function of naming becomes more evident in Grimm's use of the term 'Kaffir' to signify the Xhosa as savages in need of civilizing. The first of three appearances of the word 'Xhosa' in Kaffernland is in the recital of the Xhosa genealogy: 'At first the Xosas lived above the Kei River. They came with Xosa, the Great Chief' (p. 12).⁶ The text later speaks of 'das ganze Kaffernvolk

der Amaxosas' (p. 180). Except for prophet Mhlakaza's one reference to the 'Xosavolk' (p. 184), the Xhosa refer to themselves as 'Kaffirs'. Peires says 'it was well known [even before 1850] that 'the people referred to themselves as "Xhosa" and objected to the use of "Kaffir"' (House of Phalo, p. ix). Klaus von Delft, however, holds that "'Kaffir" was in Grimm's times not yet a pejorative term' (Nachwort, Des Elefanten Wiederkehr, p. 336).

Grimm, moreover, reproduces the careless colonialist orthography, and even Germanizes some Xhosa names. Kropf and Spanuth frequently use the term 'Ama-Xosa', but generally speak of 'Kaffirs'. However, both take care in spelling the Xhosa names: Sarili, Sandile, Ngqika/Gqika and Hintsa. These Grimm renders as: Kreli, Sandili, Gaika, and Hinza.

The attempt of Grimm's text to declare the natural truth of the names it imposes on the colonized, is evident in the way it condenses the names of the constituent groups of the Xhosa nation to the interchangeable designations: 'the coloured people' (p. 7), 'the black people' (p. 8) and 'the coloured and half-coloured people' (p. 10).⁷ With Abdul JanMohamed, this can be seen as the way the colonized are reduced to their 'exchange-value in the colonialist signifying system':

The European writer commodifies the native by negating his individuality, his subjectivity, so that he is now perceived as a generic being that can be exchanged for any other native (they all look alike, act alike ...). ('The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature', p. 64)

In Kaffernland the process of naming provides the justification for colonial subjugation, as well as extermination. The narrator and the protagonists insistently designate the Xhosa as evil. This fixation of colonialist texts on the

irredeemably barbarous nature of the natives shows, says JanMohamed, 'the real function of these texts':

to justify imperial occupation and exploitation. If such literature can demonstrate that the barbarism of the native is ... very deeply ingrained, then the European's attempt to civilize him can continue indefinitely, the exploitation of his resources can proceed without hindrance, and the European can persist in enjoying a position of moral superiority. (p. 62)

Kaffernland affirms Britain's military subjugation and expropriation of the indigenous peoples, and the colonizer's discourse of domination. But the text's ideology of German nationalism engenders a moralizing discourse against Britain's exploitation of the British German Legion and of German missionary endeavour in Kaffraria. Grimm deploys his rhetorical skills to redeem the German Legion, to re-write the negatively recorded history of the German Military Settlement they formed in Kaffraria in 1857. He reproduces the mythology of the legionaries as saviours of Kaffraria and of the immiserated in the fatherland. His text presents the mythic image of a harsh, uncultivated land that the Germans are able 'to redeem' and 'win' through diligent labour. The text embeds the colonizing act in a sowing-reaping isotopy, and thereby justifies the German claim to Kaffraria. As opposed to this, it shows that the Xhosa neglect, and thus do not deserve the land. Whereas in Reminiscences Brownlee refutes the belief that the cattle-killing was a plot to foment ^awar ^{against} the Cape Colony, Grimm's text construes this movement as diabolical and the Xhosa as destroyers of the land.

This dissertation thus focuses on how Grimm the rhetorist uses language in awareness of it as 'the perfect instrument of empire' (quoted in Robert Clark, History,

Ideology and Myth in American Fiction, 1823-52, p. 138).

His text's realist and rhetorical use of language attempts to naturalize the violence of the act of colonization. As rhetoric, as an embodiment of the ideologies of nationalism and colonialism, the text tries to project Kaffraria as part of German history; it seeks to stimulate its envisaged audience to reflect on how Germany in its own time can be regenerated through acquiring colonial space.

Grimm's writing represents the continuation of the politics of colonization; precisely because it holds that it is right to colonize, it must be interrogated. I view the epic fiction Kaffernland as it presents itself - as a political text, as having reference to an extra-textual reality. I also try to read Kaffernland against the way it presents itself to produce a view of the resistance of the indigenous people of South Africa to their historical experience of subjugation and dispossession.

Grimm, widely regarded as a writer of German-speaking South Africans, has appropriated African history as a resource for his fiction, and to promote his colonizing project. To penetrate this blend of fact, fiction and myth, and subject it and my discourse to scrutiny, it became necessary to translate it. However, I quote some passages from Grimm's works in German, since their rhetoric is lost in translation. Literary theory that does not translate directly I retain in German. The term 'Kaffernland' I translate as 'Kaffraria'. I do not use Grimm's spelling of Xhosa names, which creates confusion, especially when I quote from his source works. Since these by and large approximate to the orthography Peires employs, and since

Peires' various publications form the backbone of this dissertation, I adopt his orthography.

2 INTERTEXTUALITY, PRODUCTION AND RECEPTION OF 'KAFFERNLAND'

Julia Kristeva suggests the semiotic procedure of 'studying the text as intertextuality', of considering the text as a totality of intersecting utterances, 'taken from other texts', 'within (the text of) society and history' (Desire in Language, A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art, pp. 36-7). Grimm is to be seen not as the author, the point of origin of the text Kaffernland, but as himself a text, in a symbiotic relationship with the social inter-textual machines. With Peter Horn we can see the subject-text Grimm as 'a narrative text', as 'a machine which guarantees the reproduction of the social intertextuality' ('Vorlesung zur Semiotik', p. 41). Grimm's idiolect reflects a sociolect which imitates an archaic style of the nineteenth century. The text Kaffernland reproduces the intertextual ideologies nationalism, colonial space and history as fate.

2.1 Authorship and intentionality

The history of the production of Kaffernland shows the author's ideas and intentions alone do not govern the text. On leaving Grimm's desk, Kaffernland, eine deutsche Sage, as a commodity, was subjected to forces independent of him.

The postscript to Kaffernland is entitled 'On the history of this novel-fragment'. In it the Klosterhaus publishers say that Grimm began to write Kaffernland in 1911 but repeatedly put the manuscript aside 'to earn a living', that is, to publish works 'which could be completed faster' (p. 267). They quote from Grimm's essay 'About Myself', which explains why he moved to Hamburg in 1914:

I saw totally different German priorities, besides I was lured by certain material for my work of many years, for the Prosa-Epos Kaffernland, eine deutsche Sage But I had to interrupt Kaffernland, likewise my studies at the Hamburg Colonial Institute, when I faced conscription and had at all events to finish another book. (Kaffernland, pp. 267-8)

The publishers add that World War I stopped work on the novel and Hans Grimm never found time to finish it (p. 268). Because of an 'inadequate knowledge of the country and its history', they renounced their intention of completing the fragment with his notes (p. 268). Hence they appended only some historical 'facts on the history of Kaffraria' and a genealogy of 'the Xhosa-Kaffir sovereigns' (pp. 269-72).

Kaffernland opens with an illustrated 'Sketch map from Britisch-Kaffraria und seine deutschen Siedlungen' and contains many other sketches and photographs. I inquired from Dr Jochen Meyer at the German Literature Archive in Marbach whether Grimm himself had inserted these and changed the work's title. He referred me to Grimm's source works and to the Klosterhaus publishers, Dr Wernt und Dr Holle Grimm, the children of Hans Grimm. They cannot recall all the details about the varied publications of Kaffernland in the 1920s, 1930s and in 1961:

For my father it was always an unrevised fragment, which is why he never published it as a book. I, together with my sister, published it posthumously in 1961. I had commissioned a draughtsman, Atze Müller, here in Kassel, to do the illustrations, the dust-cover and the end-papers of this edition, according to the works of E. Cadwell. I unfortunately cannot remember the name of the book by or with the drawings of Cadwell. The photographs I took from Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, 1873, [The History of the Berlin Mission Society], amongst others. Who the 'others' are, I unfortunately do not know anymore.

My father was in general against illustrations in his books. For us it was necessary to stimulate the buyer by means of the illustrations. (Wernt Grimm, correspondence, May 1987 and 19 June 1987)

The book by Cadwell could not be traced in Grimm's unpublished papers or in international library catalogues. Dr Meyer observes that the map and illustrations by Atze Müller

say nothing at all about Hans Grimm's intentions, but merely express the taste of an average book-illustrator in 1960. ... [It] can at least be said that most of the illustrations in Kaffernland indeed come from the author's source material for this work. Even if Hans Grimm had completed Kaffernland and published it himself, he would not have illustrated it with pictures. He had published his other African works without illustrations. (correspondence, 24 June 1987)

The publishers suggest that Grimm started planning Kaffernland in 1909 when he wrote the long essay 'Kaffraria' (in Südafrika ein Stück deutscher Geschichte (South Africa, a part of German History, pp. 1-67)). According to the publishers, Grimm used his return journey to Africa in 1910 'to collect material for his novel Kaffernland' (postscript, Kaffernland, p. 267). But he had to complete works commissioned by the Foreign Office. This subjection of the author's project to external forces illustrates Barthes' view that writing proceeds

not from an author but from a public scribe, a notary institutionally responsible not for flattering his client's tastes but rather for registering at his dictation the summary of his interests. (S/Z, p. 152)

Peter Horn observes that in the historical epoch of capitalism the 'desiring subject' of literature 'who wants to say something', is a necessary illusion: '"wollen" kann nur der Prozeß' ('Zu Erich Fried: und Vietnam und', p. 3).

The publishers and Grimm present Kaffernland as the product of thorough research and of an informed overview of events in South Africa (p. 266). The work's intertextuality - in the superficial sense of the word⁹ - is reflected in its near verbatim reproductions from its main source works. Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern by Kropf itself relies on

Reminiscences. In his introduction to Reminiscences Christopher Saunders explains that it was published posthumously in 1890, and 'does not make clear when its various parts were written or recorded. [Moreover], the original editing was the work of a number of hands' (pp. xi-xii). The author Grimm can with Samuel Beckett say: 'I'm in words, made of words, others' words' (quoted in A. Easthope, Poetry as Discourse, p. 30). In Kaffernland Grimm uses the authorial mode of narration. But in pursuing his ideological aims, he creates a split in the authorial presence.

2.2 Shifting narratorial positions in 'Kaffernland'

Grimm deploys realism's most powerful textual strategy, the 'extra-diegetic' narrator, 'who is, as it were above or superior to the story he narrates', knowing past, present and future (Rimmon-Kenan, Contemporary Poetics, pp. 94-5). This figure stresses his omniscience, his power to narrate:

I do not belong to any era, not to the new and not to the old. I know, Sarhili was a true king, and I also know, Sarhili was the last king amongst the Kaffirs. (Kaffernland, p. 175)

This narrating instance is a powerful convention, as the author John Coetzee stressed: 'I would hate to say ... that I chose the narrator. The narrator chose me' (Weekly Mail, October 30, 1987). In Kaffernland the narrative speaker conveys his respect for learning, and simultaneously establishes himself as a man of learning, with the Latin quotation⁷ preceding the narrative:

Est enim historia proxima poetis et quodam
modo carmen solutum ...
Quintilianus Inst. orat. X.1.31

For history has a certain affinity to poetry and may be regarded as a kind of prose poem. (translation by H. E. Butler, Selections from the Institutionis Oratoriae, of Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, p. 134)

The author and the narrator of a narrative, Barthes reminds us, are not identical. Furthermore, the code signalling the narrator, that is, 'the signs of narrativity', are 'immanent to the narrative' (in Sontag, Barthes: Selected Writings, p. 282). But to see signs of also the author scattered throughout the text,

is to assume the existence between this 'person' and his language of a straight descriptive relation which makes the author a full subject and the narrative the instrumental expression of that fullness. Structural analysis is unwilling to accept such an assumption: who speaks (in the narrative) is not who writes (in real life) and who writes is not who is. (Barthes' emphasis, in Sontag, pp. 282-3)

In Kaffernland Grimm's authorial presence is evident as the anaphoric rhetorical style that characterizes his essayistic works. While the omniscient narrator almost monolithically presents Grimm's ideological position, a more realistic narrator with a limited vision accounts for all his information. He also professes perplexity and despair:

Why doesn't Germany improve the lot of its ruined lads?...
Why do people in German provinces always consider what pleases the rulers? - Oh, my friend, that is far too difficult a question. Who can answer it? (p. 113)

In Kaffernland ambiguity arises when the narrator uses the frequent self-reference 'I'; this could be the disembodied omniscient voice or the more realistic narrative voice trying to project itself as a full psychological being.

This 'I', says Barthes, is in itself not a name, however,

In the story ... I is no longer a pronoun, but a name, the best of names: to say I is inevitably to attribute signifieds to oneself; further, it gives one a biographical duration. (Barthes, S/Z, p. 68)

The narrator claims personhood by telling that from his late mother he learnt to view human souls as birds (p. 205). He evaluates the actions of the fictive figures in terms of

this doctrine, which presents itself as a profound understanding of people. The projection of the narrator as a 'character', writes Jonathan Culler, is 'a strategy for humanizing writing and making personality the focal point of the text' (Structuralist Poetics, p. 201).

The powerful myth of the narrator as a psychological being joins with narrative utterances in Kaffernland to entice a reading of these utterances as reflections of biographical details of the author Grimm. The fact¹⁰ that Grimm sought information from surviving German legionaries can be linked to the narrator's reference to his informants:

I have heard the old men in Africa talk proudly of the last manoeuvre in Colchester on the day, on which the old legion was dissolved. (p. 213)

The stories the author Grimm garnered while living in the Cape constitute the oral intertextuality of Kaffernland. It is precisely the intertext - the ideologies of fate, expansionism, Malthusianism, nationalism, and Social Darwinism - that speaks ^{through} the author Grimm and the narrative speakers in Kaffernland.

2.3 Omniscient, colonizing survey of Kaffraria

John Noyes observes: 'the ubiquitous and omniscient narrator of realism is the perfect figure for speaking truth about the colony' ('Space, Discourse and the Colony', p. 9). The narrator speaks the colonialist discourse Kaffernland - which pre-dates the 'lies' of the 'dictate of Versailles' - with 'unquestionable authority' (Noyes, p. 9). In the opening scene he describes Kaffraria from an ^{elevated position} ~~an~~ [^]: he intones truths about the plight of the black common people. The archaic, quasi-biblical language, and anaphorically linked co-ordinating clauses suggest that the truths are being told

to, and in the interest of, the German masses. He presents realistic details such as 'Mbabale, the grazing bush buck', 'the wide grasslands', 'the round huts made of strong plaited reeds', 'the coloured people crouched around fires' and 'cattle grazing in kraals' (p. 7). This, together with references to the exotic, such as the fragrance of wild blossoms, constitutes a landscape description which the publishers praise as Kaffernland's most striking feature:

I have never been to South Africa, but always enjoyed the landscape descriptions of this book. (Wernt Grimm, correspondence, May 1987)

[The publisher] Paul Fechter ... enthused about the nature of the landscape descriptions and the idea that a landscape was the protagonist of this fragment. (Wernt Grimm, correspondence, 19 June 1987)

The narrator draws a conclusion: 'This land seems rich', but immediately refutes this with rhetorical questions:

But where are the signs of work? Does the light make a street visible? Does it reveal straight ploughed furrows or extensive fields with swaying maize and corn ... or carefully laid out gardens with flowers and useful plants and bees? Where is the work, which restrains and waits and nurtures? Where does a human being here take and simultaneously give, so that his taking is not robbing? - Nowhere are signs of such work, nowhere, as high as the moon climbs and as swiftly as its light wanders about. (pp. 7-8)

He poses - and answers - a long series of rhetorical questions to inform his audience of the material and spiritual conditions of the people in this land:

And are they themselves not happy with this undisturbed space, those black people in their scattered huts? Are they not now clapping hands at the fires ... and murmuring a dancing song? ...

Is this not a picture of their joy and peace? (p. 8)

But this considerable undisturbed space seethes with malignancy: 'covertly one animal murders another' (p. 8). Why do 'the black hut-dwellers' avoid the 'rock of the

sorcerers?' (p. 8) At the base of the rock are the remains of helpless commoners who have been declared sorcerers and killed by scheming priests and powerful chiefs coveting their possessions. The conclusion is drawn for the reader:

No, there is no real work in this land; there is no justice for the weak in this land; and there is never peace in this land. The healthy and strong^{one} ... lives and laughs ... till the stronger comes and drives him off or destroys him. (p. 9)

A moralizing discourse insists on the truth of this view of a land waiting to be redeemed from the evil lurking in it. The black commoners are presented as victims waiting for messianic salvation from the tyranny of their evil rulers. This can be seen as one of several instances of the 'contradictory use of images' that Jan Mohamed observes in colonialist literature (p. 68). He suggests that 'the narrator can draw moral sustenance from the generosity of his portrayal' (p. 68). In Kaffernland the image of the black commoners as less evil than their leaders forms the basis of a hierarchy of textual oppositions. All blacks, however, are shown to need civilizing. Through the narrator's biblical tones the colonizer¹¹ speaks the real needs of the land and its people:

If I were therefore a bard, I could say:
'Behold, behold this world asleep, it waits yearningly for the*white-working man, that he finally comes and frees it and rules it. It dreams of a precious note, of the evening smile and of peaceful work'.

And if I were a*carer-of-souls, I could call out:
'Behold, behold this people in the night. Its time has fulfilled itself. Many poor souls are crying out for a new goal!'

...
As far as the land is concerned, there is certainly considerable space here for many poor and uprooted people, although Mbabale's terrain will then be circumscribed and the birth places of the royal leopards must then disappear. (p. 9)

* The importance of the word 'soul' is not conveyed by the English equivalent, 'minister', hence I translate Grimm's original term literally. Here and elsewhere I retain word formations which convey the ideological flavour of Grimm's milieu and politics, even when they are not the most common English usage

This iconography stamps the land as pristine, torpid, malign and the domain of wild animals. Robert Clark explains the ideological function of such a landscape description:

the de-politicizing naturalisation of ideology ... facilitates the continental conquest, for if nature is naturally iniquitous its subjugation becomes a sanctified task. (p. 148)

This description of the land from the viewpoint of the colonizer presents itself as a reality statement: the first-person narration is in the present tense, and the fictive figures are introduced only towards the end of the depiction of the land (p. 9). Käte Hamburger elucidates this:

the experience of the non-real ... commences the moment the fictive figures or I-Origines appear It is they that constitute narrative literature as fiction, as mimesis. (The Logic of Literature, p. 137)

Furthermore, the land is historically and geographically unlocated. Ideologically this description presents Africa and its people as eternally in need of civilizing. The mission song Scholz and Kropf sing on their arrival in Kaffraria reinforces the view of the Xhosa as undeserving of the land: 'Umsonst sind Gottes Gaben/So reichlich ausgestreut' (p. 17). Thereby the text seeks to position the reader to accept the notion of colonization as a destined development for Kaffraria and its dormant tribes. But the forcefulness of this image of a colonizable Kaffraria in a text written towards the end of the era of colonization, necessitates scrutiny. This work of fiction motivates the prolonging of colonization just as Grimm's essays and articles expound on the need for colonial space to regenerate the Germany of his own times. His conception of the writer's political task and his project in

Kaffernland emerge from a reading of the work in the context of his contemporaneous essays in Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit (The Writer and the Times).

2.4 Ideologies of colonial space and fate

Von Delft points to the basis of the colonial intertext within which Grimm writes: 'At the Grimm family-table ... the real preparatory work towards the founding of the German Kolonialverein was done' (p. 334). Birgit Jungwirth indicates how Grimm's nationalism developed:

After his matriculation his father, a co-founder of the German Kolonialverein, sent him as apprentice to Nottingham, London and Port Elizabeth ... The seven-year long stay in South Africa brought the writer into personal contact with the problems of Germans-abroad and with the possibilities which a German colony in South Africa offers. (PhD thesis, p. 10)

In an article dated December 1918, Grimm counts himself among the millions of Germans-abroad whose property, bodies and souls have in the preceding four and a half years suffered at the hands both of the enemy and Germans-at-home (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 25). This is probably one of the earliest of Grimm's essays on Germany's need for living and recreational space. Wernt Grimm points out that Kaffernland was written long before the articles on space:

These were a consequence of the Dictate of Versailles (1919) and you misunderstand Hans Grimm, if you understand the concept of space as referring only to settlement space. (correspondence, 3 December 1987)

However, Grimm seems always to have been preoccupied with settlement space, even if it was only the 'dictate' of Versailles that impelled him to write his numerous explicit articles on space. Thus, when Germany lost its colonies in 1915, Grimm was traumatized:

for two years I was as if insane, I hardly slept. I felt as if the expulsion of 6000 South-Westerns, the hounding out of the German-East Africans happened to me personally. ... [The] German colonies which 'Colonial-minister' Bell signed away meant for me the means of German salvation and renewal [Rettung und Erneuerung] that we needed so bitterly before the war already. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 20)

Grimm sees this loss, and the historical denial of colonies to Germany, as the fated causes of its stagnation. He sees 80 million able-bodied Germans 'with their productive capabilities' as 'factors of fate' that are

exposed to the fate of proletarianization, because the most ... industrious, most peaceful people of Europe, against God [s will] obtained no space for its people. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 127 and p. 124)

Fate for Grimm is also Divine Providence: a text of 1924 lays 'before God and all people' a complaint that 'the most productive people of Europe, are the most confined on earth' (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 36). For Germans there is 'no salvation other than through German space and there is no other rescue of the German soul' (p. 36). It could be that Grimm is using 'salvation' and 'God' metaphorically - for 'political necessity'. The indeterminacy of Grimm's concept of fate reveals him as an intertextually constituted subject, as a constantly shifting chain of signifiers.

2.5 Grimm's credo of the writer's political task

Grimm's belief in the power of fate and his preoccupation with settlement space are inseparably connected with his praxis as a writer. This is seen in his review of his tasks from 1927 till 1928 'in our former South-West Africa':

I experienced [Das deutsche Südwest-Buch], just like the entire South-West trip, as a sacrifice, as a duty. My own wishes as a person and as a writer had to be put aside in the new South-West working years. Indeed, just where in these desperate times of our people would a German writer have freedom for himself His path cannot be other than the path of earnest searching for

prospects for the community-of-the people with those peculiar powers, which God and Fate have given him. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 21)

Literature has a role to play in the imperative tasks of national unity and regeneration :

The old bourgeoisie and the old nobility ... became separated from the people ... the popular masses ... justifiably yearned after new goals, ... after new leadership. With liberalism, with Marxism ... with pacifism the yearning German masses slid into internationalism. It happened only to the German people that on its course the genuine national idea, that is, the full recognition of the power of destiny of a people was, as it were, bypassed. ...

[O]utside of dreams and literature we have not perceived ourselves as a German nation, as a real German community-of-destiny [Schicksalsgemeinschaft], but only as individuals, as tribes, als classes, as estates. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, pp. 29-30)

Grimm equates 'nations of secure power' with 'nations with space and property':

Obvious to every member of a community is the fact that the secured power, wide space, the adequate property of the fatherland continuously determines the personal fate. We do not enjoy a secure position of power. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 55)

Yet, in 1912 he refers to Germany as 'the third biggest European power in Africa', the 'rival-power' to England (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 166). This is a valid claim, though only with regard to Germany's military might. Grimm's essay reviewing the years 1900 to 1914, castigates the failure of German writers to counteract the attack on German culture by foreign propaganda:

was there literature in that period, periodicals or newspapers which showed the entire German situation, which let us perceive fate or ... taught us to sense it? The poets were phantasizing, and when they tried to depict that which was Germanic, they found a meaningless past for us who did not understand the present any better ... [T]he newspapers ... brought boring internal squabbling to us who hungered for explanations. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, pp. 34-5)

Grimm writes especially for Germans-abroad, since

We Germans in the metropole ought always to bring anew to the settlers in Kaffraria the spirit and the beauty of our language, in short, the German culture It is not in the best interest of mankind if the German factor with its enormous cultural power is shut out of any area. (Südafrika, p. 65)

Again, in 1922, Grimm decries the dereliction of duty on the part of German writers and 'other German carers-of-souls and spiritual leaders' - those 'who serve with words, who teach a people to think' (pp. 47-8). In the essay of 1923, 'The Writer and the Times', Grimm tells the workers what they should expect from literature:

You workers give us leisure. But what does the writing of the present offer you? What do you expect? (p. 49)

No, you ought not to demand tendentiousness and not propaganda and not intention and not sermons and not doctrines: these have nothing to do with art. (p. 51)

You the German people must demand that your writers do not run away from the German predicament. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 52)

In 1927 Grimm speaks of the 'new social ... and national function' of literature, which 'alone is able to express the ineluctable facts of existence' such as: '1. The predominance of capitalism 2. The relation of a people's freedom of movement to population density and productive capacity' (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, pp. 53, 57-8). He declares the political conditions of the contemporary 'community-of-the-people' as the subject of his art:

My books perforce have this one theme: We are too many people in too small a country. We need national space. Without space every people and everybody and every soul becomes crippled. (p. 61)

2.6 National-Socialist reception of 'Volk ohne Raum'

In Krieg als Volksschicksal, the Nazi critic Pongs discusses the concept of space in Grimm's novel Volk ohne Raum (Nation without Space) which he wrote between 1921 and 1925:

Clearly space is here meant in a very real sense, in no way symbolically. People have objected that Grimm believes that 'by solving the problem of space the German nation's predicament can be eradicated', that is 'an economic-material solution', an expression of a surviving bourgeois attitude, which clings too tenaciously to the concept of property. Grimm ... saw that the Englishman, deep into his extensive territory, has developed into a master-type, in accordance with the potential for this in the white race, but that the German with his deeper and spiritual disposition for leadership lags behind the Englishman, because he grows up amongst a people without space. (p. 206)

According to Pongs, Volk ohne Raum shows that World War I is war for space, but it also shows the interconnection of the economic-material and the spiritual, between real and symbolic space. This 'political educative novel' manifests 'that which Grimm has always shown in the unconscious decisions of his characters' now imposing on Grimm himself 'the task of ... teacher of the nation' (Pongs, p. 205). This task entails 'bringing to consciousness the unconscious links' (p. 205). The poet has to make the German person conscious of ancestral desires in the soul that link the person with the nation.

Grimm says in the Foreword of Volk ohne Raum: 'This German narrative is, so I believe, a political narrative and so let us see our German destiny'. Grimm begins to formulate the writer's political task in 1922, but already his early works, Kaffernland and the contemporaneous Südafrika, manifest his political-aesthetic credo. As subject-matter for his literary works, Grimm seeks a meaningful past that can promote understanding of the political problems of the 'contemporary-community-of-people'. In 1954, in Warum - Woher - aber Wohin? (Why - Whence - but Whither?), he re-states his political concerns in Kaffernland:

In searching and contemplating, I arrived at the idea of writing a novel of a land, of 'Kaffraria', of that

eastern region of the Cape around East London. During the first conflict between the English and Kaffirs, the German Crimean War legionaries had been brought to this land as military settlers. When without wives they failed, the English Governor in [the 1850s] recruited more than 450 landless families from Pomerania and Brandenburg. They were followed by German emigrants ... around 1879; then came the English and German merchants. The novel [tale] of the land should be told, not as 'history' but as human events determined by fate.

Out of the book, which due to the First World War was completed in only one part, there developed the intention to write a doctoral thesis on the above-mentioned military settlers. (pp. 84-5)

2.7 Genesis of Kaffernland in pre-War Germany

Grimm's encounter with British imperialism in South Africa strengthens his nationalist ideology. When he returns to Germany and starts work on Kaffernland, he pursues mainly political studies, and leaves Munich because it does not provide him with the right perspective:

when I now really ... had to become a writer, I entered Munich University as a ... student of Political Science. I urgently wanted to acquire an understanding and overview of a Germany I was estranged from ... in the way I understood South Africa. I thought ... the science of Brentano, the statistics of Mayr and ... München life would provide the right perspectives for the writer. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 19)

The socio-economic and political circumstances prevailing in the Germany of 1911 largely determine his choice of subject for Kaffernland. What disturbs Grimm is the proletarianization and massification threatening his class; according to Ernst Keller, he speaks of a rising 'red tide' and the 'sinking of the professional bourgeoisie' ('Ein Volk ohne Raum' in Nationalismus und Literatur, p. 122). He traces this process to the incipient industrialization of Germany and the expropriation of the peasants in the early nineteenth century. He deplores 'the transformation of ... agricultural land into industrial land' (Der Schriftsteller

und die Zeit, p. 79) and promotes the romantic anti-capitalist ideology of a return to the soil. Precisely because he desires a reversal to an agrarian economy, he demands colonial space, writes Lattmann in Raum als Traum (p. 252).

In Kaffernland a letter from Germany inquires after land for the expropriated peasant Gebhart. The text, however, is concerned to show how individuals from all strata are marginalized in the early nineteenth century. It focuses on the impoverished Graf Grunow who enlists in the British German Legion in 1856. When the English government has to demobilize the Legion, the men are urged to enlist as military settlers for Kaffraria (p. 206). General von Stutterheim tells them there have never been 'more excellent circumstances for the establishment of a colony' (p. 217).¹² Grimm is disturbed that 'bourgeois-individual development has wavered' through a lack of freedom, as Geißler explains: 'Space confers freedom, which for Grimm is bound up with the old liberal notion of achievement' (Dekadenz und Heroismus, p. 148). A fraction amongst the Nazis rejected Grimm's bourgeois individualism, which for Grimm was not antagonistic to his demand for land for the peasants (p. 147). Grimm himself 'sought refuge in his Lippoldsberger Klosterhaus', where, 'as an independent writer' (Birgit Jungwirth, p. 10), he produced his mammoth works.

Grimm's vision of colonial space as the national panacea dominates his conception of his ongoing project Kaffernland. In the essay 'My Task' he writes:

From autumn 1926 I must try to be free for a longer Africa trip. I again want to travel through the two German colonial countries of Africa, Kaffraria, where the German language has nearly died out, in order that my book Kaffernland, eine deutsche Sage, on which I worked for two and a half years before the war, can

still perhaps be completed in my lifetime; and I want to travel through German South-West Africa and gather space again for my task. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, pp. 60-1)

2.8 Fate, space and nationalism in 'Kaffraria' and 'Kaffernland'

The ideological project of the fragment Kaffernland becomes clearer in the context of the essay 'Kaffraria'. Both works thematize settlement space and view events as destined. At the beginning of Kaffernland national groups are said to be 'moving in that direction where their common future was to be' (p. 10). The essay says that to the German settlers 'the small piece of their own ['Eigen'] acquired through Providence, already seemed like an enormous fulfilment' (Südafrika, p. 47). The essay points to

the probably unique fact that this frontier area was settled and cultivated from the very start and solely by German pioneers, in addition to a few missionaries among whom there were also Germans, who were then followed by an overwhelming majority of British people Thus this is emphatically a German creation under an English flag and the altogether largest German colony in Africa. (Südafrika, pp. 8-9)

The publishers' synopsis of the 1961 edition of Kaffernland says 'the planned second and third book - the settlement in Kaffraria and the colonial era - were never written'. They and Grimm view Kaffraria as a German 'colony', while Henderson disregards this settlement, even though he adopts Schmitthenner's broader view that 'there are colonial activities without the flag':

'Colonization does not emanate from the State alone but from the colonizing activities of the race.' From this point of view the Germans are a colonizing people with centuries of experience. They have traditions of settlement, missionary work and commercial activity which go back far beyond the short-lived colonial empire of 1884-1919. (Studies in German Colonial History, p. 112)

The fragment Kaffernland bewails England's exploitation of the German legionaries and German missionizing in Kaffraria, thereby echoing the polemic against England in Grimm's essays. Kaffernland ends with the legion's arrival in East London. The essay 'Kaffraria' discusses those subjects which the postscript to Kaffernland says were envisaged as the subjects of Book II and III of the epic. 'Kaffraria' describes the struggles of the indigent Legion and of subsequent waves of German settlers: they established the 'most cultivated and productive piece of earth on the subcontinent', without the promised aid of the English colonial administration (p. 39).

In 'Kaffraria', Grimm discusses how 'the biggest German colony of Germans-abroad' (p. 9) had by 1908, after just 50 years, lost its German character. He considers 'What practical and spiritual significance Germanness here in Kaffraria has for us' ^{*}Imperial-Germans (p. 9). ^{*Germans in the metropole}

Although 'people all over talked of the Germans as the third independent factor in the future development' of South Africa, a strong clique, 'motivated by competitive envy' undermined 'German involvement in all English state structures' (pp. 63-4). The attempts 'to denationalize and anglicize South Africa' (p. 159) constrained the Germans to submerge themselves with either the English or the Dutch South Africans (pp. 61, 65). This text of 1909 articulates Grimm's life-long preoccupation with German nationalism, with colonial space and with the colonial rival England.

Lattmann explains how Grimm's ideology was mediated by the fervent patriotism of his social class:

The Grimm family tradition was bourgeois-royalist. People were against the 'reds' and unconditionally for

the state There existed ... a way of thinking determined partly by the Pan-German-Movement, by the circle around Richard Wagner ...

Gobineau's race theories still haunted people's minds ... To the majority the social struggles gave no cause to doubt an ... authoritarian state. As a German ... one finally belonged to a mighty nation. (p. 247)

Lattmann explains Grimm's worship of the fatherland and belief in himself as the judge of what benefitted, and what harmed the fatherland. Grimm's 'unmistakably pre-fascist attitude' manifested itself in an intolerance and the belief that 'that which is different, is fundamentally inferior' (p. 255). This ideology of nationalism and racial superiority is fostered by links Grimm probably had with nationalist societies like the Pan-German League. In attempting to redeem the German Legion and claim Kaffraria as a colony, Grimm seems to be expressing the desire of these nationalist groups:

Pan-Germanism was a more direct emanation from German nationalism, appealing strongly to the fast-growing German middle class. The Pan-German League (Alldeutscher Verband) of 1891 was supported mainly by business men, bureaucrats, and intellectuals Its programme, as it developed during the 1890s, was twofold: the union of all Germans in the world into one great German state, with an enlarged central Germany at its heart; and the claim of this state to rule the world. ... [It] helped to co-ordinate the activities of other nationalist societies such as ... the Army League, and the Colonial Society. It developed powerful connexions and support overseas and in governmental, industrial, and journalistic circles within Germany. ... [I]n its racial streaks and in the boundlessness of its objectives, it was a precursor of postwar National Socialism. The Pan-German programme came close to fulfilment under Hitler after 1940. (David Thomson, Europe since Napoleon, pp. 517-18)

2.9 Reception of 'Kaffernland' in the late 1920s

Volk ohne Raum established Grimm as a writer and led to the publication of chapters from Kaffernland in newspapers in

the late 1920s. The nationalism of this era is reflected in what the editors selected and how they projected it.

The Hannoverscher Kurier, in a supplement on 16 January 1928¹³, published Chapter II of 'Kaffraria, an incomplete book by Hans Grimm'. In this chapter the landscape is portrayed as hostile/heroic: it 'completely lacked that, which the word African signified to the European' (p. 16). Travelling to the mission station Bethel while war is breaking out, Scholz is fatally wounded by an assegai. An English trader, passing by, explains to Kropf:

'What it means? - Was es soll? Bless my soul, so maak die Kaffers Kreeg! Oorlog! Krieg! War!' Und er sprach und schimpfte nun unaufhörlich. ... Ruhe werde auch niemals gehalten werden von den schwarzen Hunden, bis sie richtig unter englische oder irgendeine verfluchte Herrschaft kämen. (p. 21)

This reductive account of Xhosa warfare and colonial relations was probably chosen to entertain the reader. Out of similar considerations the Neues Grazer Tagblatt in 1928 published 'The Kaffir king' 'from the unpublished book Kaffernland'. With this title the king Sarhili is again commodified. This portrayal of him was taken from chapter XIV (pp. 175-81). It was recommended thus: 'With his precise knowledge of the former German colonies, Grimm has poetically unlocked German-Africa in all its truth'.

On 18 December 1928 Der Tag in Berlin announced the forthcoming publication in its entertainment section of 'Christmas in Auckland'. Of this extract from chapter V of Kaffernland the editor says:

the poet describes the start of a Kaffir uprising in the English military-settlement Auckland. The same powers, which have made Grimm's great work a German book of fate, are at work in this small piece: the expert knowledge of the African colonial situation and the sincere commitment to consciousness of duty, a sense of sacrifice and loyalty to the home country.

In December 1929, Eckart: Blätter für evangelische Geistes-
kultur in Berlin, also published 'Christmas in Auckland'.
 In Kaffernland we read of the many recruits to the German
 Legion from Berlin, Pomerania and Brandenburg. Hence the
Eckart editors describe to their readers the uninviting land
 to which the Legion contributed so much, to England's
 ultimate benefit. Almost echoing Grimm, they tell of
 England's conquest of 'the frontier region' Kaffraria:

there they intended erecting a bulwark against the
 blacks by means of military settlers ... the first
 settlements by soldiers' families ... suffered the
 attack of the blacks The consequence of the
 destruction of the villages was that no Englishman
 wanted to live in that particular region anymore; given
 the extent of their empire they also did not have to.
 In their place the English governor brought the
 homeless German Crimean War Legion, and, following the
 Legion, 3 000 landless German peasants, into the border
 region. Through their superhuman diligence, the bulwark
 was erected and the land was made fertile and rich, and
 then the English traders followed. (Eckart, pp. 532-40)

Significantly, both Der Tag and Eckart exclude, with or
 without Grimm's concession, the two pages ambivalently
 praising England: Der Tag published the conclusion of
 chapter V (pp. 52-6) excluding pp. 41-2. Eckart published
 the entire chapter V (pp. 42-57) excluding pp. 41-2. Even
 on this superficial level the notion of the text as the full
 expression of either a writing or speaking subject is
 illusory. If the author is an 'effect of a poetic
 discourse' (Easthope, p. 31), then the subject of the
 censored chapter V is not the bearer of the anti-England
 position produced by Kaffernland. Grimm was recognized as
 'the exponent of the German national idea with the variant
 of colonialism' (Lattman, p. 248), but in the late 1920s
 the polemic against England was no longer politic. He,
 however, remained pre_occupied with finding colonial space

in Africa. Publicly, in 1928, he repeated the call, with which he had introduced one of his books:

the colonies have not been divided according to the needs of the European countries A re-arrangement ... is possible by making the whole of Africa, except for Egypt and Abyssinia and the [South African] Union, supra-national ... by making the three or four great cultural languages official languages everywhere. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 137)

2.10 Grimm's nationalism in the 1930s

The Nazis made Volk ohne Raum 'compulsory reading in all secondary schools' (Ita, p. 520). But a fraction opposed Grimm's colonial politics; in 1934 Alfred Hoffknecht writes in his doctoral thesis:

Since Grimm seeks our new living space in Africa and therefore demands the return of our former colonies ... he sees in England the most dangerous enemy of the German people, against whom he seeks to rouse the most embittered hatred. In doing this he thwarts and endangers the policies of our German national leader [Adolf Hitler] for the latter ... has seen the impossibility of our regaining our colonies without England's consent. (translation by Ita, pp. 521-2)

Grimm expounded extreme right-wing nationalism - with its racism and violence. He was averse to Hitler's person, but willing to 'always serve the cause you, Hitler, serve' (quoted in Lattman, p. 257). This is discussed by J. M. Ita in the paper 'Hans Grimm, the National Poet of German-Speaking South Africans':

though Grimm was not a member of the Nazi Party, the racist doctrines he taught, long before the Nazis came to power was, in essence, identical with theirs and with those of racist South Africa. Indeed, Hannah Arendt comments as follows on the strengthening effect German Nazi propaganda had on the morale of South African racists, particularly of the Boers:
 [I]t was on the basis of the example of colonial policy in Africa that the Nazis learnt that it was possible to reconvert nations into racial groups and ... to manoeuvre one's own nation into the position of a 'master race'. (pp. 520-1)

Ita observes that Grimm's letter to Reichsminister Frick in 1934, protesting against Nazi brutality, treats this 'as if it were coincidental to Nazi rule' (p. 519). But Grimm advocates violence, unless Germans are granted national space (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 41). 'Europe can choose only between German living space or an endless disruption of Europe emanating from Germany' (p. 31). To English propaganda, that Germany is a rotting corpse emitting pestilence, Grimm's article of 1921 retaliates:

Unser Schicksal ist Macht. Es ist eine ungeheure Waffe, wenn man die Pest bei sich im Hause hat. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 125)

Lattmann sees Grimm's demand for space, as well as the atavistic belief in violence, as 'pathological':

but I believe, that the whole German nation will realize it one day, linked together in one enormous ancestral chain of brotherhood, and demand and seize its space and its right from the rest of the world. (quoted in Lattman, p. 253)

This is no different from 'Goebbelssche Propaganda'

(Lattman, p. 253). Or from Eugene Terre'Blanche's cry, that the Afrikaners will one day seize what is rightfully theirs. In Das deutsche Südwest-Buch, Grimm justifies violence on the grounds of racial superiority:

Would not a country, its climate suited to a white nation and white labour eventually be rendered a territory for the white man's labour with less effort ... particularly, if there should be no coloured subrace at all or only few in numbers Wherever the white worker wants to map out his future ... the 'negro' with his feudal system will have to make way, be it on good terms or bad. The white worker is of greater value than any romantic concept of a 'negro king'. (p. 25, translation by Pakendorf, 'Of Colonizers and Colonized', pp. 12-13)

2.11 Grimm's literary praxis from 1933 to 1945

In 1934 Grimm began what Lattman calls an 'opportunistic' fourteen year silence as a 'book-author', seemingly to deny

literary support to a regime he considered uncultured (p. 257). The prevailing literary climate was marked by 'political floundering ... fearfulness or fanatical conformism' and by 'printed brutality' (Lattmann, p. 258). In 1934 Grimm started a thoroughly German cult of writers reading their works to a community at Lippoldsberg. These annual meetings were officially promoted by the Nazis till 1939 and, according to Lattmann, 'had less to do with literature' than with 'a way of thinking' (p. 261).

Georg Lukacs writes that 'the Fascist critic' Paul Fechter saw in Grimm's work the same 'greatness of Germanic freedom of the Icelandic saga' that his 'forerunner', Adalbert Stifter portrayed (The Historical Novel, p. 247). Fechter had read Kaffernland and urged that it be published (postscript, Kaffernland, p. 266). Wernt Grimm writes that because Kaffernland 'was incomplete' Hans Grimm

very hesitantly gave Fechter permission to publish it in the Deutsche Rundschau. Fechter's reasons were purely literary, he spoke of 'space as fate' and saw therein the outstanding feature of the work. (correspondence, 19 June and 3 December 1987)

In 1935 Fechter and Rudolf Pechel resumed the task of presenting 'the best novels of the best poets' in the Deutsche Rundschau, 'the servant of the German people':

We begin with a great tradition, which is connected with the names Gottfried Keller, Conrad F. Meyer, Theodor Fontane, Theodor Storm ... when we now begin with the first appearance of the hitherto unpublished novel Kaffernland, eine deutsche Sage by Hans Grimm. (Deutsche Rundschau, Foreword, October, 1935)

The entire fragment was serialised between October 1935 and April 1936 - without illustrations, except for a map taken from Grimm's sources. For its time, the Deutsche Rundschau had a small circulation of between 2 000 and 6 000 copies.

(J. Meyer and W. Grimm, correspondence, 24 and 19 June 1987). The production and consumption of Kaffernland shows:

Something becomes a product only in relation to consumption, that is, when it satisfies a particular need. Thus consumption is necessary for the bringing about of a product. (Temu and Swai, Historians and Africanist History, p. 126)

Now Kaffernland bore the appellation 'novel', which was anathema to Grimm, as the start of his essay 'The Writer and the Times' (1923) indicates:

The writer will here mean the poet and of the poets, primarily the epic poet is meant, that is, that writer, who writes stories. For stories, he who wants to, may substitute the awkward words 'novels' and 'novellas', which we have allowed to be smuggled into our German literature. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 48)

Dr Jochen Meyer has compared Grimm's handwritten title-page of 1911 to the title-page in the Deutsche Rundschau:

Kaffernland	Kaffernland
Eine deutsche Sage	Eine deutsche Sage
von Hans Grimm	Roman von Hans Grimm

He cannot tell,

whether the genre-designation of 1935 was an arbitrary change by the magazine editors or a concession by Hans Grimm. For both Volk ohne Raum as well as the unpublished fragment Heynade he indeed - apparently intentionally - waived the designation 'novel'. (correspondence, 19 November 1987)

Only in 1951 in Warum - Woher - aber Wohin?, Grimm referred to Kaffernland as a 'novel' (p. 84).

Grimm could not comprehend the post-war collapse of values. In 1949 he re-instituted the reading rituals at Lippoldsberg. Fewer writers, but 'between 1 000 and 2 000 listeners' came, till into the '60s (Lattman, p. 260).¹⁴ In 1951 Grimm established his own Klosterhaus publishing firm; as an author, as 'a producer of commodities', he now gained some control over what he wrote. The mail order catalogues of the adjacent Klosterhaus bookshop advertise Grimm's works

and, for instance, the English Fascist politician, Sir Oswald Mosley's I Believe In Europe and Prof Walther Steller's Foundations of German Historical Research on the history of the Germanic tribes.

The insertion of illustrations and the change of title in the posthumous publication of Kaffernland in 1961 again show that once a work leaves the author's desk, it is 'subjected to rules and forces' that are independent of him and 'historically determined' (Temu and Swai, p. 126). Now the title page reads: Kaffernland ein Roman von Hans Grimm'. Jochen Meyer surmises 'that after 1945 the subtitle "A German legend" would have created the wrong impression: 'etwa im Sinne eines nun historisch unwiderruflich verjährten politischen Anspruchs' (correspondence, 19 November 1987). Wernt Grimm says the subtitle was omitted because the work is a fragment and 'in the extant part the word "German" is not the essential aspect' (correspondence 28 July 1988, see appendix). He regards the reception of Kaffernland as 'modest':

For Germans here the region was much too far away and unknown. It was written fifty years ago, was a fragment, and there was a political campaign against Hans Grimm. Writings on Africa were only of interest, if they were concerned with contemporary conflicts.

Up till now 4 500 copies have been sold. (correspondence, 19 June 1987, 26 January and July 1988)

2.12 Grimm's idiolect in relation to the sociolect

The above citations from Grimm's different works bear his presence as a style, as a 'regular way of doing things' (Robert Scholes, Textual Power, p. 2). Eco explains that in some cases 'the author is textually manifested only ... as a recognizable style or textual idiolect' (The Role of the

Reader, p. 10). The pervasive rhetorical style and deliberate archaisms in Kaffernland reproduce a period sociolect: an author's idiolect often distinguishes 'not an individual but a genre, a social group, a historical period' (Eco, p. 10). The texts by Grimm's contemporaries cited above manifest the period style. Blending with this is the early colonizing discourse reproduced in Kaffernland.

In Kaffernland Grimm re-works the sociolect, so as to reinforce its ideological content. He transmutes the commonly used 'Mordmesser' into 'Mordweihnachten' to stamp as horrendous and murderous the Xhosa attack on the settlers on Christmas day: the settlers' celebrations of the birth of Christ is marred by slaughter (p. 133). Similarly his text creates and repeats 'Mordmorgen' (p. 85). The use of 'fleischtrunken' (p. 188) disparages the cattle-killing movement of 1856-57 as a mindless orgy. The 'Kaffraria' essay describes the movement as an 'orgy' in which the Xhosa 'slaughter and eat themselves into a state of drunkenness' (Südafrika, pp. 19, 16). The author Grimm is present in the text - stylistically and ideologically.

As self-appointed 'teacher of the nation' and 'carer-of-souls', Grimm seeks to signify the socio-political experience of the nation (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, pp. 48, 77). As an author and self-styled historian, he uses rhetoric for didactic purposes. Grimm's conception of the 'writer-artist', the 'writer-artisan' is similar to Barthes' view of the author as 'the man who labors, who works up his utterance (even if he is inspired)' (Barthes, S/Z, p. 186). Roger Seamon argues that rhetoric marks both fiction and history. He agrees with J. M. Hexter, that historians

'Without compunction ... sacrifice exactness for evocative force' by resorting to rhetoric ('History and Fiction', p. 206). T. Eagleton more radically, and correctly, calls 'discursive practices of all sorts' rhetoric on the principle that 'all texts are grounded in ideology' (quoted in Scholes, Textual Power, p. 76). He rejects

the traditional distinction between rhetoric and poetry, the text that means and the text that is, the text for persuasion and the text for contemplation ... since all texts have their meanings and persuasive ends. All are rhetorical. (p. 77)

Grimm the rhetorist aims 'to effectively influence opinion' (G. von Wilpert, Sachwörterbuch der Literatur, p. 641). He seeks to imitate the ancient practice of rhetoric that was

intended to allow its possessor to achieve, within a discursive situation, the desired goal. Thus it had a pragmatic character: to convince the interlocutor of the rightness of a cause. (in Ducrot and Todorov, Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Sciences of Language, 'Rhetoric and Stylistics', p. 73)

In Kaffernland Grimm uses rhetoric to sermonize against England's imperialist conduct and to show the justness of Germany's claim to Kaffraria.

I agree with Seamon: there is no 'conflict between what is poetically right and what is rhetorically persuasive' (p. 198). But here one has to be mindful of Johnson's equally valid observation that novels 'convince by mimesis rather than rhetoric' (quoted in Clark, p. 43). In Kaffernland the excessive rhetoric gives rise to the very 'tendentiousness', 'propaganda' and 'sermons', which Grimm himself said, 'have nothing to do with art', and ought not to be inflicted on the people (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 51). As rhetoric in Eagleton's sense, as a racist justification of the violent act of colonizing, the text becomes also poetically unacceptable to the critical reader.

Grimm's text thus shapes the intertext by re-formulating the position of the colonizer.¹⁵ But in the symbiotic relation with the intertext, in being formed by its ideology, Grimm and his text are fragmented.

2.13 Fragmentation of 'Kaffernland'

The ideologies of space and fate constitute Grimm and his project in contradiction and lead to the fragmentation of Kaffernland. Although he sees the German enclave in the Eastern Cape as doomed to becoming assimilated, in 1913 he still desires that it becomes an independent factor in South African politics - despite the objective conditions implemented by the 1910 Act of Union.¹⁶ This fragmentation is evident also from the fact that his authorial intention could not, as Derrida says, 'govern the entire scene and system of utterance' in Kaffernland (quoted in Easthope, p. 14). Historical events thwarted his epic project. The reason he reiterates in 1951: 'because of World War I only one part [of Kaffernland] was completed', glosses over the fact that the war sought to end German colonial ventures. The war did not stop his writing of other works, but it invalidated his colonizing project in Kaffernland.

Grimm's mythologization of the legionaries as saviours of Kaffraria and Germany founders in the face of historical record. In 1858 most of the men, who were meant to form a permanent bulwark against the Xhosa, left for India.

Historical novels which, like Kaffernland, sought to portray a total picture of an epoch, have fragmented because of the 'flight of history out of the power of the narrator' (Lämmert, 'Geschichtserfahrung im Reflex der Romantheorie', in Koselleck, p. 506). Lukacs observes that the imperialist

period is marked with 'an ever greater disbelief in the possibility of knowing social reality and hence also history' (The Historical Novel, p. 251). Pessimism stamps the works of Grimm's literary predecessors: Raabe's writing, for instance, manifested 'the deep resignation of the bourgeois realist regarding the world' (Pakendorf, 'Drunten im jungfräulichen Kaffernlande', p. 91).

In Kaffernland the narration of the unfulfilled German nationalist goals is tinged with resignation. In Grimm's historical vision the German people are doomed. Because they were not unified and inspired by their rulers in 1848, they were forced to emigrate. In the Eastern Cape 'Germanness' is on the decline, partly because German writers are not fostering German culture abroad. Grimm's pessimism possibly underlies his failure to complete Kaffernland - a literary expression of a desire for national renewal through acquisition of colonial space.

Wernt and Holle Grimm did not complete Kaffernland with Hans Grimm's notes: 'that may be confusing; thereby we will seem to be turning the fragment into a contemporary-history report, which we did not at all want to do' (correspondence, 3 December 1987). This highlights the problematical question of the genre of the fragment, examined in part 3.

3 THE PROBLEM OF GENRE: ARCHAIC GENRE ELEMENTS AND BOURGEOIS REALISM IN 'KAFFERNLAND'

The various appellations of Kaffernland point less to actual textual properties than to ideological intentions and pretensions. Grimm draws on an archaic genre system for its evocative appeal and ideological resonance. He stands in the culturally regressive tradition of those nationalists who in the nineteenth century cultivated Sage, Saga and Epos (legend, saga and epic). In Kaffernland the features of these archaic forms are superseded by the form of modern epic - the bourgeois realist novel.

3.1 Elements of 'Sage' and 'Saga'

In Kaffernland, Grimm, as a historian and 'teacher of the nation', draws on the Sage, Saga and Epos to signify the German past. This production of social and historical meaning is the function of both historiography and the novel: 'Wahrheitsfindung ... Sinnbildung, Erinnerung und Identitätsstiftung (Paul Lützeler, Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft, p. 154). Lützeler adds:

Sinnbildung ist weit davon entfernt, Sinnstiftung zu sein. Sicher gibt und gab es Geschichtsschreiber und Romanciers, die sich mit prophetischer Attitüde zu ideologischen Sinngebern erklärten (aus der Geschichte des Nationalismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert etwa ließen sich zahlreiche Beispiele anführen). (p. 154)

Grimm's nationalism underlies his conception of Kaffernland as a German legend. Therein he harks back to the Deutsche Sagen of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. The publication of this collection of regional and historical legends in 1816 follows, not insignificantly, on the defeat of Austria and Prussia in 1816. In this era of the rise of modern German nationalism, Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm promoted the Romantic

movement's revival of legend. Their Deutsches Wörterbuch defines Sage in detail (pp. 1644-47). Their own collection of historical legends is characterized by:

die Besonderheit, 'daß sie an etwas Bekanntem und Bewußtem hafte, an einem Ort oder einem durch die Geschichte gesicherten Namen'. (Kindlers Literatur Lexikon, p. 222; Kindler's emphasis)

The historical basis of the heroic legend is the era of the migration of nations (Reallexikon, 1. Band, p. 631). The warrior hero ... has to ... fulfil tasks or endure certain tests of fate; ... his sense of honour, his tasks or fate impel him on his path, ineluctably' (p. 631). In Kaffernland General von Stutterheim urges the German Legion to enlist as Military Settlers for Kaffraria, where they can become 'saviours and helpers' ('Retter und Helfer') 'for thousands of their starving and demoralized fellow-countrymen' (p. 152). An anonymous voice reminds Captain Hoffmann of the national task of the legionaries for whom he has to explore settlement prospects in Kaffraria:

An honest intention wants to find an honest opportunity and an honest reward. There are down-trodden, yearning men amongst the legionaries. Serious men long ... to prove themselves, ... they would like to become helpers of all those who need it. (Kaffernland, p. 153)

Grimm does not intend his legend to be tinged by its modern sense of 'knowledge of events of the past, which lack historical verification' (J. and W. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, p. 1647). Rather, like 'the legends of Thüringen, a Danish legend' (J. and W. Grimm, p. 1647), it seeks to be a German legend about a definite place and era: Kaffraria. Gero von Wilpert's definition of Sage captures Grimm's truth intentionality, but shows how the Sage as a short narrative conflicts with Grimm's epic intention:

volksläufige, zunächst auf mündlicher Überlieferung beruhende kurze Erzählung objektiv unwahrer ... phantastischer Ereignisse, die jedoch als Wahrheitsbericht gemeint sind und den Glauben der Zuhörer ernsthaft voraussetzen. (p. 668)

Grimm's choice of the designations Sage and Prosa-Epos shows his desire to emulate Germanic traditions. Just as Romantic scholarship did not distinguish the heroic legend and the epic as separate genres (Reallexikon, p. 632), so Grimm's use of the slippery signifier Sage alludes also to the Icelandic saga. Introducing his work Die Olewagen-Saga, Grimm tells of his love for legend and saga since childhood:

like my father, I wanted to become a Germanist, that is, I wanted to study and then teach everything to do with the German language and German belief in the gods and fate and German song and German legend and German customs and early German history. (pp. 2-3)

He retains this love, 'seizing upon every old saga that has been newly translated from Old Nordic' (p. 3). 'Shortly before World War I' he obtains a saga which leads him to contemplate achieving this 'unique' form of narration

aus einer frühen germanischen Zeit, in der noch keine Schriftsprache und kein Latein und kein Griechisch und kein Morgenland und kein Fremdwort die germanische Ausdrucksart verändert hatten. (Die Olewagen-Saga, p. 3)

The Klosterhaus catalogue describes Die Olewagen-Saga as an 'Icelandic saga', 'a narrative history about the war in German South-West Africa'. In this 'epic work', Jungwirth perceives 'elements of the old Nordic saga' (p. 12).

Unlike the saga, Kaffernland is not 'terse and detached in its presentation' (von Wilpert, p. 667). While parataxis structures the narration of Die Olewagen-Saga, in Kaffernland parataxis is used with hypotaxis, the mode of logical discourse. The predominant parataxis of its opening chapter seeks to present the narrative as Volksgut.

Kaffernland alludes to the twelfth-century sagas which chronicled 'partly factually true events from the era of the settlement of Iceland from 900 to 1050' (von Wilpert, p. 667). But the Vikings were essentially looters, and what little they colonized, was genuinely uninhabited land, as opposed to the mythic open spaces of Kaffraria.¹⁷ Grimm is taking the mantle of prestige of the Icelandic sagas, which merely glorify unceasing battles and pillaging among rival Viking communities, to legitimize the expropriation of land.

3.2 Elements of Prosa-Epos

The polysemous appellation Epos is elaborated by Wernt Grimm's comment that Hans Grimm intended to write 'a heroic epic' of the Kaffrarian landscape, in order 'to elucidate the reality of this landscape and events in it' (correspondence, 3 December, 1987). Wahrig defines an 'Epos' as both poetry and prose (p. 1143). The Oxford Dictionary defines an 'epos' as 'Early unwritten narrative poetry celebrating incidents of heroic tradition' (vol. 1, p. 625) and 'epic' as 'any imaginative work embodying a nation's conception of its own past history' (p. 621). In The Epic, Paul Merchant shows 'epic' is today used synonymously with saga (p. vii). The classical oral epics are also seen in a continuum with forms of modern epic, such as the novel. For Merchant, works such as Tom Jones, Moby Dick are 'epic', since they are 'expansive, rambling works, surpassing the dimensions of realism' (p. 73). Kaffernland bears features of a novel and the external epic feature of division into books.

Besides his theoretical deliberations on the novel, the 'pseudo-epic' (Reallexikon, p. 387), Goethe tried to cultivate the epic. Thus epigones of the Goethe era used

the epic form. This became a dominant genre of the nineteenth century, when particularly early Germanic history was cultivated. Imbued with nationalism, the Romantics researched and translated early legends and epics, re-worked them and produced 'prose-legends in epic form':

Vaterländischer Stolz auf dt. Vorzeitleistung spricht oft mit Nordische Fassungen der Sagen gelten als echter und deutscher. (Reallexikon, p. 390)

Die Bedeutung der Geschichte im romantischen Weltbild fördert das geschichtliche Epos Scotts und Byrons Epen Wie in den Sagenepen sind auch hier Kriege, Heldentaten, treue Vasallendienste, Tausende von erschlagenen Feinden Lieblingsmotive Nach 1870 mehren sich nochmals die patriotischen kriegerischen Epen Heimatland und Heimatstadt machen unter Scotts und seiner deutschen Nachfolger Romanvorbild auch im Epos Rechte geltend Mit dem Fortschritt der Geschichtswissenschaft erhöht sich in Gleichlauf mit dem geschichtlichen Roman die kulturgeschichtliche Treue und Echtheit. (Reallexikon, pp. 391)

Grimm's choice of genre does not arise out of personal preference, but out of positioning himself within the traditions of the Romantics: they constitute 'a social-historical block' and as such are carriers of genre (J. Link und U. Link-Heer, Literatursoziologisches Propädeutikum, p. 378). According to Link, a genre system is indirectly functionally connected with a class or class-fraction choosing it, as opposed to others, for its relative-value (p. 381). Grimm is an epigone of all those who, idealizing the Teutonic, cultivated epic forms in the burgeoning nationalism of nineteenth-century Germany.

One nineteenth-century German literary tradition turned away from the novel, which was then developing into a new epic form. Lämmert views the regression to old epic modes as a cultivation of the political functions of narration (p. 510). In 1847 R. Prutz announced the transition of the his-

torical novel to the epic poem of 'a new era, a free Volk'. Lämmert sees this as a flight from the modern to 'the supposedly eternally valid certainties guaranteed by the sanctified old epic-forms with their wise narrator' (p. 510).

According to the postscript of Kaffernland, Grimm intended

to depict the cattle-killing, the British German Legion, the settlement by landless peasants, the obstruction of their progress by Kaffir Wars and the Boer War. The planned novel was never completed, only its first part, the history of the country till the arrival of British German Legion. (p. 266)

The subject-matter of the intended epic was the totality of an epoch - the 'total world'- as against 'the private world' of the novel (Reallexikon, p. 381). According to Lukacs, the epic depicts a 'closed totality of life' (Die Theorie des Romans, p. 57). This is to both poet and listener always a given, a final principle:

Zur Voraussetzung für das Epos gehört daher das Dasein in festen und nicht in Frage gestellten Ordnungen, Lebenswerten, sozialen Zuständen. (Reallexikon, p. 381)

Grimm's belief in his overview of society and his attempt to represent the epic world of fixed relations must in the heterogeneous economy of the 20th century necessarily lead to fragmentation. Already in 1914 Lukacs notes that it is no longer possible to write epics.

The early epic poet drew on legend and myth to authenticate his account of the events of the past. The narrative Kaffernland claims truth-status, but its narrator lacks the dispassionate narrative attitude of the omniscient epic poet towards his subject (Reallexikon, p. 385).

3.3 Fixed types in epic

The distinctions Lukacs and the Reallexikon draw between epic and novel highlight this doubled genre in Kaffernland.

The fixed types of early epic, 'the super-strong helper, the loyal vassal, the old or cunning councillor' (Reallexikon, pp. 382-3) have their counterparts in Kaffernland: the German legionaries are helpers, deliverers of the nation. In chapter I the narrator artfully adopts the roles of 'the seer' and 'the bard' (Kaffernland, p. 9).

In the early epics neither fate nor a moral code governs the heroes: they are innocent. But they are compelled by the noble quality, the Arete, to carry out whatever is incumbent on them (Reallexikon, pp. 384-5). In Kaffernland the nationalist fighters and later the legionaries are referred to with the topos 'poor German warriors' ('arme deutsche Degen'). Their quest is 'to found a new German homeland' (p. 226). Kaffernland can still appraise and praise the 'poor German warriors', while Horace's 'Odes' lament that 'many heroes ... have slipped into dark oblivion /because no poet praised them' (quoted in Merchant, p. 4).

The legionaries, however, hardly appear as subjects, except on their wild last days in the barracks before they sail to the Cape. The German authorities hound the recruits to the Legion, the English government exploits them and they are the object of Stutterheim and Hoffmann's rhetoric. Thus they are best analysed in terms of Greimas' theory of 'actants', since they perform certain functions in the narrative 'which may be classified as Subject or Object, ... Helper or Opponent, and [are] involved in doing things which may be classified as performative (tests, struggles, etc.)' (David Lodge, Working with Structuralism, p. 18).¹⁸ The portrayal of the legionaries as acted upon and buffeted by forces of history/fate is, for Grimm, ironically modern. In

his search for a meaningful collective (Volk, Stamm), he seems to portray the legionaries as a collective hero.¹⁷

3.4 Fixed forms in epic and solidified metaphors

Genre, as 'a network of codes', exerts pressure on the text: even as a fragment Kaffernland shows conformity to some of the conventions and recurrent patterns of epic (Scholes, Textual Power, p. 2). Like the epic, Kaffernland is characterized by repeatedly deployed formulaic actions (Reallexikon, p. 383). Observations or warnings by soldiers or settlers, which the authorities disregard, appear almost like thematic formulae. Countless episodes are signified as deception of the legionaries and the Xhosa commoners.

Evident in Kaffernland are recurring epithets, phrases and sentences. This is akin to the 'ornamental simile' and 'recurrent epithet' of epic (Merchant, p. vii). Precisely what von Wilpert sees as lacking in the saga, namely, 'ausschmückende und wertende Epitheta wie die Dichtung' (p. 667) serve the purpose of stamping the nature of the Xhosa in Kaffernland: often we read about 'the old ugly Suthu' (p. 23), 'the cruel and intractable Xaimpi' (p. 32) or 'Kreli, den siebenmal Schlaunen' (p. 94). The language is epic in that it 'speaks openly, unambiguously': similes and figures of repetition insist 'It-is-so' (Reallexikon, p. 386).

Kaffernland's epic language and its manneristic, almost formulaic rhetoric, serve to make it the kind of work that

establishes its topic by reiterating blatantly a series of sememes belonging to the same semantic field (key words). In this case these sememes are obsessively reiterated throughout the text. (Eco, p. 26)

One can conceptualize the 'author' of Kaffernland as 'nothing else but a textual strategy, establishing semantic correlations and activating the Model reader' (Eco, p. 11).

In Kaffernland semantic units - repeated with slight variation - seek to create mystery and suspense around the cattle-killing. This constitutes what Barthes calls the hermeneutic code and is the basis of the realist mode of narration of Kaffernland. Scrutiny of the contrived portrayal of the cattle-killing movement of 1856-57 as a threatening storm and as a destructive fire, shows the text aims to present the Xhosa as destroyers of the land.

It is narrated that at Christmas (of 1854) the settlers fear a Xhosa attack. The text reproduces the letter of an unknown colonist claiming that 'The unrest proceeds from Sarhili in his region beyond the Kei' (p. 134). Against these 'swelling waters' the chiefs 'have to stem themselves' for they know 'that their power is still too slight' (p. 134). The text refers to an actual cause of the unrest: Governor Grey's policy of buying off the chiefs' sovereign rights. Wherever the chiefs allowed a colonial official to govern, 'nothing terrible happened, yet this hung over the entire Kaffraria like a huge pitch black cloud' (p. 144):

Es fuhr noch kein Blitz durch die Wolken, es jagte nirgends der Vorsturm über das Feld Es war eine böse wartende Stille. (p. 144)

The narration sustains the storm image: 'The heavy silent storm sank over Kaffraria (p. 148). It is repeated in the letter of Commissioner Brownlee to the Chief Commissioner Colonel Maclean in Kaffraria: 'the storm may still pass over' Kaffraria, if the other chiefs do not take seriously the 'rumours' (of the millennium) (p. 171). The text tells:

After Sarhili's meeting even more was slaughtered than before, and the unrest sprang over the Kei River like a fire, fanned by the wind. (p. 190)

Im englischen Kaffernlande brannte das Feuer nicht schnell und lodernd weiter. Es fraß sich, je mehr es vom Fluß abkam, desto langsamer vorwärts, und oft glimmte es nur, aber freilich verlosch es nicht. Der Kommissar Brownlee, der die Kaffern so wohl verstand, war der stärkste Abwehler des Feuers. Vielleicht halfen ihm die immer heftigeren Regengüsse, denn wie die rauschende Nässe wirkliche Flammen bändigt, hält sie die leidenschaftliche Natur der Menschen in Grenzen. (p. 191)

Grimm probably used the storm imagery because the prophecies themselves spoke of 'lightning and thunder': 'The storm will sweep all black and white people who wear trousers into the sea' (Kaffernland, p. 248). The entire prophecy is repeated a page later, with 'Sturm' becoming 'ein gewaltiges Wetter' and 'Der Wettersturm' (p. 249). This seeks to stress the growing power of the prophet's rhetoric over the people.

Adopting the official view of the cattle-killing as a conspiracy, the text personifies starvation as Sarhili's 'deceptive ally'.²⁰ The text introduces the cattle-killing by telling cryptically that Brownlee knows 'that everywhere hardships were lurking, ready to engulf the land and every settler' (p. 160). Brownlee's letter warns Maclean that 'People with evil intentions ... are lying in wait to seize any opportunity' (p. 171). The arch-conspirators are Sarhili and his ally:

Sarhili had ruled for 21 years, when he allied himself with starvation, in order that the Kaffirs could get rid of the English before it would be too late. At the start of the great plight, many whites like Brownlee believed that a covert plan of the king was behind everything. He wanted to compel a few hundred thousand starving people who had no more property to care for, to fall upon the whites, from whom then, in a terrible attack, the desired food, the hated lives and valuable property would simultaneously be robbed. (p. 180)

Starvation is anthropomorphized as 'Ansturm des Hungers' and paralleled with the 'Ansturm der Schwarzen':

besides guns and powder and lead, which were again delivered to all forts, in order to help stop the storming of the blacks, grain was stocked up, to help vanquish the storming of starvation, if it were to come. (p. 196)

Historically, the settlers did fear an attack and 'starvation did stand before the doors of Ngqikaland' (Kaffernland, p. 198). The same personification is used to overtly state the major opposition in the text: whereas Kaffraria

lies waiting yearningly for the white working-man, that he should finally come and free it and rule it' (p. 9),

As the year [1856] came to an end ... the massive starvation and king Sarhili both waited yearningly for Kaffraria. (p. 205)

In Brownlee's speech of thanks to Kropf for helping to stem the cattle-killing, the storm, fire and starvation imagery are linked. God is thanked for holding back the tide:

Just think ... if this diabolical plan had succeeded! If all the blacks had ^{on} one day faced starvation! If on this one day Sarhili and the other chiefs then pointed to us, to the Colony: There appease your hunger! There is the opportunity! Who could have held back the tide, who? - The few troops here *with* us? - But because it was possible with God's help to curb people here and there ... that which was supposed to be an enormous blazing fire-signal, suddenly turned out to be so much dampened fireworks. The big danger is over; if anywhere there should be a loud bang, well, your military compatriots [the German Legion] are finally with us ... it is said they are excellent people for the purpose. (Kaffernland, p. 257)

These three insistently used image complexes resemble the fixed forms in the legend and saga. The text uses known social codes in order to become Volksgut. Thus also the biblical metaphor of reaping and sowing forms an isotopy. The souls of the figures are imaged as birds and the legionaries' letters, the text says, were 'no longer proud and merry, but came like grey birds into quiet German homes'

(p. 126). Perhaps an observation by Hazel Friedman

explains the dearth of innovative metaphor in Kaffernland:

in the mid-19th century until the 1880s, realism had been the legitimate democratic style, an aesthetic and social leveller, whose subjects were the people, by the people, for the people. Angels, symbols, metaphors - all elitist abstractions - ... were outlawed in favour of the Nowness of art and life. ('The unreal under the gosh-wow real', Weekly Mail, 21 September 1987)

I would argue that the hackneyed figurative language in Kaffernland arises out of the literary limitations of a writer who was largely an epigone. Kelwyn Sole says that 'works of creative literature function much more obviously through metaphorical, symbolic and allusive procedures' ('Authorship, Authenticity', p. 21). This is a useful criterion, insofar as it does not entail categorically dismissing Kaffernland as trivial or unsophisticated. Grimm's work can be appraised in terms of his own credo which rejects 'belles-lettres' in that they offer the people only 'narcotics to drug' them (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, pp. 50-1, 34). According to the synopsis of Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit in the Klosterhaus catalogue, Grimm set himself the task of a political writer, 'although he was aware that the artistic potential of the poet must suffer under this constraint'. But it seems to be the constraint of the ideological aim of showing the Xhosa as undeserving of the land, that stunts Grimm's imagination.

3.5 Historical novel: didacticism and moralizing

As a historical narrative, Kaffernland 'can partake of the forms of fiction and incorporate moral aims' (Seamon, p. 5).

Morroe Berger explains this tenet of novel writing:

fiction seeks a broader and more enduring truth than history. A corollary has been equally popular: that

fiction allows the writer greater freedom to draw a moral, to make judgements. 'Lessons for moral development,' noted Madame de Stael, 'based upon the rewards of virtue, do not always emerge from a reading of history.' The novel is better suited to this task, she claimed. (Real and Imagined Worlds, p. 171)

The designation Roman invites a reading of Kaffernland as a historical novel. The Reallexikon holds that in epic 'The present is reflected in the past, the past appears as the present' (p. 385). This constitutes the didactic function of the historical novel of Scott and his German followers:

Firstly, past history can be surveyed from its endpoint, and secondly, it can be applied to one's own situation, both as prehistory and as a parallel or as a contrastive mirror - thus it is in any case definitely applicable. (Lämmert, in Koselleck, p. 509)

The pontificating in Kaffernland exceeds the didacticism allowed the historical novel. Lämmert reminds us that the popularity of this genre arises out of its concern, not with a theoretical, but with 'an adventurous complication of its fabula' (p. 509).

Like historical novels about the conquest of North America, Kaffernland attains realism by depicting 'ordinary living': it stresses not 'the heroic in terms of individual gallantry and man-to-man combat', but 'mass conflict, and collective endeavor' (H. Haines, What's in a Novel, p. 109). In 'unglossed language' it depicts the 'barbaric cruelties' of Xhosa warfare and the 'common sensualities' of the settlers in the Kaffrarian military villages (Haines, p. 110).

3.6 'Kaffernland' as an ensemble of discourses

In Kaffernland Grimm uses elements of the legend, saga, epic and the bourgeois realist novel²¹ for their specific effects, but nowhere does this 'completed' first book show that Grimm was attending to the overall conception of the

work as an epic or novel. Except for legend, these are all forms of epic narrative, but the archaic forms express an ideology different from that of the realist novel. Peter Horn stresses that all literary forms embody 'a specific way of transmitting an ideology, as well as the ideology itself' ('Towards a Methodology of the Study of Colonial Literature', p. 1). Von Delft correctly observes: 'Grimm war, soweit ersichtlich, kein Kenner gattungsgeschichtlicher Theorien' (p. 327).

Kaffernland exceeds what Todorov sees as the 'transgression of the genre [that] is almost required; otherwise, the work would lack the minimal necessary originality' ('Literary Genres', in Ducrot, p. 150). Not the infraction of genre rules, but the ideological aim of legitimizing a land claim, by enveloping it in the aura of archaic forms, needs scrutiny.

Harald Weinrich asserts that it is part of the established theory of the novel 'that it can adopt all imaginable literary forms' ('Narrative Strukturen in der Geschichtsschreibung', in Koselleck, p. 515). If this is a valid claim, then the publishers perhaps correctly designate as a novel the amalgam of forms constituting Kaffernland.

In the chapter 'The Crisis of Bourgeois Realism', Lukacs convincingly argues against the formation of sub-genres of the novel. To view the historical novel as 'a genre or sub-genre in its own right' amounts to separating the writer's 'relation to history' from his 'relation to the whole of reality and especially society' (The Historical Novel, p. 168). I thus view Kaffernland not as a genre system or as a novel with the sub-genres of the historical, the colonial

and Heimat novel, but, with Bakhtin, as an ensemble of discourses:

the novel is a genre composed of heterogeneous discourses, each of which expresses the interests of differing social fractions, different social practices. (quoted in Clark, p. 135)

3.7 Discourses of narrative action and enigma

In bourgeois realist fiction the two main levels of narration generally interact; the discourse of the unfolding truth, the 'hermeneutic code', is embedded in the discourse of the narrative action, the 'proairetic code'. The hermeneutic code presents an enigma or 'an incompatibility between social forces', and 'constantly reformulates the problem that the text represents' (Coward and Ellis, Language and Materialism, p. 55). The proairetic code 'is the code of the narrative choices of the text' (S. Heath, The Nouveau Roman, p. 213). The two narrative levels unfold according to their own laws: they ensure an ongoing reading without revealing the final signified, the truth, too soon.

In examining the fragment Kaffernland in terms of these two narrative codes, I am mindful of Genette's warning of 'the danger of regarding literary works as "closed" and "finished" objects in order to treat them systematically' (quoted in Scholes, Structuralism in Literature, p. 10). The publishers are largely right in claiming that Kaffernland is 'a fragment, but complete in itself'. This claim to 'completeness' is, of course, part of the ideological purpose of colonialist works:

because in their 'wholeness' they create the appearance of the 'objectivity' and 'naturalness' of the colonizer's case. The destruction of their apparent wholeness is the precondition for a process, in which the fragmented ideologemes will eventually appear as an

ideological bricolage. (Horn, 'Methodology Of Colonial Literature', pp. 5-6)

The two manifestly fictional codes of the narration are employed in the text, but in a contrived way. Particularly the discourse of the unfolding truth is unconvincing when this truth is not embodied as an integral part of the text. According to Barthes, the 'symbolic code' expresses the textual oppositions as manifested by the figures' actions and development. In Kaffernland the opposition of 'the leadership' vs 'the people' generates textual cohesion.

The title enigmatically links German history with a 'Kaffirland' and the text focuses on the nature and fate of various national groups and the land. A proairetic code of nations moving together is created by overt restatements of the phrase 'on all paths'. The text masks the intrusion of the colonizers into southern Africa as a natural, destined movement towards 'harmonious co-existence' and suppresses the crucial element in the relation between these groups: the means of production - the land of the indigenes:

The people of this story, the Germans, the English and the Dutch, the black and half-black, the important and unimportant, move and grow towards one another on separate paths and from great distances. (p. 10)

Here meaning is naturalized through the semes being carried 'by a purportedly "natural" medium: language connotation is concealed beneath the regular sound of ... utterly natural syntax' (Barthes, S/Z, p. 23). It is further said:

The passions [of the chiefs], their councillors and their priests, set all the unsuspecting people on their separate paths moving in that direction where their common future was to be. (p. 10)

Intertwined with this is the narration of the talk amongst the Xhosa of the coming of 'the amaRussians', who had vanquished the English in the Crimean War. The rumours

intoxicated the foolish people just as brandy intoxicates, which was now beginning to seep and flow on all possible paths into Ngqikaland. (p. 135)

The cataclysmic cattle-killing of 1856-57 is used to create suspense in the unfolding destiny of the German Legion. The Klosterhaus catalogue draws attention to this:

This novel of the far-reaching self-destruction of the Kaffir people more than 100 years ago - precisely in order to rid themselves of white immigration - is a reality recreated, ... the events are full of suspense.

While the epic eschews suspense, since future events are certain, in Kaffernland 'the uncertain fate of a legionary' is pondered (p. 125): will the men enlist for Naples or Batavia, or as military settlers in the Cape, or return to Germany? A major hermeneutic question the text poses is:

Are the poor German warriors in Colchester truly a wild immoral gang, are they in fact drunkards and mutineers and brawlers? (p. 213)

A symbolic code arises out of the fetishizing of the opposition between the moral superiority and diligence of the missionaries and Brownlee and the putative evilness and indolence of the Xhosa. The text sanctifies the legionaries as saviours of Kaffraria and demonizes Sarhili, Sandile and their councillors as destroyers of a Kaffraria being transformed into a cultural landscape. Rhetorical forms fix the image of Sarhili as the Other, especially because of his hostility to the coming of the German Legion:

When the resurrection was delayed and people died of starvation in Gcalekaland, even Sarhili, the king, became impatient and annoyed. This was not because there was too much complaining about the dead, or because the healthy had pity for those, who like old empty milksacks lay ... in front of the huts. No one

complained about the dead For, all the living said that their good fortune is imminent, they will return young and strong. It was because Sarhili heard: The English in King Williamstown are saying there are many white people on their way to Kaffraria; and it was because Sarhili heard: The English in King Williamstown are threatening, we will punish, as soon as we have all these people here. (p. 202)

The text ends with Brownlee breaking down because 'the passionate concern about the land so overwhelmed him' (p. 264). He will 'care for the women and children' who will 'in starvation come crawling on all paths' (p. 265).

Fellmann reminds that 'the concept of narration ... always presupposes the knowledge of the end of the story: its total course is nothing other than the presentation of the way in which this end is arrived at' ('Das Ende des Laplaceschen Dämons', in Koselleck, p. 131). To end this first book of Kaffernland, Grimm dramatizes the opening statement about the destructiveness of the rulers' passions. The dislocation Sandile has caused is shown in the schism between the believers in the prophecies and the non-believers. The conclusion portraying his councillors' conflicts is a fictionalization of an account in Reminiscences (pp. 149-51) and is discussed in 5.12 below.

The cohesion of the bourgeois realist novel is generally bound up with the psychological development of a central figure. Kaffernland lacks this teleological structure because it has no figure whose development unifies the action and embodies the final truth. As a novel it perforce fragments. (The insistence by the Grimms that the land/landscape is the protagonist of Kaffernland tries to deflect attention from this lack.) The inner lives of Kropf and Brownlee are depicted but these figures are not

developed as psychological beings around whom events cohere. Although Jungwirth suggests the contrary (p. 143), it seems that Friebott in Volk ohne Raum is not a central figure in, but an observer of events in different parts of the world.

In Kaffernland textual cohesion arises out of Grimm's use of the narrative fiction techniques of parallelism and contiguity. He draws fairly deliberate parallels between the Xhosa and the German masses. Both are shown in an opposition, 'the people' versus 'the rulers'. Chapter III depicts the 'primitive' ways in which the Xhosa decide matrimonial matters: warriors are shown combatting for the hand of Tyumbu (pp. 29-32). Chapter IV presents the far more 'sensible' arrangement of Kropf's marriage. Both nations lack goals, but whereas the 'poor German warriors' do not have a prophet (p. 239), the Xhosa prophets bring disaster upon the people. The peasant emancipation and nationalist struggles lead to emigration, depleting the German nation of its strength. The cattle-slaughter may have been intended as a metaphor for the 'bleeding' of the German nation through its lack of unity and common purpose.

3.8 Realist narration: levels of vraisemblance

Various levels of vraisemblance in Kaffernland attempt

to make us believe that it conforms to reality and not to its own laws. In other words, the vraisemblable is the mask which conceals the text's own laws and which we are supposed to take for a relation with reality. (Todorov, quoted in Culler, Structuralist Poetics, p. 139)

The fiction Kaffernland largely complies with the envisaged reader's expectations of mimesis by employing a first-order vraisemblance, by citing 'the text of the natural attitude of a society' (Culler, p. 140). Stephen Heath speaks of

realism deriving from 'the repetition of a certain text which is, in its very familiarity (its 'naturalness'), diffuse, unknown as text' (p. 21). Items of this text abound in the narration of the Khoi rebellion, which forms a proairetic sequence within the portrayal of the Eighth Frontier War. Details about the Khoi in Kaffernland accord with known forms of indigene behaviour and need no philosophical justification other than 'the Khoi are like that':

When Hermanus Matroos, who was the son of a Ngqika woman and a runaway slave, and in whom the government finally saw a trustworthy agent, arrived with a horde of half-castes of all sorts in front of Fort Beaufort, the Hottentots were also drawn into the rebellion. They certainly had no conflict with the Whites and enjoyed the same rights as the European colonists and lived comfortably with one another at the frontier, but their British missionaries had for many years given these lean, agile and thoughtless people the idea that they were being unjustly treated, if the missionary society did not continually look after them. (p. 81)

Barthes says these trivial details produce a 'reality effect' and have no 'function in the plot' (quoted in Culler, p. 193). In Kaffernland, however, they do have a function besides asserting the text's 'representational or mimetic orientation' (Culler, p. 193). Formally they also create a proairetic sequence: this arises through 'an artifice of reading', and 'because it can be given a name' (Barthes, S/Z, p. 19). But such naming in Kaffernland - often proffered by the text itself - has an ideological function. Trivial details denote the parasitic existence and untrustworthiness of the Khoi. On this basis the text justifies their expropriation after the Eighth Frontier War.

Alliteration and onomatopoeia serve to naturalize the repeated representation of the Khoi nature as 'carefree', and 'not given to thinking'. The text pretends to return to

'language as nature', to tell us 'something simple, literal ... true, in relation to which all the rest (which comes afterwards, on top) is literature' (Barthes, S/Z, p. 9):

den gelben, sorglosen, spiellustigen Hottentotten, die wie die Zikaden sind im Feld ... (p. 83)

the yellow, carefree, playful Hottentots who are like the cicadas in the veld and also remind one of the light and leaping form of cicadas. (p. 83)

The portrayal of the 'crazy Hottentot woman' incoherently telling the Auckland settlers that Woburn is burning (p. 47) reinforces the stereotype of 'babbling barbarians'. This derives from the cultural codes, 'a smothering layer of received ideas' (Barthes, S/Z, p. 206). This second level of vraisemblance 'is a way of grounding a work in reality, of establishing a relationship between words and world which serves as guarantee of intelligibility' (Culler, p. 142).

The readerly discourse of Kaffernland itself provides nominations which try to ensure the subjection of the text to an intended signified. Xhosa practices such as healing, divination and the cattle-killing are overtly signified as 'deception'. Chapters VIII to IX label its many anecdotes: 'Then arrived the evil day for Silo' (p. 82); 'the morning-of-murder of Theopolis' (p. 85); 'At that time another gruesome murder took place' (p. 85).

3.9 Cultural and semic codes and characterization

In Kaffernland the cultural codes constitute a reservoir of social knowledge which provides links between forms of behaviour and character. They allow actions to be naturalized as a direct 'manifestation of character' (Culler, p. 143). King Hintsa's untrustworthy and animal nature is to be inferred from his attempted escape.

We read that Hintsä, riding with Colonel Smith and his soldiers, unsuccessfully attempts 'to veer off into the bush' (p. 178). This bush, thick and extensive, is twice positioned as subject of the sentence (p. 178). In the description of the terrain we are told 'the wide land' 'delights' the colonel (p. 178). Opposed to this is a depiction of the long ridge 'which ran alongside the river ... dropping steeply down to the river. A strip of thicket bordered the water' (p. 178). The 'primacy effect' (Rimmon-Kenan, p. 12) of the connoted affinity between the Xhosa and nature in the opening scene now directs the association of Hintsä with the bush and the white man with wide, open space. Paul Rich notes that in early nineteenth-century forms of 'settler self-imagery', 'images of race differences [are] linked to images of landscape' ('Landscape, Social Darwinism', p. 3). He also quotes a poem by 'a key opinion reflector in the Cape' attacking the 'amakosa chiefs'. Written during the Eighth Frontier War, it ends: 'And can the savage with the man, enlightened, dwell?' (p. 5).

In Kaffernland the narrative discourse and the settlers see the Xhosa as savages (p. 149), and sometimes as part of nature. In The Wretched of the Earth, Frantz Fanon discusses how the native is associated with nature:

Hostile nature, obstinate and fundamentally rebellious, is in fact represented in the colonies by the bush, by mosquitoes, natives and fever. (p. 204)

The portrayal of Hintsä - indeed of all the indigenes in Kaffernland - is also illuminated by John Coetzee's observation of how 'the early Discourse of the Cape' decided

that, though [the Hottentot] is human, he is not in the line of descent that leads from Adam via a life of toil to civilized man. ('Idleness in South Africa', p. 7)

The text refers to Hintsa as a person, but reinforces his essential bestiality: 'There stood a black man in front of him, up to the loins in the bloody water between the bushes, panting and waiting' (p. 179). Hintsa tries 'to save himself like a large fatally-wounded animal in the water' (p. 179). Much later the text matter-of-factly likens the killing of Hintsa to the extermination of verminous pest:

Sarhili set on his way. His uncle Bhurhu accompanied him, the same one who was with him when Sarhili's father Hintsa had been hit like*vermin [Raubzeug] by the coup de grace of the Englishmen in the thicket at the Xabecca. (p. 203)

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While the cultural codes guarantee the sense of the text, the manifest semic code in Kaffernland presents the characteristics of persons and places. In this bourgeois realist text Sandile and Sarhili are never depicted with their wives or children and are demonized at the outset:

To the less important, as far as their own person is concerned, but to the important, through that which they caused, like the untamed forces of nature, belonged especially Sandile, the Paramount Chief of the Kaffirs between the Kei and the Keiskamma, and King Sarhili on the other side of the border. (p. 10)

The initial nomination of the dominant signified of Sandile and Sarhili: 'destructive like nature', controls the comprehension of subsequent semes attached to them. The text also cites Xhosa cultural discourse, which draws positive comparisons between Sarhili and forces of nature:

When Sarhili's naked body moves ... towards the sea, the waves say: See, he must have been born from the sea. And during the hunt the trees and bushes attempt to hold him ... pleading: Sarhili, are you the tree, who is allowed to wander about with human feet? ... Sarhili is a strong antelope, say the women. (p. 176)

Semes denoting water as a destructive force, create the figure Sarhili. These connotators are repeated with little

variation. This contrasts with the procedure Barthes calls 'the citar', the 'fleeting citation' of the seme, of the signified, 'to make it come forth, while avoiding it in the discourse (S/Z, p. 22). The semes 'destructive' and 'destined' are attached to the image of the Xhosa army as an unstoppable river flowing down a mountain (p. 167). More positively, the metaphor of 'the stream of German emigration flowing wider and deeper into distant places', signifies a natural, an ahistorical force that cannot be directed - fate.

3.10 Reader orientation of realist narration

Constitutive conventions of the novel-genre, such as an omniscient narrator, eye-witness accounts and scenic-dramatizations produce the third level of vraisemblance in Kaffernland. When the narrator withdraws, or speaks from a limited perspective, he serves as one of the 'primary ways of naturalizing the fiction' (Culler, p. 200).

To ensure its naturalization, realist narration is reader-orientated. It places the reader in 'an imaginary position of transcendence', of observation and synthesizing in relation to the text, to facilitate the linking of signifier and signified (Coward and Ellis, p. 50). The intelligibility of the text depends on the reader regarding the text as homogeneous, as truth. The 'discourse of narration' is to be seen 'as the discourse of the unfolding of the truth', as free from contradiction (p. 50). The reader has to see that 'the book makes sense', for sense makes the represented world life-like, real. Classical realist discourse, the readerly, says Barthes, 'is controlled by the principle of non-contradiction' (S/Z, p. 156).

In Kaffernland, scrupulous care is taken about the logic of trivialities. The reader's conventionalized expectancy is met by various discursive tricks: we read that the English settler Munroe 'calls out in English, inserting a few Kaffir words which he has somehow learnt', when he addresses the Xhosa warriors (p. 55). Munroe's speech, however, contains no 'Kaffir words' and is part of the German text.

In the avant-garde text contemporaneous with Kaffernland, discourse is in a state of flux. Most speeches in Kaffernland are attachable to specific figures as their point of origin. The narration establishes firm positions for the figures, enabling the reader to link signifier and signified. Thereby the narrative discourse attains the absolute value of reality itself. Through its position of dominance, 'based on its equivalence with reality,' 'the value of other discourses in the text (the speech of various characters ...) is measured against this voice of truth' (Coward and Ellis, p. 49).

At the outset the narrator of Kaffernland avers: 'I shun high-flown phrases. The truth wears a plain garment' (p. 9). The words of the rulers are not to be trusted. He recollects an English missionary's report of what Sarhili's councillor had said 'amidst loud applause of the tribe':

You can see that we are very happy amongst ourselves.
We have cattle in droves, we have a beautiful area.
What do you want to do, to make us happier than we are?
(p. 9)

The narrator invalidates the implication that 'the desire for new goals does not seem to be very widespread' (p. 10) and introduces a dominant theme of Kaffernland: the people as victims of self-serving rulers:

But, indeed, one should never ask or listen to the rulers, if one wants to know, what the disposition of a people is, nowhere in the whole world should one do that. (p. 10)

The narrator deplures the lack of insight of those in authority and shifts position to present his superior vision as being rooted in the sound perceptions of ordinary people. While 'every trader and every missionary was able to report on Mlanjeni's prophecies' (p. 37), the English officers in control of the fort in King Williamstown let these dangerous meetings continue. The dire consequence of Governor Harry Smith's dismissal of the colonists' 'clamour about nothing' is 'the Christmas-of-murder' of 1850 (p. 57).

3.11 Focalization of the German Military Settlement

Although the focalization of events is sometimes varied, the narrative discourse buttresses its viewpoint. The 'narrator-focalizer' - to use the analytical categories of Genette and Rimmon-Kenan - withdraws, so as to foreground the characters' focalization of the proposed German Military Settlement in Kaffraria. Because the narrative viewpoint is that of the colonizer, it is reinforced by the perspective of the main figures.

Sir George Grey discusses the Legion with the figure Albert Kropf, a 'carer-of-souls'. Kropf shares the narrator's view of Kaffraria and its people, but, like his historical counterpart, he is opposed to the German Military Settlement. Grey's views are refocalized and evaluated when Kropf reports them to his wife Auguste: 'And Germans - he knows the Germans are very diligent people and perhaps just the right ones for Kaffraria' (p. 145). Frau Kropf believes that more soldiers will

only hamper their work, but her viewpoint has already been discounted (p. 146). Kropf believes the land needs 'the enormous silent toil' and opposes the plan:

my father was a noncommissioned officer. Naturally I love my country very much. There one finds decent people. The Legion, however, consists only of soldiers, and the presence of soldiers has till now not benefitted our work. On this all my 65 fellow missionaries in Kaffraria agree. (p. 146)

The Commissioner of Ngqikaland, Charles Brownlee, son of a missionary family living in Kaffraria, is shown to have a deep insight into events. To promote the settlement plans, he does not divulge indications he has gleaned of the nascent cattle-killing to Hoffmann, the legionaries' envoy. Brownlee's vision is, however, confined to Kaffraria. The narrator has to inform the reader that, unlike Hoffmann, the ordinary legionary is engaged in a struggle for existence:

it also did not occur to the Commissioner that there is an enormous difference between the secure livelihood of the honest official and the cares of those people who must wage the daily struggle against starvation for themselves and ultimately for all others. (p. 168)

The narrator validates Mrs Brownlee's perspective, albeit with some criticism, before giving her view on the Legion.

In this way she had become aware of the beauty and the ugliness of the whole land, as all the shaded and sunlit spots of an area together reveal themselves to one surveying from a high vantage-point, and, like a slightly flattered princess, she believed she had insight into everything. (p. 169)

The text reproduces a letter of the frontier settlers to England, motivating that the Legion be sent immediately (pp. 148-9). This is followed by a long anonymous address to Hoffmann on the prospects of the legionaries. The voice - echoing the narrator's sympathy for the men - tells how the English abuse the Germans living in the barracks at Brown-

down and Colchester, since they no longer need to send them to the Crimea. Interpolated in this unassigned utterance is General von Stutterheim's address to the legionaries:

Perhaps the decision about the future of a large section of our German nation is being placed in the hands of the legionaries The legionary ... once himself the most helpless, now extends the helping hand to all those who come over to him in need and despair from the fatherland. (p. 152)

The anonymous voice expresses the legionaries' lack of confidence in Hoffmann and silently implores him:

Captain Hoffmann, the poor German warriors ... are asking whether, of all people, you are the right one to *reconnoître* a new land for them? You are supposed to discover a Canaan of adventures, where, for a short spell of exertion, ripe rewards quickly fall into their laps There are downtrodden, yearning men among the legionaries. ...

You have a difficult task, Captain Hoffmann. With whose eyes are you looking, Captain Hoffmann? (p. 153)

Finally, some among the Xhosa are said to believe the new wave of settlers are 'the amaRussians' who 'have defeated the English' (p. 148). Others surmise that it is the same nation, 'from which the teachers in Bethel ... come':

Perhaps this is good for us. Finally the views of the warners predominated: 'The foreigners are not teachers, the foreigners are soldiers. Why are soldiers coming? What will happen?' (p. 148)

Their opposition to the deployment of soldiers is routinely dismissed as 'rumour' or 'idle talk' (p. 148), which causes

the heavy silent storm ... to sink yet lower over Kaffraria and the clouds hung most ominously ... beyond the Kei, where the king Sarhili ruled his free tribal land in complete independence. (p. 148)

The text thus includes the Xhosa perspective, only to devalue it: thereby it reduces the realism of its discourse.²²

3.12 Mimetic speech, dramatic-scenic narration and the illusion of character

Realist writing seeks to be an equivalent, a mimicry of reality. Realism strives to be mimetic at the level of the entire narrative text and at the level of the individual word (Coward and Ellis, p. 47). Thus Käte Hamburger says in her chapter entitled 'The Fictional or Mimetic Genre': 'it is the essence of epic fiction' to produce the illusion, the semblance of reality (p. 116).

In fiction, writes Schiffels, 'there is no real time, only mimesis of temporal-relations' (Geschichte (n) Erzählen, p. 87). In Kaffernland the narration creates the illusion of the chaos and simultaneity of events by protracting some sequences, such as the soldiers' search for Sandile (p. 41). The outbreak of the Eighth Frontier War is re-told with leaps back in time.

The Aristotelian conception of mimesis refers to the imitation of both speech and action. Rimmon-Kenan notes the problematic notion of actional mimesis in the novel and refers to Genette's argument that:

no text of narrative fiction can show or imitate the action it conveys, since all such texts are made of language, and language signifies without imitating. Language can only imitate language, which is why the representation of speech comes closest to pure mimesis. (Rimmon-Kenan, p. 108)

For Plato the representation of speech as either diegetic or mimetic, refers to the capacity of narration to either 'tell' or 'show'. An extra-diegetic narrator can tell a story, commenting on it and presenting the characters' speech in indirect form or he can 'show' it in scenic form, especially through dialogue. Rimmon-Kenan argues that this 'showing' is reduced: behind a scenic presentation there is

still a narrator citing the characters' speech. Truly mimetic writing is impossible :

All that a narrative can do is create an illusion, an effect, a semblance of mimesis, but it does so through diegesis The crucial distinction, therefore, is not between telling and showing, but between different degrees and kinds of telling. (p. 108)

Stanzel concurs that the 'objectivity' of scenes free from the mediacy of presentation by either a narrator or a figure remains illusory (Narrative Situations in the Novel, p. 29).

In skilful realist discourse, concealed strategies let the represented world appear as reality itself. The realist discourse of Kaffernland strives to be mimetic, in the narrow sense of imitating reality, and more broadly, by rendering the characters' speech in diegetic and mimetic ways. But the narrator's reflections or comments tend to obtrude even in dramatized scenes. The pervasive anaphoric rhetorical style shatters the illusion of a person 'really speaking'. Sarhili's address to a mass meeting (p. 190) and the prophet Mhlakaza's report of the message from the ancestors (pp. 184-5) echo the rhetorical narrative style.

Morroe Berger speaks of 'the combination of verisimilitude and probability' as an enduring 'convention' of the novel (p. 180). With Kenneth Burke, he points to 'an "expectancy" in the reader even before he experiences a poem or novel' (p. 180). While the envisaged reader may accept the portrayal of the Xhosa in Kaffernland as true, the anaphoric rhetorical mode of some of their speeches goes against his or her expectations.

Barthes says, 'the linguistic person' is 'never defined by states of mind, intentions or traits of character, but only by its (coded) place in discourse' (in Sontag, p. 285).

The figures in Kaffernland are not carefully individualized through different modes of speech. Furthermore, to the extent that they are often created by the same rhetorical style, they do not constitute credible 'linguistic' persons (see, for instance, the figure Bliesen, p.120 below).

The narration of Kaffernland employs the convention of the eyewitness account which holds a customary authority in both narrative fiction and history. Seamon argues that such accounts replicate what readers believe is most reliable - the evidence of the senses (p. 207). A legionary's eye-witness account, full of 'names, drama, direct speech ... [and] authority' (Seamon, p. 207), counters the view of the men as 'a wild dissolute gang' (p. 213):

I heard the old men in Africa speak full of pride about the ... day, on which the old legion was dissolved, and of the big departure-parade. They spoke in their mixed language, in their South African English-German: 'Mann, wir sind Soldaten gewesen and not half. We were an exceptionally fine looking body of men. Mann, und unsere Uniformen! bei den Offizieren glänzten die Schnüre von echtem Golde. Genuine, I tell you Die Reporters schrieben nachher in den Zeitungen ... They couldn't do otherwise, they had to praise us'. (p. 213)

Mimetic speech presentation has a naturalizing function.

Otto Ludwig avers that the author who makes use of scenic presentation can do 'all that nature and the mind can do' (quoted in Stanzel, p. 26).

The eight-page letter to Auguste Kropf from her father in Germany starts off with a form of indirect discourse, which is 'mimetic to some degree': it 'creates the illusion of 'preserving' or 'reproducing' aspects of the style of an utterance, above and beyond the mere report of its content' (Rimmon-Kenan, p. 109). The discourse of the letter writer, a retired schoolmaster, is characterized by antithetically

phrased clichés: 'the old and the new', 'nothing amusing and nothing distressing' (Kaffernland, p. 67).

This long passage of indirect discourse is followed by the schoolmaster's direct address to his son-in-law, Albert Kropf, on the need for the 'carers-of-souls' to remain in Germany to save the immiserated. He gives a vivid account of how the peasant Johann Gebhart was expropriated:

So Johann's father had been the dunce, and our God-fearing noble baron ... had in a way played Nabob. Let me tell the story from the beginning. (p. 69)

The incidental mention of his name - 'Hauffe' (p. 73), and the way he narrates his actions and feelings, establish him as a person. The text begins to create the person Johann Gebhart by scattering a seme of him as an owner of land in Kaffraria 40 pages prior to the telling of his life-story:

In the valley of the Gonubie, where later Johann Gebhart owned a farm, lived Nukwa, the third son of Rharhabe, a relative of Sandile. Nukwa (p. 29)

Another random reference to Gebhart by the Kropfs is part of the impressionistic narrative technique:

it breaks up the signifier into particles of verbal matter which make sense only by coalescing: it plays with the distribution of a discontinuity (thus creating a character's 'personality'. (Barthes, S/Z, p. 22)

The 'very gratuitousness' of this incidental reference 'serves to authenticate the fiction by what we have called the 'reality effect' (Barthes, S/Z, p. 182). His coming to the Cape is not narrated. The letter merely inquires after space in Kaffraria for the immiserated like Gebhart. The reader integrates semes that 'call to each other', establishing a 'pseudo-logical link' (Barthes, p. 182) between random units of meaning (on pp. 12, 68 and 72). And, says Barthes, 'the greater the syntagmatic distance between the data, the more skillful the narrative' (p. 22). Thus he

speaks of the 'ideology of the person', the person being 'no more than a collection of senses' (p. 190).²³ The realist text Kaffernland presents the ex-schoolmaster, the peasant Gebhart, and the narrator, as real - 'living' - people, 'while at the same time disguising the artificial nature of the production' (David Bunn, 'Embodying Africa', p. 3).

Hintsas's character is the actual focus of the dramatic scenic account of how he met his death. The soldiers' pursuit of Hintsas is dramatized by means of concise sentencing, animated verbal exchanges and even 'the epic preterite ... has the imaginative value of the present' (Stanzel p. 48):

Those who knew the land shouted: 'Hei, Hei, Hintsas! Ehla! Ehla!' (p. 178) [They] shouted in the Kaffir language: 'Stop, chief'. (p. 179)

Concise sentencing vivify the telling, but elide the real horror of the killing of the king. The detached diction and the deictic demonstrative 'that' insist that this is a definitive account of Hintsas's end:

He held a trembling assegai ready to throw. The one who knew the land lifted the rifle and shot. In so doing his gun nearly touched the chief's head. Half the head flew off with the shot. That was Hintsas's death. (p. 179)

The veracity of this account is immediately reinforced by the cumulative effect of co-ordinating clauses describing what Hintsas's brother and son see. The main clause insists this is Sarhili and Bhurhu's focalization. The anaphoric device and the zoomorphizing of Hintsas, stamp this as the narrator's view:

Sarhili and Bhurhu saw how Hintsas was pulled from the horse and how he was twice wounded, and how he attempted to save himself in the water like a fatally wounded animal, and how his body was carried to the distant Kaffir huts and was left lying there. (p. 179)

This racist account is inverted in part 4, which examines the mythic discourse of history in Kaffernland.

4 HISTORY, MYTHOLOGY AND TRUTH IN 'KAFFERNLAND'

Grimm's account of the killing of Hintsa derives from the discussion of Hintsa's treachery and cunning in Das Volk der Xosa-kaffern by Albert Kropf (pp. 23-7). Like all history, Grimm's sources are 'inextricably bound up with the interests of those who narrate it' and with 'the collective subject, in whose interest is being narrated' (Pakendorf, 'Morenga, Oder Geschichte als Fiktion', p. 12).

Guided by David Carrier, I view the historical discourse in Kaffernland not as a 'fictive' narrative, in which 'reference fails', but as a 'real' narrative to be 'treated dualistically, matching the events as represented against those events' ('On Narratology', pp. 35-6). Kaffernland presents itself as referring to an extra-textual reality through adherence to what a European audience has 'already read' - for instance, in travelogues or missionary reports. Because such reference is possible, we 'have different tellings of the same events' (Carrier, p. 34). The text's perturbing portrayal of the killing of 'the most impressive figure in the whole history of the descendants of Tshawe' (Peires, House of Phalo, p. 62) needs to be seen in the light of official records, particularly those of the court, which inform the accounts by Jeff Peires and John Milton.

4.1 Historical fiction: facts and bias

Kaffernland tells that Hintsa, his brother Bhurhu and son Sarhili 'suddenly' came riding into the Governor's camp, where he was held hostage (p. 177). In The House of Phalo, Peires tells that on 29 April 1835 Hintsa entered the British camp, having received assurances of his personal

safety (p. 109). Placed under arrest, he was forced to play along with Colonel Harry Smith, because, writes Peires,

he was not prepared to save his life by betraying his nation. Commanded to order the surrender of Maqoma and Tyhali, he sent secret messages warning them that he was a prisoner. Commanded to raise a ransom of 25 000 cattle ... for his release, he sent secret messages ordering that the cattle be driven further on. (p. 111)

D'Urban threatened to hang him and his 'retinue was forcibly disarmed' (Peires, p. 111). Thus 'Hintsa made a dash for freedom' when he had to go with the British column to raise a ransom for his release (p. 111). In Kaffernland concise denotative diction attributes his death entirely to his own treachery: 'No-one trusted Hintsa. Colonel Smith warned him, he should make no attempt to flee' (p. 177). In The Edges of War, Milton presents Harry Smith and Southey's 'lies and distortions' in court about their role in the killing of Hintsa (pp. 135-141). In The House of Phalo, Peires records:

He was pulled off his horse, shot through the back and through the leg. Desperately he scrambled down the river bank and collapsed into the water-course. A scout named George Southey, coming up fast behind him, blew off the top of his head. Then some soldiers cut off his ears as keepsakes to show around the military camps. Others tried to dig out his teeth with bayonets. Thus died Hintsa, king of the Xhosa, for trusting the honour of a British Governor. (p. 111)

Like all historical novels, Kaffernland reflects the bias of its writer, and that of its sources:

Research and factual accuracy, however, have little relation to a novelist's theme and point of view. They assure authoritative raw materials, but in the use of those materials they do not eliminate bias, partisanship, intention to prove a thesis, to vindicate or condemn a person or cause. ... It is true that in its nature the historical novel is fiction, not history: a work of imagination, not a record of fact. It seeks to recreate, not to transcribe ... But it is also true that [the novelist's] concern is with history in fiction and that he is under certain obligations to historic fact. ... he may not falsify history's fundamental record. (Helen Haines, pp. 114-15)

4.2 Outer and inner realism: the Legion and the land

Berger notes that for the author of fiction early in the 20th century, 'the notion of verisimilitude' - 'resemblance to truth' - has been modified 'to escape the worst features of the requirement to stick to the factual' (p. 174). Thus the author Grimm may portray 'experience based on the imagination' and 'use the truths of history as a basis for transcending it' (Berger, p. 174). In Kaffernland he reproduces a racist historiography that represents the Xhosa as inherently cunning and treacherous. This is part of an ideological project of showing the essential nobility of the legionaries, of re-making the negative historical record of the German Military Settlers. Yet the text fails to measure up to 'the theoretical position of early bourgeois realism, namely, external factual reliability, inner truth' (Pakendorf, PhD thesis, p. 257).²⁴ The portrayal of the inner lives of all characters in the hackneyed imagery of the narrator's 'doctrine of souls' is unconvincing and fails to produce 'universal meanings'.

To create both external and psychological realism, Kaffernland chronicles fairly accurately how the German Legion was recruited and subsequently demobilized to South Africa. The 'Kaffraria' essay does this in greater detail. It lauds Mc.Call Theal's 'voluminous history of South Africa which covers the period of the German settlement' (Südafrika, p. 40). This 'unerring State historian's praise of the German settlers has only one shortcoming (p. 40):

It is difficult to narrate more than the historian Theal does about the Germans' labour in Kaffraria ... What Theal does not touch, and what a foreigner could hardly understand, is the inner life of the immigrants. (Südafrika, p. 49)

The account in Kaffernland, however, conflicts with the findings in E. L. Schnell's doctoral thesis. This was published in 1954 under the title For Men Must Work: An account of German immigration to the Cape with special reference to the German Military Settlers of 1857 and the German Immigrants of 1858. Schnell relied on the sources used by Grimm, in particular Volume II of Unter Englands Fahnen zur Zeit des Krim-Krieges by Th. R. Von Oswiecinski. Published in Hannover in 1875, Von Oswiecinski's work gives

the account of the formation of the German Military Settlers. The author was a member of the General Staff This work is important for its quotations from letters and newspapers. (Schnell, pp. 297-8)

Like the other figures in Kaffernland, the individual legionaries Grimm portrays existed historically. Hoffmann is presented as critically as in Unter Englands Fahnen (Schnell, p. 54). As a German 'legend' about a defined historical period, Kaffernland faithfully records the Legion's composition, their conditions of service, their departure for the Cape, and arrival on 9 November 1856. But such attention to the mere authenticity of individual facts, to their delusive appearance, bespeaks an empiricist view of past events, 'one in which its facticity and actuality are taken to be congruent', as Temu and Swai explain (p. 113). Appearance and reality, they stress, 'are not congruent, not identical' (p. 52).

As against the negative recorded view of the legionaries, Kaffernland depicts them as victims of England's machinations and mythologizes them as saviours of the Heimat and of Kaffraria. England cheats them out of provisions and

remuneration and when she no longer needs them the 'selling of their souls' ('Seelenverkäuferei', p. 120) is exacerbated:

In the evening ... and in the morning the poor warriors ask: 'What is going to happen?' The doubters and grumblers reply: 'Deception! Deception! Nothing will happen ... We will be deceived, that's all that will happen!' (p. 152)

The narrator speaks with a moral authority on the men's innermost thoughts and feelings:

Oh, I see your souls, you nine thousand poor German warriors in the camps of Colchester and Aldershot ... They want to get rid of you, you helpers in England, because their predicament is over. They do not long for you in the fatherland, you prodigal sons. ... But in reality your souls are freezing, and little bird voices lament every night, while your bodies toss in restless sleep. And I think I see also your soul, Captain Hoffmann. No, it is not a blackbird and not a robin and not a noble falcon and also not a sparrow. But isn't it also a poor moulting little thing, and would it not like to be alive and warm? (p. 212)

The text describes the legionaries' fist fights with the English, their mutineering and licentiousness (pp. 234-8). With barbed humour it depicts their exploits when they are coerced to find wives. A refreshingly unrheterical style depicts Rißling's 'unsuccessful attempt to find a wife for Africa in the three days through sign-language'. The officers who from the outset had the security of their reservation on the ship, are shown to be unfairly critical of the soldiers:

'How are we ever going to accustom this horde to discipline, after the reins have been dropped during this leave granted them?' (p. 229)

The mass-wedding ceremony is satirised: the indifferent Pastor Wilmans disallows the observation 'that the correct people have in some cases not been united' and 'continues unperturbed, till twenty men were left' (p. 231). The text cites his historically recorded remark: 'Oh well, once

outside, they will sort themselves out. Why didn't you maintain order? (p. 231; Milton, p. 243). The narrator's comment exonerates the men:

Indeed it is true that all had received a joint blessing. But the answer sounds unfit for a clergyman, and the undignified carryings-on were ultimately to be blamed only on the hurried lists and the whole confusion before the departure of the poor German warriors to Kaffraria. (p. 231)

With humour and pathos the text tells how Scholl changes his mind during the marriage ceremony, thereby provoking reflection on England's abuse of the men. On their departure from an England glad to be rid of them, they are portrayed as saviours-cum-sacrificial victims:

Then the poor German warriors were finally all on their way ... all the adventurers and yearning ones ... 106 officers, 38 officers' wives, 2 245 men, 343 soldiers' wives and 178 children made the long journey into a strange world, in order to erect for England and the 949 Whites in Kaffraria a living bulwark with their bodies. Because they were well cared for on the voyage, even the grumblers, in the sunshine of more southerly latitudes, let themselves be persuaded that everyone was sailing towards his promised land of milk and honey. (p. 239)

In the 'Kaffraria' essay Grimm ascribes the failure of the legionaries to the fact that many did not have wives and that fate had cast them into a miserable situation:

We should, therefore, not judge them, least of all condemn them. We should rather consider that these (enlisted for) people had [^] military service, and expected to come up against momentous human events ... ; instead of that the hard humour of fate casts them into a land where nature is just not abundant, a land which is separated from culture by thousands of miles and is actually ~~entirely cut off from~~ it, there, where starvation was just then the guest, where there moved not even as much game through the bush as there is with us in the forest. The novelty of the situation ... wears off quickly. Most of them are bachelors. They receive a meagre salary, which is to be stopped within a year, and they now have before them, by European standards, a ridiculously small piece of land. Very few of them have cultivated God's earth before. (Südafrika, p. 28)

Spanuth's researched account of the scanty provisions made for the ordinary soldiers confirms the allegations Grimm's essays make in this respect (pp. 35-40). He also stresses that without wives they were 'restless' and showed no interest in 'cultural work' but longed for 'war and adventures' (pp. 38-9). In the beginning some died of 'dysentery and the pleasures of alcohol' (p. 37). Several deserted to the Boer Republics and many were glad to leave to fight in India. But Spanuth does not record hostility of the Xhosa to the legionaries, as does the 'Kaffraria' essay:

They were received with tales of the enormous Kaffir-delusion, for the first time saw the black figures, filled with hatred, passing them, and out of fear of them, dared only go armed along the left bank of the Buffalo River. (Südafrika, p. 27)

Schnell, on the other hand, records that the legionaries

could not help being fascinated by the Kaffirs, who, curious and half-afraid, ventured to approach the tents of the Germans in order to beg trifles from them. Easily scared, they retreated in all haste into the thickets bordering the banks of the Buffalo River, whenever they saw a gun directed towards them. (p. 77)

He quotes a letter describing the trek of a party of legionaries to Fort Pato:

Die wenigen uns begegnenden Kaffern waren .. unbekleidet ... Scheu wichen sie uns aus und musterten uns nur aus der Ferne. (p. 79)

Grimm's 'Political Letter' of 1920 to the English about 'your German Crimean War Legion' tells of the obstacles they and the German peasants faced, especially the Black peril:

Much was promised to them, for instance, that, they would not lack churches and schools. These people landed in very unfavourable circumstances. Through the destruction of all their cattle and all their field fruits the desperate blacks were just then trying to summon irrational powers for a victorious struggle with the British. Economic opportunities in this Hungerland were not given the new arrivals, they were largely unmarried and essentially more of adventurers than workers and farmers. They failed. Nevertheless, the English Governor, Sir George Grey, brought in other

German settlers after them. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 73)

Grimm's article 'On the History of the Biggest German Settlement in Africa' concedes the legionaries' failure and reiterates the myth of the 'Black danger':

In Kaffraria a failed attempt had been made with the settlement of the British German Legion ... as military frontier settlers. It was deemed necessary to replace the Legion who were streaming off to India, to protect the Cape Colony from the regular attacks by the Kaffirs. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 174)

In Warum - Woher - aber Wohin? (1951) Grimm ascribes this failure mainly to their being 'without wives' and erroneously states: 'During the first conflict between the English and the Kaffirs the ... legionaries had been brought to [Kaffraria] as military settlers' (p. 84). V. G. Kiernan observes that the image of the African as the 'Black Peril' is a reflection of the colonizer's own unconscious violence:

What was really about to erupt was the first of Europe's two great internecine wars, its own relapse into savagery. When white men in ... Africa recoiled from scenes of massacre and ravage, they were in a way recoiling from something lurking in their own souls. (The Lords of Human Kind, p. 237)

Towards the end of Kaffernland we read of the arrival of the legionaries in the Cape. Book II of Kaffernland would conceivably have depicted the obstacles they faced, such as the harshness and hostility of the land. Schnell notes that the barrenness of the otherwise congenial landscape made a negative impression on the legionaries:

The country lying round about East London, apparently fertile and capable of producing much in the way of crops, conveyed a favourable impression on the Germans, but they were struck by the absence of cultivation and the sparseness of human habitations. (p. 77)

He tells that Fort Murray, 'created a more favourable impression than the forts they had seen previously' and cites a soldier's entry into his diary on 18 March 1857:

Nicht der fette Boden eines Landes und die schöpferische Natur, die den eingestreuten Samen hundertfältige Früchte tragen heißt, auch nicht die Geschenke des heisseren Himmels machen irgend ein Land reich und glücklich. ... Keine Provinz von Deutschland kann sich an Fruchtbarkeit mit diesem Lande messen, und doch ist nirgends in Deutschland jemand so arm und elend als der hiesige Eingeborene. Es geht uns nahe wenn wir ... bedenken, daß auf diesem fruchtbaren Boden Raub und Mord zu Hause ist. (pp. 80-1)

Unlike Grimm, Schnell does not depict a harsh, hostile land:

Keiskama Hoek was another place where the Germans settled ... The richness of the land in the vicinity of the village and the abundance of the purest water, gave promise of making the place a really prosperous home of any who might settle there. Probably no district of British Kaffraria was more suited for a settlement of agriculturists; not only was there ample scope for farming ... but several valleys radiating in all directions were capable of supporting a large number of families [O]nly a few Mfengu had been allowed to settle in the immediate neighbourhood of the fort. (pp. 93-4)

While Grimm also praises 'the climatically superb South Africa' (Südafrika, p. 171), he describes the land as hostile. Kaffernland depicts a heroic landscape; Wernt Grimm aptly calls it a 'heroic epic'. In a leap forward in time, Kaffernland tells how Graf Grunow, alias Lerke, 'was, like others, struggling in Kaffraria to finally make good, despite the wretched conditions and despite the drought' (p. 123). Thus Noyes speaks of 'the myth of the trial' in colonialist literature (oral communication).

Schnell, having compared a variety of sources, concludes that the legionaries experienced 'a conflict':

on the one hand there was an earnest desire to settle down to real hard work, but on the other hand there was a contrary tendency, perhaps a natural reluctance to dig and delve on the part of men for whom it was new and unaccustomed to work. (p. 100)

Schnell writes a chapter on the 'Character and Behaviour' of the legionaries. It starts with a citation of Sir George Grey's letter of November 1857 to the Colonial Secretary:

Although the German Legion contained many excellent men, it contained also many desperate characters, collected from several nations ... they have committed three ... desperate murders in less than a year ... and other offences of very grave character. (p. 124) ²³

Schnell attaches weight to the report written by the Director of the Berlin Missions, Dr Wangemann, on his visit to Kaffraria in 1867. In his book Die Berliner Mission im Kaffer-Lande, Dr Wangemann cites the reports of Dr Kropf of Bethel 'who, as a temporary chaplain' to the legionaries, got to know them 'intimately' (p. 124):

Daneben war aber auch viel loses Gesindel unter der Masse, welches aller Zucht und Ehrbarkeit bar, nur seinen Lüsten in der Fremde unbeobachtet und ungezügelt nachging, und für Gottes Wort weder Verständnis noch Begehr, nicht selten Spott und Feindschaft im Herzen trug. (quoted in Schnell, p. 125)

Officers' and Commissioners' reports are unanimous in their indictments of the men's 'wilful idleness, indolence and a lack of the will to settle down to real hard work':

Their small gardens exhibit no appearance of honest labour ... the land is rich ... but the will to improve nature and draw forth the riches of the earth, is wanting on the part of the Germans. (Schnell, p. 126)

Schnell assesses the men in terms of the dual purpose for which they were brought to Kaffraria:

As soldiers the Legionaries were to form a barrier against the Natives; as settlers they were to develop the resources of British Kaffraria. As farmers they were failures; as soldiers they fulfilled their function, even though they were not called upon to do any actual fighting. (p. 249)

Spanuth stresses the contributions to South Africa of those legionaries who remained. Grimm relies on Spanuth's

account, but ignores his observation that the presence of the Legion cannot be said to have deterred an attack:

Es läßt sich natürlich nicht beweisen und nicht einmal behaupten, daß in der Zeit der Krisis nach dem großen Viehschlachten durch ihr Dasein die Gefahr sonst möglicher Kafferunruhen beseitigt wäre. (Spanuth, p. 39)

4.3 Partisanship, objective history and myth

Kaffernland and the related essays in Südafrika and Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit depart substantially from the accounts by Spanuth and Wangemann. These do not seek to elide negative evidence. Grimm's bias refutes the claim in the Klosterhaus catalogue that Hans Grimm was 'Through experience ... one of the most neutral and professional observers of South Africa'. The publishers' introduction to Südafrika claims the authenticity of history for it:

The numerous journalistic works which precede the literary works, have ... quite independent of the literary development of the author, their own historical significance for the present-day problems of southern Africa. There are very few contemporary sources for South African history. The picture, which people, ignorant of the land, form or have formed for them [by others] in the many of the more recent works on South Africa, is often distorted in various ways. (Südafrika, p. 5)

This claim to objectivity is not contradicted by Grimm's partisanship for the legionaries. For, as Clark reasons, 'the admission that history is partisan ... devalues its knowledge [only] if one believes pure knowledge is possible' (p. 42). Thus one cannot without qualification dismiss as 'biased' the discourse of history in either Grimm's epic fiction or his essayistic work.

As against 'the myth of pure historical objectivity', as Clark puts it (p. 42), there does exist the possibility of objective history:

Objective history requires that the writer work within what is known, and therefore entails a dialectical struggle between the author's own ideology and the facts of human experience. (Clark, p. 46)

Grimm must certainly be criticized for ignoring the alternative view, for, as Wolfgang Holdheim argues, 'It is precisely our historicity which enables us' to escape our 'immediate situation' and conceive 'otherness' (The Hermeneutic Mode, p. 168).²⁶ And yet one has to recognize, without viewing Grimm mechanistically, that it is precisely because he is reproducing not a personal but the intertextual myth of history as fate, that he cannot too categorically be charged with deliberate distortion of the historical record:

Myth is neither a private phenomenon nor the product of a-historical mythopoeic imagination. It is better understood as a methodical translation of the dominant social codes which can occur whenever their political and ideological features are repressed. (Clark, p. 21)

Clark cites Barthes' view that the mythologist does not simply invert facts; mythology is never so innocent:

it seeks above all to naturalise its desires in the world of historical experience and to manifest itself as authentic representation. (quoted in Clark, p. 83)

Since myth works through the appearance of naturalness, the mythologist is not necessarily entirely aware of what his project entails. That naturalness is the ideological space in which Grimm the writer moves as unconsciously as his reader. He reproduces the myths and chauvinism of colonial historiography, in order - and here we must interrogate his text - to convince his audience of the justness of the nationalist-imperialist demands of his social class.

To concede that Grimm is reproducing mythical explanatory models does not mean that the contradictions and distortions in his account will be overlooked; on the

contrary, unless research exposes these, it will, as Temu and Swai warn, be 'serving a new set of exploiters' (p. 82).

4.4 History as fate and history as 'a prose poem'

In his distinct idiolect Wernt Grimm stresses that Hans Grimm 'wanted to recreate a landscape and its history' (correspondence, 3 December 1987). He wanted to write an Epos

um die Geschichte dieser stark von Deutschen besiedelten Landschaft Südafrikas zu gestalten. (Kaffernland, p. 266)

Wernt Grimm states that Hans Grimm undertook thorough research and, 'compressing it, transformed human fate', especially that of Germans, 'into literature':

Hans Grimm war ein sorgfältiger Erzähler. Er bearbeitete keinen Stoff, ohne sich vorher eingehend über das zu gestaltende Geschehen zu unterrichten. Ihm galt es, zur 'ganzen Wirklichkeit' vorzudringen. Er empfand als Aufgabe des Schriftstellers und Dichters das Zusammensehen, das 'Verdichten' des menschlichen Schicksals und vor allem des Schicksals des eigenen Volkes. (Kaffernland, p. 266)

In his book of 1954 Grimm reiterates his conception of this history as the workings of fate:

Der Roman des Landes sollte erzählt werden, nicht als 'Historie', sondern als schicksalhaftes Geschehen unter den Menschen. (Warum - Woher - aber Wohin?, p. 85)

With the Latin quotation from Quintilian's Oratoriae, Grimm from the outset wants to guide the reading of Kaffernland:

For history has a certain affinity to poetry and may be regarded as a kind of prose poem. (edited by Frederick. M. Wheelock, p. 134)

The context of these words shows that Quintilian is actually arguing against the reliance on narrative history because it treats facts in a licentious way:

Read Poetry

We should, however, remember that the orator must not follow the poets in everything, more especially in their freedom of language and their licence in the use of figures. Poetry has been compared to the oratory of

display, and further, aims solely at giving pleasure, which it seeks to secure by inventing what is not merely untrue, but sometimes even incredible.

Read history

History, also, may provide the orator with a nutriment which we may compare to some rich and pleasant juice. But when we read it, we must remember that many of the excellences of the historian require to be shunned by the orator. For history has a certain affinity to poetry and may be regarded as a kind of prose poem, while it is written for the purpose of narrative, not of proof, and designed from beginning to end not for immediate effect or the instant necessities of forensic strife, but to record events for the benefit of posterity and to win glory for its author. (pp. 134-5)

Wheelock explains that to the Romans in the first century A. D., history was a form more 'colorful ... rhetorical, literary, and ethical' than 'factual, unbiased', and 'scientific' (p. 134). Ignoring the distinction Quintilian draws between narrative and scientific history, Grimm uses the quotation to claim that history and poetry are akin, but not to argue that his work is untruthful, on the contrary. Kaffernland is to be read not as a 'colorful' history, indeed not as 'history', but 'as human events determined by an [ineluctable] fate', hence as truth. Thus the text largely eschews dates and names of governors and military commanders. Besides the arrival of the German missionaries in Kaffraria on 29 November 1845, only the formation and demobilization of the German Legion are precisely dated.

Basic to the historical discourse of Kaffernland are idealist 'notions of "human essence" which somehow transcend and operate (indeed, cause) the social system' (Coward and Ellis, p. 2). Chapter I shows Sandile as the despot wanting to forbid the custom of narration; presumably it is his subjects who in the opening pages are depicted as yearning for release from tyranny. The text belabours his

churlishness and irascibility. When the elders start to recite the tribal genealogy, the text thrice observes: 'And Sandile did not get annoyed' (p. 12). But when his mother's lower rank, that is, his dubious royal status, is narrated,

Sandile then began to get annoyed ...
Then Sandile became even more annoyed ...
But Sandile overheard the praise of Ngqika, so greatly annoyed he was. (p. 13)

His 'pre-given essences' - his lust for power and warfare - cause the outbreak of war (pp. 14-15). At the outset his and Sarhili's passions are reified as the motor of the events portrayed. On the one hand the text notes the acts of tyranny of the German princes and the expropriation of the peasants by the nobles, but on the other hand it describes national groups as 'growing' together. Not class-contradictions are the prime mover, but the passions of Sandile and Sarhili, their councillors and their priests (p. 10). Thus the chiefs are part of irrational, primeval forces, and are compared to 'untamed forces of nature' (p. 10). The missionaries and the text itself signify the cattle-killing as a diabolical plan (5.11 below). After the cattle-killing the text has Sarhili interpret the decimation of the Xhosa as a divine plan: fate, God, decreed those Xhosa should die (p. 181). As a mythic sign fate can covertly include and exclude various signifieds (Clark, p. 157). As mythic history, Kaffernland thus does not present human agencies as responsible for their own history. The anomaly of this explanatory model in a 20th century text is evident from Temu and Swai's observation: 'With the bourgeois revolution, the motives of men as individuals replaced the hidden hand of Providence' (p. 123).

If at the time of writing Kaffernland, Grimm conceptualized fate as 'The judging unconscious in the soul' ('Das richtende Unbewußte in der Seele', Pongs, p. 204), he may have planned to show the Germans amongst the 'Ahnungslosen' (p. 10) attaining consciousness of their national task. The text recreates the historical struggles of the legionaries in Schleswig-Holstein and their conflicts with the authorities in Germany and in England. Yet, in its mythic view of them, the referent 'barricade-fighters' (p. 104) is replaced with mythic signs: 'poor German warriors', 'victims', 'saviours' and 'souls'. This is the process of myth:

Although myth resembles ideology in that it represents the relationship between the individual, the society, and the material world, like a dream the myth inverts cause and effect, removes contradictions, and leaves us with a timeless image of concord where there was once work, economy, history, politics, and struggle. (Clark, p. 13)

In redeeming the legionaries and claiming the land, Grimm mythologizes both. This entails the mythologization of the Xhosa and their system of agro-pastoralism, for Grimm's image of the Germans is made on the backs of their Other. If, as Clark says, 'The transformation of history into myth can only be achieved by violating the historical record' (p. 81), then Kaffernland cannot attain 'the essence of realistic narration', namely, 'true depictions of the participants' inner processes' and 'an exact reproduction of the outer landscape' (Pakendorf, PhD thesis, p. 234).

4.5 Mythologizing the Xhosa and their agriculture

In portraying Sarhili - with his 'twisted' soul - and Pambaniso as ennobled savages, Grimm largely reproduces a colonialist discourse. With Mannoni, Ridley explains that

'the colonial projects into his experience two visions of the primitive: Caliban and Ariel ... and imposes these stereotypes on the peoples he meets' ('The Colonial Imagination', p. 581).²⁷ Except for the 'white haired Soga' and the 'wise' Tyala, the Xhosa are shown as the inherently evil Other. Sarhili opposes the coming of the legionaries (p. 202), and harbours outlaws like the prophet Mlanjeni and Willem Uithaalder, leader of the 1850 Khoi rebellion (p. 103). To adapt Clark's words: through this Otherness the sign 'Kaffir' is marked with the intentionality 'evil' - a sign that has nothing to do with the Xhosa-in-history (p. 94). American romance similarly demonizes the Indians:

In history this Otherness is political, but in romance it becomes ethical, a quality made to appear as grounded in Iroquois 'nature' that legitimises their removal. (Clark, p. 94)

The Xhosa and the symbol of their resistance are ideologically criminalized: the Amatola mountains are a 'place of refuge' for 'stolen cattle ... for every murderer ... and tribe ... guilty of transgression' (p. 21). Also the reductive recital of the Rharhabe genealogy and the moralizing landscape descriptions arise out of Grimm's ideological intent of showing the Xhosa as undeserving of the land:

Grimm's stories provide an example of the stifling of imagination by social and ideological pressures. He knew something of African time-keeping, with their magnificently poetic naming of the years after flutes, axes, breasts, mighty waters and so on; he understood the laws of succession Yet this knowledge does not fire his imagination, or shake the rigid moral and social code which his stories are built upon. This rigidity was partly the result of his insistence that the colonies were settlement territories for Germany's restless population. (Hugh Ridley, p. 581)

The text denies Xhosa historical culture, in particular their system of agro-pastoralism. The representation of the

Xhosa as robbing the land by taking what grows naturally, without cultivating (p. 7), displaces the historical fact of land robbery by the whites. The text tells that the Xhosa are forced to forage in the fields (p. 27), but does not allude to the material underpinnings of this historical fact of famine after the Seventh Frontier War, namely, the systematic destruction of fields and crops by the British army. Instead, it harps on the theme of the powerful having enough, while the commoners starve and have to seek work in the Cape Colony. It notes the exceptional harvests of 1848-49 and routinely refers to their 'disorderly field-gardens':

The harvests of the haphazard maize - and millet patches [Flecken] were immoderately large in the next two years, and the Kaffirs stuffed into the grainpits whatever these could hold. Also the cattle were unendingly fertile. (p. 34)

The iconography of scattered huts, wild field-gardens and mazes of footpaths purges the land 'of competing meaning' (Bunn, p. 23). With Kuper, Martin Hall argues that 'the architecture of farming settlements in southern Africa has symbolic dimensions' (The Changing Past, p. 73). The spatial organization of a settlement signifies social relations and 'is not simply a pragmatic or random arrangement' (Hall, p. 72), as is implied in Kaffernland.²⁶

The historical reality of the indigenes' six major wars of resistance against white intrusion is mythically inverted in the image of a Kaffraria waiting for the white working-man to free and rule it. This representation of 'real conditions the other way around' (Clark, p. 12) revitalizes the myth of the white man as the saviour of Africa. Kaffraria is represented as primarily the domain of wild animals, to imply that it is not the Xhosa that are to be

deprived of land by the white working-man. The opening scene depicts Xhosaland and its people in 'a timeless image of concord' without signs of 'work, economy, history, politics and struggle' (Clark, p. 13). Grimm reproduces 'the equation: No Documents = No History' (Bundy, p. 10). Grimm's source work denies Xhosa pre-colonial history:

Erst seit Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts mit dem Vordringen der Weißen vom Süden beginnt die eigentliche Geschichte und kann nachgewiesen werden, wie sich die gegenwärtigen Völkerverhältnisse der Kaffernation gestaltet haben. (Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern', p. 1)

4.6 The land and nature as mythic signs

In Kaffernland the sign 'the land' or 'nature' is, in Clark's terms, a rapidly mobile sign: signifieds are surreptitiously inserted into it or removed from it. As 'wild pristine space' (p. 8), Kaffraria is beautiful, but malign. Brother Döhne, one of the first Germans to explore it, compared it 'to the old Palestine, of which the Scriptures say, that milk and honey flowed in it; for this is truly applicable to Kaffraria' (p. 158). It is a 'Sonnenland' from which 'Harry Smith departed with a heavy heart' (p. 96). The military villages are 'amidst abundant waterfalls and sheltered by mighty cliffs' (p. 28). This setting, however, is treacherous:

Above the cliffs was the forest, the evergreen, wild Amatola forest. All four villages had abundant fertile land. They lacked nothing other than the possibility of defending themselves. But that they could ever be attacked, of that no one thought. (p. 28)

The Auckland settlers are proud of 'What we've produced from nothing' yet are keen to leave a land good enough only for 'Boers, Blacks and baboons: Ein richtiger weißer Mann kann hier nicht leben' (p. 46). The women soon leave 'the miserable land, that had robbed them of their men' (p. 57).

Several names naturalize the notion that the German settlers came to deserve the land. To the Kropfs Kaffraria is a 'land of insecurity' (p. 73) as their mission station at Bethel is twice burnt down in the Frontier Wars. Frau Kropf writes to her father about the 'heathen land', implying its need of redemption: 'Heißet sie umsonst das Kaffernland'? (p. 78).

The signified 'hard, unproductive earth' (pp. 214, 239) justifies the colonizer's intrusion to undertake the enormous task of transforming and thereby deserving it. The narrator reminds the sleeping Captain Hoffmann that the legionaries 'ought first to work for such a comfortable bed and such prosperity in all weather' (p. 157). This Social Darwinist notion underlies von Delft's view that Grimm writes about 'ordinary people' struggling against 'the desert, drought ... hunger' and against 'Naturgewalten oder Naturmenschen' (correspondence with J. Wozniak, July 1983).

Kaffraria is imaged as a land of salvation when the narrator ponders whether Hoffmann's soul does not passionately believe that 'the glowing sun down there in Kaffraria, can really still save it' from himself 'and from misfortune' (pp. 212-13). Scattered semes impress the signified 'the promised land' (pp. 205, 214), obscuring the historical fact of violent expropriation. Reverend Willmans prays 'about the promised land' which the men 'are believed to be unworthy of' (p. 214). Stutterheim and Hoffmann depict Kaffraria as 'ein Kanaan der Abenteuer', 'ein Neuland', 'das gesicherte Zukunftsland' (p. 153). Through this metaphoric-metonymic process, Grimm insistently pursues the political function of naming to justify expropriation.

In Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit Kaffraria is denoted, for instance, as 'Neuland', 'Binnenland', 'Markland', 'Wildland' (pp. 128, 97, 169, 73).²⁷ The metonymic shift in the creation of these names is illuminated by Lacan's suggestion 'that the very form of metonymy signifies its production as a way of bypassing censorship' (quoted in Clark, p. 178).

The representation of the land as poorly inhabited naturalizes its redemarcation and redistribution. Thus the legionaries take their envoy's findings as fact:

'Captain Hoffmann has travelled through all the provinces that are expected to be assigned to us. He has found the lands extraordinarily fertile. ... The government has demarcated the three provinces Kaffraria, Victoria and Albany on the south-east African coast for us. Precisely these areas have the most abundant rivers of southern Africa, they are also already sparsely settled. Our prospects should be good.' (Kaffernland, p. 206)

Milton records that by April 1857 the legionaries - 'tough, hardbitten, hard-drinking bachelors' - 'were taking up land that had once belonged to the tribes of Maqoma, Phato, Mhala and others' (p. 243). But the men were not settling into naturally depopulated areas: although the cattle-killing movement broke Xhosa power, writes John Zarwan,

Grey's program involved coercion, humiliation, confiscation of land, and military raids ... Sarili escaped, Sandile saved himself with a timely submission, and he, Anta, Oba and Fynn were resettled on small locations. ('The Xhosa Cattle Killings, 1856-57', p. 530)

In 'Volk ohne Raum bei Hans Grimm', Griseldis Crowhurst-Bond speaks of 'the principal difference between 'fictive and real space' as 'the semanticization of space' (p. 155). She finds that Grimm's works lack 'semanticization of space' and particularly an African ambience. He mentions 'details' about the landscape that 'remain information without any 'Bildwert' (Crowhurst-Bond, p. 152). In his concern to make

an ideological point, his depictions of nature as landscape do not acquire 'Gestaltqualität' (p. 156).

In Kaffernland Grimm does semanticize space in that he transfers it into meaning. Perhaps Crowhurst-Bond means that Grimm does not transcribe space into image. In the opening scene of Kaffernland clichés depict the space Kaffraria, but meaning is also insistently stamped onto it, as in the other landscape descriptions. Here nature is represented as 'Unland' that has to be transformed into 'Nutzfläche' - into a productive cultural landscape (Crowhurst-Bond, p. 155). In the scene where Kropf walks with the legionaries' envoy Hoffmann, the land is semanticized as 'promising earth' that can be redeemed only through backbreaking, unceasing toil:

Es war auch ein wunderschöner milder Wintertag mit einer Luft noch reiner und köstlicher, als sie sich sonst um die menscheinsamen, freien Sonnenstellen der Welt schmiegt. Da möchte die nüchternste Seele glauben, die Menschen zögen mit Flügeln schöne Wege und müßten nicht schweißig und schwerfällig und roh durch den Staub

Kropf begleitete den Gast alsbald durch die Sonne und über die versprechende Erde zu Brownlee nach Döhne hinüber. Weil nun große Heiterkeit ringsum fortwährend betörend lächelte, vergaß Kropf von der schmerzhaften, unermüdlichen Arbeit zu sprechen, durch die einzig und allein dies Land erlöst und gewonnen werden könnte. (Kaffernland, p. 159)

4.7 Kaffraria: 'waiting for the white working-man'

The above view of the land of the Xhosa in 1856 as sparsely populated and uncultivated is a wish-fulfilling image: it inverts historical reality. As the text notes, the white working-man has 'to free' Kaffraria - of the Xhosa system of agro-pastoralism, their mode of production, their history. The text endorses Governor Harry Smith's exhortation that the Xhosa practise sheep farming 'to learn to shear wool, in order to make clothes for themselves' (p. 26). The above

image of the enormous task of 'redeeming' and winning the land turns it into the Other, for,

In order to exploit the material world and turn it to profit, man perceives it as an Otherness that God has predestinated for his use. (Clark, p. 148)

The ideological and mythic significations attached to the land seek to justify incorporation of Kaffraria into the capitalist order in which space means 'Landed property, possession, because only possession guarantees freedom', as Crowhurst-Bond aptly words it (p. 155). Myths serve a material order: referring to Barthes, Coward and Ellis explain that myths

are forms of representation that naturalise certain meanings, eternalise the present state of the world, in the interests of the bourgeois class. (p. 26)

A few observations to conclude this discussion of the interrelated mythologization of the legionaries, the Xhosa and the land are necessary. Firstly, the text implies that the German missionaries, the legionaries and the settlers of 1858 are the white working-men who can free Kaffraria. They are the deliverers, not those men the prophet Mhlakaza had seen, 'who said they belonged to the tribe of the Russians, and had fought against the English and are now ready to save ['erlösen] the Kaffirs' (p. 170).

Secondly, like Volk ohne Raum, Kaffernland projects the image of the Germans as 'the cleanliest and most decent and honourable and capable and industrious nation in the world' (translation by Atkins, German Literature Through Nazi Eyes, p. 88). Ideologically this intrinsic superiority justifies the expropriation of the racially inferior Other. Thirdly, to write the legend of the legionaries who could have

transformed Kaffraria and regenerated Germany, the text invents obstacles such as Xhosa belligerence. Starvation, their enemy in Germany (p. 168), again threatens them – as the ally of Sarhili (p. 175). To translate 'the wish "If only things had been like that" into the reassuring statement "that's how things were" '(Clark, p. 93), Kaffernland also produces a credo on narration:

4.8 'True and false narration'; history as a cycle

The narrator's reflection on 'true and false' narration articulates the text's aesthetic credo and its mythic view of society and history. He naturalizes the myths his legionaries are enshrouded in as 'the haziness' arising from the time lapse necessary before appraising them. (Would the contradictions about them have been too irreconcilable without the haze?) Self-consciously he rationalizes, using the first-person plural for the first time:

The remarks in the few officers' diaries about the wild last night in the camp of Browndown do not correspond with the oral reports which the old men gave to their sons. This is not because the latter were narrating truly and the former falsely. The old men saw one image in the series of images which constituted their earlier life. The officers wrote *enthusiastically* under the immediate impression of events, when everything that is artificially made and constructed by people, seems so important ['künstlich gemacht und gesetzt ist']. But we belong in the midst of God's wide landscape together with fauna and flora, hence mankind must indeed also be viewed from a distance, for this reason there may be a slight haziness. (p. 235)

The legionaries themselves are said to realize the necessity of a time-lapse before reviewing their past:

But to the old men, who were tough enough to endure and drive cunning, long absorbent roots into the hard earth, now, towards the end of their lives, from the distance of time, many things seem amusing, which once were of bitter seriousness to many. (p. 214)

The text tries to portray that which is 'universally human' about the legionaries.³⁰ This engenders a discourse which substantivizes their feelings and characteristics as 'human essence': they are referred to as 'die Unruhigen und Fürchtenden und um ihre Hoffnung Betrogenen' (p. 151); 'die gequälten Anständigen' (p. 113); 'die Lufthungrigen und Atemstarken' (p. 216) and so forth. The focus on essences appeals to the German reader's sympathies and projects a humanist view of the world. This is perhaps part of what Horn sees as the 'illusionary' 'humanism of the right-wing' in the Weimar Republic ('Die Krisis der Intelligenz', p. 1).

The credo's recognition of the truth of different perspectives and forms of narration of the same events is partially evident in Kaffernland. The text, for instance, mentions how different settler groups focalize Sarhili's role at the start of, and after the cattle-killing (p. 180). But it reinforces its view of Sarhili as the arch-conspirator. It is not concerned to present different tellings - which can all 'be true to the facts' - to get us to 'to think about the facts in a different way' (Carrier, p. 34).

Other pronouncements on narration point to the need for a review of past events and stress the power of the white man's written word: Brownlee holds up to Sandile an account he had written of an incident in the chief's early rule: 'This paper can look into the old era, like a man looks down from the mountain into the valley' (p. 195). But re-focalization in itself is inadequate; of importance is who sees and from what position: the narrator's superior vision from a vantage-point above the events alone yields the truth, for 'whoever gazes from afar with mortal eyes, easily

overlooks the misery' (p. 8). A voice urges Hoffmann to consider how he is viewing prospects for the legionaries: 'Mit welchen Augen siehst du, Kapitän Hoffmann?' (p. 153), while Mrs Brownlee's view of events as 'from a high vantage point' is affirmed (p. 169). This perspective from above is the position of the colonizing culture, as is shown by the mission song Kropf and Scholz sing on arriving in Kaffraria:

Und wir mit Licht im Herzen,
 Mit Weisheit aus den Höh'n
 Wir könnten es verschmerz'en,
 Daß [die blinden Heiden] im Finstern gehn? (p. 17)

Even though the narrator presents his portrayal of the legionaries as truth, this view is slanted towards the self-image of the old soldiers, as opposed to the officers' view of them. As noted above, this partisanship, this lack of detachment, stamps all history writing. Yet the craft of history writing that Grimm has inherited feigns an impartiality. Temu and Swai explain that 'scientific ideology or objectivism' was 'from the start a partisan goal' (p. 123):

The tendency to confuse facts with reality itself is associated with the rise of the bourgeois world-view called empiricism, whose method of conceptualization is called the empirical method. This method, ... an alternative to medieval scholasticism, ... was ... an imitation of what was being done in the natural sciences In view of the hostility the natural scientists faced from the Church, they claimed neutrality for their study. (p. 123)

The narrator's assertion in his credo that 'we belong in ... God's timeless landscape' is a view of history as foreordained and cyclical, the will of a divinity. He stresses the recurrence of wretchedness in Germany and of war in Europe (pp. 104, 113). He has Brownlee remind Sandile that 'the new era is the old era, and the old era is the new era, and there is no difference for you' (p. 195).³¹

According to Pakendorf, also Grimm's literary predecessor, Raabe, takes 'a fatalistic view of history as the eternal repetition of the same' ('Drunten im Kaffernlande', pp. 93-4). Furthermore, the denotative language of the narrator's credo, its plain statement of 'how things are', serves, as Coward and Ellis word it, 'to naturalise and dehistoricise a humanly-created reality' (p. 29).

It can thus be said that the discourse of history in Kaffernland is mythic and claims truth status. This claim relies particularly on the scientific aura of realism, as will be shown below.

4.9 Fiction, reflection, truth and referentiality

Part 3.10 above shows how, through artifice, the realist discourse in Kaffernland gets the reader to accept the world it represents as a true reflection of reality. Below we see how this discourse copies the discourse of science, leading us to believe that it might be speaking truth. The text aims at transparency and, particularly through its reproduction of historical documents, at referentiality.

Gottlob Frege's view that through examining a work of literature for its 'truth' we would be abandoning 'aesthetic delight for an attitude of scientific investigation', has since been repudiated (quoted in Todorov, 'The Discourse of Fiction', in Ducrot, p. 260). Todorov stresses that it is essential to avoid confusing

'realism' and 'truth' in the sense of formal logic. For logicians, truth is a relationship between the individual occurrence of a sentence and the referent about which the sentence affirms something. (p. 260)

If formal logic 'is an attempt to create a perfect language' - which alone can speak of truth - then, as a literary work,

Kaffernland does not constitute truth.³² Realism refutes the claim that truth belongs in the domain of science, and aesthetic delight in the domain of fiction. As Fredric Jameson notes in 'Reflections in Conclusion':

The originality of the concept of realism ... lies in its claim to cognitive as well as aesthetic status ... the ideal of realism presupposes a form of aesthetic experience which yet lays claim to a binding relationship to the real itself, ... to those realms of knowledge and praxis which had traditionally been differentiated from the realm of the aesthetic, with its ... constitution as sheer appearance. (p. 198)

More significant is Alan Sheridan's view of the 'the whole Realist or Naturalist project, which forms one of the most important elements in the nineteenth-century novel: this 'is related to the positivist aim of providing a "scientific" account of society and its workings' (Michel Foucault, p. 77). Noyes affirms this: 'for it is science which has defined the field within which any discourse must move if it is to lay claim to realism' ('Space, Discourse, p. 9).

Barthes explains the cultural code as 'the referential code, the voice of science' (S/Z, p. 205). Although these references derive entirely from books, they constitute literature as 'reality': 'all the sciences are present in the literary monument' (Barthes, in Sontag, p. 463). In Kaffernland such knowledge is present in the portrayal of nineteenth-century German and South African history.

To the European user of Meyer's Großes Konversations-Lexikon the knowledge provided about the Khoi in Kaffernland is rational, although its only basis or 'logic' is that of 'the already-read' (Barthes, S/Z, p. 19). Pakendorf notes that the sixth edition of Meyer's Lexikon 'appeared at exactly the time' when Grimm wrote ('Of Colonizers and Colonized', p. 19). Meyer's definition of the Khoi affirms

what Kaffernland tells about them. Citing this definition, Pakendorf notes its 'admixture of ethnographic and racist elements (which ultimately amounts to nothing less than scientific racialism, or racist science)' (p. 16):

The Hottentot will give everything for the enjoyment of brandy and tobacco. The temperament of the H. is predominantly sanguine and from the carelessness of their character there results an unpredictability of behaviour which completely cripples their good qualities ... The H. have little morality. Their chief vices are inconstancy, boasting mania, mendacity, theft and sensuality. (translation by Pakendorf, p. 17)

This pseudo-science, as well as the text's claims to truth would dispute what JanMohamed so soberly reminds us of:

since the European audience has no direct contact with the native, imperialist fiction tends to be unconcerned with the truth-value of its representation. In fact, since such literature does not so much re-present as present the native for the first time, it is rarely concerned with overtly affirming the reader's experience of his own culture and therefore does not really solicit his approval. (p. 63)³³

In Kaffernland the Khoi are constituted as a scientific object through a denotative language which tries to make the word appear completely adequate to the trait described. Coward and Ellis explain the process of denotation 'in the repetition without variation of stereotypes' (p. 54) by citing from Barthes' Le Plaisir du texte:

Encratic language, (that which is produced and spread under the protection of power) is by definition a language of repetition; all the official institutions of language ...: school ... pulp novels ... news, always repeat the same structure, the same sense, often the same words: stereotypes are a political fact, the principal aspect of ideology.

A stereotype is a word that is repeated ... as if it were quite natural, as if ... this recurring word was adequate every time for different reasons Nietzsche remarks that 'truth' is nothing other than the solidification of old metaphors. (p. 54)

Precisely by relying on known, almost ossified metaphors, Kaffernland seeks to establish itself as a truthful account.

For, as Noyes argues, dazzling metaphor serves to connect discourse 'to poetry and dream, and to distinguish it from science, since metaphor is supported by a refusal to speak the truth' ('Territorial representation', p. 5). Thus Kropf rejects Döhne's idealized descriptions of Kaffraria. His reading of the travel-report to the envoy Hoffmann is part of a process of installing it as new knowledge, as 'scientific discourse'.

In the opening scene of Kaffernland the 'narration does not appear to be the voice of an author; its source appears to be a true reality which speaks' (Coward and Ellis, p. 49). The power of the narrator's apparently impartial eye surveying the 'undisturbed space' Kaffraria, creates it as a new world, new knowledge. This knowledge is presented in rhetorical questions - together with their answers. As a pseudo-question the rhetorical question does not so much seek, as affirm an answer implicit in the question. The alternation of questions and answers presents the knowledge of the land as rational, as sense, as reality.

Grimm uses rhetorical forms - but not for 'display', so that they 'acquire importance in themselves' (Todorov, 'The Discourse of Fiction', in Ducrot, p. 259). Like Quintilian, Grimm is opposed to fiction as 'the oratory of display'; his epic does not, like other fiction, aim 'solely at giving pleasure' (Wheelock, p. 134). The rhetorical style of Kaffernland in itself claims the seriousness of history for the work. Through its overtly presented ideology the text is rhetorical and as such, Seamon suggests, it has an 'extra-poetical' purpose (p. 199). The transparency and

referentiality the work aims at is explained in Easthope's discussion of these concepts:

First ... in literature language is 'used for its own sake' and so poetry is not to be treated as a discourse which refers to a reality ... The language of a poem may aim for transparency but this does not make a poem referential. Transparency, a certain relation of signifier and signified, is not the same thing as reference, which is a relation between the signified and reality. Second, in all discourse the signifier precedes the signified and no discourse is by nature transparent. But this fact does not preclude there being a discourse which gives knowledge by referring to a reality. It does mean that a discourse providing such knowledge depends upon the reader being positioned so as to read the discourse as transparent and treat it as referential. (p. 17)

In Kaffernland linguistic signs generally succeed in being transparent: they appear as 'simple instruments serving the circulation of meaning' (Todorov, 'The Discourse of Fiction' in Ducrot, p. 259). Besides being a form of 'reflection', of correspondence to reality, the text is 'a form of signifying practice' (Tony Bennett, Formalism and Marxism, pp. 39, 38). In signifying the past, it reminds of German endeavour as a basis for present-day claims. Furthermore, its reconstruction of history aims to refer to a reality lying beyond the text. Seamon indeed correctly equates the 'referential' with the 'historical' (p. 214).

Various strategies in Kaffernland position the reader to see its presentation of the history of the German Legion as referential: the text provides detailed information about them in an overtly rhetorical discourse. It reconstructs the colonists' letter to the ministry in England, motivating the German Military Settlement (p. 148). For this there is documentary support, as there probably also is for the missionary and newspaper reports the text recreates.³⁴

Viktor Shklovsky, however, stresses the lack of transparency of a work, 'the necessary self-reflexive character of all art': in a novel 'actual letters are turned into "literature", truth becomes fiction' (quoted in Hawkes, p. 144). While I recognize the fictive nature of the uttering-subjects and their texts in Kaffernland, I view those texts presented as historical documents in Kaffernland as referential. While Grimm did alter or omit much that did not serve his purpose, in most cases he copied texts verbatim from his sources, which are themselves not neutral tellings. The European reader of Kropf or Spanuth's works would recognize these as the substratum of Kaffernland. This status of history is what Grimm wanted to secure for Kaffernland, in order to present Kaffraria as a part of German history and legitimize Germany's claim to it. What needs scrutiny, it seems, is not the veracity or fictionality of the historical documents in the text, but the use to which Grimm puts them.

Schiffels correctly warns against 'the fatal equation of historiographical reconstruction and fictional construction of history' (p. 35). Lützeler reinforces this by arguing that 'incorporation of historical reality into the fictional sphere' does not turn a historical novel into a piece of historiography (p. 146). The differing conceptions of mimesis in fiction and history writing he points to are useful for reading Kaffernland - a text which, like some of Grimm's other works, presents itself 'as if it might be scientific fact but might also be fiction' (Noyes, *Space, Discourse* p. 10).³⁵ Lützeler holds that the truth of a poetic utterance does not arise through its emulation of the

scientific principles of historiography. The latter yield truth statements, which are verifiable because their refutation is possible. But 'as fiction, novelistic utterances are from the outset not "falsifiable"' (p. 149). Lützeler stresses that both genres have a capacity for truth, but, unlike the historian, the novelist does not seek to present actual historical events as accurately as possible (p. 149). He points to 'the Hegelian conceptions of totality' ('Totalitätsvorstellungen') on which traditional historical and novelistic narration premised their truth postulates (pp. 151-2). The vast scope of Grimm's epic suggests that he envisaged portraying the totality, the truth, of the history of the German settlement.

In producing epic fiction, Grimm may be controlled by his imagination, but this is enabled and constrained by an intertext. Kaffernland can be read productively if, as Clark suggests, one engages in 'the more exacting philosophical task of distinguishing between different kinds of linguistic representations, none of which is in the end either totally true or totally false' (p. 42). The dense layers of ideology and myth Clark finds in Cooper and Melville's works underline the difficulty of finding 'truth' in historical fiction. But amidst the myths there is some truth. For instance, although Kaffernland mythologizes the cattle-killing as an act of fate, it nevertheless provides meaningful historical detail about the movement. Significantly, it tells of the lungsickness epidemic which devastated Xhosa herds from 1853 onwards (pp. 133-4, 138). Grimm may be using this account to point to Xhosa superstition but, by including it, he, unlike some writers

on the subject, presents what Peires calls 'a necessary cause of the Xhosa cattle-killing: without it, the movement could never have occurred' ('The Central Beliefs of the Xhosa Cattle-Killing', p. 45). To find the text's truth, one should, as Carrier suggests, 'match the events as represented against those events' (p. 36). Furthermore, one must, like Jameson, grapple to find a way of making texts yield up the historical as well as their subtexts:

we must have a way of distinguishing those elements in a text that are the fantastic offspring of the political unconscious, and those other elements that are signs of the reality which this unconscious is trying to repress. We cannot arrive at the referent without a road map. Without a notion of the real we cannot even hope to recognize fantasy as fantasy. (quoted in Scholes, Textual Power, p. 81)

The myths in Kaffernland cannot simply be inverted to reveal actual conditions, 'the truth', since they arise through condensation and displacement of social codes. The political stance Grimm adopts in Kaffernland to lead us to believe that he is speaking of reality must constantly be examined as a particular perspective of reality.³⁴ To pierce Kaffernland's blend of fact, fiction and myth one should also be guided by Wolfgang Holdheim's observation:

The aesthetic-historical process of understanding does not unfold in rigidly formalized double-or-nothing polarities such as objectivity or subjectivity, absoluteness or relativity, truth or falsehood, but progresses in terms of degrees and nuances of appropriateness. (The Hermeneutic Mode, p. 169)

The process of meaning-making in Kaffernland can take the title of 'commitment' if, as Njabulo Ndebele suggests, it treats readers as 'equals in the quest for truth':

there is a difference between art that 'sells' ideas to the people, and that whose ideas are embraced by the people, because they have been made to understand them through the evocation of lived experience in all its

complexities. ('Turkish Tales and thoughts on S. A. fiction', p. 48)

While one narratorial voice in Kaffernland proclaims its view as the truth, the other professes to speak the truth of the Volk. However, Grimm's readers are not shown the class interests at work in national issues, as will be seen below.

5 THE ACT AND DISCOURSE OF COLONIZATION

Kaffernland thematizes German national issues of the mid-nineteenth century. The German Military Settlement in Kaffraria is signified through a struggle in discourse between Hoffmann and Bliesen. A moralizing discourse inveighs against British imperialist exploitation of German endeavour. A more dominant colonialist discourse endorses Britain's repressive and ideological machinery in Kaffraria. The formal colonial subjugation of the indigenous people after the Seventh Frontier War relies on military force, on forms of discourse and on missionary work. The text reconstructs the governors' policies on land, labour and security. It also reveals the power of the colonizer's word in his signification of the cattle-killing movement.

5.1 German Nationalism and Peasant Emancipation

In his essay of 1922, 'Concerning the German failure of the German Writer', Grimm points to the historical recurrence of starvation in Germany, and to its political solution:

already in the eighties and more so in the nineties and even more so before the World War, and in these days German starvation has become a question of foreign policy and cannot be solved in any other way. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 43)

This problem can be solved through German nationalism: this the essay indicates by pointing to the advantages the English derive from nationalism:

National consciousness is most strongly developed in the Englishman. The common Englishman is a nationalist, mainly because he surpasses everyone else in acquiring the greatest gains ... and privileges by belonging to his nation. (p. 45)

The meaning produced in Grimm's essays and in Kaffernland forms part of the social production of knowledge, which

seeks to 'legitimize a particular historical course' (Temu and Swai, p. 114). For the envisaged reader there are parallels between, on the one hand the situation in the Weimar Republic and on the other hand, the national struggles and widespread immiseration in the nineteenth century that Kaffernland depicts. The reader is positioned to see this historical knowledge as referring to an extra-textual reality. The narrator often discusses these questions in the present tense and directly with the reader. These questions are also focalized by the former schoolmaster who expresses his liberal views in a long letter.

Hauffe's letter to his daughter, Frau Kropf, denounces the 'powerful' in Germany who had slaughtered the 1848 Revolution, the new German state, in the moment of its birth:

Since those turbulent years which promised [my country] the birth of a new era, we now have here all those lords and valets, who in former times could ... lie back in comfort and still have someone at their beck and call. These people attempted child murder everywhere, as formerly Herod did. In order that - heaven forbid! - the new era should not dawn. (p. 68)

Hauffe criticizes the connivance of the petty-bourgeois: 'we have abandoned Schleswig-Holstein in its plight' because 'from here the new era could develop The wretched freedom-preachers ... must be silenced, we say' (p. 68).

To support his plea for land for Gebhart, Hauffe tells of the immiseration caused by the peasant emancipation laws:

In the year 1848 the *intellectuals* and the liberals and also a few civil servants, who still cared a bit about our Prussian royal tradition, began to say out aloud, that a law must be made, that the small holdings which since 1816 were excluded from the regulation ... become the free-of-soccage property of their owners. Already most of the leaseholders and small farmers ... have in a just and unjust way become discontented cottagers and miserable day-labourers, who hope and strive only to be able to clear off to a foreign land. ... [S]oon the small peasants will all have disappeared to the detriment of

agriculture, and so the the countryside is becoming more dreadfully depopulated. (pp. 69-70)

Hauffe tells how the 'project-makers' deceive the small man and how the baron had expropriated the Gebharts (pp. 70-72). For his intervention on behalf of the helpless Johann Gebhart, he was likened to those 'freedom-preachers' (p. 72). There was 'nothing that could be done', hence his plea for land in Kaffraria for Gebhart and others set on emigrating to America (p. 72). Uncritically, he repeats the prevailing rationalizations of the peasants' plight:

The land-owners had not at all been interested in the small increase in land, but in the growth of sufficient workers for their industries. And it is also no misfortune when the people, instead of eking out a living from the land, now lived decently from their labour. (p. 72)

Grimm expresses a fairly similar view in his essay: 'On the History of the Biggest German Settlement in Africa.' This begins with the claim that the South African Union owes this productive region in the Eastern Cape to 'the negative effects of the ... laws passed between 1806 and 1857', emancipating the peasants in Prussia:

The purpose of driving the peasants [off the land] was not the insignificant increase in land, but their transformation into day-labourers. When it was finally recognized in Berlin that the commonweal demanded that the point of the further spread of such abuses should be declared, and when the law of the year 1850 attempted to compensate the shortcomings of the earlier edicts, it was too late: ... most had become day labourers. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 173)

Here the syntax conceals the class fractions that benefitted - tremendously - from the 'increase in land'. According to E. J. Hobsbawm, 'in Prussia the peasant emancipation expropriated the serf' (The Age of Revolution, p. 188). This was mainly a result of 'the rational economic argument of civil servants, and the greed of the nobility' (p. 188).

They obtained as freehold property almost half of all land formerly leased to hereditary tenantry:

In return for the abolition of forced labour and feudal dues and for his new property rights, the peasant was obliged, among other losses, to give his former lord one-third or one-half of his old holding or an equivalent and crippling sum of money. The long and complex legal process of transition was far from complete by 1848, but it was already evident that while the estate-owners had benefitted greatly and a smaller number of comfortable peasants somewhat, thanks to their new property rights, the bulk of the peasantry were distinctly worse off and the landless labourers were increasing fast. (Hobsbawm, p. 188)

According to Hobsbawm, the surplus German rural masses emigrated, especially because of the severity of the famine of 1846-48 in Germany (p. 188). He explains that in Prussia emancipation gave the peasant 'two-thirds or half the land he already tilled and freedom from forced labour' (p. 191). But it took away the common field, and the 'free land market meant that he probably had to sell his land' (p. 191).

Grimm's class interests prevent his referring to what Hobsbawm reveals. His call for a return to an agrarian state is romantic and anti-capitalist. Pakendorf's view of Grimm's social vision as 'a paradoxical amalgam' ('Mord in der Steppe', p. 67) is elucidated by Richard Samuel:

Grimm's 'national socialism' with its stress on the peasant has a definitely middle-class character Grimm aims at the restoration of the old order, anchored as it was in the securely-founded family, in the agricultural community and the 'Bürgertum'. ('Thomas Mann and Hans Grimm', p. 119)

After 1870 German nationalism strove to mask class barriers. Rolf Geißler points out that in Grimm's work 'The place of the decisive concept of class is taken by that of space' (p. 146). Grimm sees Volk ohne Raum as the story 'of the one predicament common to all German people, the farmer and the worker, the prince and the beggar of German nationality'

(Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 63). In Kaffernland the wretchedness of the German economic situation in the 1850s is presented, not in class terms, but as that of 'the careworn Heimat', or as the plight of the German nation. However, the partisanship for the bourgeoisie is clear from the pathos in the description of the 'past glory' of the Grunow family (p. 110) and the recruitment of the 'Jäger' 'in the old duchies' (p. 120).

The plight of the dispossessed German masses is re-focalized in Frau Kropf's reply to her father: in Kaffraria there is no place for those like Gebhart who are 'unable to resist the temptations of drink even in your Prussian order' (Kaffernland, p. 78). Early on, the text derogates her perspective: on arriving in Kaffraria, 'she, like ... the women of her social circle, was quite convinced, that whatever was incomprehensible about strange people and things could not be of much worth' (p. 35). The text is critical of the way Frau Kropf justifies the misery of the German masses on theological grounds:

The immigrants seldom cause the teachers and the Brothers joy, because they are lacking in Christian example and use foul language ... and hardly attempt to integrate themselves into the existing order. But ... we cannot agree with you ... dear Father Whosoever complains, is still not in the right, and the saying must surely prevail for all times: Everyone should be subject to the authority which has power over him. The baron is Johann Gebhart's authority and for his deeds the baron will give account before Him I also want to quote you a sentence which my husband and Brother Bonaz deem fitting for this case and which was already used in earlier times with regard to the demands of the small peasants in Prussia. The sentence reads: 'Not all people can endure complete freedom well, especially when it is connected with poverty; also, not all people are of the kind who, without being governed by others, strive to be useful to themselves or the common good In this way ... Frau Kropf, without malice and forethought retaliated to her father's political letter. (pp. 78-9)

The narrator resumes the discussion of German national unity: 'Oh, I must tell of a wretched time' (p. 103). This line and even paragraphs recur in chapter X, to evoke the despair over an era 'in which the idea of German Nationalism was maligned, trod on and abused',

because the German Princes believed that freedom lurked behind it and because foreigners suspected it might still turn German impotence into German power. I must tell of a time ... when in Germany the fear of the German nation was greater than the feeling for Germany's honour. (pp. 103-4)

The narrator here alludes to England's intervention in the Schleswig-Holstein issue and to 'expansionist German national claims' (Thomson, p. 242). The Prussian King had sent a 'strange note' to the Danish king, explaining why he seemed to be helping those the Danes had overpowered:

'Prussia has been forced to take this step only so as to prevent the radical and republican elements of Germany from intervening. Prussia especially wants to preserve the duchies The republican elements of Germany, to which the duchies could as a last resort turn, to preserve themselves and their structures, are to be prevented from getting control of this situation.' (Kaffernland, p. 104)

This exposes Prussia's fear of a liberal nationalist revolution and the Danish king's retention of the duchies - 'a solution that outraged nationalist feelings in both countries' (Thomson, p. 242). The narrator speaks critically of Prussia's persecution of these nationalist forces:

Yes, Schleswig-Holstein was so excellently retained for the Danish King, that all the German officers of the Schleswig-Holstein army had to flee the land as reviled, outcast starvelings, to say nothing of the collaborators, the politicians and mercenaries arrested elsewhere in Germanien. (p. 104)

5.2 Formation of the British German Legion

These German nationalist fighters are used again - this time by British imperialism. Addressing them as 'barricade fighters', the narrator, tongue-in-cheek, calls on them and

Germans-abroad to enlist in the well-paid British German Legion. England is indirectly lectured about her imperialist conduct:

Erklärt man in Frankreich und England nicht (allerdings wie immer), Frankreich und England verträten die edelste Sache, der Krieg werde geführt für alle Völker?

...
Wie Fliegen sterben die Tommys an den Seuchen am Schwarzen Meer. England braucht neue Soldaten. Hört ihr's, ihr Krieger? ...
Kommt zurück aus Brasilien! ... England zahlt handfester

Kommt zurück auch aus Nordamerika! Wem ist's dort gelungen ... Dachtet ihr mit eurem kleinen unehrlichen Schwindel, die da drüben mit ihrem großen ehrlichen Schwindel um den Löffel zu barbieren? (p. 105)

Initially, mainly Schleswig-Holsteiner were recruited (p. 116). The narrator explains how their struggle was crushed in the interests of Prussia, Austria - those nearest them (p. 225) - and England:

There was much talk about the battles at Kolding ... and about the misery of the now completely overpowered duchies ... and about the plight of all the other fellow fighters There were many who were not at all well-disposed to the British government whom they wanted to serve. They were angry with Prussia and Austria because they had acted in such an un-German way and had ... for reasons of legitimist phantasies stabbed the duchies' army in the back. Were they, the officers, not the only true legitimists in the whole matter of the duchies? But England, she had again proved herself to be a shopkeeper nation. England had opposed the Holsteiner because the German Customs Union would have extended from the Baltic Sea to the North Sea, if Schleswig had become German. This was repeated from one to another. (pp. 116-17)

According to the 'Kaffraria' essay, trading with human beings by an avaricious ruling prince, drove many 'to the English flag' (p. 34). This anti-dynastic argument conceals Grimm's pro-imperialist position: for the Schleswig-Holstein 'freedom-fighters' in Germany the new recruitment to the British German Legion 'means a salvation and a new, last hope' (Kaffernland, p. 111). Graf Grunow, 'ashen and

downtrodden', will enlist under the name Lerke: 'because, if I don't make it, I rather want to perish anonymously' (p. 112). 'From Prussia there were many enquiries, but the active Prussian officers did not like the terms, and in Prussia no one willingly gave up service ... for the uncertain fate of a legionary' (p. 125).

The recruits are preyed on by 'parasites' and those staying over in Hamburg were often harrassed (p. 114). The official 'words of farewell' are 'like a mule's kicks for those tormented respectable ones for whom the fatherland in this wretched time has nothing to offer, and does not dare offer anything except stones' (p. 113). The narrator tells the reader directly: 'Oh my friend, the wretched time still prevails. England would laugh, my friend!' (p. 113). With ambivalence he tells of the English warship that sails undeterred into German harbours to fetch the recruits (p. 114). Repetitive phrases record the Legion's departure:

And one morning - it happened in this utterly wretched time, when in Germany the German people were feared and there was no feeling for German honour - ... the English warship came In this way the officers and soldiers of the British German Legion came together in this utterly wretched time: the poor Brandenburg warriors, the stiff old officers of the Spanish Legion, ... the restless barricade fighters, the longhaired tyrant-haters ... and whoever sought adventure for good pay. (pp. 114-15)

One hundred pages later the text again rhetorically evokes the German wretchedness: when the Legion is disbanded the men can return to Germany or submit to further exploitation by enlisting as Military Settlers for Kaffraria:

Or was it just for a laugh that three times the detailed open question was directed at [General von] Stutterheim by former comrades:

'On 21 November 1786 the Landgrave of Hessen received from the government of Great Britain 471 000 pounds sterling for 15 700 dead men. That is 30 pounds

sterling per dead person. What will Herr von Stutterheim get from the British Government for a dead legionary in Africa?' (pp. 214-15)

Africa is the only viable option for many, who, having 'burnt all bridges behind them', 'possessed only their lives' (p. 126). A young lieutenant has to rely on his father's 'influence with the Prussian Prince' for permission to go with the Legion to the Cape. 'Some officers managed to go along even if it was with inferior rank' (p. 239):

No, there is nothing funny about a few hundred German officers, amongst them the outcast fighters for Schleswig-Holstein 's freedom, having to beg permission to become mercenaries.

And there is nothing funny about 9 000 healthy German men with military experience wavering as to where they should go.

It is much rather a time without jest and laughter, when officers and 9 000 men are agreed, that the anxious German homeland has no goals for them. ...

Those who impetuously love life and change, those hungry-for-air and strong-of-breath are feared by the fatherland that has no use for them.

It is a time without jest and salt and German laughter.

The passionate ones must truly beg God for a cowardly heart, or become poor wretches, or ride futile patrols for the clever foreign exploiters. (pp. 215-16)

5.3 Signifying the German Military Settlement

In Kaffernland Stutterheim and Hoffmann rhetorically persuade the legionaries to settle in Kaffraria. Captain Bliesen inverts their speeches to show the men that as military settlers under British conditions, they will not experience Kaffraria as 'the promised land'. The conflicting signification of the settlement shows the production of meaning is always

a contested process, a matter for struggle between different genders, races, age groups, classes, to control the rules of signification. Together with structural linguists, Volosinov and Hall et al. insist

that reality does not, of itself, mean. Meaning is produced for the world in language [D]ifferent social groups ... continuously compete to fix, in their own interest, the way in which the words will be allowed to mean, and by direct implication, the way in which reality will be signified. This contest over words is a struggle for social power. (E. Bertelsen, 'The Unspeakable in Pursuit of the Unbeatable', p. 2)

The rhetorical speeches of the three figures behave, as Coward and Ellis put it, 'like a double speech, arousing emotional response across the "communication" of the manifest content' (p. 79). The narrator's early comment that 'big words' often lack truth (p. 9), encourages a critical view of the 'well-placed and resounding and big words' that Stutterheim inserts into the discussions of the men (p. 151). Stutterheim relies on rhetorical questions and represents the legionary as a saviour: 'For thousands of his starving and suffering countrymen he will resolve the tormenting doubts and cares at the Cape of Good Hope' (p. 152). An anonymous voice - whose rhetoric resembles the narrator's - immediately registers distrust:

Does it not sound strange and wonderful in the ears of the poor warriors, who do not know where they will lay down their heads tomorrow, that they are meant to be saviours and helpers of everyone?' (p. 152).

Stutterheim's portrayal of the legionaries nevertheless takes on authenticity by being repeated at the end of his later speech (p. 218). Hoffmann's rhetoric is shown as a form of deception of the legionaries. By contrast, the sympathetically portrayed Captain Bliesen speaks in the interest of 'the small man'. The anonymous voice expresses a lack of confidence in Hoffmann and echoes Stutterheim's view of the men as saviours. Its acceptance of Kaffraria as 'a future-land' for the legionaries suggests that the

narrator's reservations have turned to support for the settlement plans of British imperialism:

Captain Hoffmann You are supposed to find the secure land of the future for wife and child, for future brides and for the ~~sacred~~ unborn children. . . . Serious men desire to make good and to prove they can truly summon the weary mother and the old father to them, they would like to be helpers of all those who need it. (p. 153)

Before the self-styled 'apostle' Hoffmann (p. 157) reports back on the prospects in Kaffraria, the narrator comments:

instead of the ponderous, pompous persons, I often see their flitting, hidden souls, which resemble caged birds. . . . Captain Hoffmann . . . will become the roving preacher for the promised land among the legionaries. (p. 205-6)

While the officers listen intently, fearing 'that not all may be taken along to South Africa', 'it is so quiet, that Hoffmann's voice becomes quite vain and sings the words and plays with the words, as though it were powerful like the master wind over a wheatfield' (p. 206).

When renewed unrest threatens Hoffmann's report back, he 'adopts an admonishing, schoolmasterly tone' (p. 208). The terms of settlement he lists are not applauded, instead Bliesen requests him to read out the conditions of service, which had been read out privately to the officers. Bliesen explains to the meeting that in the Cape the settlers need 'cheap labour' and the government 'cheap soldiers: And the German donkeys are ready to be both' (p. 211). When Hoffmann praises Kaffraria as 'a land of cheap brandy', his detractors' heckling forces him to leave the meeting.

When lack of support threatens the settlement project, Stutterheim has a pamphlet circulated via a Holsteiner. The text presents this as an original document. Its cumbersome rhetorical style - sentences run into ten lines - blends

with the consciously archaic style of Kaffernland. Through rhetorical figures such as pleonasm the arguments opposing the settlement are dismissed as irrational:

Verworren, unklar und ohne bestimmten Gehalt hatten dunkle Vorstellungen von dem am Kap zu Erhoffenden die Gemüter voreingenommen, und die nüchternen Paragraphen der Regierungsvorlage konnten begreiflicherweise nur wenig den Phantasien entsprechen, die den einzelnen vorschwebten. (p. 216)

Addressing the men as rational thinkers, the pamphlet argues that splendid prospects are always exaggerated, but, it promises, after dreams disappear, there remains in reality

the establishment of a colony of free and independent workers on ~~their~~ own land and property, with ~~their~~ own house and farm in one of the most blessed lands, in the healthiest, most marvellous of climates ... at the ocean, which ... opens up all world markets to the fruits of ~~their~~ diligent labour. (p. 216-7)

He, once himself the helpless one, now offers the helping hand to those, who in need and misery join him from the old fatherland, and for thousands of his starving and downtrodden fellow countrymen the soldier of the legion resolves the tormenting doubts and cares at the Cape of Good Hope. (p. 218)

The narrative discourse of Kaffernland draws attention to the rhetorical power of this text, without noting that it is uttered from a position of economic and political power:

The seemingly sober sentences did not fail to impress. Those who tried to warn could not string their phrases together as skilfully, and the scale for the Cape began to gain weight. So it turned out that the recruiters for other plans and also those, who simply believed, they must ... protect their comrades from wicked traps, found themselves opposed by a majority thinking differently and mocking them. Captain Bliesen discovered this too. ... When he noticed that his long speeches were not succeeding ... he drew up ... 'Bliesen's Warning-list'. The catchwords ... he read aloud everywhere, like an unsolicited street-preacher. Soon many legionaries ... used them in arguments. Some of the sayings are remembered by the old men: ...

'There is certainly, as we are told, much good hope, much grass, much wood and much water. For cattle that suffices. But people certainly need more to live from'. (pp. 218-19)

Bliesen points to the contradictions in the prospects held out by Stutterheim and Hoffmann, and to the clash of class interests the ordinary soldiers will encounter:

Bear in mind that you are poor. How do the poor think they will create streets and markets for industry and for trade? Won't the officers and officials necessarily have to become landlords and moneylenders, and the settlers, as yet voluntary, become lessees subject to ground-rent? (p. 219)

The figure Bliesen is formed through the rhetorical figure of anaphora and thereby romanticized as a 'freedom fighter':

Captain Bliesen, who had been a freedom fighter in the north and south of Germany. Captain Bliesen, who once said, to bleed for England is a noble death, and Captain Bliesen, who, having all over ... seen through the small and big deceptions has, like a true phlegmatic German, become a relentless Cato. (p. 209)

5.4 Moralizing discourse on British imperialism

Through Bliesen the text inveighs against England. He reminds the men they cannot rely on England in 'military, administrative, moral or material matters' (p. 219).

Particularly her powerful rhetoric is not to be trusted:

Ponder over the means and ways of persuasion, which they have used on you! Listen with suspicion even to that which is told you from the altar.

You know, that I am speaking to you from a sincere heart free of self-interest. You know, that I have always told you the truth. Listen to me! Beware of the shackles and of the snake under the flowers! Beware of the Cape! (p. 220)

This exhortation by Bliesen can be compared to Schnell's citation of part of the historical Adolf Bliesener's letter from Unter Englischen Fahnen (Schnell, p. 62). Bliesen's speech in Kaffernland seems to be a verbatim transcript of Bliesener's letter attacking Hoffmann's representation of the Cape. Bliesener's biblical metaphors blend with the consciously archaic style of Kaffernland:

Hütet euch vor den Fesseln und vor der Schlange unter den Blumen! Hütet euch vor dem Kap! (Kaffernland, p.220)

Bliesen's injunction to those keen to settle in the Cape:

finally, consider that you will nevertheless see the fruits of your hard labour harvested by another people (Kaffernland, p. 220)

is echoed by the narrative discourse of Kaffernland:

Then Brother Rein learnt that there was no undertaking at all, of whatever sort, in which the English did not attempt to reap, what others have sown. (p. 134)

This is the gist of Grimm's article of 1930: 'Concerning the German Burden of Germans-abroad'. He cites an adaptation of a saying in the Gospel according to St. John:

Because here the saying is true:
It is one, who sows, and another who reaps.

There is no sentence which better expresses the fate of the German-abroad up till this day. The German-abroad, all over the world, has to reap, what has been sown in the fatherland, and since Versailles the harvest of his own work is in danger of landing in foreign, that is, non-German granaries.

(Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 96)

The image of England as the reaper of the fruits of German labour echoes the words of the colonizer Buettner in 1884:

Of course, it seems that until now it has been an irrevocable canon of international law that the fruits of German cultural endeavours fall into the hands of other nations. Let us thank God that the times have now changed. (quoted in Noyes, 'Territorial representation', p. 15)

In Kaffernland the colonizing act is embedded in a sowing-reaping isotopy. This elides the forceful expropriation of the indigenes and bases the claim to the land on the conquest of nature through cultivation. This claim is authenticated through the solidification of this metaphor into truth, into 'reality itself' (Coward and Ellis, p. 54).

Kaffernland presents England's imperialist exploitation of Germany also in the context of the question of Germany's

awakening. This is addressed when Lerke, alias Graf Grunow, and others, fearing 'a catch to the Kaffraria venture' (p. 222), seek Bliesen's advice. Dismissed from the Legion, Bliesen is willing to return to poverty in the fatherland:

'I myself don't know what next. But I do know that I am not letting myself be caught a second time by the English with their smooth words. The other thing I'm still searching for'. And it sounded nearly like a plea: 'What about our homeland, lads? Go home, go to your homeland! Perhaps, perhaps our Germany will still experience its awakening.' But the four shook their heads. Lerke said calmly: 'Many of us are above all seeking the chance of a personal awakening ... Before that I do not want to go back home.' (p. 223)

No one else is willing to go back home to be 'a beggar' (p. 223). Through Bliesen a central theme is re-stated: the German nation is exploited by its rulers and by England:

You will all go to Africa. You will go to Africa, because it is far away. No one is more ... distrusting of his surroundings and no one more naively trusting of distant lands than a true son of Germanien. Perhaps it is because no nation in the world has been so abused throughout the centuries by its rulers and those most closely connected with it. [von seinen Ersten und Nächsten] (p. 225)

The last phrase is clarified in Grimm's 'Letter to an Englishman'. The German professional strata felt themselves 'irgendwie verbunden oder gar verwandt' to the English:

Wie ich fuhren ... viele nach den britischen Besitzungen ... wir ... spürten, wir müßten eine Weile hinaus in die Welt und gingen zu den Nächsten und Größten. (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, p. 70)

Bliesen is portrayed as the 'true son of Germanien: To warm his heart, he sings 'the Schleswig-Holstein songs he had carefully compiled and the yearning and despised patriotic songs of Herwegh and Freiligrath' (p. 224). These do not move his visitors, 'for it was as Lerke had said':

Not the German awakening, but their own awakening, and whatever this in particular meant to everyone, lay heavily on their impatient minds. (p. 224)

The figure Bliesen may not be entirely based on his historical counterpart, for Schnell records that Bliesener

was one of a partnership of three who were endeavouring to secure Legionaries for a settlement on American soil. In an attempt to obtain volunteers for their project they did all in their power to dissuade their comrades from migrating to the Cape. To what extent their efforts were successful is not known. (p. 63)

Kaffernland contains an apparently verbatim transcript of Stutterheim's call on the legionaries to sign up for the expedition to the Cape. The document is dated 26 October 1856 and signed by 'Your sincere friend, R. Stutterheim':

In the new colony each one of you will be a free and independent citizen, subject only to the law of the land. He will be a free owner of a house and farm. Through diligence he can establish not only a carefree existence for himself, for his wife and children, but he can even acquire a measure of prosperity which he can never attain in his own fatherland. ... You will be ... inspired by the endeavour of establishing a new German homeland. The stream of German emigration will soon turn itself in that direction where already through you a big German colony exists. Only for a short while during the year you will fulfil a kind of military service

Your property is ensured as yours, and only base crimes ... can incur the loss of property

Many of your comrades took ^{their discharge to go} back to Germany, but have returned because they encountered high prices and found no work. (pp. 226-7)²⁷

The criticism of British imperialism in Kaffernland is mainly in moral terms. This moralizing political discourse supports Philippe Sollers' claim that

in a society which has imposed and institutionalized the written form of language as an overall dominating feature of its way of life, all writing is political writing: 'Writing is the continuation of politics by other means. (quoted in Terence Hawkes, Structuralism and Semiotics, p. 148)

The denunciation of European imperialist practices in Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit is also in moral terms:

The African map [shows] how, according to the old method of colonization, the political boundaries of Europe were transposed onto Africa, according to, I would like to say, the colonizer's daring and inclination to rob, without the real needs of the mother country coming into consideration. Within these arbitrary boundaries the European subjects of the colonizing state enjoyed better rights ... than other citizens. (p. 134)

The moral use to which the novel can be put (Berger, p. 170; Seamon, p. 216) is overextended in Kaffernland to criticize British imperialist exploitation of the German legionaries:

No one knew, that they were sailing towards hunger, and among the poor German warriors there was no prophet, who could have told them about the *miserable* German working people who had to be their successors on the same ocean route, in order to begin to make the now secured land fertile through hard work and, in so doing, win it over completely for England.

But in England people again spoke kindly of the legionaries, when they had been got rid of in such a fortunate and advantageous way, and in Kaffraria and on the Cape frontier, where the fear of Sarhili and Mhala and Mhlakaza and of famine and of the brewing, sinister plight increasingly debilitated people, the settlers read to their comfort in the King Williamstown Gazette, the newspaper of the government:

'Above all, won't the arrival of the Germans be the most powerful and salutary means of suppressing the brooding rebellion in the various tribes?'

In this time of their great fear, the 949 whites in Kaffraria all answered aloud and to themselves, 'Yes, the arrival of the Germans will help to ward off the terrible threat and we will finally be able to live behind them in perpetual peace, pursue our business, and be able to earn money!' (pp. 239-40)

Kaffernland exposes the British government's lack of concern for the English settlers in the military villages in the Tyumie valley. They complain to the governor that

the surveying of their land was proceeding too slowly and that there was no seed ... and that they did not have wives and that they were plagued by illnesses. (p. 33)

The focus on their plight foreshadows the obstacles the German Military Settlers will encounter in Kaffraria:

[The English settlers] found it difficult after the long service as soldiers to work as farmers in a Wildland, and cheap brandy was delivered in great quantities to the Tyumie villages. (pp. 33-4)

Whereas traders like Tainton prosper, the military settlers are discontented and want to 'clear off' 'out of this entire blessed land' (p. 46). Later, 'no Brit or Boer can readily be found, who, poorly protected amongst the savages, was prepared to risk his life' (p. 103). The text points to this as the reason for the forceful persuasion of the legionaries to settle these villages. The denunciation of England is reinforced through repetition of the metaphor: for England the legionaries have to 'risk their lives in the Crimea' (p. 119).

5.5 Colonists vs Xhosa, Germans vs English

The text shows the antagonism of these English military settlers towards the British government and the Xhosa. When the 'Kaffirs' come begging 'the village is black with them, like a Kaffirdog with fleas' (p. 48). To the settlers their formidable enemy in the Eighth Frontier War is sub-human:

The only access to the beleaguered fort was so full of blacks, that no vermin could come through, let alone a real white person. The number of Kaffirs has trebled. In long columns like ants the black women are marching away, laden with stolen goods. (p. 53)

In discussing this racism, Hosea Jaffe is largely correct:

The serfs, the unemployed, peasants, demobilized soldiers, workers and criminals who went to settle in the colonies were racialsists already before they set sail

The entire working class of Europe ... was saturated with the ideology of racialism and took part in the racialist process of colonialism

Racialism was a social force, not simply an ideology. (A History of Africa, p. 57)

Another textual opposition represents the conflict of the German missionaries with the English. The missionary Schultheiß deplores the fact that English manufacturers profit when converts of the Germans buy European goods, 'yes, even when they buy hymn-books':

And that is poor consolation for so much German work and hope in the world, and I think, if we are not able to do more, we should certainly not beg for money in our poor German provinces for the mission on British soil. (Kaffernland, p. 136)

In Kaffernland the historical realities of the antagonisms between England and Germany are incorporated into a 'theological meaning structure' of amorality 'against moral goodness' (A. Foulkes, 'Relevance and Meaning' in T. Eaton, p. 12). The text draws this opposition in its observation that Brother Rein's remonstrations are ignored by 'the English High Church and its mission': the English missionaries had settled into the 'old nest' where the Germans want to rebuild their mission station Itemba (p. 134). Like many other Germans living among the English, Brother Rein learns a lesson about the hypocrisy of the English and their rhetorical skills at self-justification:

Das ist eine Lehre, die Deutsche zwischen den Engländern erst begreifen, wenn sie einmal mit der eigenen Nase angelaufen sind, so widerspruchsvoll gerecht versuchen jene zu sein, und so ungeheuer gewandt zeigen sich diese in der Kunst der rechtfertigenden schönen Worte. (p. 134)

But the binary opposition oscillates to include a view of England as a respected, admired rival. England, the Other, is ironically eulogized as the 'Herrenvolk of the earth':

England, how proud you are among nations! ...

You rule the earth, you nation of kings. You murder to your advantage and you laugh. ... Is it any wonder that your sons themselves honour you? Is it any wonder that they are incomparably spoilt?

They do not like to perform the trivial daily ... work. They demand quick rewards and rapid wealth. They do not take the trouble to interpret the delicate song of the soul, which is gentler than the most gentle singing of the robin. Hardly anyone hears it. They have not experienced starvation and suffering. They have many priests but very few carers-of-souls.

Everywhere on earth it is Christmas. ...

Others celebrate the night. ...

The masters of the earth celebrate the day.
(Kaffernland, pp. 41-2)

5.6 Force and discourse of power: Demarcation of British Kaffraria and military villages

Kaffernland largely sanctions Britain's mode of colonizing Kaffraria. With Foucault, Noyes explains the reliance of the act of colonization on forms of discourse:

alongside the military and administrative appropriation of the territory is a discursive elaboration which produces the territory as colony and the body as a national individual within that colony. ('Space, Discourse and the Colony', p. 7)

Kropf's pointing to Döhne's early representation of Kaffraria 'as error' is part of the 'colonizing practice of building a body of knowledge of Africa' (Noyes, 'Space, Discourse', p. 23). Noyes explains that 'geometrical laws' establish the 'spatial relations' of the territory to produce it as a colony ('Territorial representation', p. 10). These laws 'serve not only to prepare the ground for material domination, but to structure this domination as a component of subjectivity (p. 10). In 1846 Governor Hare's administration applied 'European laws of science' (p. 10) to demarcate space for a fort on the east bank of the Tyumie River in independent Xhosaland. In The Highlands of Kaffraria, A. W. Burton records the ensuing conflict:

Shortly after ... the Sappers and Miners had ... driven in their survey pegs, Sandile and his angry followers ... drove off the whole party. (p. 5)

Milton tells that a 'show of force' cowed and 'chastened' Sandile and Fort Hare was later built (p. 154). The subsequent Seventh Frontier War derives its name the 'War of the Axe' from a trivial incident quite peripheral to the events actually causing the war. In Kaffernland the outbreak of this war is trivialized as another 'Kaffir war':

[The expression] 'The land is dead', however, means, it is war. Then the cattle are taken into safe-keeping, and the indigenous workers defect from the white frontier farmers, and here and there a white trader is murdered, and here and there a white house is plundered, and all cattle of the whites on the frontier is stolen, and ... (p. 15)

'The War of the Axe', says Peires, should be called:

'The War of the Waters' or 'The War of the Boundary', which is what the Xhosa originally called it. For the war was not fought over the theft of axes, or the theft of cattle It was fought over the land, like the wars which had gone before it. (House of Phalo, p. 134)

According to Peires, 'The limits of Xhosadom were not ethnic or geographic, but political' (House of Phalo, p. 19):

The boundaries of Xhosaland in the days of its independence fluctuated, for the Xhosa nation is heterogeneous in origin, rather than a genetically defined 'tribe' ... it expanded and incorporated rather than migrated. (p. 19)

Whereas the Xhosa did not expel the Khoi they defeated, the British redefined the boundaries of Xhosaland as they systematically alienated it piecemeal after every Frontier War.³⁸

Kaffernland reconstructs the historic meeting in January 1848, when Harry Smith annexes British Kaffraria, without dating the event or naming the governor. The boundaries he proclaims proscribe the movement of the Xhosa:

Now the governor explained to the vanquished chiefs, what their rights and duties are in future They learnt that all land this side of the Kei River from now on belonged to the white queen of England. ...

In exchange all land up to that disputed area between the Fish and the Keiskamma rivers was for their use alone, only around the few forts and around the few missions stations, in a radius of two miles, they may not settle without permission. (p. 24)

Recognizing the function of naming as a means of empire-building, the text elides Smith's opening proclamation that stamps British identity onto Xhosaland:

Your land shall be marked out and marks placed that you may all know it. It shall be divided into counties ... and villages, bearing English names. (Peires, p. 166)

Clark stresses the interconnections between the American pioneers' powers of seeing, naming, killing and taking possession of the land: this 'historical process of naming, conquering, exploiting goes unabated' (p. 150). According to Peires, British Kaffraria

was not annexed to the Colony but was directly administered on behalf of Great Britain by High Commissioner Smith. As Kirk has aptly remarked, 'annexation to Britain ... appeared as a mere device to permit military rule of Kaffraria unrestrained by British law'. (House of Phalo, p. 167)

Smith decrees the continued military occupation of the forts in Kaffraria and the creation of 'four villages on the north eastern border of that disputed region ... which had now been taken away from the Kaffirs' (Kaffernland, pp. 25, 28). The conditions under which freed British soldiers will settle these four military villages are also stipulated (p. 28). These decrees are a discursive practice regulating territory and the bodies of both the Xhosa and the soldiers.

The text Kaffernland endorses the discourse of power of the colonial governors decreeing policy to the vanquished Xhosa chiefs. Barthes sees power 'as an ideological object' and 'the discourse of all power', as 'the discourse of

arrogance', as 'any discourse which engenders blame, hence guilt, in its recipient' (in Sontag, p. 459). Kaffernland reproduces the historically recorded description of how Harry Smith tears up the treaties in front of the Xhosa and, exploding a gunpowder wagon, warns them: 'This is what will happen to you if you break your word!' (pp. 26-7). Milton informs that Sandile has to kiss Smith's foot (pp. 173-4). This display of power prefigures that of P. W. Botha,

when he angrily demanded that Labour Party MPs show greater appreciation for the many positive things the government had done for the coloured community This incident was evidently a follow-through to the equally extraordinary public humiliation Mr Botha had visited upon Labour Party leader ... Hendrickse

[Likewise Harry Smith] deliberately adopted a histrionic public style, lecturing all ... on the advantages of British rule ... exploiting simulated rages to cow his antagonists. (Andre du Toit, Cape Times, 2 September 1987)

The narrative discourse of Kaffernland naturalizes the governor's resort to force, by citing everyday wisdom:

The governor, to be sure, thought: 'Double precaution is best, and if the blacks cannot drive the cattle into their hiding-places, they will also not steal any more. They say, opportunity creates thieves.' (p. 28)

It records Smith's altercation with Sandile's councillors concerning his hiding-away, and the governor's 'Strafrede':

'Those are lame excuses! What have you all promised?! You have always tried to talk your way out of things! What shall I do with you?' Suddenly Maqoma interrupted him ...: 'But Sandile will not come!' ... The governor ... glared down at Maqoma from the horse and said: 'Speak, when I ask you! You are just drunk!' Maqoma retorted: 'You talk, as if you yourself were drunk.' The governor ... called out; 'Well, then I shall seek Sandile and find him and punish him.' (p. 40)

The governor deposes Sandile. The text rationalizes this:

Sandile's restiveness caused the agitation and rumours, and he deposed Sandile and appointed ^{the son of the} missionary Brownlee, a white man, as Paramount Chief of the Ngqika. Many considered this to be a good plan, because [Charles] Brownlee was born in Kaffraria and was big and strong and the Ngqikas said he was one of them

It was indeed recounted ... in all huts [that] ... although he was white, he was truly a Kaffir. (p. 39)

Saunders holds that Smith's appointment of Brownlee in Sandile's place 'was a precipitating cause of the Mlanjeni war' (Eighth Frontier War) (Reminiscences, p. xv). The historical Brownlee considered this appointment natural, as his 'Farewell address to the Gaikas' in 1868 shows:

To you, Sandile ... I say: Today your heart rejoices, and tells you that the tree which has long overshadowed you, will now be removed, and that you will again sit in the sunshine of chieftainship. Banish this thought from your mind. (Reminiscences, p. 69, and p. 169)

The ideology that the colonizer's power must be respected is accentuated in Kaffernland. The councillor Tyala is assigned a vision into the future, based on a respect for white rule:

he was wise and loyal ... he recognized early on what end would necessarily befall his master and the people ... and everyone could read from his eyes: This man has a brave soul, but his soul does not smile Tyala ... spoke to Sandile: 'Chief, keep the peace with the whites. They are too powerful'. (p. 14)

This sketch of Tyala derives from a paper by R. Rose-Innes' 'Life of Tyala' in Reminiscences. It praises Tyala as 'Long Faithful to the British Government', as able 'to foresee events' and as pursuing 'a policy of peace' (pp. 314-18).

5.7 Cultural transformation by force

The text approvingly records Smith's programme of cultural aggression against the Xhosa. His decree that the Xhosa learn English is part the colonizer's attempt 'to pacify them by wresting from their culture all possible sources of resistance - including, if possible their language' (Temu and Swai, p. 155).

You shall learn English. You shall learn to plough. Your people shall bring rubber, wood and skins to sell. I will pay you for it. I will reward you. (p. 26)

This is 'no exchange of equivalents' since 'one of the commodities happens to be labour power itself' (Temu and Swai, p. 52). The money value the colonizer assigns to the Xhosa cattle turns them from objects of wealth into objects of exchange. This is but one instance of the way 'the Europeans disrupted a material and discursive universe based on use-value and replaced it with one dominated by exchange-value' (JanMohamed, p. 60). The text often repeats Smith's view of the social practices of wife-cattle exchange and witch-finding as sins that have to be eradicated: 'the custom of buying wives should cease, that is a sin' (p. 24). The Xhosas' refusal to work with spades issued them (p. 128) is codified by the colonizer as laziness, 'as an affirmation of his objective knowledge of the nature of the savages' (Noyes, 'Territorial representation', p. 18).

The missionaries assist the colonizer in the forcible transformation of the indigenes' culture. In The Earliest South African Documents on the Education and Civilization of the Bantu A. E. Du Toit discusses 'Sir Harry Smith's Circular Letter to Missionaries'. Smith's letter sought their advice on how

to inspire in the Bantu a desire to cultivate their lands by ploughing and to induce them to follow habits of industry, the first steps to civilization and equally so to their embracing the Christian Faith ... [and] to see ... the use of money ... [O]f all things His Excellency requests ... English in the schools to the total exclusion of the Kaffir dialect. (p. 17)

'Out of a total of eight Germans labouring in Kaffraria' Kropf, Schultheiß and Bonatz responded (Du Toit, pp.19, 22).

In Kaffernland we read: to Frau Kropf her 'particular sphere of work in ... Kaffraria was alone of significance'

(p. 66). She claims Kaffraria as the space within which the missionaries can apply European knowledge:

And to whom has God, generally speaking, given this piece of African earth? Is it in vain called das Kaffernland? It seems to me, the moment these black peoples properly accept His holy Name and His holy Word, one should not further disturb them and their guiding teachers with immigrants. (p. 78)

The German emissaries, the text says, are mastering African space and systems of meaning, creating a new European system: Thus 'Kropf could explain everything' to his bride, for 'he had already learnt to use the languages of the country' (p. 35). At Christmas of 1850, the German missionaries at Itemba celebrate 'a success in their work':

Proper houses and an impressive church were near completion. Gardens and seed were reaching fruition. They were constantly gaining new members, and Rein and Salzmann had with remarkable speed learnt the foreign language while they copied the Kaffir lexicon, which, devised by Döhne and enriched by Posselt and Kropf, had three times as many words as that of the English Wesleyans. They had also opened a school, where Rein taught the black children English. (p. 65)

In Xhosa Oral Poetry Jeff Opland cites many despairing cries like that of the missionary McDiarmid in 1849: 'he had been twenty years in Kaffirland and could not name more than two or three real converts' (p. 197). Opland asks:

How can missionary claims of burgeoning school attendance be reconciled with such cries of failure? There is evidence that missionary successes were achieved among marginals in Xhosa society: Those who attended schools were largely dropouts, undesirables, Khoi, Mfengu. (p. 198)

In 1867 Tiyo Soga wrote of Sarhili and the Gcaleka people:

the prevalent opinion of that tribe is, that missionaries are emissaries of Government, to act upon the minds and feelings of the people, with an instrument which they call 'the Word', and that those who become affected by the Word ... become subjects of the English Government. (quoted in Opland, p. 198)

Resistance to Christianity stemmed from the chiefs' realization that the missionaries 'mean to steal our people and become magistrates and chiefs themselves', says Nosipho Majeke in The Role of the Missionaries In Conquest (p. 25).

The missionary Schultheiß' criticism of German evangelizing is negated in Kaffernland. The text elides his name, refuses to assign his discourse, and stamps it as 'the voice of madness' (M. Foucault, Die Ordnung des Diskurses, p. 14):

Kropf and Liefeldt and Strobel and Kupfernagel and Brownlee thought that this speech was a sign of an extreme egotism or just a sign of sickness of the Brother. (p. 138)³⁹

Schultheiß avers that 'the Christ we create' in the Xhosa

is not a saviour, but a caricature And we do not take all the rhetoric about brotherhood seriously either. For if I truly want to accept someone as a spiritual brother, but cannot accept him as a temporal brother, then this is hypocrisy. God has certainly not been waiting for us. We dismiss all the particular ways in which He has revealed Himself to these creatures through the centuries, because we do not want to understand them. Ultimately we have not achieved more than misguiding the blacks to a few worldly needs to the *advantage* of English manufacturers. (p. 136)

Because this is an attack on 'the abuses rather than the underlying structure of colonialism', the text assimilates it (Horn, 'Methodology of Colonial Literature', p. 4).

5.8 Discourse of force and the 8th Frontier War

In Gustav Frenssen's Peter Moor an old German settler poses the alternative: 'Either it is right to colonize - that is, to deprive others of their rights, to rob and to make slaves - or it is just and right to Christianize - that is, to proclaim and live up to brotherly love' (p. 79). Just as Frenssen's text concludes that it is right to colonize, so Grimm's text endorses the colonizer's use of force. It affirms the colonizer's discourse of force when it tells

that 'with additional English troops and new tough plans' Governor Cathcart, Harry Smith's successor, 'succeeded in attaining his goal':

In place of a section of the too numerous indigenous auxiliary troops, he recruited a white rural police. When an impi of the enemy or a horde of Mordbrenner were driven out of a mountain range and bush, he built small watchtowers So the enemy was gradually thrown out of ... the Kolonieland back into Kaffernland, and here likewise ravine after ravine, peak after peak and thicket after thicket of the Amatola Mountains were cleaned up. (pp. 96-7)

Kaffernland records the terms of peace Cathcart stipulates to the Xhosa chiefs vanquished in the Eighth Frontier War:

The land around the Amatola Mountains ... is taken from you forever. It is foreign land. You may never enter it again. Whoever goes there will be shot. I shall, however, give you a new land in the east. (p. 102)

Forts are established in the Ngqika ancestral lands, a part of which is given to the Mfengu (p. 102). 'In the north of Kaffraria, home of the rebellious Tembu tribes, 400 whites from the colony-land' formed 'a military settlement', calling their capital Queenstown (p. 103). In Putting A Plough To The Ground. Accumulation and Dispossession in Rural South Africa, 1850-1930, Beinart and others discuss this incipient transformation by farmers and the state of much of the South African countryside into capitalist, white-owned farms.

5.9 Derogating sovereign chiefs to stipendiaries

Kaffernland supports Sir George Grey's measures to ensure the security of the land since he 'cannot completely seal off Kaffraria' (p. 145). Grey plans to implement his New Zealand experiment in Kaffraria and tells Kropf:

Do you see that empty land. There villages will rise with contented people, there fields will lie, beautiful swaying fields, as in your old fatherland. (p. 147)

He believes 'The Germans are the right ones for Kaffraria' (p. 145). The text endorses his plans through repetition of the clause 'The governor also said':

As soon as [the legionaries] have become properly settled they should cease to be soldiers. They ought only then take up their guns when it is to protect their property. But no one will attack them. The Kaffirs will work for them and beside them and will soon realize that those people belong to the soil here just as they do. (p. 146)⁴⁰

Kropf, who doubts the success of the German settlement, tells Grey 'that this land needs the enormous, silent toil that is passed on untiringly from father to son' (p. 147). Grey implies force is necessary to realize his plans for a prosperous, secure Kaffraria, because

the word of God alone will not achieve it, and experimenting with reasonable laws achieves very little. There remains an unsolved rest. (p. 147)

Force is advocated in a letter to Grey by 'an unknown man, who certainly knew the Kaffirs better' (p. 134):

The independent rule of the Ngqika chiefs must cease. Its retention after the war was a mistake. ... [S]omething must at once be done towards securing our position in Kaffraria. (p. 134)

The colonizer's resort to military force is affirmed:

The governor was right to summon troops to his aid from wherever he could, and to bring 5 000 men even from the distant island of Mauritius. (p. 144)

Because the colonists' complaints persisted, and 'the danger of a rebellion appeared increasingly greater', Grey 'again tried to buy off ... the sovereign right of [the chiefs] to judge and to rule' (p. 143):

But wherever a chief renounced his sovereign right in Kaffraria, an official or officer was placed as magistrate beside him, in order to judge law suits and head the government of the land. (p. 144)

This derogation of 'a sovereign to a stipendiary'

(K. Gottschalk, 'Culture under Imperialism', p. 4) was 'too

drastic' for even the historical Brownlee and was 'undoubtedly one factor ... that drove the Xhosa to start slaughtering their cattle in 1856' (Saunders, Reminiscences, p. xvi). The task of ruling is an 'enormous labour' undertaken by the white man; Governor Smith 'broke down' because of his 'superhuman tasks' (Kaffernland, p. 96).

5.10 Call for Xhosa labour and the German Legion

In the colony 'work is the law of the white man' and 'the labour question ... is synonymous with the native question' and the land question (quoted in Gottschalk, pp. 6-7).

'Land-plunder', explains Majeke, 'meant economic expansion':

this economic machine already demanded black hands in thousands ... [In] 1848 ... a Government Proclamation proposed to 'apprentice' Africans, ... to 'reclaim a number of the youth of British Kaffraria.' (p. 61)

This 'indenturing of Xhosa apprentices', coupled with 'a vagrancy law' (Peires, 'Sir George Grey versus the Kaffir Relief Committee', p. 148), makes the indigenes 'the product of a relation of power exercised' over their 'bodies ... movements, desires' (Noyes, 'Space, Discourse', p. 7).⁴¹

In Kaffernland the colonists represent the land as Xhosa hunting-grounds that they have transformed through work. The historical record shows that they were bent on control of Kaffraria - to turn it into profitable sheep farming land. Their memorandum to the Ministry in England contains a vision of their rational economic interests. Its realization relies on the labour of the indigenes and on the military presence of the Legion:

'When we consider what has already become of these hunting-grounds of the savages in forty years despite all obstacles, how despite all wars and the incessant fear of threatening rebellions we have achieved prosperity, then one can hardly imagine what can be achieved without these obstacles. The whole land in

the east from the Orange River right up till the Indian Ocean could be covered with enormous herds, wealth could prevail in the Colony.

If the new frontier is permanently protected by the military force of the Legion and by mounted police, ... the Kaffirs will never again dare start a war against us. They will with each new year forgo their hope to destroy us or drive us into the sea and will listen to the voice of Christianity and settle down as peaceful, active settlers. ...

There are still the same primitive roads as before. We deplore the lack of workers, hundreds of the most skilled men perform the slave-labour of transportation ...
Let the Legion come.' (p. 149)

Here Grimm reproduces an actual document by settlers calling for their 'own government, which should be separate from that of the Cape' (Kaffernland, p. 148). These 'grand pan-jandrums of Eastern Province separatism - mostly merchants and speculators - pressed for white immigration' to solve the labour problem' (Peires, 'Sir George Grey', p. 148).

According to Kaffernland, Grey does not succeed 'in teaching the indigenes to work' for long periods, and

wherever generous meat dishes and tobacco were promised them, babbling hordes accepted recruitment to lay pipes to lead water to the Great Places of the chiefs and to a part of King Williamstown and to build roads for the needs of the land. (p. 139)

The text presents the missionaries and the Brownlees as bearers of culture and the blacks as 'nature people'. Grimm depicts the Xhosa as 'the embodiment' of everything that the European 'has striven to eradicate ... from his life and consciousness, namely, unbridled sensuality and a life untroubled by the horrendous work discipline', says Pakendorf. ('John Nukwa, ein guter Arbeiter', p. 11). The ideological content of the missionary Posselt's lexicographical entry on the nature of 'Kaffirs' justifies subjecting them to the white man's law of work (Kaffernland, p. 65):

Das Bummeln und Faulenzen ist den Kaffern angeboren ... Selbst das Christentum ... macht ihn nicht fleißiger, aber auch nicht fauler, wie die meisten Kolonisten klagen ... Sie lachen uns aus, daß wir uns das Leben so sauer machen durch unsere vielen Bedürfnisse und dadurch unsere eigenen Frohnvögte geworden sind. (quoted in Pakendorf, 'The Literature of Expropriation', pp. 11-12)

Gottschalk notes that settlers in Namibia 'term the identical labour, animal husbandry, "idleness" when done by pastoralists' for their own welfare 'but deign to call it "work" when done by indigenes for the settlers' profit (p. 12).

5.11 The cattle-killing as a 'diabolical plan'

Barthes discusses the power that is generally inscribed in the language we speak and write:

Language is legislation, speech is its code. We do not see the power which is in speech because we forget that all speech is a classification, and that all classifications are oppressive To speak ... to utter a discourse is not ... to communicate; it is to subjugate. (in Sontag, p. 460)

The narrator and protagonists of Kaffernland 'enter into various and frequently non-homogeneous, speaking subject positions' (Jeremy Cronin "'The law that says/Constricts the breath-line"; South African English Language Poetry', p. 8):

The 'speaking-thetic subject' within a given discursive act is not identical with the concrete human individual doing the speaking, it is rather, a socio-linguistic position within discourse. (Cronin, p. 8)

Noyes elaborates this point by quoting Foucault:

what is important for the enunciative function of a statement is not the historical person from whom it issued ... but ... what position can and must be occupied by any individual if he is to be subject of it. ('Space, Discourse', p. 9)

It is from the colonizer's position of power that the missionaries in Kaffernland identify the cattle-killing movement and those promoting it as evil. Having thoroughly discussed all reports on the cattle-killing, they

confirmed their mutual conviction that satanic powers had been let loose which set themselves up everywhere and made possible the wonders of the diviners. They explained: 'The apparitions are confirmed by so many eye-witnesses, that besides the conscious deception something more evil must be at work which makes it possible for the witch-doctors and the lying-prophets, as with their predecessors in Egypt, to perform deeds which lie outside the sphere of natural forces and appearances.' Whenever in their campaign they believed they were face to face with the devil incarnate, the Germans went about with expressions of unyielding opposition and did not shy away from calling things even louder than otherwise by their true names. They also agreed to pursue the fight everywhere. (p. 243)

Sandile is shown to be evasive about granting Liefeldt permission to build a mission station at the Thomas River, 'for he has been drawn deeper into the net of the slaughterers' (p. 243). He is also reluctant to repeat to Liefeldt the Story of Death, ^{and of} 'the enemy of the Great One'. After Baba has told the story, the text ambiguously uses 'der Feind' to refer either to the Evil One in the Story of Death or to Sandile. But it is clearly not as the 'guiding teacher', but as the colonial agent, that Liefeldt speaks:

Liefeldt saw the enemy in front of him and fumed: 'Baba has told the story, as you yourself tell it. But you do not want to grow wise from your own words, so great is your blindness and obduracy! For we are speaking of the great God and want to bring Life to you on the Thomas River. But you secretly listen to what the evil spirit lets them pronounce at the Mpongo River, and the enemy will let all of you die of starvation. (p. 245)

The text illustrates Cronin's point that the discursive structure of bourgeois realism itself 'posits specific "speaking subjects" - those appropriate, those qualified to speak' (p. 8): the missionary, not the Paramount Chief, speaks the truth. The missionaries intensify the battle against 'the devil incarnate, wherever his hidden refuge might be' (p. 246). Also Brownlee signifies the movement,

in that he writes to Chief Commissioner Maclean: 'People with evil intentions ... are indeed lying in wait for some opportunity' (p. 171). He tells his wife: 'someone has hatched out a very deep plan to bring about an all-out war' (p. 174). To Kropf he speaks of a diabolical plan (p. 257). According to the narrative discourse, even 'the wild animals ... feared a sinister plan of the people (p. 252). Brownlee confidently declares: 'Here we will be master of the predicament' (p. 257). But it is Kropf who has insight into the situation. He speaks not as the benevolent father, but as the colonizer, when he advocates the use of force:

Sandile's defection to the believers is imminent, as I have myself have always expected. He is portrayed on all sides as having delayed the fulfilment of the lying-prophecy Sandile will command all Nggika to slaughter everything without hesitation, partly to regain his lost respect with the believers, partly to bring about the instant fulfilment. - No, I'm not an alarmist. I know what will happen. We will have starvation right here with us Your supplies will not suffice. Besides the famine, we will experience, if not the general attack on all whites here, sporadic attacks everywhere. One thing I'll suggest, write to the Chief Commissioner, that the legionaries should at once move into defensive positions. Perhaps, that will be a deterrent. (p. 258)

The frequently used label 'the lying-prophets' derives from the historical Kropf's work Die Lügenpropheten Kafferlandes. Mrs Brownlee expresses the colonists' reductive trivialization of the cattle-killing: 'It seems such an inconceivable idiocy, that Kaffirs should be willing to kill their cattle in response to a prophecy' (Kaffernland, p. 174).

Commissioners Brownlee and Maclean allow the chiefs to speak, but not act. Thus Brownlee advises Maclean:

I consider it necessary to tell the chiefs plainly and bluntly, that we know what is going on, that we do not want to get involved, as long as it is confined to words and the life and limb and property of British

subjects are not threatened, but that we would immediately meet any aggressive movement. (p. 172)

Grimm has here (pp. 170-2) translated the four-page letter written on 28 June 1856 by the historical Brownlee to Maclean (Reminiscences, pp. 128-32). In his chapter 'Cattle-Killing Delusion', the historical Brownlee refers to the above letter, which advised Maclean not to act against Sarhili. In Kaffernland, Brownlee's brief account of Maclean's letter of warning to Sarhili is reproduced:

'Chief ... if you continue to kill cattle and to encourage others to do likewise, I shall be compelled to undertake a campaign with white troops over the Kei River into your land.' (p. 189)

Kaffernland insistently projects Sarhili as a belligerent firebrand, intent on destroying Kaffraria. In Reminiscences, Brownlee records his later dismissal of the theory that the chiefs were plotting to make war on the Colony:

[Maclean warned Sarhili] ... he would send a force across the Kei

This appeared to be exactly what Kreli wanted, for he gathered, immediately afterwards, a large meeting of his tribe; told them of the message he had received from Col. Maclean, and said this was only seeking an occasion for war; that the Colonial Government had no right to interfere with his affairs, and that he might kill his cattle, or do what he liked without any reference to the Government; but if the Colonial Government sent troops across the Kei, they would find that he had dogs which could bite, and that it would not be as it had been in previous wars, where men, instead of fighting, ran about looking after their cattle, for everyone would fight now.

This was the closest and only approach to showing that it was a plot to kill the cattle, still the action taken by Kreli, Umhala, Maqoma, and some other leading chiefs - clever, astute men - would lead to the conclusion that there was actually a plot.

A good deal has been written and said about the cattle-killing delusion of 1856 and 1857, and almost all who have written on the subject concur in believing that it was a deep plot to enable the chiefs to force their people on the Colony, in a state of desperation. I, like others, was quite of this view while the thing was

being enacted, but since then, and after thirty years, I do not feel quite so certain that there was this plot. Had there been a plot it must have been known to at least eight or ten persons

No one who took an active part in the cattle-killing, except Umhlakaza, has admitted that there was plot. All assert that the cattle-killing was made in a full belief in the predictions of Umhlakaza; but it was said that when Umhlakaza was dying, he accused Kreli of having led him to make these predictions, with a view to the destruction of the white men. This however has not been sufficiently substantiated, so as to enable me to come to the conclusion that there was a plot. (Reminiscences, pp. 141-2)

Following on the above memorandum, Brownlee's letter to Maclean of 2 August 1856 refutes the feasibility of a plot:

though famine may induce people to commit riots and outrages, a starving people are not in a position to undertake an aggressive warfare; for the Kaffirs say that famine always did more to conquer them than the forces brought against them, and wars have never been begun in seasons of scarcity. (Reminiscences, p. 144)

In Kaffernland it is narrated that Sarhili 'called a big meeting of the whole Ngqika nation' (p. 189). The text focuses on the power of his rhetoric, as he contests the colonizer's word in his domain. Its real aim is to show how he uses the cattle-killing to foment ^awar ^{against} the Colony:

Some Ngqika and Ndlambes came from British Kaffraria only on account of this meeting. Sarhili also saw to it, that especially strangers were invited, who he knew would report to ... Maclean and ... Brownlee.

Sarhili said at the meeting: 'This side of the Kei River is free. This is my side of the Kei River. This land is not subject to the government. Am I not the master in my country? Does Maclean have a right to decree across the river? Maclean has no right to decree across the river, and Chalis Brownlee has no right to decree across. If I want to, I can kill all the cattle. But Maclean and Brownlee should realize, that things will not be as in former wars. In the earlier wars the warriors first thought of their cattle and everyone sought to bring his animals to safety, before he fought. If Maclean now wants to have a war, no warrior will run after his cattle. All warriors will fight, because these cattle of today are nothing, they are already as good as dead. There are new herds waiting already. And I now have dogs, which bite.'

After Sarhili's meeting, there was even more slaughtering than before, and the unrest leapt across the Kei River like a fire fanned by the wind. (p. 190)

By reproducing the notion of 'the chiefs' plot', Grimm reflects what the colonists might have feared during the cattle-killing. The conspiracy-theory, with its implication of the danger of rebellion, bolsters the colonists' arguments in the text, namely, that the chiefs in Kaffraria must be deposed. It confirms the text's own view - that the Xhosa do not deserve the land. The text construes the cattle-killing and the ban on cultivation to portray the Xhosa as destroyers of the land. A landscape description points to the perverse, unnatural behaviour of the believers in the 'lying' prophecies; by refusing to sow, they spurn the gifts of nature, of fate:

Never in Kaffraria did the capricious forces of nature show themselves more willing to receive the seed of the summerfruit, than in that year, in which famine began. It rained ... thereafter came friendly days ... but the field-gardens remained unworked throughout the whole of September. ... and also in Sandile's land only a few gladly took advantage of the favours of fate. Then, when the white children already began to talk of Christmas, life-giving nature once more bestowed late rains to the wild fallow field-gardens. (p. 240)

Brownlee 'grimly watched the last pleas of the earth' and tells his wife that 'also the remaining frontier farmers in the Colony have not sown, because they expect an imminent rebellion' (p. 241). Thus he already hears 'the deceived starving people cry in front of the house every night' (p. 241). With the loyal servant-cum-policeman Go, he sends a plea to Sarhili to let the women sow. Go should stress that the 'Chalis Brownlee, the Commissioner who is for the government, ... is not speaking': the message comes from 'Chalis, the son of the good father' (the Rev Brownlee), the

Chalis 'who is a Ngqika, because he was given birth to ... as a result of the magic-potion of a Ngqika' (p. 242).⁴² Sarhili's 'entire reply' to Go is: 'No, the nature of things has changed now' - a sentence which the councillors repeat: 'The nature of things has now changed. Why should we sow?' (p. 242). On leaving, Go repeats this line and, viewing the landscape, wonders 'What has changed?'

The buzzard hums as it did all the years. The bush-dassie squeaks Ibikwe, the rain bird, ^{has always} calls Ku-ku-u-u and announces the new rains. All this ^{has always} occurred [^] during the sowing time. Nothing has changed. (p. 242)

5.12 The colonizer - and his word - as the Law

The last five pages of Kaffernland are in part a faithful translation and in part a dramatization of the chapter 'Cattle-Killing Delusion' in Reminiscences. In Kaffernland, Brownlee exhorts Sandile to disclose what 'depresses' him, to which the chief sullenly replies: 'You know that I have many complaints' (p. 261). The text stresses the power of speech, especially Brownlee's. As this is not in the source work, I underline it:

He himself was shocked at his angry tone and proceeded to plaintively state his objections : 'Above all I would like to return home. This place you have recommended to me is not pleasant. My wives and my mother do not want to be here. Just look at the houses, they are narrow and cold They want to leave.' Brownlee noticed that at that moment talking was fruitless and that the listening elders were not taking his words as a sign of concern, but as a sign of fear He got up and tried to say as calmly as possible: 'All right, Sandile, I'm not preventing your returning home. I only advise that you remain here where you are.' (p. 261)

Here speaks the historical Brownlee, who saw himself as the law, advising and protecting. In his Reminiscences, he records: 'In order to see Sandile very frequently I directed

him to move to the village ... at Waterford' (p. 149). On the morning after he had listened to Sandile's complaints he

ascertained Sandile had decamped, having gone to his old location I followed and when within two or three miles of the place met ... Sakela He told me ... that the chief and such of the Ngqikas as had gone into the delusion, were destroying their cattle. On arriving at the kraal I found between four and five hundred people assembled, all armed, under the leadership of Umlunguzi and Baba, two councillors. I was received in solemn silence. (Reminiscences, pp. 149-50)

This incident is emotively re-told by the historical Mrs Brownlee in her contribution to Reminiscences:

Sandile fled with his wives ... to his former abode, killed all his cattle, and ordered his tribe to do likewise. Mr Brownlee found afterwards that the cause of Sandile's flight was a message he had received from Maqoma. (Reminiscences, pp. 135-6)

Her re-telling, ideologically criminalizing Sandile, is dramatized and translated almost verbatim in Kaffernland:

During this very night Sandile fled with his wives and children and his whole *following* through the rain back to the great place of the chief of the Ngqika. (p. 261)

The police-patrol tracking [the area] ... found the settlement empty There was no spoor of the herds beside the tracks of those who had fled. (p. 262)

On pages 263 to 265 in Kaffernland the narrative uses Mrs Brownlee's reference to 'the evil-disposed' and 'evil councillors' (pp. 134-5), but relies on Charles Brownlee's account. The text invents Brownlee's attack on these men as 'wildcats' to bear out its opening statement about 'the untamed passions of the chiefs and their councillors' (p. 10). It stresses Brownlee's role as the law, with the power to convict, as he rides out to find Sandile. A fictive scene shows the believers, led by Baba and Mlungusi, and the non-believers, led by Tyala and Soga, keenly watching what will happen between the 'Commissioner and the ringleaders':

Brownlee asked angrily: 'Just who is it who came like a wildcat in the night and gave him such ill-advice?'... Mlungusi replied: 'Do you call me a wild cat?' 'I did not name you, Mlungusi!' said Brownlee. 'Is your conscience accusing you? Have you misled the chief? Are you the evil spirit that wants to destroy the Paramount Chief and the Ngqika tribe?' Baba cried out: 'Why can't you leave us in peace? You declare that we want to destroy ourselves. Should that be our will and our wish, it doesn't concern you. Let us at least perish. If we scream of starvation as you declare will happen, then may this starvation be a witness for you and against us. We can await that!'

...
Brownlee ... took out his notebook ... 'Baba I am now writing down your entire speech in my book and when starvation becomes my witness against you, I shall remind you of it!' Then Brownlee turned to Sandile and said bitterly: 'Now I really ought to be done with you, Sandile! I have not spared any effort to save you and your people! You have rejected my advice.' (p. 263)

According to Coward and Ellis, the Law reinforces the ideological representation of 'the subject who is consistent in consciously willing his condition' (p. 76):

the Law ensures that those who go wrong are judged in the name of this consistent subjectivity. As Barthes puts it, 'How much penal evidence is based on a psychology of consistency!'... [He] shows that this judicial notion of the consistent subject is exactly a representation: 'this particular psychology, in the name of which you can very well be guillotined, comes straight from our traditional literature, what is known in bourgeois style as the literature of the Human Document.' (p. 77)

Soga, whose historical counterpart 'was the first Xhosa to irrigate his land and ... to grow maize and sorghum for the market' (Peires, House of Phalo, p. 108), has internalized the colonizer's ideology. He holds Sandile fully responsible for the slaughter; thus he should be hanged:

Tyala ... pointed to Mlungusi and Baba. He shouted: 'No, master, no, Sandile is not to be reprimanded! Sandile has the mind of a child. With the councillors who have ill-advised him, lies all the blame.' But the whitehaired Soga amongst the unbelievers contradicted him loudly: 'Sandile is not a child. Sandile is a man. You are wrong, Tyala. As he sits there, he is the guilty one. Put the noose around his neck.' Mlungusi and Baba cannot lead him like a boy. Sandile is

bringing misery over the land, instead of saving it.'
(p. 264)

Brownlee the law 'must step between' Mlungusi, who threatens Soga with an assegaai. Soga repeats: 'Sandile is the guilty one!' Brownlee decides who will speak and that his will be the final word, as his historical counterpart did:

He ... commanded: 'Sit down Soga! It is not for you to speak here today!' And he threatened the other: 'Be careful, Mlungusi, be careful!' He then turned to the group of Amatembas [the cattle-killing believers] and said: 'I must still say a few things, then this meeting is over.' And he now himself pointed to Mlungusi and Baba and shouted: 'I think, that these are your doings [Y]ou have thrice advised [Sandile] to go to war against the government, and you have now brought misfortune over the Ngqika people ... I wanted to save Sandile and the tribe. Your advice has triumphed over my advice to Sandile. Now you should try to help this child. I cannot help Sandile any more.' (p. 264)⁴³

The book ends with the voice of the colonizer, the law:

'I am leaving you. I shall protect those, who follow my advice and do not slaughter and whosoever of the slaughterers wants to steal the cattle of the others I shall track down and persecute relentlessly, and whatever the fathers steal, shall be taken from the children.'

And Brownlee swung onto his horse without greeting and turned it homewards, and the meeting broke up. (p. 265)

In Reminiscences we read: 'I then left Sandile with his evil councillors and returned home' (p. 152). Saunders notes that in his writings Brownlee sought to refute two errors:

'that the natives of this country are an inoffensive race and oppressed by Europeans' and 'that the natives are evil, and only evil'. (Reminiscences, p. xxvi)

Brownlee writes of 'the evils [Sarhili] had caused in Kaffraria, and ... the evil [he had] contemplated against the Government' (p. 171). This is the basis of the theme in Kaffernland of the evil rulers who delude the Xhosa nation.⁴⁴ Since Grimm projects the view of the Xhosa as criminal, evil and as destroyers of the land, one may say: '

[Grimm] is not [a Xhosa] and cannot tell what it is to be named what one is not, and exterminated in this other name' (Clark, p. 150).

6 THE RESISTANCE AND DISCOURSE OF THE COLONIZED

I view the indigenous nations as a collective historical subject in their struggle against the forces of imperialism, as opposed to a text that presents them as an object of observation. Their victories and tactical errors in the Seventh and Eighth Frontier Wars can partly be retrieved through reading Kaffernland against its intention. This entails a war of meaning against the text's reduction of Xhosa resistance to 'murder-, war-, and plunder-expeditions (Kaffir-sport, as long as there were Kaffirs)' (Südafrika, p. 10). The Xhosa ideology of resistance appropriated Christian concepts to explain the irruption of the colonizer in their cosmos. Kaffernland reflects how the colonizing act also creates spaces of power-knowledge. It presents the discursive responses of the Xhosa and simultaneously nullifies them. The speeches of Sarhili, Mhlakaza and commoners can, however, be read as part of a process of contestation of white power. I rely on Peires' paper 'The Central Beliefs of the Xhosa Cattle-Killing' to discuss this movement. His meticulous research exposes the spurious 'chiefs' plot' hypothesis hatched by Sir George Grey and Commissioner Maclean, and reproduced as fact in Kaffernland.

6.1 The Xhosa vs the British military machine

In the days of Xhosa independence, before the British military and administrative machine came to dominate the Eastern Cape, 'whites had no choice but to deal with Africans as something other than servants or foreigners or beaten foes' (W. Freund, 'Thoughts on the Study of the History of the Cape Eastern Frontier Zone' in Saunders,

Beyond The Cape Frontier, p. 88). But the Xhosa were confronted with this immense machine from the Fourth Frontier War (1811-12) onwards. During this war Governor Cradock reported to England that he had ordered the destruction of Kaffir kraals, gardens and fields. He was

very happy to add that in the course of this service there has not been shed more Kaffir blood than would seem to be necessary to impress on the minds of these savages a proper degree of terror and respect. (Ben MacLennan, A Proper Degree of Terror, p. 128)⁴²⁵

The Xhosa could not comprehend the havoc wreaked and the total expulsion from the Zuurveld, instead of incorporation into the society of the victors. (Peires, House of Phalo, p. 66). From 1812 onwards, as the chiefs became gradually powerless, prophet-figures assumed political leadership. This was not a severance from reality; Nxele and Mlanjeni as 'warrior-prophets' led military campaigns (MacLennan, p.86). Their engagement affirms the Christian doctrine that Schultheiß reminds his colleagues of: 'Der tätige Gott will die Tat und nicht das Erleiden! Hätte er sonst aus dem Chaos die Welt erschaffen' (Kaffernland, p. 138).

The revelations of Nxele, 'the left handed', also known as Makanna, provided explanations for the irruption of the white people into the world of the Xhosa (Parsons, A New History of Southern Africa, p. 93). Nxele's 'nationalist theology' was developed in response to the pressures on his society and to 'white hostility to his version of Christianity' (Peires, House of Phalo, pp. 74, 71). He fused Xhosa religion with Christianity 'into a comprehensive cosmological synthesis' (Peires, p. 71). This new world view could explain the emergence of the Europeans from the sea in search of land. They had been expelled from their

own country because they had killed the son of their God, but would be pushed back into the sea by 'Mdalidiphu, creator of the deep' (Peires, pp. 71-3). Mdalidiphu would, so Nxele prophesied, 'raise up the spirits of dead men and cattle to help in a holy war' against Xhosa who followed Tixo, the God of the Whites (Parsons, p. 94). The pacifist prophet Ntsikana, 'indigenized' Christianity and challenged 'the millennial claims of Nxele' (Janet Hodgson, Ntsikana's Great Hymn, p. 2). Nxele observed the 'military and technical side' of white power, but was 'more interested in its magical underpinnings' (Peires, House of Phalo, p. 69). In 1819 Nxele led the march across the Fish as a crusade to expel the whites who had taken the Suurveld' (Parsons, p. 94). In this war Grahamstown nearly fell to the Xhosa. But the war was 'exceptional' in that the Xhosa had deliberately started it (Peires, House of Phalo, p. 145).

6.2. The 7th Frontier War (1846-47): triumphs and defeats

Hare's refusal to withdraw the existing military post from the Ceded Territory forced the Seventh Frontier War on the Ngqika-Xhosa. Peires stresses: 'The decision to go to war was a deliberate one, not undertaken in a fit of temper' (p. 56). In Kaffernland this war follows on Sandile's cry: 'There are no more Bushmen ... There are no more brown peoples in the west' for the young warriors to attack. I want to hear the stamping of the warriors' (pp. 14-15).

The troops' jests about permanently occupying the Ceded Territory convinced the Xhosa 'the land is the object aimed at, and that, in a conflict for it, they must all stand or fall together' (Peires, p. 133). Noyes observes that it 'is one of the ironies of colonization that, out of a diversity

of populations it produces a single group' ('Space, Discourse', p. 3). Aiming to take Fort Peddie was

the largest Xhosa army ever assembled since the attack on Grahamstown in 1819. ... [W]arriors from every important tribe in the Rharabe division were [there] - Sandile's Ngqika; amaNdlambe under the veteran Mhala ... and Siyolo; Botomane's imiDange; amaMbalu under Stokwe; Phato's Gqunukhwebe and, to the great dismay ... of John Brownlee and his missionary colleagues, the amaNtinde ... led by Tshatshu himself A notable absentee was Maqoma. Although this famous warrior had thought up the brilliantly successful tactic of immobilizing Maitland's wagon-trains, he had refused to join in the fighting. (Milton, p. 162)

In 1846 Sarhili, 'the great python', 'the personification' of everything Xhosa, declared from his capital at Hohita: 'Today we all fight' (Peires, House of Phalo, p. 117). He 'opened his country as a refuge to Rharhabe cattle and warriors during the long war of attrition' (Peires, p. 117). Only towards the end of 1847, did the other chiefs abandon Sandile, with serious military consequences (Peires, 160).

Milton tells vividly of the three attacks on British wagon-trains, of guns and regimental silver disappearing into the Amatolas (p. 159). Maitland had to report that the Xhosa were 'no contemptible foe', 'not a lot of black fellows armed with nothing but a knife stuck on the end of a long stick' (Milton, p. 161). This was the first war in which the Xhosa were mounted and used firearms extensively:

It was bullets rather than spears which brought down the wagon train at Burns Hill The Xhosa were forced to improvise bullets from whatever came to hand: zinc or pewter stripped from the roofs of raided farmhouses A raid on the Lovedale Mission Press produced balls made from the printing type and wadding made from the Bibles. (House of Phalo, p. 156)

The Xhosa adopted 'tactics which neutralised the ... technological superiority of their opponents' but starvation forced them to end the war even when 'the Colony lay helpless before them' (Peires, pp. 160, 151). Also the women

were suffering the horrors of famine. In Xhosa internecine wars the victors returned a portion of their spoil to the vanquished, on the principle "'we must not let even our enemies die with hunger"' (Peires, p. 138). But the British forces systematically stole cattle, burnt huts and laid waste Xhosa productive resources (p. 154). The subsequent destitution forced 'half the total Ngqika population' onto the labour market, making their hitherto partial and temporary proletarianisation a permanent process (Peires, p. 160).

6.3 The 8th Frontier War (1850-53), Mlanjeni's prophecies

In Kaffernland the narrative discourse trivializes the causes and build-up to the 'Mlanjeni', or the Eighth Frontier, War by anaphorically repeating: 'There were wild rumours' and 'It was said': 'It was said that the settlers in the four villages in the Tyumie valley had desecrated a chief's grave, that they had smashed a dish on it' (p. 37). Another cause for war was that the settlers too frequently extracted compensation from the Xhosa for cattle-damage (Kaffernland, p. 52). Refuting both claims (p. 52), the settlers are confounded by the attack on them on Christmas day. But then 'The Xhosa couldn't understand how the settlers could occupy their land and dig up the grave of their late Chief Tyhali' (Peires, Weekly Mail, 20 June 1986). The historical Brownlee writes:

The reasons for the disaffection which led to this war, were the suppression of the power of the chiefs, the loss of their income and patronage derivable from fines and confiscations, nothing having been substituted as an equivalent for this loss. (Reminiscences, p. 170)

Kaffernland describes how Mlanjeni's power grows since the missionaries had to flee Kaffraria. The text devalues his

teachings as a deception of the credulous people: they are duped by the 'powerful', who intrigue among themselves:

Whatever Sandile wanted, he secretly informed the prophet Whoever got to Mlanjeni's forest hut, did not at all question: 'Why doesn't the prophet live in the river?' (p. 80)

Nevertheless, the text gives a fair account of the prophet's teachings and the Xhosa practices of witchcraft, divination and propitiation. From it we can read the gradual assimilation of Christian concepts into the Xhosa religion:

The prophet preached every day: 'You should abandon witchcraft. You should not spill blood among yourselves. You should not steal from one another.

The prophet announced: 'One day I shall burn the water of the Buffalo River' . . . Mlanjeni gave the warriors a branch of the plumbago tree . . . and a little stick, which, tied to the spear, conferred power over the whites. He also ordered the sacrifice of dun-coloured cattle. . . .

Everyone was ready to believe anything new and extraordinary, since in the course of time the various teachings of the missionaries had everywhere slackened the old beliefs. (pp. 80-1)

Again Xhosa warfare is reduced to cutting off 'heads, arms and legs' of dead soldiers or roasting whites alive (p. 59, 75). We are not told that the Ngqika mistake James Brownlee for his brother Charles, and kill and behead him (p. 92).

Besides Xhosa barbarity, English immorality is denounced. According to the narrative discourse, the English officers connive in the vices of 'white and black and brown soldiers' at the liquor outlets in the lull during the war. They thwart and taunt the German missionaries who have their 'hands full with their coloured followers' (pp. 90-2). The reliance of the British army on indigenous troops is deplored: 'The Kaffir police led, the Hottentot drivers followed, behind them rode and marched the Whites' (p. 57). These 'militarily trained Kaffir police', however, defect to

the enemy (p. 76). The pre-arranged 'defection of the Hottentots, together with the rebellion of the Ngqikas', is said to increase 'the plight of the land to the extreme' (p. 85). The attack is also mystified as an attack on land that 'has never been a Kaffirland at all' (Südafrika, p. 173):

The roads into the Colony were filled with refugees, and on their heels followed Kaffir impis into the land of the whites. (Kaffernland, p. 75)

The war was first waged outside the borders of Kaffraria: In the land of the whites, to curb the continual plundering. (Kaffernland, p. 94)

Although it is said that the British army depended 'increasingly' on reinforcements from England and on 'the Hottentots' (p. 94), the text speaks disparagingly of the enemy's 'slight, isolated strikes' (p. 90). The 'murderous foe', besiege the troops in the forts: 'On the fourteenth morning of the siege' the governor 'broke through' (p. 76). It is 'the fires of the savages' that 'blazed on the Zuurberg, not far from Port Elizabeth' (p. 75).

6.4 The 1850 rebellion of the Kat River Khoi

The Khoi alliance with the Xhosa is dismissed as a cabal and their rebellion as a mindless chaos (Kaffernland, p. 84). Hermanus Matroos, having led the treacherous defection of the Khoi troops, is denigrated as a 'leader of their own race', or a 'ringleader' (pp. 81-2). The other Khoi leader, Willem Uithaalder, is said to experience divine inspirations 'that he was chosen to establish an independent Christian kingdom of the yellow Hottentot race, whose king and priest he himself was to be' (p. 84). He lives in 'a rectangular hut with its wobbling European utensils and the old cast-off European clothes' (p. 84). The text trivializes Uithaalder's Christian faith and his British military skills:

He sent clever instructions and despatches in English to his officers, he ^{repeatedly} devised in writing new far-sighted plans, he called himself General and was addressed as such, he was wherever there was a crisis, when the Ngqikas had long since run off, ... and the price the British placed on his head rose to 500 pounds. (p. 85)

It is later told that he wanders about, 'pursued and quite deserted on the other side of the Kei' (pp. 102-3). He commits suicide: 'He died, not like a coloured, but like a deluded white man, who wanted to reach out too high' (p. 85). Summarily the text states: 'The land of the rebellious Khoi on the western border of Kaffraria was likewise sold to white people from the Colony' (p. 103). According to Milton, Cathcart confiscated the rebels' properties, despite the Attorney-General declaring this illegal, and he later relocated the rest of the Kat River settlers (p. 223).

It is narrated that, after the peace-talks in 1853,

Mlanjeni died in his hide-out in Sarhili's land. When the news reached Kaffraria, where the Ngqika resided impoverished and brooding in their new territory, many of whom still believed in the prophet, said: 'Now our hope has completely died'. (Kaffernland, p. 103)

At the end of chapter I Sandile's messengers cry out: 'The land has died', which 'means war has broken out' (p. 15). Peires observes that in the Frontier Wars this expression 'ceased to be a metaphor, and became no more than the literal truth' (House of Phalo, p. 160). After the Eighth Frontier War, Cathcart had the Ngqika removed from their ancestral land to a 'location' 'fertile and well watered', but 'also flat, bare and overcrowded' (Milton, p. 222).

6.5 The Xhosa voice vs the all-knowing narrator

In Kaffernland the text cites and refutes the Xhosas' discontent with their new 'locations' to show they do not

speak the truth. It has Sandile put on record for the missionaries his historical experience that the colonizer's word is not to be trusted:

When the English waged a war with the Ngqikas because of a stolen axe ... I was young, and I myself believed, that the word of the white man was true ... [He] sent a message to me: 'The white chief Bisset wants to discuss peace with you.' I went with my brothers and councillors to the camp of the white captain Bisset. They detained us in the camp, they said we had surrendered. They took us to Grahamstown and kept us prisoner there. During that time ... this son was born. He is not my Great-Son, but I named him Bisset, in order not to forget. ... I had never seen the captain before. I did not know him. I had never said to him that I wanted to surrender to him. I cannot forget it. (Kaffernland, p. 131)

But in colonialist texts the natives do not speak the truth.

In 'Territorial representation' Noyes posits discourse as:

the material presence of a law which divides the subject and object of knowledge while establishing a dividing line between the true and the false discourse (p. 5)

The natives, as speakers without the law, cannot speak the truth because they do not possess this memory which is knowledge constantly re-affirming itself in the recognition of its errors. (p. 6)

The narrator occupies the position of the knowing subject:

In Kaffraria no one was happy after the long war. The Ngqikas did not know yet that their new territory was richer than their old areas. They saw only that it was largely without forest. (Kaffernland, p. 126)

With an implicit claim to omniscience, the narrative discourse tries to naturalize the violent act of expropriation.

The situation of the Ngqika-Xhosa by 1853 is conveyed by a lament in Kaffernland. Milton records the same poignant speech, attributing it to 'an old warrior' (p. 222):

When someone was asked 'Why are you people so discontented?' he retorted: 'Can't you see, how am I to live with comfort on these plains, where there is no bush? I have no rest day or night. My cattle continually turn their heads towards the Amatolas, lowing and bellowing from morning till evening for their old pastures. They can never fatten here;

nowhere do they find shelter. Soon they must die here, and also we must utterly perish.' (Kaffernland, p. 126)

Milton aptly comments: 'This bitter prophecy was soon to be fulfilled with a terrible accuracy' (p. 222). This effect is reinforced in Kaffernland, when a few pages later it has the Xhosa speak ironically of death. The thoughtful ones observing the water-mill in action say:

How the whites don't try to subjugate everything and everyone! Not only the brown and black people are expected to be their servants; they turn also the water into their servant Only Death - that they cannot subdue. (p. 140)⁴⁶

In Kaffernland 'truth' is created by an incorporation of the reader in 'a solidaric front' with 'the narrator-function' against 'them', the indigenes (Pakendorf, 'John Nukwa, ein guter Arbeiter', p. 15). Thus it cites the historically recorded grievances of the Xhosa - so as to discredit them:

'My cattle thirst after the waters of the Buffalo River and the Keiskamma River.' No one then told him: 'The water, which the Kubusi River takes to the ocean is not less fresh and sweet than the water of the Keiskamma.' Most of all they felt aggrieved that they were supposed to live in increased restrictedness, while their former homeland lay there nearly empty of people. (pp. 126-7)

Sandile's one line of complaint: 'Your children are asking for more land. They are too confined', is repudiated:

The Governor replied: ... 'You were not raised in our Kolonieland and yet in the brief war you very quickly found your way into the Colony-land ... Your assertion that the land granted you is not big and good enough is untrue. You have been conquered in the war. Rather appreciate the fact that you have been so mildly treated.' Thereupon he distributed spades to everyone and admonished them: 'Learn to cultivate your lands in peace with spades.' Many Kaffirs replied: 'We men do not want to do such work.' (Kaffernland, p. 128)

Confident of the power established over the Ngqika, Cathcart reported his meeting with them: '[I] laid myself down in the centre, tapping my boot with my sjambok' and in 'a familiar conversation' explained [I] 'was their friend' (Milton, p.

222). The 'boot' and 'sjambok' symbolize the subjugated position from which the indigenes act from 1853 onwards.

6.6 Waiting for the Redeemer, 'The Broad-Chested One'

Kaffernland construes the Xhosa interpretation of the Crimean War as self-delusion. Adhering to historical record, the text tells how Sandile presses the missionary Strobél, just back from Europe, for news:

he wanted to hear news about the war, which the western powers and Turkey had begun to wage against Russia in April of that year [1854] The Brothers were amazed. To them as Prussians ... the war did not seem of much significance When they spoke hesitantly ... the chief suddenly asked: 'Don't you know, Liefeldt, that the amaRussians are black like us?' (p. 130)

The talk amongst the Xhosa of the Russians' victory over the British in the Crimean War is disparaged as 'intoxicating rumours' (p. 135) about their 'legendary victorious friends' ('sagenhaften', p. 144). Those who understand Xhosa 'heard all the new messages from the inebriated' (p. 135):

'The Russians are black, and they wear bangles like us. They are soon coming into this land, to help their tribesmen.'

'The amaRussians with their broad chests are Kaffirs like us. They have conquered the English across the sea, now they will vanquish all the whites here.'

'One morning a big feast will be prepared with much meat and strong drink and for everyone there will be new jewellery. (p. 135)⁴⁷

The phrase 'with their broad chests' points to the extensive research Grimm had undertaken. Peires seeks to explain the figure Sifuba-sibanzi: he, the 'Broad-Chested One', seems to represent the 'fusion of Xhosa and Christian prophecies'; 'several contemporary reports link the words Sifuba-sibanzi to the Russians whose supposed victory ... produced the first spate of millenarian prophecies just before Nongqa-

wuse's' ('Central Beliefs', p. 62). The son of Sifubasibanzi was seen as the redeemer during the cattle-killing. This concept of 'an expected redeemer', together with that of 'an earthly resurrection', were the Christian elements the Xhosa assimilated in their search for 'a means of escape from [their] hopeless and desolate situation' (p. 63).

6.7 Negation of Sarhili's assertion of Xhosa values

Before the disruption of his economic, political and belief systems, the Xhosa was ideologically 'secure in the wisdom of his diviners and the mastery of his destiny' (Peires, House of Phalo, p. 164). Because the pale animals from across the sea disordered his universe, the Xhosa had to re-make its meaning. Sarhili followed Nxele and Tyhali's way of thinking, which rejected 'all things alien' in 'the self-conscious assertion ... "I am a Xhosa"' (Peires, p. 165). This becomes clear when Sarhili explains to the English missionaries why he forbids his people to come to them. In Kaffernland this speech rejecting European culture is neutralized through its juxtaposition with a resignatory speech on fate. In the production of social meaning, in the struggle for social power between colonizer and colonized, the text Kaffernland tries to negate the historical course of the colonized. The narrative intent to reduce Sarhili's argument is evident from the fact that the entire speech is taken verbatim from Kropf's book Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern (p. 105), but with a few telling changes. The lines in Kropf's version that Grimm ignores are in brackets:

Sarhili replied: 'Yes, I am certainly a fool in the eyes of the whites, but I can govern my people with the old values and the old customs (which are best suited for this task). When my people go to the whites and learn English habits and customs, I cannot rule them.'

But the English government cannot then control them either. I notice that the Kaffirs who live in the villages and the places of the whites, are largely thieves and vagabonds and bad types. They are a bad lot, because they think they know so much from the white man (because they learn so much that is bad from the whites). I think (maintain) that a Kaffir, who paints himself with red ochre, is cleaner than one, who dresses himself. The former washes himself and smears himself and the next morning he goes back again and does the same (and looks more respectable than the former). But he who buys himself a shirt at a shop, wears it, till it rots, ... till [it falls] in rags from his body. ... I cannot endure the smell of a dressed person. I can therefore not visit your church myself. There is too great a smell about the people who gather around you. (pp. 179 - 180)

The force of this argument is reduced by the rhetorical arsenal in the account following it: the opinions of 'many whites like Brownlee' and others on Sarhili's supposed instigation of the cattle-killing. Superlatives, hyperbole and the figure of gradation vivify how, in the eyes of some whites, the movement broke the Xhosa. This view also seeks to reduce the cattle-killing to 'a unique and therefore rather unfathomable example of the so-called 'primitive mind' (Susan Krige, The Frontier, p. 16):

For the terrible folly of the deluded leader those thousands of willing and unwilling common people then had to suffer the pain of starvation and the whole Kaffir nation of the amaXhosa right down to the children had, through this insane self-sacrifice been robbed of its strength and crushed and pulverized in a way which the the cruellest enemy would not have achieved in the most devastating victory. (Kaffernland, p. 180)

6.8 Significations of the cattle-killing

The resignation voiced by the old king Sarhili further dissipates the earlier image the text creates of him as 'the greatest king' (pp. 175-6). A 'white man' who 'himself wanted to question the chief about the unheard-of suicide of

a people' 'visited him in exile' (p. 181).⁴⁸ The text has Sarhili interpret the cattle-killing as an act of fate:

Sarhili narrowed his eyes in surprise at his guest. Then he spoke: 'Mlungu, stranger, do you know why you must die when your time has come?' He beat rapidly thrice with his fist against his bony chest. 'Also I, Mlungu, I do not know, when and of what I am destined to die.' He kept quiet and shut his eyes 'No one knows, when and how he will die. The cattle had to be killed, in order that the people should die. It was fate.' He lifted his shoulders and let them fall: 'Some teachers say, God wanted, that what happened, should happen, and that those who died, should die.' (p. 181)

Peires rejects 'this sort of fatalism as very un-Xhosa-like'⁴⁹. The view of the cattle-killing as an act of fate is part of the notion that fate let the German settlers acquire their land ('Kaffraria', in Südafrika, p. 47). Grimm correctly has Sarhili refer to God; Peires tells how he frequently visited the missionary H. M. Waters, despite his enduring paganism. Waters says Sarhili 'enquired minutely into a history of Our Lord He was most taken with ... Christ walking on the sea' ('Central Beliefs', p. 60). Peires adds:

More than a year later, in the midst of disappointment and starvation, Sarhili visited Waters again and impressed him by his knowledge of the story of Lazarus. ('Central Beliefs', p. 60)

Sarhili's speech on fate is followed by a landscape description. The word 'Striche' and the phrases 'valleys and hills' and 'in the plain' are played with ad nauseam:

The grey lines looked like scars on the backs of lazy draught-oxen The lines were in places so dense and crossed one another so frequently like whipscars. The lines were footpaths, which the barefooted brown and black peoples ... have for ages, in war and peace, walked into this land. (p. 181)

From Kaffraria to the mouth of the Kei and over the river ... into the free land of the Blacks led very many paths. (p. 182)

On these paths 'the people came from all over' to the Quolora River to hear the prophecies (p. 182). In the essay 'Kaffraria' (p. 12), the phrase 'Irrungen und Wirungen' implies the believers are on 'Irrwege': also in Kaffernland the cattle-killing movement is signified as an aberration.

Beneath the anaphoric style of its rhetoric, the message Mhlakaza brings from the ancestors yields a view of the historical circumstances that led to the cattle-killing:

Amadoda! There was Ndlambe and Hintsa and Duschani and Ngqika and Eno. They no longer want to stand aside and watch with a sad heart how injustice is meted out to black people. They do not want the black people to be humiliated and dispersed and exterminated. These spirits have helped the amaRussians conquer the English. These spirits are now coming, in order to help the Xhosa nation to victory against the English. Amadoda, these spirits command, you should throw away all your witchcraft charms. These charms prevent their resurrection. Amadoda, these spirits command, you should slaughter cattle. The cattle stand in the way of the beasts and goats which they are bringing with them. Amadoda, these spirits command, you can let the horses and dogs live.

These resurrected ones are young. Together with the English old age and infirmity will be completely dispelled. (Kaffernland, pp. 184-5)

6.9 Lungsickness epidemic; Nongqawuse's prophecies

The many references in Kaffernland to the coming of healthy cattle (pp. 184-8) support Peires' view that the lungsickness epidemic (bovine pleuropneumonia) of 1854 'determined' the 'form which the movement took, namely the killing of cattle' ('Central Beliefs', p. 45). The letter of the 'unknown' man informs Sir George Grey:

The lungsickness has not deterred the Kaffirs, indeed, Mhala and even Phato are spreading the rumour that the epidemic is an evil spell cast by the English, and it has been sent from Cape Town into their land to harm the blacks. (Kaffernland, p. 134)

Peires explains that the disease which came with imported bulls into Mossel Bay in 1853 was a 'necessary' but in itself not 'a sufficient cause' of the cattle-killing:

it spread all over Africa without producing the same effect anywhere else. But at its very first stop, in Xhosaland, it encountered an exceptionally battered and divided society, demoralized by the frustration of a long series of military defeats; by the social insecurity of expulsion from natal lands and pastures; by the material sufferings of migrant labour and of resettlement in cramped and ecologically deficient locations. ('Central Beliefs', p. 45)

Peires says 'At least five prophets were active in the lungsick areas of Xhosaland during 1855' and 'Nongqawuse's own prophecies were similarly linked with the epidemic' (p. 46). The horrific way in which the cattle died had

[an] emotional impact ... on the Xhosa owner, whose entire social and economic well-being depended on his cattle, and who, moreover, loved each beast individually as no miser ever loved his gold. (p. 47)

To deal with this uncontrollable disease the Xhosa had to find an explanation. Nongqawuse said it was the punishment for the witchcraft the Xhosa practised. This had to cease; all cattle had to be killed, because they were polluted by hands defiled by charms. Also the Xhosa sorghum, tainted by drought and blight, had to be destroyed. In Kaffernland the believers explain the ban on cultivation to the missionaries: 'We do not want to disturb the ground with implements and thereby delay the resurrection of the dead' (p. 191).

The believers were concerned to free themselves of the taint of disease and evil, but they also prepared for 'the rebirth of the past and the regeneration of the present': they - and non-believers - were promised 'the re-enactment of the act of Creation itself' ('Central Beliefs', p. 54):

The movement owed part of its momentum to hatred of the colonial intruders ... but it is unlikely that the initial talk of whites and Mfengu swept into the sea

was anything more than a convenient way of disposing of an anomalous element which had no place in the indigenous Xhosa scheme of things. (p. 56)

The prophet tells the delegation of the 'Mfengu-dogs': 'No, the spirits have no message for you' (Kaffernland, pp. 188-9). When the prophecies failed in August 1856, the believers made a brief attempt to convert the Christians: this 'demonstrates that the main concern of the believers was not the expulsion of the settlers but the advent of a 'happy state of things to all' (Peires, p. 56). Kaffernland tells how people pictured this 'happy state': Nongqawuse has seen 'the racing oxen' that 'have grown young and strong' (p. 186). The people visualize all the herds of cattle they had possessed (p. 253). The chiefs and councillors desire 'that after the disappearance of the Whites, no government and no police would again be in their way (p. 253). The priests see the missionaries transformed into frogs and mice (p. 253). Some 'pondered how the law and customs will be formed after the joy of resurrection' (p. 253). This desire to re-establish Xhosa traditions is reinforced by a tale from Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern (p. 199). The re-telling in Kaffernland stresses the deceit of the Xhosa diviner, but it also shows the erosion of Xhosa customs through contact with the colonists. Totsche's mother explains his illness:

During the war Totsche fought for the government against the people. He became ill during the war The white doctor does not understand Totsche's illness The spirits of the ancestors are angry, because Totsche has not observed the customs of the fathers and because he sought help from those, who aim to destroy the customs. (Kaffernland, p. 142)

Contesting the power of the Christians' discourse - their God, their Law - the believers in the prophecies want to

establish their own 'power-knowledge' (Sheridan, p. 162).

Their God is more powerful than Holy Writ, the 'Word':

Wetu, when you converted and we wanted to warn you to desist, you said: 'Leave me, I have found my God. Your talking is in vain.' Today we say: 'We have found our God. Mhlakaza is our God. Your talking is in vain!' (Kaffernland, p. 189)

Despite the dying, the heathens snapped angrily at [Kropf, Rein and the other missionaries]: 'We, we are not in need. You have a God only in a book. But our God has already appeared before our very eyes. You beware!' (Kaffernland, p. 205).

The irony is that Mhlakaza was not a 'heathen witch-doctor'

but a Christian convert who had lived in the Colony and spoke Dutch and English [He] acted as a personal servant to Archdeacon Merriman ... between 1849 and 1852. He could recite ... most of the Anglican liturgy in Xhosa and was fairly well-acquainted with the Bible. (Peires, 'Central Beliefs', p. 60)

The text mimics the rhetoric the councillors Baba and Dondas and Sandile's mother Suthu use to persuade non-believers:

Sie meinten Sie redeten Sie schwatzten Sie wußten mit ihren hupfenden und fliegenden und klirrenden Worten sehr viel ... zu erzählen. (p. 197)

The text anaphorically repeats 'Er hieß den Narren' to show how chief Mhala uses the idiot Kwitshi to dupe the people. For, 'his power' over them 'was no longer great enough, because of the presence of the whites' (p. 201). Here Grimm reproduces an official report of Kwitshi's confessions:

Whenever I was alone, I could not refrain from laughing when I thought of the deceptions I practiced at the vley, and I often roared out: 'Are Kaffirs fools to be thus deceived?' (Kaffernland, p. 202, Peires, 'The Late Great Plot', p. 265)

6.10 The "chiefs' plot" and Grey's settlement plans Expropriation after the cattle-killing

The dubious evidence Major Gawler extracted from the prophetess Nonkosi and from Kwitshi has duped also Grimm to reproduce it as truth in Kaffernland (pp. 199-202). In 'The

Late Great Plot', Peires shows that Grey and Maclean's official correspondence is spurious and lacking in evidence to prove that Sarhili and Moshoeshoe were plotting to foment war. (Kaffernland tells how they intrigue.) Peires explains that Grey and Maclean hatched a chiefs' plot theory to destroy Mhala and Sarhili and to rationalize 'the ruthlessness with which they treated a shattered people' (p. 263). Gawler had led the prosecution against Nonkosi, Kwitshi and Mhala in Grey's 'special tribunals to try chiefs and other offenders' - in British Kaffraria which 'had been under martial law since its inception' (Peires, p. 267).

Attorneys-General Barrington and Porter noted the spuriousness of the entire proceedings and the lack of evidence. Peires suggests why Grey sentenced Mhala to 'only five years' transportation':

Whereas the other chiefs had been convicted for ordinary crimes after the Great Disappointment, Mhala alone was charged with treason. Not only he, but the whole cattle-killing movement, was in the dock for levying war against the Queen. Had the trial been successful, Mhala would have been transported for life and the cattle-killing exposed as a treacherous plot. By retreating in the face of Porter's reasoned arguments, Grey tacitly admitted that he was wrong, that Mhala was innocent, and that the 'chiefs' plot' remained, at most, an unproven assumption. (p. 268)

Peires adduces sound evidence to show that 'the entire Kwitshi story was fabricated under pressure of threats and interrogation' (p. 268). Mhala believed in the prophecies and appealed to the court to 'remember that words do not perish ... my words seem few but they are long enough' (p. 268).

Grey, Maclean and Brownlee had 'realized the potential benefits to the Colony' of the cattle-killing (Zarwan, p. 529). In the 'Kaffraria' essay, Grimm expresses such hopes:

If the terrible delusion is destroyed within itself - no tremendous insight is needed to realize this - then,

there will be an over-abundance of unoccupied barren land in British-Kaffraria. There will then be no one any longer whom one must rob of his acre for the plough of the white settler. (Südafrika, p. 18)

Kaffernland describes Grey's vision of villages rising out of 'the empty land' (p. 147). In the cattle-killing Grey saw 'very great permanent advantages ... which may be made a stepping stone for the future settlement of the country' (Peires, 'Sir George Grey', p. 151). Peires explains that the movement enabled Grey to realize his aim of settling a 'substantial European population' in Xhosaland (p. 151). According to the 'Kaffraria' essay, black ambitions were not restrained by the retention of 'British Kaffraria ... as a Kaffirland with the necessary evil of a white troop occupation' (pp. 12-13). Similarly, in Kaffernland we read that 'all whites' thought it was madness that the 'Kaffirs live in conquered British territory and are governed by their own chiefs according to their own laws' (p. 143). The cattle-killing broke the Xhosa. Yet Grey 'humiliated them and instituted 'a full-fledged system of direct rule through magistrates', ... seized territory and moved 'the population to smaller areas of land in village units' (Zarwan, p. 529).

The 'Kaffraria' essay holds: 'under Grey's leadership people did what they could [for the starving] and did it humanely' (Südafrika, p. 17). Kaffernland tells of the Great Disappointment of 18 February 1857 and how 'the message to the starving in Sarhili's land' has to vie with Mhlakaza's renewed calls. The government's message was: 'Hungry people who come without weapons can obtain food from us' (p. 256). This is based on Mrs Brownlee's contribution to the chapter 'Cattle-Killing Delusion' in Reminiscences:

We had instructions to get on account of Government whatever was required. Corn and meat were daily distributed to all comers. ...

Mr Brownlee estimates that 30 000 Kaffirs entered the Colony and obtained work, about 20 000 died. (p. 138)

Also Zarwan repeats this misrepresentation: 'The government did what it could to relieve the famine a Kaffir Assistance Society was formed to provide aid' (p. 529).

Peires cites a missionary's appeal for food for 'Destitute Kaffir Children' published in the King Williams Town Gazette on 2 May 1857 ('Sir George Grey', p. 145). He cites also the editorial response to this plea:

Is the Kaffir a fit and proper subject for the receipt of charity? The question having a reference to the generality - not individuals - we answer No ...

They [cannot] appreciate a generous action. They would consequently attribute, as they have always done, our charity either to some unexpected weakness or fear. Sir George Grey had distinctly given them to understand that there is plenty of work for all those who would be industrious but that there is no bread for the idle ... [This plea for charity] would consequently be a direct interference in the policy of His Excellency. It would be a premium on idleness, and prevent the Kaffirs from becoming what we would find it so much to our and their interest for them to be - labourers. (p. 145)

Also Kaffernland (p. 240) refers to this shaper of settler opinion. Peires quotes Grey's warning in the Grahamstown Journal of 22 August 1857 to the Kaffir Relief Committee. Grey vociferously opposed their intention of opening a Kaffir Relief House to provide soup to the starving. This would create the danger of an influx of Xhosa into the Cape Colony. The warning illustrates what Peires sees as Grey's 'peculiar genius ... in the field of rhetoric', and his tendency to ascribe 'opposition to his measures to 'deeply-laid conspiracies' ('Sir George Grey', p. 150):

If they do not take care they will break down the dykes and dams which confine the sea within proper limits,

and will let it pour its dark and colored waters in upon a country which has been rendered fertile and prosperous by Christian Civilization, and enlightened and laborious toil, the peaceful population of which, and the results of their industry and patience, will be swept away before the ruthless and pitiless flood. (Peires, 'Sir George Grey', p. 159)

In Kaffernland groups are said to 'grow' towards a destined place; in reality, magistrates had to 'ration only those Xhosa who registered as labourers': these 'must be widely dispersed over the Colony ... and trained to habits of industry' (Peires, 'Sir George Grey', p. 151). 'Literally starving to death', a Xhosa had to sign a contract stating: "I ... hereby of my own free will undertake to proceed to any part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope ..." (Peires, p. 152). 'A Kaffir Pass Act' allowed a Xhosa to enter the Colony only to work (p. 152). Grey's laws ensured that the 'Xhosa nation was to be broken up entirely' (p.151)

6.11 The cattle-killing as savagery or resistance

Kaffernland ends with Sandile and his people leaving the civilizing environment of his 'father' Brownlee's post. This rebellious tendency in the Xhosa is constantly noted by the text, but simultaneously encoded as a sign of savagery. The cattle-killing is not the self-assertion of a collective subject, but savagism inimical to culture:

Als der Sommer kam ... und als über den Büschen ... die Weihnachtsrose hing und als das Veldt ... voller Blüten aller Farben war, lag überall totes Getier. Der Gestank war viel stärker als der Wohlgeruch Am blauen, reinen Himmel zogen ... Geschwader von Aasgeiern herbei. ... Die Geier stritten sich nicht Die Geier mieden auch die Nähe einzelstehender Hütten nicht, denn sie merkten, daß hilflos Sterbende darin bei einander lagen, und die Hunde, die Genossen der Männer, fraßen von den Körpern toter Menschen.

In diesem Sommer des Todes war der Reichtum an Rosen vor Brownlees Haus in Döhne übergroß. (p. 204)

The rebellious tendency of the blacks has been contained - so Grimm avers in the article of 1912, entitled 'The South African Union according to Personal Experience':

A large-scale, general rebellion, a unification of all blacks against all whites in an armed struggle ... very definitely does not threaten the Union and the whole of British South Africa anymore. This is not to be ascribed to mild British treatment, ... but primarily to the fact that every tribe has so soundly and so long received a beating from the British and the Boers, till it realized that nothing is to be gained from struggles and rebellions; the Cape alone ... conducted 70 years of war on its eastern frontier; and secondly it can be ascribed to the fact that the whites have despite everything become too powerful. (Südafrika, pp. 153-4)

Of M. W. Waters' play Nongqause, written in Xhosa in 1924, Martin Orkin says: 'the real target of the play seems to be resistance; the very choice of an actual attempt at resistance in the past, that nevertheless fails, is significant. ('Contesting prevailing discourse', p. 2). Orkin notes that H. I. E. Dhlomo's play The Girl Who Killed To Save (1936) reproduces the idea 'that the Cattle-Killing was part of a divine pattern to lead the Xhosas to a more enlightened world' (p. 8). Because of Dhlomo's 'petty bourgeois' class position, 'he was not able to develop, in his treatment of resistance, an alternative discourse' (Orkin, p. 14).

6.12 The rationality and innovative blend of Xhosa and Christian beliefs in the cattle-killing

Temu and Swai observe that scholars 'Torn between the primary classes of oppressor and the oppressed' (p. 33) tend to extol or trivialize the people's resistance:

Many books have been written on why people revolt, commit violence, suicide ... but such studies have not gone beyond reproducing the beliefs of the petty-bourgeois scholars involved in writing them. (p. 33)

Scholars like Peires and Zarwan who see reality from the perspective of the oppressed are engaged in an ongoing struggle to dispel the misconceptions around the cattle-killing movement. Zarwan sees the movement as a response to the colonizer's intrusion, but says the believers relied entirely on the promised removal of the Europeans: this 'needed no assistance from human creatures' except propitiation of the ancestors (Zarwan, p. 532). Peires criticizes the view that the cattle-killing was the irrational reaction of pagans relying on supernatural aid ('Central Beliefs', p. 44).⁵⁰ He explains the view he expressed in The House of Phalo, namely, that Mlanjeni and Nongqawuse - the 'spiritual heirs of Nxele' - 'found traditional techniques increasingly helpless against European power' (p. 74). In 'Central Beliefs', he stresses that Xhosa practices of purification, divination, sacrifice and witchcraft were always in a process of transformation:

Whatever 'traditional patterns' may have existed in Xhosaland before 1856, they certainly did not include mass destruction of basic subsistence needs or the expectation of an imminent resurrection of the dead. (p. 44)

His research also refutes the myth of the lying prophets reproduced in Kaffernland. The process of divination is

not a one-way street through which the ... diviner led his passive flock, but a dialogue between diviner and client where the course of action prescribed by the former was circumscribed by what the latter were prepared to accept. (House of Phalo, p. 68)⁵¹

In 'Central Beliefs', he points to written and oral evidence which shows that Nongqawuse's prophecies were rooted in 'a conceptual world which the Xhosa understood and trusted' (p. 63). To me it seems that, as a visionary, Nongqawuse was reproducing myths that constituted that which was 'already

known', 'natural' to the Xhosa - and herself. Peires stresses that it was probably because the central beliefs of the movement 'were so rational and so appropriate that they ultimately proved so be so fatal' ('Central Beliefs', p. 63).

Zarwan avers that the movement was 'not an irrational flight from reality' (p. 537). He also interestingly notes its 'non-verbal, non-rational aspects': 'The true meaning of the cattle-killing to a Xhosa can never be described, even by a participant' (p. 520). Here he is referring to the symbolism involved in the movement and to the 'indigenous horizon of expectations' (pp. 519, 538). Did the movement thrive also because of a yearning for the beloved dead? In 'The Late Great Plot', Peires tells of the aged Mhala's longing 'to see his dead father and brothers' (p. 264). In Kaffernland, however, the seventy-year old Suthu's preparations for Ngqika's return are ridiculed:

The many new decorative bangks on the grey old woman's spindly legs and spindly arms were too wide and and rattled and clattered. She did not notice this. She could only think: 'I want to please the great Paramount Chief of the nation as his wife, when he now returns' (p. 251).

What were the desires of those who, 'far away', re-told what was seen at 'the Quolora and the Gxara Rivers':

The risen warriors there at the mouth of the Kei are in the waves of the ocean. Many go on foot, and many are on horseback. The risen warriors move without speaking through the waves. It is an impi larger than people can visualize. (Kaffernland, p. 187)

Temu and Swai illustrate the rationality and creativity of millennial movements:

It has been normal to see colonial rebellions as a puzzle because of their religious overtones. In some cases the rebellions have been dubbed aberrant ... within the prism of dichotomies, myth is considered to be as different from reality as night from day. Whether the consciousness of God or a survival from the

past, it above all constitutes the obverse of reality. Yet myth is not a given in which people must participate in one form or another. Myth, together with its millenarian tinge, comprises the very act of creating. Those who create it want to transcend the given order of things. ... Such radicals want to return to the fundamentals of society and so explain it from a new perspective. Kinjiktikile, a radical at the forefront of the Maji Maji, compared the Germans to red clay. He called them ugly fish of the sea and assured his supporters that they were not invincible ... Kinjiktikile encouraged the oppressed people of Southern Tanzania to seize the time; to transcend the prevailing oppressive conditions. (pp. 40-41)

To transform their world totally, the Xhosa destroyed their entire means of survival - without leaving themselves an alternative in case of failure. And, like other millenarian movements, the Xhosa movement fed 'off its own failures' (Peires, 'Sir George Grey', p. 147).

Zarwan observes: 'If the promised restoration of old conditions through supernatural assistance was without foundation, the Xhosa had no future; their day was forever past' (p. 538). This comment evokes the observation of the narrator of Kaffernland, namely, that Kaffraria and its people needs regeneration: 'Its time has fulfilled itself' ('Erfüllt hat sich seine Zeit', p. 9). Grimm's text shows that the Xhosa leaders fulfil this need with deluded visions. Even before the cattle-killing, it speaks of the Xhosas' 'fallow and desolate fieldgardens' ('brachen und wüsten Feldgärten', p. 240). This alludes to Genesis 1, verse 2 which describes the earth before the arrival of man: 'Und die Erde war wüst und leer'. This story of Creation shows that bliss ends when man is driven from Paradise and has to work for his daily bread. Grimm's text twists this in that it implies that it is precisely the order brought about by (the Germans') work that will bring an end to the

chaos in the Kaffrarian paradise. But this transformation through labour in fact entails the violent transformation through capital. On a Kaffraria thus transformed the regeneration of nineteenth-century Germany depends. Thus Grimm has to negate the archaic order the Xhosa ancestors wish to restore.

Grimm's yearning for a return to the undisturbed norms and laws of an archaic collective romanticizes the Volk:

When not engaged in inter-tribal war, the men-folk looked after the cattle. Their favourite leisure-time occupations were beer drinks and gambling. Such little work as was done in the fields was left to the women-folk. (Hahlo and Kahn, The South African Legal System and its Background, p. 334)

Hahlo and Kahn add a footnote to this description of the Germanic tribe in the first century A. D.: 'The same pattern is found among Africans' (p. 334).

Grimm's desire slides unconsciously into a longing for a present-day collective, ambiguously suggesting 'Nation' or 'proletariat'. He elides the irreversible destruction of the archaic collective.⁵² Ironically, up till 1845 the Xhosa represent a fairly undisturbed collective, about to be proletarianized as a result of imperialist destruction.

7 CONCLUSION

In Kaffernland the settlers posit themselves as the origin. Brownlee tells the envoy from Europe: 'Do you see, Captain, all this has come into being out of the nothingness, since we live here' (Kaffernland, p. 168). The settler justifies his presence in the colony, writes Fanon, with the claim 'This land was created by us':

he is the unceasing cause: 'If we leave, all is lost'. Over against him [are] torpid creatures, wasted by fevers, obsessed by ancestral customs. (p. 41)

His leaving is today still bewailed by many: von Delft speaks of the 'disaster of decolonization' 'since 1960' (p. 331). As a colonial narrative, Kaffernland can be seen as

the potent epos of the colonizer, narrating himself as the sole subject of history, negating, destroying the colonized, who becomes the mere object of the heroic actions of the colonizer, who made no history before colonization, who will make no history ... because he is outside humanity, which alone has the prerogative to make history. (Horn, 'Methodology of Colonial Literature', p. 4)

Kaffernland is potent, because there are thousands of ardent readers of Grimm in Namibia and in South Africa, for whom von Delft is representative in his attempt to rehabilitate 'the misunderstood Hans Grimm'. Since 1945 German colonial literature has been withdrawn from public circulation (Bleicher, 'Das Abenteuer Afrika', in Bader und Riesz, Literatur und Kolonialismus, pp. 274-5). However, in 1979 the last of 35 volumes of Hans Grimm's work was published (Wernt Grimm, correspondence, 28 July 1988). The Klosterhaus mail order firm supplies particularly 'those social groups most opposed to Namibian independence' (Ita, p. 518). Ideologically, Kaffernland reinforces their prejudice and system of power and privilege.

The text Kaffernland seems to be largely a reproduction of the intertext and hardly manifests tension between Grimm's ideology and the colonialist discourse. The colonizer's practices of power and knowledge it affirms were already being questioned in pre-World War I Europe. Mainly on these grounds, Kaffernland lacks literary significance.

Yet, as fiction, Kaffernland makes skilful, and therefore often convincing, use of the codes employed by the realist discourse to naturalize its particular view of the world. To its envisaged German reader of 1915, its portrayal of conquest and of the colonized is generally a true reflection. The critical reader sometimes assimilates even the intellectual assaults of the text by virtue of their fictionalization. The full horror of the text's signification of the land as 'white man's land' is felt in the light of Grimm's statement that he was 'horrified' in 1913 on reading the

daily reports, which point to the rapidly increasing - what one might call - Kaffirization of a land, the largest part of which, as explained above, has never been a Kaffirland at all. (Südafrika, p. 173)

Read against the way it presents itself to be read, Kaffernland can, in places, provide an appealing glimpse of African history. The cognitive delight arising from a scientific analysis of the text is challenged by the realization that its colonialist discourse seeks to perpetuate the violence of colonization. Horn is correct: 'By studying the narrative of the colonizer, even critically, we perpetuate it' ('Methodology of Colonial Literature', p. 4). Examination of the text in its historical, sociological and linguistic difference does not

prevent the process of assimilation. My own discourse is riddled with the normalization of Xhosa practices and ideology, and with 'the less apparent ... internalized colonial attitudes' (Horn, p. 6).

To read the colonizer's discourse as a fiction beyond interrogation is to endorse the violent order it seeks to perpetuate. If a literary analysis of colonization is not coupled with the literal search for material means to demolish its structures and the very real edifices of power it supports, it is as barbaric as the colonizer's practice.

Noyes argues that if 'the literature of colonization' must be measured against the 'discursive regimentation of space' which produces the colony, then it

must also be measured as an activity which ... destroys spaces and constructs new spaces unchartered in the discourses of power, spaces not conducive to exploitation. ('Space, Discourse', p. 12)

The answer to the colonizer's fiction is already being produced, in the new Realism which Carlos Da Silva describes as 'open, plurivocal, unstable, in a transformation process' ('Language and Power, Literature and Liberation', p. 13).

Mayombe, the novel from Angola by Pepetela, a former MPLA guerrilla commander, has a number of narrative voices. In it Da Silva sees 'a process of democratization of the narrative discourse by super-imposition of individual voices' (p. 14). This is the exact opposite of Grimm's colonialist fiction, 'a site', as Clark puts it, 'where the nation's sense of itself can be reinvented or deconstructed' (p. x).

Notes

1. I quote at all times from the 1978 edition: Kaffernland, Roman (Klosterhaus-verlag, Lippoldsberg). I use the style of parenthetical reference as recommended by the Modern Humanities Research Association and adhere in particular to the conventions outlined in Dr N. W. Visser's handbook, which is based on the MHRA Style Book.
2. The Nation of the Xhosa-kaffirs in the eastern region of South Africa: its History, its Character, its Constitution (Spiritual state) and Religion.
3. British Kaffraria and its German Settlements
4. Paul Maylam says: 'the formal colonial subjugation' of the Xhosa took 'almost fifty years to complete' (A History of the African People of South Africa, p. 98). This was due to 'the nature of imperial policy' and to 'the resistance offered by Africans to colonial expansion' (p. 99).
5. As against the disparaging sketch of Sandile on pp. 10 to 15, the recital of the Xhosa genealogy includes the clan-praise celebrating the patriarchal founder Rharhabe: 'When Rarabe moves, the earth moves' (p. 12). For the constituent groups of the amaRharhabe, see 6.2, p.153 below.
6. Peires writes: 'The Xhosa people today think of themselves as being the common descendants of a great hero named Xhosa' (House of Phalo, p. 13). The name 'Xhosa' probably derives from 'the Khoi "//kosa", meaning "angry men"' (p. 13).
7. Peires holds: 'By 1845 the Xhosa nation had already begun to become 'part of a wider S.A.', making 'its ethnic specificity less important' (House of Phalo, p. 164).
8. Intertextuality, says L. Roudiez, 'has nothing to do with matters of influence by one writer upon another, or with the sources of a literary work; it does, on the other hand, involve the components of a textual system such as the novel' (Introduction, Kristeva, Desire in Language, p. 15).
9. This appears in Grimm's own handwriting on the title page of the 1911 manuscript.
10. In Volk ohne Raum a fictive author Hans Grimm does research on the German Legion's settlement in Kaffraria.
11. In 'Aesthetics and the Revolutionary Struggle' Peter Horn comments: 'Interpreting the needs of others is as surely a weapon in the struggle to install oneself in power as the gun' (in Critical Arts, vol. 3, no. 4, 1985, p. 10).
12. Thus the following statements by Pakendorf in 'Of Colonizers and Colonized' do not hold true for Kaffernland: 'Grimm was not concerned with the Malthusian problem of overpopulation as such in the first place, nor even with populating the colonies'. . . . 'the role of the colonies is

paradigmatic and illustrative only, and "space" is not literally the wide open savannas of Africa' (p. 10).

13. This date as well as that of the Neues Grazer Tagblatt is from memory, due to damage to my copy and the difficulty of finding the originals in the archive.

* See letter
in appendix
dated
20. Sept. 1988

14. On average 500 to 600 listeners came up till the last meeting in 1981 (W. Grimm, correspondence, July 1988).

15. It seems that Grimm adds nothing new to the intertext, that he merely repeats that which the socio-historical 'process has inscribed in him in the course of his subject-constitution' (P. Horn, 'Zu Erich Fried', p. 3). Already Ernst von Weber's travelogue Vier Jahre in Afrika, 1871-1875 (Leipzig, 1878) carry the ideas Grimm was to popularize (Wolfgang Drechsler, oral communication).

16. Similarly other nationalists laid claim to obscure German enclaves, such as Kiaochow-Tsinan and Tsingtao, says Keith Gottschalk (oral communication).

17. I am indebted to Keith Gottschalk for this point.

18. Lodge sees Greimas' approach as 'more rewarding when applied to narratives of a traditional, formulaic and orally transmitted type, rather than sophisticated literary narratives' (p. 19).

19. His contemporaries were beginning 'to remove the acting subject from the centre of the stage [to] show the impossibility of the 'hero', the individual, who by his deeds attempts to change his historical surroundings' (Horn, 'Aesthetics and Revolutionary Struggle', p. 7).

20. The text uses 'der Hunger' to refer to the devastating consequences of the cattle-killing of 1856-57 (p. 175), and to recurring starvation in Germany (p. 79). It can be translated as 'famine' or 'the Hunger'.

21. Wernt Grimm affirms his father's views: 'Here you must not assign the modern meanings to the words bourgeois, historical and novel' (correspondence, 3 December 1987).

22. Christian Meier points to a democratized focalization: 'Es gilt nicht nur "den allwissender Erzähler durch standortbezogene Perspektiven zu ersetzen" ... sondern es geht insbesondere auch um die gegenseitige Relativierung der Perspektiven. ... Nur durch eine bewußt multiperspektivische Darstellung läßt sich ... das Problem des "reel concret" sinnvoll anpacken' ('Narrativität, Geschichte und die Sorgen des Historikers', in Koselleck, p. 584).

23. Joel Weinsheimer, however, stresses the truth of both a mimetic view of the 'individuation and personhood' of characters, and of the semiotic theory of their 'textuality': neither 'the textualized persons', nor 'the personified texts that are characters should take precedence' ('Theory of Character: Emma', p. 208, p. 210).

24. Three dominant domains of the social sciences were introduced into the eighteenth-century novel: 'the "external world", that is, "the realm of nature ... "; "the human society in which the individual lives"; and "the individual man or woman whose actions, thoughts and feelings" are the subjects and plot of the novel' (quoted in Berger, p. 174).

25. This illustrates Geißler's point that 'the African experience of space does not solve the social problem of decadence, but merely transposes it' (p. 148). 'Cut off from culture' the German settlers, in Bundy's words, 'sank almost to state of nature' ('Re-Making the Past', p. 20) - what Grimm elsewhere calls 'Verkafferung'.

26. Grimm openly aligned himself against Social Democracy. However, as Gottschalk points out, one must concede that the ideology of racial imperialism dominant at the turn of the century in Europe made it difficult for many writers to empathize with human qualities of the racial Other. It was easier for Homer to show the greatness of the Trojan heroes and empathize with the suffering of their widows. Also the Icelandic sagas depict the heroic qualities of rival Teutonic groups and the enormous suffering on the enemy side. Thereby the writer made his own side's victory correspondingly greater (oral communication).

27. JanMohamed remarks that 'the imperialist is not fixated on specific images ... of the Other but rather on the affective benefits proffered by the manichean allegory': this allegory 'generates the various stereotypes' and 'permits various kinds of rapid transformations' (p. 68).

28. Peires' observation is illustrative: By 1850 'Overcrowding collapsed the spatial distinctions which separated the world of the dead from that of the living. ... No longer were their deserted homestead-sites clearly distinguishable from the occupied homesteads of their descendants. Instead, the living residents of a site must have been constantly disturbed by thoughts of their ancestors roaming the homestead that was once their own. Perhaps in no other respect did colonial dispossession contribute more directly to the cattle-killing movement ('The Central Beliefs of the Xhosa Cattle-Killing' (p. 58).

29. Grimm rejected the analytical mode of thinking of Marxists, specialist literature and of newspapers; in 'these chaotic times literature should be synthesis, connective thinking' (Der Schriftsteller und die Zeit, pp. 55-6, also Kaffernland, p. 266: 'Zusammensehen'). Grimm's mode of synthesizing thinking has more to do with his mythologizing. Clark explains that 'In the ideological sign, referent and values are potentially separable, potentially distinct' (p. 17). But in the mythic sign value is fused with thing, displacing the referent: a mythic representation is formed by 'processes of condensation and displacement' (p. 19).

30. Perhaps this arises out of Grimm's experience of reality and the widespread belief that 'in spite of our always fragmentary experience somewhere there must exist a redeeming and justifying wholeness, which we can objectify

in ourselves as the notion of Man, and beyond ourselves as the notion of Reality' (Derrida, quoted in T. Hawkes, Structuralism and Semiotics, p. 146).

31. JanMohamed points out the formal consequences of such a denial of history: 'While masquerading under the guise of realist fiction, the colonialist text is in fact antagonistic to some of the prevailing tendencies of realism' (p. 68). With Bakhtin he holds that 'with the rise of the realist novel' 'time and the world become historical But since the colonialist wants to maintain his privileges by preserving the status quo, his representation of the world contains neither a sense of historical becoming, nor a concrete vision of a future different from the present, nor a teleology other than the infinitely postponed process of "civilizing"' (pp. 68-9).

32. Many of the views on 'truth' in this section are based on articles by John Noyes and my discussions with him.

33. One should, however, note that Grimm is writing within an intertext, that neither he nor his envisaged audience in Africa would represent things any differently.

34. Hamburger correctly points to the difference in presentation of the depicted persons in history and fiction and qualifies her over-statement that 'Non-reality, once it is constituted through the fictive persons, cannot admit reality into any area within its realm' (p. 156).

35. It seems that the text is playing with the dual purpose of history that Quintilian refers to: Kaffernland seems to be 'written for the purpose of ... proof. At the same time it could claim to be merely recording 'events for the benefit of posterity' (Wheelock, pp. 134-5).

36. Hazel Friedman illustrates Todorov's view (in Ducrot, p. 261) that the claim to realism betrays revolutionary as well as conservative tendencies: 'A convention which implies an illustration, as opposed to interpretation, of reality becomes a convenient tool for whichever truth happens to be prevalent at the time, as those CIA, Stalinist and Maoist examples will confirm' (Weekly Mail, 21 September 1987).

37. Stutterheim's rhetorical way of speaking expresses a specific view of the world - that of classic bourgeois philosophy. This is built, says Althusser, on the 'ideology of Law', which presupposes 'the general capacity of man to be his own master, and therefore to be acquisitive' (quoted in Coward and Ellis, p. 76).

38. In Südafrika Grimm avers: 'Almost nowhere in these annexations [between 1830 and 1890] did the blacks lose tribal land, at most frontierland' (p. 151).

39. Like Kaffernland (p. 138), A. E. Du Toit merely mentions Schultheiß' 'serious illness' after which 'he resigned' and 'bought a farm' (p. 33).

40. The 'Kaffraria' essay praises Grey's personal intervention to improve the lot of the legionaries. One probable reason for his recall from South Africa in 1859 was his defiance of 'the Colonial Office over German immigration' (Peires, 'The Late Great Plot', p. 261).

41. In Kaffernland we read of Xhosa indolence but not of Brownlee's role as labour recruiter. Nor about the Rev Henry Calderwood - missionary to the Ngqika people - who won government approval for 'engaging even the lately independent Xhosa for service with masters' (Majeke, p. 61).

42. Such strategies, says Edward Said, depend on a 'flexible positional superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand' (quoted in JanMohamed, p. 64).

43. In Beyond The Cape Frontier Opland quotes a praise poem by 'a Xhosa tribesman living during the period of Brownlee's influence over Sandile' (p. 32). Opland writes: 'It refers to Brownlee 'as someone whose motives are suspect: we complain of Brownlee, the imbongi says, because he wants to be friendly with the Germans: "Kub' uTshalisi siyamkhalazela, /Ufan' ukwazana namaJelimani"' (Rubusana, p. 248). Brownlee looks after Sandile, but the verbs the imbongi uses connote the herding of cattle - Brownlee drives him, brings him, sends him home' (Opland, p. 29).

44. The account on pages 160-8 of Kaffernland is a translation of Brownlee's chapter 'Go, or is Gratitude to be Found Among Natives?' (Reminiscences, pp. 255-88). The portrait of Go in Kaffernland would show that under the colonizer's civilizing influence the Xhosa can be redeemed.

45. This work shows the deception and force used to impress the rank and file into service in the British Army. By comparison, the treatment of the legionaries is mild.

46. Peires tells of the 'horror of death among the Xhosa': 'There had been no satisfactory explanation for death, which was regarded as a product of witchcraft and as the ultimate impurity' (House of Phalo, p. 68). The 'eradication of evil, the end of witchcraft, means the end of death' (Zarwan, p. 536).

47. Zarwan records that in 1855 Mhala and his councillors enquired from the Archdeacon N. Merriman 'what colour the Englishmen's enemy were of, and seemed surprised to learn that they were white men like ourselves' (p. 523).

48. Kaffernland does not elaborate on this 'exile'. The chiefs and Nongqawuse were banished to Robben Island, mainly on trumped up charges (Milton, pp. 232, 236-241). In 'The Late Great Plot' Peires records observations of colonial officials 'that Sarhili was utterly helpless', yet Grey refused to grant him 'a few milch cows and seed', and insisted on his capture or exile (pp. 269-70).

49. He explained to me: 'The Xhosa believe that the universe is basically good, and that it is tainted either by one's own sins or the witchcraft of others. One does not submit to fate; one tries either to abandon one's sins, or, by magical means, to overcome witchcraft' (correspondence, 27 July 1988). I am indebted also to Dr Satyo of UCT and Vincent Maphai of UWC for explanations of the Xhosa belief that the dead live on in the close-by realm of the ancestors as guardians of the moral order. This is elucidated by William Philip: 'The idea that a person does not die was an original belief of we black people. When, therefore, the girl spoke of the rising up, she was (merely) setting a spark to things that were already known' (quoted in Peires, 'Central Beliefs', p. 52).

50. Monica Wilson writes: 'The pagan reaction to military defeat, loss of land ... was to seek supernatural aid' (The Oxford History of South Africa, vol. I, p. 256).

51. This is only seemingly contradicted by the statement: 'Even though Nxele had disappeared ... there were still the visions of those who tried to persuade others of the truth of their dreams. The number of such men increased as the forties turned into the fifties building up to the one great revelation which was to destroy them all' (House of Phalo, p. 165). Precisely because of 'the democratic nature of divination' (Peires, correspondence, August 1988), these visions are accepted as truths and acted upon.

52. This insight I owe to John Noyes. More consciously, Grimm writes the indigenes out of South African history: if the Dutch had not imported slaves, 'Nothing prevented the rise of a young Germanic state, in which the work had to, and could be divided only among whites' (Südafrika, p. 172).

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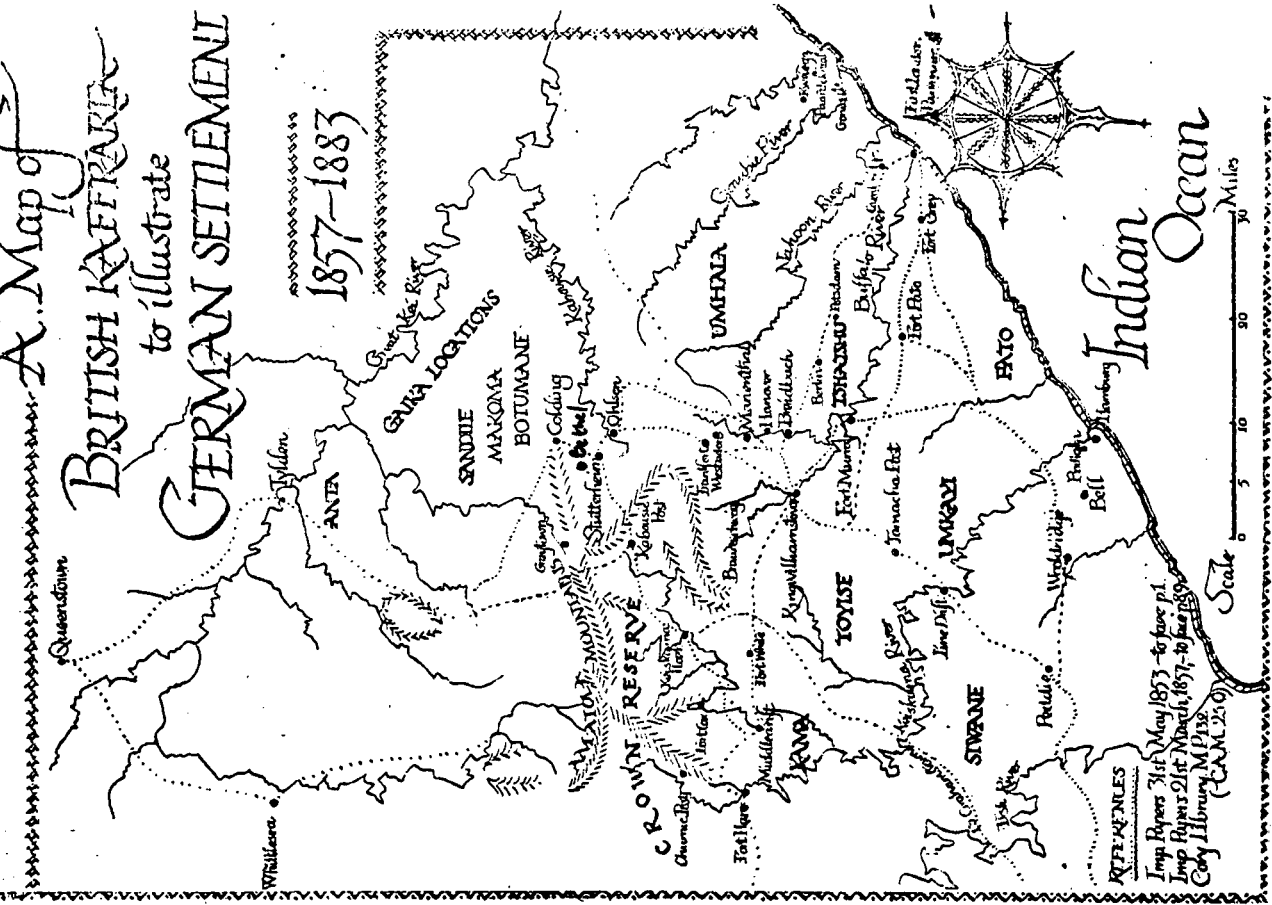
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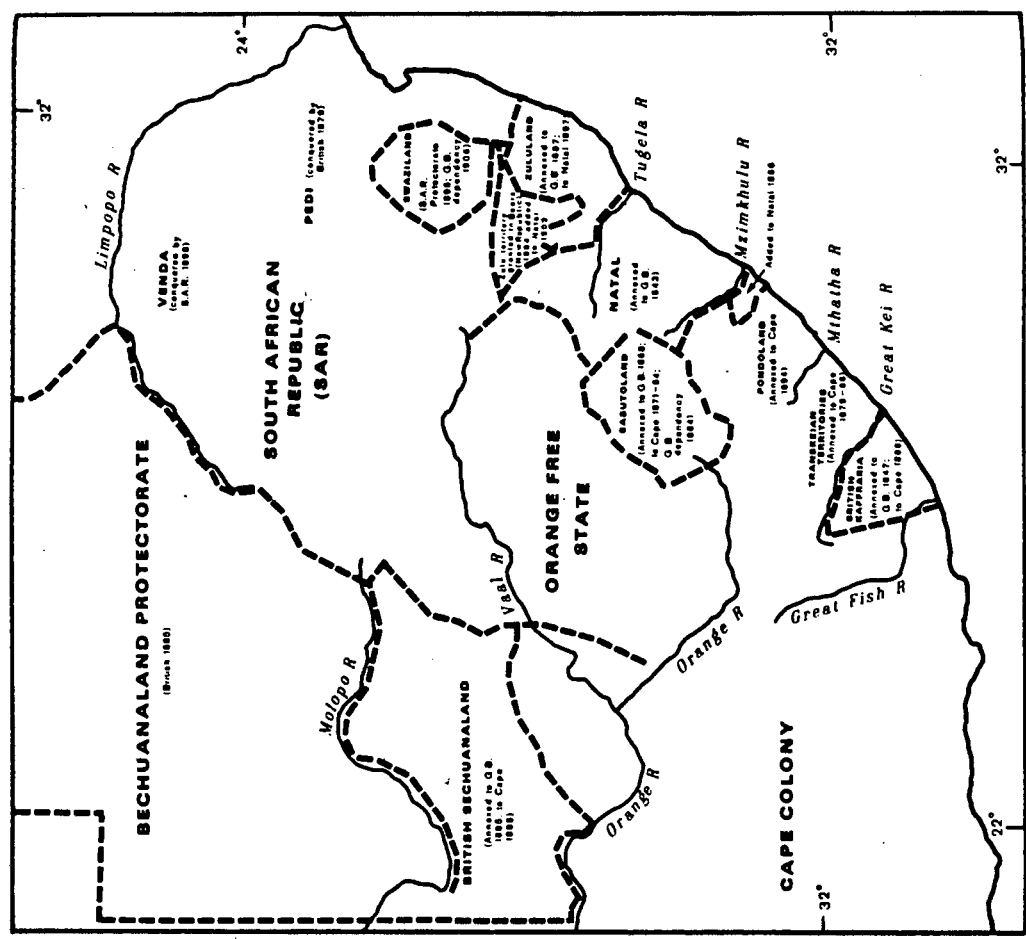
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map taken from E. Schnell, p.257



The colonial conquest and subjugation of African chiefdoms and states in the nineteenth century.

map taken from Maylam, p. 72

[May 1987]

Liebe Frau Barden,

es freut mich, daß Sie sich mit dem Buch 'Kaffernland' beschäftigen. Ich war nie in Südafrika, hatte aber immer Freude an den Landschaftsbeschreibungen dieses Buches und auch an den Menschen dieses Buches. Für meinen Vater war es immer ein undurchgearbeitetes Fragment, er hat es darum auch nicht als Buch veröffentlicht. Ich habe es dann zusammen mit meiner Schwester nach seinem Tode im Jahre 1961 herausgegeben. Die Bilder, Schutzumschlag dieser Ausgabe und die Vorsatzblätter habe ich von einem hiesigen Zeichner nach E. Cadwell zeichnen lassen. Ich weiß eben nicht mehr wie das Buch von oder mit den Zeichnungen von Cadwell heißt. Die Karte entnahm ich dem Buch von J. Spannuth, 'Britisch-Kaffraria und seine deutschen Siedlungen'. Die zeitgenössischen Bilder entnahm ich aus der 'Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft 1873'. (Ich sehe eben zu meinem Erstaunen, daß in der Hans Grimm-Gesamtausgabe diese Angaben nicht übernommen worden sind, dieser Band der Gesamtausgabe erschien 1978) Zwei oder drei Aufnahmen von Missionar Kropf, Kreli und Brownlee übernahm, ich meiner Erinnerung, auch aus einem zeitgenössischen Bericht über den Missionar Kropf. (Die Photographien) Das Material befindet sich jedoch alles in Marbach, so daß ich nicht in Lippoldsberg nachsehen kann. Die Bilder/Tafeln sind also erst durch mich als eine Art Leitung für den Leser gedacht.

Alles übrige ersehen Sie aus meinem Nachwort zur Geschichte dieses Romanfragments, auch die Daten und die Stammtafeln der Xosa-Kaffernfürsten habe ich nach dem Unterlagenmaterial meines Vaters beigefügt. So gut ich das vermag, will ich gerne jegliche Auskunft geben.

Ich wünsche Ihrer Arbeit alles Gute. Schade, daß wir Sie in Kassel nicht begrüßen konnten. Ich habe damals von Ihnen gelesen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

x Sie sehen auf dem Vorsatzblatt der Ausgabe 1961.

Miss
Faiza Bardien
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14. April 1987 Dr. JM/Ha

Sehr geehrte Frau Bårdien,

besten Dank für Ihren Brief vom 6. November. Der Reihe nach zu Ihren Fragen: Das Quintillian-Motto des Fragments "Kaffernland" hat ganz sicher der Autor Hans Grimm seinem Werk selbst vorangestellt, nicht erst seine Kinder in der späten Ausgabe. Ich füge eine Kopie des von Hans Grimm eigenhändig geschriebenen Titelblatts zum Typoskript des Werkes bei. Das Motto findet sich schon dort, ebenso der Untertitel "Eine deutsche Sage". Im Original findet sich also nicht die Gattungsbezeichnung Roman. Dagegen lautet der Titel im Fortsetzungsabdruck in der "Deutschen Rundschau" 1935/36 "Kaffernland. Eine deutsche Sage. Roman". Ich kann leider nicht sagen, ob die Gattungsbezeichnung damals eine Eigenmächtigkeit der Zeitschriftenredaktion oder ein Zugeständnis Hans Grimms war. Sowohl für "Volk ohne Raum" als auch für das nachgelassene Fragment "Heynade" hat er ja - offenbar absichtlich - auf die Bezeichnung "Roman" verzichtet. Weshalb nun andererseits die Kinder Grimms bei der Neuausgabe auf den authentischen Untertitel "Eine deutsche Sage" verzichten, aber die Gattungsbezeichnung belassen haben, müßten sie Ihnen selbst beantworten. Ich könnte mir denken, daß es einfach daran lag, daß der Untertitel "Eine deutsche Sage" in den Jahren nach 1945 sehr mißverständlich gewirkt hätte (etwa im Sinne eines nun historisch unwiderprüflich verkürzten politischen Anspruchs). Aber - wie gesagt - Herr Dr. Wernt Grimm und Frau Dr. Holle Grimm können darauf sicher genauere Auskunft geben. - Ich füge auch eine Kopie des Quintillian-Textes bei, dem Grimm sein Motto entlehnt hat. Vielleicht ist Ihnen dieser größere Textzusammenhang bei Ihrer Arbeit von Nutzen - und sei es nur als bibliographischer Nachweis einer zitablen Quelle. Leider besitzt das Deutsche Literaturarchiv keine deutsche Übersetzung des lateinischen Originals. Ich habe auch verschiedene Kollegen vergeblich danach gefragt. Vielleicht besaß Hans Grimm eine deutsche Ausgabe? Seine Bibliothek steht ja noch im Klosterhaus in Lippoldsberg. Sie sollten also Frau Dr. Grimm danach fragen. Da er aber den lateinischen Text zitiert hat, besaß er vielleicht auch nur den Originaltext.

Liebe Frau Bardien,

haben Sie vielen Dank für Ihren Brief vom 4. April. Es tut mir natürlich sehr leid, daß Sie keine Aussicht sehen, etwa mit Hilfe eines Stipendiums für einige Zeit in Marbach am Neckar Hans Grimms und besonders an dem außerordentlich umfangreichen Material zu dem Romanfragment "Kaffernland" zu arbeiten. Gern will ich versuchen, auf Ihre Fragen so gut ich kann zu antworten. Freilich werde ich kaum die Zeit finden, mich mit dem vielfältigen Material so zu beschäftigen, wie Ihre geplante Arbeit es erfordert.

Zu Ihren Fragen: Unserer Fernleihstelle ist es offenbar nicht gelungen, die Schrift "Lügenpropheten" von Albert Kropf zu beschaffen. Sollte sich noch etwas ergeben, melde ich mich natürlich bei Ihnen.

Das Romanfragment "Kaffernland" ist in der Tat 1935/36 in der von Rudolf Pechel unter Mitwirkung von Paul Fechter und Eugen Diesel herausgegebenen Zeitschrift "Deutsche Rundschau" in Fortsetzungen zuerst veröffentlicht worden, und zwar in sieben Heften vom Oktober 1935 bis April 1936. Ich werde Ihnen von diesem ersten vollständigen Abdruck Kopien anfertigen lassen und schicken. Bei der kursorischen Durchsicht der einzelnen Archivkästen mit Material zu "Kaffernland" sehe ich, daß schon vorher, in der zweiten Hälfte der zwanziger Jahre, einzelne Kapitel oder Abschnitte des Romanfragments in Zeitungen erschienen sind: "Neues Grazer Tagblatt", "Der Tag", Berlin, usw. auch im Dezemberheft 1929 der Zeitschrift "Eckart" erschien ein Kapitel "Weihnachten in Auckland". Auch diese Einzeldrucke, die ich aber vermutlich nicht vollständig in dem Durcheinander aufgestöbert habe, lasse ich für Sie kopieren.

Siedlungen" (München und Leipzig 1914). Ich habe Titelei, Karte~~z~~ und das Anfangskapitel für Sie kopiert. Offenbar hat der Zeichner von 1961, Atze Müller, die Randzeichnungen zur Karte älteren Vorlagen nachempfunden, zum Teil wohl wiederum jener schon erwähnten Missionsgeschichte von Wangemann. Zur Ergänzung habe ich noch zwei andere Landkarten kopiert, die ich unter den Nachlaßmaterialien fand.

Schließlich stieß ich noch auf eine Broschüre "D. Albert Kropf. Ein Lebensbild", gezeichnet von Käthe Kropf geb. Kühne, Berlin 1912. Diesem Heft von 32 Seiten ist das Photo des Missionars auf Seite 32 der Buchausgabe des Romanfragments entnommen.

Ihr Interesse gilt vor allem der Vorlage für das Photo des Königs Kreli. In diesem Punkt bin ich freilich bisher nicht fündig geworden, leider.

Ich glaube übrigens nicht, daß Hans Grimm seinen Roman "Kaffernland" - wenn er ihn vollendet und noch selbst als Buch herausgegeben hätte - mit Abbildungen versehen hätte. Er hat ja auch alle seine anderen afrikanischen Dichtungen ohne Bilder erscheinen lassen. Sie dürfen also wohl aus der Tatsache, daß die Erben die posthume Ausgabe des Romanfragments mit Abbildungen versehen haben, keine zu weitreichenden Schlüsse ziehen. - Ihre Frage nach der Auflage der Zeitschrift "Deutsche Rundschau" in den dreißiger Jahren kann ich nicht beantworten. Es dürfte die übliche Auflage einer Kulturzeitschrift gewesen sein - also so etwa zwischen 2.000 und 6.000 Exemplaren? Genaueres könnte man aber natürlich erst nach eingehenderer Beschäftigung mit der Geschichte der Zeitschrift sagen.

Mit guten Wünschen für den weiteren Fortgang Ihrer Arbeit und
mit freundlichen Grüßen
Ihr

(Dr. Jochen Meyer)

P.S.: Folgendes habe ich noch vergessen: Aus dem Brief, den Herr Dr. Grimm an Sie geschrieben hat, und aus dem Impressum der Buchausgabe von 1961 ist nur zu schließen, daß der Zeichner von 1961, Atze Müller, den Schutzumschlag (er liegt mir nicht vor) und die kleinen Randzeichnungen der Vor-~~54/2~~-blätter nach Zeichnungen von E. Cadwell ausgeführt hat. Ein Buch von einem solchen E. Cadwell existiert offenbar nicht; ich habe sowohl im Nachlaß Grimms als auch in den großen Bibliothekskatalogen (British Museum und National Union Catalogue) vergeblich danach gesucht. Der kleine Kaffernkral auf dem hinteren Vorsatz folgt offenbar - ich habe es schon gesagt - einem kleinen Holzstich aus der Missionsgeschichte von 1873. Die übrigen Zeichnungen mögen auf jenen E. Cadwell zurückgehen. Mir scheint, daß sie eher nach einem Reiseprospekt als nach einem alten Quellenwerk aussehen. Und überhaupt sollten Sie bedenken, daß diese Vorsatzblätter gar nichts über Hans Grimms Intentionen aussagen, sondern nur den Geschmack eines

mittelmäßigen Buchgrafikers um 1960 dokumentieren. Dagegen läßt sich von den meisten Abbildungen im Buche wenigstens sagen, daß sie wohl aus Quellenwerken stammen, die der Autor bei der Arbeit benutzt hat.

Kassel, den 19.6.87

Liebes Fräulein Bardien,

damit sie schnell zu einer Antwort kommen schreibe ich
Titelrückseite
sofort kurz. Auf dem ~~Vorsatzblatt~~ der Ausgabe 1961 heißt es:
"Schutzumschlag und Vorsatzblätter nach Zeichnungen von E.Cadwell
von Atze Müller. Karten nach J.Spanuth, Britisch-Kaffraria und seine
deutschen Siedlungen. Zeitgenössische Bilder aus 'Geschichte der
Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, 1873 u.a.". Wer die u.a. sind weiß ich
leider nicht mehr.

Die Bilder auf Umschlag und Vorsatzblättern habe ich durch einen
Zeichner hier in Kassel nach den Vorlagen von E.Cadwell zeichnen
lassen.

Mein Vater hätte Kaffernland nie als Buch herausgegeben, weil es
unfertig war. Er hat auch Paul Fechter, meine ich, nur zögernd
die Genehmigung des Abdruckes in der 'Deutschen Rundschau' gegeben.
Paul Fechter war ^{Mit bei der Ausgabe 1961} (wie nach dem Tode des Vaters) begeistert von der
Art der Landschaftsbeschreibung und daß eine Landschaft die Haupt-
person dieses Fragments war. Die "Deutsche Rundschau" von Fechter
und Peschel hatte keine große Auflage und überstieg sicher nicht
5 000 Abonnenten.

Mein Vater war im allgemeinen gegen Bilder in seinen Büchern.
Für uns galt es den Käufer durch die Bilder zum Kauf anzuregen.
Das Echo auf Kaffernland war nicht sehr groß. Der Landstrich war
für die Binnendeutschen viel zu weit entfernt und unbekannt.

Von dem Buch haben wir bisher 2500 Expl. verkauft.

Die Stammtafel der Xosa-Kaffernfürsten befand sich bei dem
Material für das Buch. Das Foto von Sarhili (Kreli), welches Sie
beilegten, erinnere ich nicht.

Kopie dieses Briefes sende ich an Dr.Meyer, Marbach.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen und Wünschen für Ihre Arbeit

Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

P.S.Meine Schwester hat vergeblich nach dem Buch mit den Bildern
von Cadwell, dem Buch von Spannuth und der Berliner Missions-
gesellschaft gesucht.

Sie schickte Ihnen die Aufl. 1961.

Dr. Wernt Grimm
Wilhelmshöher Weg 37
35 Kassel

3.12.87

Sehr geehrte Frau Bardien,

ich erhielt von meiner Schwester Kopie Ihres Briefes an Herrn Dr. Meyer und Kopie des Briefes von Dr. Meyer vom 19.11.87 an Sie. Im Grunde werden Ihre Fragen von dem Quintilianus-Motto, vom ersten Kapitel des Buches und von unserem Kommentar am Schluß unserer Herausgabe beantwortet. Das Motto wurde von Hans Grimm benutzt.

Er liebte die südafrikanische Landschaft mit ihren Menschen, Tieren und Pflanzen. Ihm ging es darum, ein Bild dieser Landschaft und ihrer menschlichen Geschichte mit seinen, Hans Grimms, dichterischen Möglichkeiten zu malen. Ihm schwebte ein heroisches Epos dieser Landschaft vor, das die Wirklichkeit der Landschaft und des Geschehens in ihr deutlich machen sollte. Er sagte immer, die Hauptfigur des

① Buches ist die Landschaft Kaffaria. Insofern ist es auch ein historischer Roman. Sie müssen den Worten bürgerlich, historisch und Roman dabei nicht die heutigen Vorstellungen zu Grunde legen. Ihn interessierten, als Deutschen, natürlich der Beitrag deutscher Menschen an dieser Landschaft und ihrer Historie. Raumabsichten im Sinne eines deutschen Zugriffs spielten bei dem Buch sicher keine Rolle.

Der Roman 'Volk ohne Raum', obgleich er bewußt als politisches Buch geschrieben wurde, wird hier auch meist mißverstanden.

Als Pechel und Fechter den 'Roman' 'Kaffernland' veröffentlichten, war Hans Grimm ein bekannter Schriftsteller. Fechter hatte Kaffernland in Lippoldsberg gelesen und drängte auf seine Veröffentlichung.

Seine Gründe waren rein literarisch, er sprach vom 'Raum als Schicksal' und sah hierin das Besondere dieser Darstellung.

Unser Gedanke, das Fragment durch Notizen aus dem Material zu dem Buch zu ergänzen, mag irreführend sein, wir scheinen dadurch das Fragment zu einer zeitgeschichtlichen Reportage zu machen, was wir keinesfalls wollten. Wir sahen dann auch die Unmöglichkeit des Vor-

habens. Als die ' auf der Palette gemischten Farben' sahen wir die Vielfalt des vorhandenen Notizmaterials an, das natürlich reizte. Das Material zu Kaffernland befindet sich auch in Marbach.

Ich meine, einem Dichter, der versucht für den Leser einer Landschaft und ihrer Historie Gestalt zu geben, sie für ihn in der Anschauung zu verdichten, müßte es erlaubt sein, 'Fiktives' und 'Faktives' zu verzeichnen, das heißt dies ist meine persönliche Meinung, ich kann nicht beurteilen, inwieweit dies in dem Buch geschehen ist, wobei die Quelle natürlich auch nicht 'faktiv' zu sein brauchen.

(1911)
Kaffernland wurde weit vor der Zeit der 'Unzähligen Zeitungs- und offiziellen (?) Berichten für Raum für die Deutschen' geschrieben. (1919)
Diese Aufsätze waren eine Folge des Versailler Diktates, und Sie mißverstehen Hans Grimm, wenn sie unter dem Raumgedanken nur Siedlungsraum verstehen.

Wir hoffen, daß Ihnen diese Antwort dienen kann.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen!

Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

Kassel, 26.1.88

Sehr geehrte Frau Barden, herzlichen Dank für Ihre Karte. In seinem Buch 'Warum-Woher-aber Wohin-Vor, unter und nach der geschichtlichen Erscheinung Hitler', Klosterhaus-Verlag Lippoldsberg 1954 schreibt Hans Grimm (S. 84/85) "Im Suchen und Grübeln kam ich auf den Gedanken, den Roman eines Landes, des 'Kaffernlandes', zu schreiben, jenes östlichen Teiles des Kaplandes um East London. In dies Land waren beim ersten Zusammenstoß zwischen Engländern und Kaffern deutsche Krimkriegslegionäre als Militärsiedler hineingerufen worden. Als sie ohne Frauen versagten, ließ der englische Gouverneur in den fünfziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts über 450 in Deutschland landlos gewordene Familien aus Pommern und der Mark anwerben. Ihnen folgten deutsche Emigranten des Sozialistengesetzes um 1879; dann kamen die englischen und deutschen Kaufleute. Der Roman des Landes sollte erzählt werden, nicht als 'Historie', sondern als schicksalhaftes Geschehen unter den Menschen.

Aus dem Buche, das wegen des ersten Weltkrieges nur zu einem Teile fertig wurde, entwickelte sich die Absicht, über die erwähnten Militärsiedler eine Doktorarbeit zu schreiben. Die Urkunden lagen in Hamburg, und veranlaßten uns im Frühjahr 1914 zur Übersiedlung nach Bahrenfeld-Altona."

Zum 50jährigen deutschen Volksjubiläum in Südafrika hat 1909 H.G. einen Aufsatz geschrieben: 'Kaffraria'. Er ist in der Gesamtausgabe 'Südafrika, ein Stück deutscher Geschichte' (1908-1922) Klosterhaus-Verlag 1978 veröffentlicht. Der Band enthält auch einen Bericht über Albert Kropf. X

Die Anschrift der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft ist:
Ökumenisch-Missionarisches Zentrum
Berliner Missionsgesellschaft
Georgenkirchstraße 70
DDR 1017 Berlin.

Kaffernland war 1961 weder gut noch schlecht rezipiert, sondern gering. Gründe: Vor 50 Jahren geschrieben, Fragment, politischer Kampf gegen H.G., Afrikaliteratur interessierte nur, wenn sie sich mit den heutigen Konfrontationen beschäftigte. Insgesamt wurden bisher nur 2500 Stück verkauft.

Meines Erachtens handelt es sich bei Bliesen und Johann Gebhart um historische Menschen, wie alle Personen des Romans historische Menschen waren, auch, wenn ihr Name dort verändert sein sollte.

Wir wünschen Ihnen weiter alles Gute für Ihre Arbeit.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

X Das Gesamtwerk Hans Grimms möchte sich in einer viel afrikanischeren universitätsbibliothek befinden und über Fernleihe auch verfügbar sein!

Hedi + Dr. Wernt Grimm
Wilhelmshöher Weg 37
3500 Kassel
Tel: 0561 / 6 14 34

D 35 Kassel
Wilhelmshöher Weg 37

Sehr geehrte Frau Bardien, ich kann erst heute antworten, weil wir mit unsererem Hobby Rosen beschäftigt waren.

Wir haben 1961 'Kaffernland' als Bucherstdruck im Klosterhausverlag herausgegeben. Im Jahre 1978 erschien es dann im Rahmen der Hans Grimm Gesamtausgabe. Jungwirth irrt mit dem Datum. Die Rezeption war nicht sehr stark, bisher sind 4500 verkauft. Die afrikanischen Fragen sind im Nachkriegsdeutschland sehr in die Ferne gerückt.

Die 'Olewagen-Saga' wurde 1916 geschrieben. Sie erschien zuerst 1916 in dem Novellenband 'Der Gang durch den Sand' und 1918 als Einzelwerk. Sie wurde ins afrikanische, flämische, französische und schwedische übersetzt und hatte eine Gesamtauflage von 137 000. 1972 erschien sie als 20. Auflage in der H.G.-Gesamtausgabe. Aus dieser ist die umstehende Einleitung.

Die Lippoldsberger Dichtertage fanden von 1934 bis 1939 und von 1949 bis 1981 statt. Sie wurden unterschiedlich von 4 000 (1949) und im Durchschnitt von 500 bis 600 Hörern besucht

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

Kassel, 28.7.88

Liebe Frau Bardien, die Klosterhaus Versandbuchhandlung gibt jedes Jahr eine Bücherliste heraus. Diese Liste enthält neben dem Angebot von Hans-Grimm-Büchern auch andere Bücher. Ich sende den Umschlag 1985/86. Er war 1986/87 nicht verändert. Alle Werke von Hans Grimm sind in der Gesamtausgabe veröffentlicht. 35 Bände, erschienen von 1969 bis 1979. Der Untertitel 'eine deutsche Sage' wurde bei den Buchveröffentlichungen fortgelassen, da es sich um ein Fragment handelt und in dem vorliegenden Teil das 'deutsche' nicht das Wesentliche ist.

Wir hoffen, daß Sie mit Ihrer Arbeit Erfolg haben.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

DEUTSCHE SCHILLERGESELLSCHAFT

Schiller-Nationalmuseum
Deutsches Literaturarchiv

Frau
Faiza Bardien
27 Duncan Rd

7800 Wynberg

South Africa

D-7142 MARBACH AM NECKAR
POSTFACH 57 1162
TELEFON 07144/6060, 6061-5

20. September 1988 Dr.JM/ha

Liebe Frau Bardien,

als Ihre letzte Postkarte kam, machte ich gerade Urlaub. Danach war noch eine Ausstellung zu eröffnen. Nun sitze ich immer noch am Abtragen des Postberges, der sich angesammelt hatte und sich leider jeden Tag ergänzt. Eine Kollegin hat inzwischen die Ihnen fehlenden Daten herausgesucht. Für Ihre Arbeit über Hans Grimms Romanfragment "Kaffernland" werden diese Daten nun zu spät kommen. Trotzdem:

"Der Kaffernkönig" erschien im "Neuen Grazer Tagblatt" vom 25. Dezember 1926 (36. Jahrgang, Nr. 652, Seite 21).

Ein Romankapitel "Das Kaffernland" erschien in der Beilage zum "Hannoverschen Kurier" am 16. Januar 1927 (Nr. 24/25).

Hoffentlich hatten Sie mit Ihrer Arbeit Erfolg. Ich würde mich freuen, wenn Sie dem Deutschen Literaturarchiv ein Exemplar zur Verfügung stellen könnten.

Mit guten Wünschen und herzlichen Grüßen

Ihr

Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

(Dr. Jochen Meyer)

Veigt Berold

362 S., Ln. DM 19,80
Dieser Roman vom großen Zug nach dem Osten erlebte bisher eine Gesamtauflage von 155 Tsd. und erhielt den Reibpreis. Hier erfährt die heranwachsende Jugend von der Heimat ihrer Eltern und Großeltern, von dem harten Kampf ihrer Ahnen um die schlesische Erde.

Narren Gottes

320 S., Ln. DM 16,80
In dieser Chronik des alten Waidau erfahren wir von den Glaubenskämpfen am Ende des 30jährigen Krieges in Schlesien. In des Alten Leben spielen die Reimsprüche und die persönliche Geschichte des schlesischen Dichters Friedrich von Logau und der großherzigen Frau von Noztz hinein. In wiefern drängen sich Parallelen zu unserer heutigen Zeit auf.

Ich bin nur eins deiner Feuer

64 S., caeloph. DM 9,80
Eine bibliophil gestaltete Kostbarkeit aus Werten, Aufzeichnungen und Briefen, die hinführen will zum Schaffen Hans Venaters.



Der Major und die Stiere

334 S., Ln. DM 29,80
12,60
Ein erhaltendes, stellenweise erschütterndes Buch aus der Zeit der Umerziehung, die der amerikanische Major bei den „Stieren“ im Bayerischen Wald erlebt. Wer diesem Humor über die Schulter schaut, wird den heiligen Ernst erkennen, mit dem Hans Venater die allein zukunfts-trächtigen Kräfte herausstellt: Anständigkeit, Fleiß, Großherzigkeit, Güte, Liebe, Verzeihen und viel Tapferkeit.



Karl Springenschmid

Es geschah in Südtirol DM 7,80
Der Anschlag auf das Ossarium 104 S., brosch.
Diese spannende politische Novelle ist eine gelungene gesteigerte Darstellung der wahren Ursache der Südtirol-Frage. Ein junger Südtiroler Lehrer unternimmt eine Demonstration gegen die unehrlichen Ansprüche des italienischen Staates auf Südtirol. Es ist gut und heilsam, wenn man sich auch in der friedlosen und entspannten Atmosphäre, die man heute in Südtirol antrifft, jener Vorgänge im Jahre 1961 erinnert. Nicht, um die Gegensätze neu aufzuleuchten zu lassen, sondern um aus weiter Sicht die Ursachen jener Vorgänge zu verstehen.



Sir Oswald Mosley

Ich glaube an Europa
Ein Weg aus der Krise – Eine Einführung in europäisches Denken. 175 S., brosch. DM 9,80
Der ehemalige englische Abgeordnete, Minister und Politiker zeigt einen Weg aus der gegenwärtigen Krise und gibt eine Einführung in europäisches Denken. Er entwirft den Plan zur Verfassung eines einheitlichen europäischen Staates im europäisch-afrikanischen Wirtschaftsraum, in dem jedoch die Kulturen der einzelnen Völker erhalten werden sollen.

GERECHTIGKEIT VON HANS GRIMM

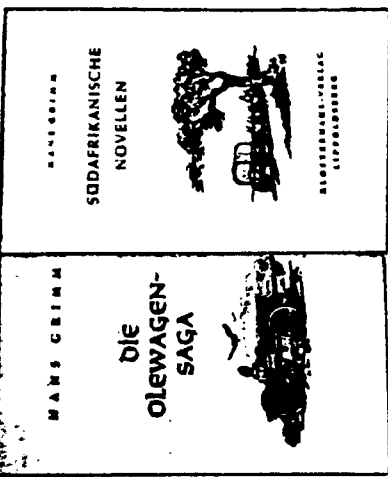
Wir von der Weser

120 S. Text, 40 Bildp., Hln. DM 12,60
Eine gegliederte Harmonie in Wort und Bild. Aufsätze und Ausschnitte aus dem Werk Hans Grimms um die Menschen und aus der Landschaft der Oberweser mit künstlerischen Aufnahmen von Mueller, Seabens, Wagner u. a.



Kaffernland

272 S., 12 Abb., Ln. DM 19,80
Dieser Roman von der weitgehenden Selbstverleugung des Kaffernvolkes vor über 100 Jahren – um sich nämlich der weißen Einwanderung zu entledigen – ist gestaltet Wirklichkeit, ein Meilenstein der Sprache, voller Spannung die Geschehnisse. Die großartige ägyptisch-afrikanische Landschaft steht plastisch vor dem Leser.



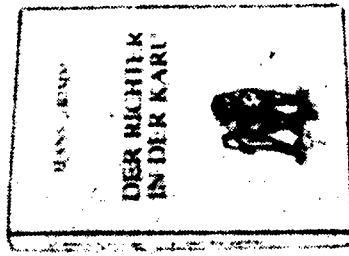
Die Olewagen-Saga

Novelle. 194 S., Leinen mit Namensprägung des Verfassers DM 17,80

Eine mit der herben Klarheit und Sachlichkeit der isländischen Saga erzählte Geschichte aus den ersten Kriegstagen 1914 in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika, bei aller Strenge und Nüchternheit der Darstellung voll tiefer Leidenschaft.

Südafrikanische Novellen

184 S., Ln. m. Namensprägung DM 17,80
Inhalt: Dina, aus John Nukwans Lehrjahren, Mordebars Graf, Wie Grete aufhörte ein Kind zu sein, Sein Tag, Johannes, Frau Ingeborgs Sohn. Lebensavalle, herb packende, nüchterne Erzählungen, die zugleich einen tiefen Einblick in die Seele der verschiedenartigen Menschen Südafrikas geben.



Der Richter in der Karu u. a. Novellen

Inhalt: Der Richter in der Karu, Des Elefantens Wiederkehr, Das Goldstück, Der Pavian. DM 21,80
Die vier Geschichten haben sich, wie fast alles, was Hans Grimm erzählt, genauso zugezogen. Sie zeigen den Novellisten Grimm in seiner Hochform.



Department of German Language and Literature

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EXAMINER'S REPORT ON M A DISSERTATION: "FICTION, IDEOLOGY AND HISTORY: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF HANS GRIMM'S NOVEL 'KAFFERNLAND' ", BY FAIZA BARDIEN

1. Description

The main thrust of the dissertation is aimed at examining the interrelation between fiction and historiography. It does so by analysing the discursive strategies employed by Grimm in his novel about events in the Eastern Cape in the mid-19th century, and confronting the novel and its sources with the current re-appraisal of the Frontier Wars and their place in Xhosa history.

Kaffernland - a project close to Grimm's heart, yet never completed - is concerned mainly with two historic events, the settlement of the British German Legion in the frontier region of "Kaffraria" in 1857, and the concurrent Xhosa Cattle Killing. While Grimm makes extensive use of historical documents and most of his facts are accurate as far as can be established, the dissertation demonstrates that the text is a colonising discourse, in the presentation/by a skilful application of the "omniscient" authorial perspective and by an insistent use of rhetorical devices, in the juxtaposition of the two main events in order to negate Xhosa history, and in employing ideologemes of race, culture and civilization which are intended to naturalise the expropriation and subjugation of the indigenes by European settlers. The dissertation shows that the colonising intertext extends far beyond the conventional boundaries of literary and aesthetic criteria, but also that these have far-reaching ideological consequences.

The dissertation starts off with the history of the production and reception of the novel fragment, which sheds a light on the ideological parameters within which Hans Grimm operated and the preconditions that made his particular view of race and history possible. The next chapter looks at Kaffernland as an ensemble of discourses in which mythological speech and bourgeois realism seem to be the dominant voices. The central question is then investigated: the relation between the (re)-presentation of historical reality and the achievement, or distortion, of truth in narrative discourse. The final two chapters look at the act and discourse of colonisation, and the resistance and discourse of the colonised respectively. The dissertation thus strives to show Grimm's indebtedness to racial stereotypes, and to

imperialist thought and its modes of representation, especially through language, as the dominant force determining the nationalist and colonial world view. On the other hand, by reading the text against its implicit intention the forces behind the Cattle Killing are seen to be a fundamental expression of resistance to the very colonising act of which Grimm's text is itself a document.

2. Evaluation

2.1 Style and Presentation

The dissertation is generally very well presented, both stylistically and typographically. Since the dissertation is written in English, the candidate chose to translate virtually every German quotation (the original correspondence with the German National Literary Archive and with the executors of Grimm's literary estate is included in^{an} appendix). There are a few lapses and errors here and there which I have indicated in the attached list of errors. The candidate has an unfortunate tendency to apply the German comma rules to her English translations; this, at times rather excessive use of commas is not indicated in my list.

2.2 Methodology, Analysis and Scholarly Presentation

The dissertation is evidently extremely well researched. Sources drawn from include texts from structuralist narratology, historical writings from the 19th century (e.g. Brownlee and Kropf) and the critical historiography of the 1980s, especially Peires. This rather diverse body of research is generally applied capably and convincingly. However, the diversity of sources does result in a methodological eclecticism which at times stands in the way of consistency of approach and coherence of presentation. Thus, one might have expected a more consistent application of the paradigm used by Barthes in S/Z (a methodological departure-point of this dissertation), in particular with regard to the central problem of representation of reality and establishment of truth, as discussed in chapter 4 (see also the section 3.7, especially p 53).

Repeatedly, one gets the impression that the candidate has allowed herself to be side-tracked by reference or a critic she felt had to be included. Thus, in section 3.2 the reference to Greimas (cf especially p 45) appears to have been grafted onto her text a bit artificially: if the "actant" theory is to be used, then surely it must apply to the whole text and not only to parts of it. Conversely, in the short section dealing with the historical novel (3.5, p 50/51) the candidate refers to five different critics but ignores Lukács' Historical Novel (which she does quote in^a different section of the dissertation).

The dissertation is characterised by^a high degree of personal commitment. This is an admirable quality seldom found in analyses of this kind, but in her zeal the

candidate does occasionally misrepresent her sources, as in the following:

- The view on p 96 that starvation was the Legionaries' "enemy" in Germany is not borne out by the text (cf Kaffernland, p 168)
- The words "This paper can look into the old era, like a man looks down from the mountain into the valley" (quoted on p 97) were actually spoken by Sandile and not by Brownlee (Kaffernland, p 195)
- Brownlee's words "The new era is the old era ..." quoted on p 98, are taken out of context
- The reference to Südafrika ... on p 156 is a slight distortion, since it refers to the Union of South Africa and not to the Eastern Cape as claimed
- The quote from Kaffernland, p 180 (quoted on p 162) is not an objective statement, as the candidate seems to imply, but the opinion of certain whites; it appears in the subjunctive, as indirect speech

However, the candidate is extremely sensitive to ideological distortion and she is highly successful in making transparent the various subtexts in Grimm's novel, and her analysis makes compelling and convincing reading. This is due largely to the high degree of scholarly integrity and thoroughness of research. The probing questions to which she subjects the portrayal of both the British German Legion and the Cattle Killing and the way in which she manages to retrieve the suppressed voice of the indigenes are striking features of this dissertation.

2.3 Evaluation

The conclusion to which the dissertation comes is derived from thorough critical analysis which is presented clearly and cogently. There is no doubt in my mind that the dissertation represents an important contribution to the body of criticism pertaining not only to Hans Grimm but also to German colonial fiction in general. This achievement is the more remarkable as this particular novel has not been subjected to close scrutiny before at all.

3. Conclusion

In my opinion this dissertation is a sound piece of research, its one flaw being the methodological eclecticism referred to above. I therefore recommend that the dissertation be passed without distinction, subject to the corrections indicated in the attached list of errors. Should both the external examiners recommend a distinction, I would be glad to go along with them.

Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

Unther Pakendorf
Internal Examiner
19 October 1988

EXAMINER'S REPORT

M A dissertation : Fiction, Ideology and History : a critical examination
of Hans Grimm's novel 'Kaffernland'.

Candidate : Faiza Bardien

Examiner : Prof G Crowhurst-Bond

As set out in the abstract which prefaces the dissertation, the candidate analyses Hans Grimm's Kaffernland in the context of the present critical historiography to which the historical discourse of the text is subjected. More particularly the analysis focusses on the relationship between fiction and historical reality, and it localizes the specific ideological disposition of the text and its colonizing discourse on the level of the interferential 'gap' between fiction and reality. At the same time Kaffernland is also seen in relation to the prevailing literary conventions which the author expressly refers to.

The candidate consulted an impressive number of references and sources to construct the historical background and to handle the methodological challenges posed by the topic of her dissertation. Unfortunately quite a number of references are unpublished, private or even oral communications to which I as examiner do not have access. Partly this is, of course, due to the fact that there is a dearth of sophisticated analytical material dealing with German colonial literature, but on occasions, I feel, the direct source would have been better, so for instance when Foucault is quoted via Boyes (pages 127, 139). This also happens with other reference literature and in certain instances the grammatical referential signals by the candidate are misleading. Does she mean on page 32 that Lukacs refers to Stifter as 'forerunner' of Grimm or did Fechter say that? Barthes certainly cannot refer to Grimm (page 58) although the phrasing "these details" creates that impression. Neither can Grimm be criticized (page 111) for not taking note of Hobsbawm. At another point the impression is created that Hosea Jaffe discusses the racism of the Grimm text (page 125).

It is also surprising to find Grimm quoted via Keller (page 23) or Lattmann (pages 30,31). As a result such sections run the danger of becoming rather vague; one can also observe this with respect to the candidate's references to Nazi colonial policy statements.

The dissertation sets out with sketching the background and circumstances pertaining to the text before discussing the question of genre. Although there is mention of conventions of the modern

8

novel in the abstract, these are not explored and the relationship to 'the bourgeois realist novel' remains rather superficial. Also the various authorial stances are not very clearly presented and some of the quotations should have been more functionalised within the arguments.

The dissertation's strength lies in the historiographical chapters, in particular chapters 4-6. In the meticulous investigations relating to the problem of fiction and historical fact in the context of a specific colonial text, the dissertation makes a valid academic contribution to research.

I was, however, not really convinced by the candidate's argument for not adopting Grimm's spelling of Xhosa names (pages 3-5) in her translations. In fact I found that adopting the 'correct' orthography tends to neutralise the colonial discourse and dissipates one of the very points the dissertation makes, namely, how the 'process of naming provides the justification for colonial subjugation'. This procedure also detracts from the 'correctness' of some of the sources Grimm used and therefore deletes subtle differences.

Another point of criticism is the style: in stretches, apart from the actual translations which I will discuss separately, the style contains Germanisms which sometimes make strange reading. Who are 'speaking positions'? The term 'mythology' is used when English 'myth' is more appropriate (cf. Abstract, p.1,6, 73); "I also try to read ... against the way it presents itself" (p.7), or "he describes Kaffraria from above" (p.14), are verbatim translations from the German; certain verb endings should be in the plural form, and there are also several instances of an un-English use of 'the' where German would use the definite article.

However, these stylistic idiosyncracies do not inhibit understanding and as a consequence I do not consider them sufficiently serious to warrant correction. Only if the candidate intends publishing the dissertation, I would advise her to attend to these points.

As far as the actual translations of Grimm texts are concerned, these are also in need of some attention should publication be considered. The translation and use of the word 'Volk' vis a vis the German term 'Nation' needs sharper focussing; also the words 'Land', 'Erde', 'fremd' and 'rufen' seem to pose problems, so do 'Nachlass' and 'nachgelassen'; not all dangers of faux amis were avoided. In parts, the English sounds very German indeed.

In some instances the sequence within a text was changed in translation, thereby shifting the thrust of the statement while the candidate expressly refers to the grammatical sequence which the translated text no longer upholds (e.g. p.21, 79, 110, 130/131, 134).

All quotations are rendered as ending on a full stop, this is not only misleading, but sometimes annoying. Whenever parts of the text have been left out, the translation should give an indication of this (cf. p.54, 58, 61, 77, 78, 79, 87, 109/110, 112, 114, 119, 120, 131, 133, 135, 141, 145, 155, 156, 158, 160, 163, 164).

In spite of the criticism I level at some of the translations, I do not wish to detract in any way from the candidate's brave endeavour to translate Hans Grimm in the way she did. In comparison with some publications working with the English translation of German colonial texts, the translations the candidate presents in her dissertation have only minor defects. Through her work she has made particularly large sections of Grimm's Kaffraria accessible to a larger circle of readers and researchers, and that on its own already constitutes a scholarly contribution.

My critical comments which are appended are intended for the candidate should she consider publication.

Finally, I would like to point to some factual errors: the candidate claims that the Deutsche Rundschau had a small circulation (cf. p.32) which is not upheld by Dr Jochen Meyer's letter. To my knowledge Germany never laid claim to Kaffraria, nor did Hans Grimm claim this (cf. p.36, 104, Hans Grimm's Kaffraria-essay p.65). Wilhelm Raabe is certainly not Grimm's literary predecessor (cf. p.38, 99) nor does Pakendorf imply anything like it. I also have difficulties with regarding Fontane, Keller, Storm and C F Meyer as Grimm's contemporaries (cf. p. 32 and 35).

I have set out my criticisms in some details because I do not think that the dissertation is of such excellence to warrant a distinction, but I have no hesitation whatsoever to recommend award of the degree of Master of Arts.

Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

16 September 1988

Department of German
University of Natal, Durban

Style and translation errors:

page

- 7 I try to read ... against the way = gegen den Strich lesen
- 11 Grimm's literary bequest should be 'unpublished papers'
- 13 that is much too big a question
- 14 ... the intertext ... speaks the author - incomprehensible
he describes ... from above - elevated position ?
the stories ... constitutes
- 16 the healthy and strong ... lives and laughs
- 18 referring to mere ... space - should be : only to
- 20 the past tense of 'slide' is 'slid'
- 23 circumstances ... determines
- 25 In this context 'durchaus' does not mean thoroughly
- 26 lahmlegen means 'paralyse, bring to a standstill'
- 29 and them (?) the English traders followed



15

Dr Ulrike Kistner
Department of Comparative and African Literature

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

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EXTERNAL EXAMINER'S REPORT

MA CANDIDATE: MISS F BARDIEN

TITLE OF DISSERTATION: FICTION, IDEOLOGY AND HISTORY: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF HANS GRIMM'S NOVEL KAFFERNLAND

The candidate has gone to great lengths in unearthing a great amount of historical, etymological, and biographical detail on the subject of her research. She has, in my view, correctly identified the major narrative trends and strategies in colonial fiction, and their particular ideologemes in the context of Hans Grimm's novel-fragment Kaffernland. For this achievement I would regard the dissertation as adequate in terms of the criteria listed on the Examiners' Report Form.

Despite the painstaking research work evidenced in this dissertation, though, I would not recommend it for a distinction, nor for publication in its present form. My reservations stem from my observation of a number of methodological flaws, which I shall list below.

The arguments presented in the dissertation lack specificity. While the candidate uses an overabundance of quotes from sources she rightly or wrongly deems relevant to her field, she often reproduces the vagueness of her argument through the non-specificity of those quotes. What is lacking, in my view, are crossreferences and textual examples from the primary text. At no place did I find a thorough textual analysis which looks into patterns of structuration, into microstructural elements and their interplay, etc. Such an analysis would have provided a clearer focus, rather than the proliferation of mostly non-descript definitions of concepts, often drawn from sources remote from the interests of the candidate's field of research (e.g. on p. 9, 42-44, 51-52).

A number of concepts are applied in a short-cut fashion where the labour of (more specific) definition, furnishing of examples, reflecting on the possibilities and limitations of the models used, comes short. Here are a few examples:

- p. 14: "expansionism, Malthusianism, nationalism and Social Darwinism" are mentioned in one breath without exploring their ramifications in the novel.
- p. 23: The ideology of romantic anti-capitalism is much more complex than it is

made out to be in the dissertation; its specificity would have to be demonstrated through Grimm's text.

- p. 37 When the candidate talks about the "symbiotic relations with the intertext", these would have to be shown more specifically
- p. 41 What exactly is "the mode of logical discourse"? etc.

One of the most frequently adopted terms is the term "realism". Again, the candidate does provide a whole host of non-specific definitions. Because these definitions are not sufficiently scrutinised, they give rise to some inconsistencies and contradictions in the candidate's work. Realism, for example, is linked to pessimism and resignation in one instance (p. 38). Then, on p. 47, realism is first defined in terms of a combination of codes, but then the candidate lapses into the treatment of 'realism' as unproblematically 'real'. This lapse accounts for the unreflected simplistic distinctions which are presented in more or less the following way in the dissertation:

fact	fiction	
truth	falsity	
truth	bias	
history	imagination	
real	fictive	(p. 74-75, 94, 97, 103, 104)

'Truth' in this version, is seen as the real events matching the narrated events. This, in the eyes of the candidate, constitutes a scientific historiography. The homological relation drawn between 'truth' and 'fiction', 'reality' and 'fiction', accounts for the candidate's conflation of very specific terms, viz. mimesis, vraisemblance, realism, reality.

Underlying this lack of methodological rigor is the (unstated) attempt at arriving at a 'synthetic' approach. At first glance, the candidate appears to attribute great importance to contemporary (literary) theoretical approaches. This is highlighted in elements of some of the chapter headings, e.g. "intertextuality", "the discourse of colonization", "discourse of the colonized", "vraisemblance", suggesting that the candidate locates her approach within the broad framework of (post-)structuralist analysis. However, it is not clear to me how this can be reconciled with more traditional approaches focusing on categories such as "authorship and intentionality", "reception", "mimetic speech", "facts and bias", "outer and inner realism", "objective history", "true and false narration", etc., to name just a few of the sub-headings.

In many cases, the linkages joining individual steps in the argument are missing or insufficient. This is one of the factors explaining the frequency of insufficiently motivated conclusions, which are not evaluated in terms of their significance, impact, and implications. Some of these tie in with sweeping generalisations on colonialism, e.g.

- p. 5 "In Kaffernland the process of naming provides justification for colonial subjugation, as well as extermination."
- p. 7 "Grimm's writing represents the continuation of the politics of colonization."

Related to these unsubstantiated conclusions is the habit of concluding a paragraph, section, or chapter with a quote tagged on at the end, without integrating it into the argument, or drawing out its implications.