THE FAIREST CAPE

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LADY ANNE LINDSAY BARDNARD'S WRITTEN AND PICTORAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE IN 18th CENTURY SOUTH AFRICA

By

SHAISTA SAMREEN JUSTIN, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

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MASTER OF ARTS (1999)
(English)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: The Fairest Cape: Lady Anne Lindsay Barnard's Written and Pictoral Representations of the Cape of Good Hope in 18th Century South Africa

AUTHOR: Shaista Samreen Justin, B.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Sylvia Bowerbank

NUMBER OF PAGES: 81, viii

Abstract

Lady Anne Lindsay Barnard is a little known travel writer of the late 18th century. She travelled to the Cape of Good Hope with her husband Andrew Barnard in 1797 to become a part of the new British government there. Barnard held a very powerful position in the Cape, not only due to her positionality as an educated, noble, white woman, but as the official hostess of the British government. During this initial occupation, the future of the Cape as a British colony remained uncertain. Barnard's letters to Lord Dundas and Viscount Melville were essential in providing information on the Cape related to its viability as a colony. It is the aim of this thesis to understand her role as an advocate of colonial practice in the Cape. In particular, this thesis seeks to uncover her complex use of discourses of nature, landscape, gender, race, and class in both her letters and pictorial representations.

Acknowledgments

When beginning the journey that is the Master's degree, I would never have thought myself capable of interest in the 18th Century or Eco-criticism. I owe a great debt to Dr. Sylvia Bowerbank for awakening me to the missing piece in my repertoire of analyses (race, class, gender etc) and now nature. The scholars in that seminar class were challenging and unique, a relationship I am lucky to claim outside of it. Lady Anne Barnard was a footnote in my research before Sylvia brought her into the foreground of my thought. As a supervisor, I not only admire her immense eclectic knowledge, but her ability to anticipate my intellectual directions, to know my personal traits and training me to use both in the ways most of value to me. May "God Bless Your Garden" Sylvia.

I would like to thank the English Department Secretaries at McMaster University, Antoinette Somo, and Clover Nixon, for their endless energy and kindness in answering questions and keeping me abreast of my life. I would also like to thank the staff at Mills Library and in particular the Special Research Collection.

I am pleased that two people I admire Dr. Peter Walmsley and Dr. Gary Warner found my project interesting enough to desire to be my readers.

In Cape Town, South Africa I would like to acknowledge Thomas Cartwright, whose off-handed invitation to the Cape in 1997 changed my life, loves, and intellectual direction profoundly and permanently. Our youthful desire to meet only in bus stations and airports is fulfilling itself - to my great dismay.

I am equally grateful to my dear friend Dr. John Cartwright, for not only giving me refuge in his home (over which research was sprawled), yet again, but for endless Barnard conversations, moral support, mountain-climbing and coffee-hunting expeditions. He has also been my initial proofreader.

Furthermore, I thank the folks at both the Jagger Library and the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town for being patient while I muddled my way through a new system. There is a librarian at Jagger whose name I do not know, who was particularly zealous in making sure I got as much information on Barnard as possible - I owe her much thanks.

I would also like to thank J.M. Coetzee for being polite enough to pretend that *White Writing* hadn't already addressed some of the areas I wished to cover, and for inadvertently helping me to find my own voice in his shadow.

Finally, I would like to thank the South Africans I already

know, and those I have met on this trip, (especially my friend Ian van Biljon -- who gave me a crash course in South African art and made my being in the Cape connect more closely to my work) who were only too willing to discuss Lady Anne Barnard. The tone of those conversations is interwoven into the text.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

19. Chapter 1 : "Pocketing Without Shame": A Feminist Writes the Colonial Landscape

47. Chapter 2 : The New English Landscape: Barnard's Displaced Sublime

66. Conclusion

75. Works Cited

List of Illustrations

56. Sketch of Platteklip Gorge

-Introduction-

> From at least the time of Dante, Europeans thought that an earthly paradise existed somewhere on a mountain beyond the deserts of Africa and in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries they readily associated Table Mountain with such a place.
>
> Worden et.al. *Cape Town: The Making of a City* 12

> -but it was not the garden of the world that appeared all around; on the contrary there was no denying the circle bounded only by the Heavens and Sea to be a wide desart - bare - uncultivated - uninhabited.
>
> Barnard, *The Letters of Lady Anne Barnard* 49

> Let me tell you the meaning of the sacred and alluring garden that blooms in the heart of the desert and produces the food of life. The garden for which you are presently heading is nowhere and everywhere except in the camps. It is another name for the only place where you belong...where you do not feel homeless. It is off every map, no road leads to it that is merely a road, and only you know the way.
>
> Coetzee, *Life and Times of Michael K* 228

Known most commonly as a lively figure of the Cape of Good Hope during its first occupation by the British from 1795-1803, Lady Anne Lindsay Barnard's fame is connected to her stay at the Castle of Good Hope in the years 1797-1802. She was one of the few members of the nobility to visit the Cape during the late 18th century. However, Barnard, born December 12, 1750, in Fife, the first-born of James, fifth Earl of Balcarres, and Anne Dalrymple, was more than part of the

British traveling elite of her time. She was also a poet, writer, landscape painter, socialite, and had the ear of many aristocratic, political, and intellectual figures of England. She knew Pitt, Burke, Sheridan, Windham, and Dundas, as well as the Prince of Wales, and was showered with "a considerable share of Court favour from King George and Queen Charlotte" (Wilkins 6). Most importantly, (although her status by far superceded his) as the wife of Andrew Barnard, Secretary of the Cape Colony, she was the official hostess of the new government in the Cape. Her social responsibilities were imbued with an intensely political purpose - she was to help with the transition from the rule of the Dutch East India Company (VOC - Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) to British rule.

During this period in the Cape, she wrote a series of letters to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas (Secretary for War, Treasurer of the Navy, and President of the Board of Control in Pitt's First Administration) and Viscount Melville (Minister of Annexation of the Cape Colony). She also complied several volumes of journals completed in 1824, which were published for the benefit of her family, friends, and those women who were to accompany their husbands to the Cape of Good

Hope in the British colonial occupation of the Cape. Furthermore, she produced many sketches of the Cape while she was there. Although she wrote a great deal on the social, political, and geographic situation of the Cape of Good Hope, her letters to Dundas were not published until 1901 under the title *South Africa a Century Ago,* edited by W.H. Wilkins.

Barnard's sketches of the Cape have been reproduced in a myriad of books about South Africa; one the most recent is *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (1998).[1] Some sketches still hang on the walls of the Castle in Cape Town, and reproductions hang in coffee shops and restaurants. She is also included in the only pre-19th-century art compilation, *Pictorial Africana*, by Alfred Gordon-Brown (1975). However, Gordon-Brown does not identify Barnard as an artist. He comments that: "She was described as a writer and hostess, and the outstanding and colourful personality of the first British occupation of the Cape" (Gordon-Brown 119). Gordon-Brown does mention her written accomplishments but refrains from analysis of her sketches. Yet, Gordon-Brown does identify fellow travelogue writer William Burchell (1811-1815) as an artist

[1] See "Works Cited" for specific publication information.

(130), and John Barrow (also a travel writer and who was at the Cape with Barnard) is thought to have written "the most important work of the period" (119), while Barnard's letters are seen as "a most important contribution to the history of the period" (119). Although I am not interested in debating the artistic abilities of the aforementioned artists, I do find it interesting that no criticism of Barnard's pictorial efforts exists. Furthermore, the scarcity of scholarship around her work is appalling given her prominence as a historical figure.

As the only *known* woman travelogue writer of the Cape of Good Hope of the 18th century, and given the social and political sphere she occupied, Barnard's work allows a unique examination of gender as a factor in both the colonial impulse and in the genre of travel writing. Margaret Lenta and Dorothy Driver are the only academics who have so far published critiques on Barnard's work from a literary and feminist perspective. This initial work has been essential in bringing Barnard out of literary obscurity but many questions remain unanswered.[2] This preliminary work seeks to lay a context for

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Although Barnard is very well known in South Africa as a colonial figure, especially because of her stay in the Castle, very little criticism has emerged in relation to her writings. Her letters and journals have been

the relevance of Barnard's work in colonial studies. Combining historical data with literary, feminist, eco-critical, and post-colonial frameworks, I will analyze Barnard's pictorial and written works in order to understand her complicated links with the colonial empire she belonged to.

Travel writing which focused on landscape evaluation informed the British imperialist impulse, and Lady Anne Barnard's writings both directly and indirectly was one of the major causes of this influence. By the late 18th century the British administration in England had received much more reliable knowledge of the Cape than the limited conjectures put forth by travel writers in the 17th century. Added to this reliability was the fact that more travel writers were of English birth and descent with allegiances to the British monarchy. Writers such as John Barrows (1797-99), Lady Anne Barnard, and W. J. Burchell (1810-12), to name a few, were reevaluating prior ideas of the Cape, and sharing them with the English social and intellectual elite. As "a main source of information regarding Southern Africa" (Forbes 362) travel writing was heavily relied upon to make decisions for a land

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through several editions of which the most recent have been published by the Van Riebeek Society in 1997 and 1999 respectively. It is hoped that these editions will generate further scholarship on her work.

that had not even been seen by those making the decisions. Barnard's letters were the eyes and ears of powerful men like Henry Dundas. As W. H. Wilkins notes, her writings are "not merely the letters of a clever woman to her intimate friend, but those of the wife of the first Secretary of Cape colony to the Secretary of State at home" (vii). Barnard's letters may appear to form a "gay narrative" (Wilkins 361), but by virtue of their content and the positionality of her readers, it is obvious that they served a more serious purpose as well: to give a sober account of the state of affairs in the Cape.

Barnard did not merely seek to give an account of the Cape, she also sought to evaluate it. The epigraph I have used as a preface to this thesis exemplifies this evaluatory gaze. Although I will examine this quotation more closely in Chapter 2, I wish to draw attention to it in order to illustrate an important point. The first quotation in my epigraph illustrates the mythical importance the Cape had in the eyes of Europeans. The resonance Barnard's quotation has with the epigraph by J.M. Coetzee outlines a fundamental point for South African society past and present: landscape has been fundamental in shaping South African society and identity. Barnard looks out and looks for a garden landscape; she sees

instead a "desart." This longing for a garden, for an Eden, is articulated by Coetzee almost 200 years later. Underlying his words is the unspoken conflict of land ownership expressed by *The Life and Times of Michael K.*

The fight over land has been a prominent theme in South Africa's history. Part of this thesis is concerned with this land conflict. Barnard enters the landscape at a crucial point, the point at which a concerted effort is being made to evaluate and possess it. One of Mary Louise Pratt's major themes, in her influential work *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation,* is to identify the gaze of the "European male subject of European landscape discourse" whose eyes she claims "passively look out and possess" (7). One of the questions I am concerned with is: Barnard's viewing of the landscape indeed evaluates, but does her gaze possess?

Barnard's description of the Cape of Good Hope from the top of Table Mountain (see epigraph) retains the echos of descriptions made by fellow travelers of the 200 years before her. There had been no Edenic garden of "plenty and ease" imagined of the Cape of Good Hope as it had of the Northern and Southern American landscapes (Coetzee, *White Writing* 2).

Coetzee argues that the Cape represented not the Edenic garden, but the "anti-garden." This anti-garden was the symbol of the degradation of the Edenic garden, one in which humans would become brutish savages, not the noble savages of the garden of innocence (Coetzee, *White Writing* 3). This characterization was part of the reason the Cape remained a mere stopping point in the journeys of the European traders to the riches of the Far East since its discovery in 1503. The landscape was characterized as inhospitable: there were the violent sea storms which made it a difficult port, unknown vegetation which could not necessarily be counted on for sustenance, and of course precarious relations with the indigenous (Khoi) population they were dependant on for food.[3] Nevertheless, an intense rivalry between the Dutch East India Company, the French, Portuguese, and British was developing, each desiring to control the oceanic gateway to the East.

In 1652 the VOC finally charged Jan van Riebeeck to build a fort in Table Bay to serve three main purposes. First, the fort was to defend VOC merchants from the native inhabitants

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The Khoi were also known derogatorily as Hottentots. Khoikhoi people were not homogenous and were divided into different tribes such as: Cochoqua, Gorachoqua, and Goringhaiqua.

The pastoralist Khoi provided the ships with cattle in exchange for trinkets and pieces of copper and iron.

and European rivals; second, it was to serve as a permanent rest stop, stocked with food and other resources; finally, the fort was to build several large gardens to supply the passing ships with food which meant less dependence on trading with the Khoi (Worden et. al. 17). The managing of the Cape by the VOC was plagued with many problems, not the least of which, was that their fort was barely secure (Worden et. al. 86). They were attacked by British forces in 1795 and were forced to give up control of the Cape. (Worden et. al. 86). At this time, the British were not interested in keeping the Cape. Their conquest and possession of the Cape was a strategic military move to keep the French from developing a stronghold by which they could threaten British trade with India (Worden et. al. 86).

Two years after this event, as representatives of the new British administration in the Cape, Barnard and her husband Andrew Barnard arrived. Andrew Barnard was appointed to the job of Secretary of the colony, a job which Lady Barnard procured for him through her extensive social connections with the British elite, while she became the first lady in the Cape, effectively the social representative of the new government. In 1803, through the Treaty of Amiens, the British

returned the Cape to Dutch rule. This conciliation was to be temporary, for in 1806, the British once again attacked Cape Town and this time took over its administration permanently.

It has been suggested that Franco-Anglo hostilities were the reason for this renewal of English interest in the Cape (Worden et. al. 87) which may to a certain extent be true. But, why would the British desire the Cape of Good Hope, the "anti-garden," the "desart"? As a colony it had proved unproductive and tiresome to manage for the VOC. What about the Cape changed the minds of an administration who up until that point had used it merely as a port? Or rather, what about the *portrayal* of the Cape made it a desirable colony?

A large part of the portrayal of the Cape in travel writing had to do with descriptions of 'landscape.' In its most basic sense, 'landscape' can be thought of as composed of material phenomena such as flora and fauna, the terrestrial and aquatic. In the concerns of this thesis, landscape will at times include and not include humans as part of its definition. Barnard's relationship with landscape is one in which she feels, as a human being, superior to. As I will demonstrate, her awe of the power and beauty of landscape do

not supercede her desire to engage in activities which subordinate it to her, for example, cultivation. Humans are also part of landscape at times in her work. In particular, her sketches include human activity in the landscape.

When I refer to the interaction between humans and landscape I will refer to the Cape as a 'place.' Place identifies a complex set of circumstances on which the relationship between humans and landscape is predicated. Human relationships to each other in the form of culture determine attitudes to landscape. Language, in particular that used to describe landscape, accords a specificity which is better expressed by the word 'place.' Also, changing historical events affect the relationship between humans and landscape as well as amongst humans themselves.

In order to understand how landscape is described in Barnard's work, 'nature' must necessarily be defined. The attitudes of humans to nature in the 18th century were varied but in colonial discourse this was more parochial. Neil Evernden distinguishes between the various uses and interpretations of the word "nature," but he uses the word "Nature" (the difference is in the capitalization) to refer to the systematic ordering of Nature in the Renaissance (49-51).

This system of perceiving nature is one that holds one fundamental belief to be true: "Nature is: a world devoid of the properties we associate with humans - in short, devoid of *subjectivity*" (Evernden 50). The dualism which is created between Nature and culture allows for a certain relationship to be created. Humans occupy a superior position over Nature because "the discernment of meaning or purpose in Nature is to be regarded as a *conceptual pollution* of reality" (Evernden 50). If nature is without meaning or purpose, then human assessments of "reality" can be grafted onto it.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the development of natural history in particular sought to create a specific ordering of nature. As Pratt notes, the publication of Carl Linnes' system of classification in 1735 was particularly groundbreaking as a complete taxonomy with which to organize nature throughout the world (15-37). Naturalists did not excise the Christian God; he was still perceived as the "creator" of the natural world (Evernden 20). The Linnaean system merely labeled and named the things in God's garden; it did not attempt to ascribe meaning, "Reality" on this occasion was dependent on the "scientist's ordering eye" (Pratt 30). In terms of colonial practice, nature became an

object, a product, or a tool. In this way, argues Evernden, "the objects of nature are vastly diminished, from receptacles of meaning to empty images for inspection" (85).

Arguments over what constituted 'nature' and what was 'human' developed particularly in regard to non-Europeans. If non-Europeans could be construed as a part of nature and not human, then they could be objectified in the same way as nature. Eventually, Linnaeus did add humans to his taxomony. In this ordering Europeans were placed above all other human groups (Pratt 32). The effect of this systemizing was the creation of "a European discourse about non-European worlds...[,]Natural history as a way of thinking interrupted existing networks of historical and material relations among people, plants, and animals wherever it applied itself" (Pratt 34, 32). As I have discussed, nature was perceived as an object of colonization by scientists, but did this attitude toward nature and new places emerge in travel writing as well?

The link between travel writing and colonization is made most clearly by Mary Louise Pratt. European imperialist expansion in the second half of the 18th century was linked to scientific enquiry of foreign lands; in this process, travel writing transformed itself from a story-telling genre to a

'realist' mode of writing: "whether or not an expedition was primarily scientific, or the traveler a scientist, natural history played a part in it" (Pratt 23-24, 27). Scientific inquiry was immensely valuable to those with colonialist ambitions. The ordering of non-human nature in European terms not only made 'foreign-ness' in landscape assimilable and understandable, but served the basis for commercial exploits (Pratt 33-34): "It is chiefly from the natural history that we collect the value and importance of any country, because from thence we learn its produce of every kind" (Adams 313).

Like the VOC, the British had remained unconvinced of the commercial value of the Cape since they made their first claim to it in 1620. Part of the reason for this indecisiveness was due to rumors about the interior which had yet to be thoroughly explored. It was reported as being an impenetrable wasteland with warlike inhabitants and lack of any of the important resources that penetration into the North and South American colonies had revealed (Coetzee, *White Writing* 1-2). Interior exploration was a major aspect of "an expanding search for commercially exploitable resources, markets and lands to colonize" (Pratt 30). The decision to re-take the Cape in 1806 then, was prompted by more than just the "French

threat": the Cape's value was obviously redeemed in the eyes of the British government.

It is not enough to say that Barnard was a colonialist; it is obvious that her allegiance was to the English throne and its imperialist agenda. Rather, my interest lies in understanding the relationship Barnard had to the colonial regime she represented and the landscape she interacted with. Her social status and education allow us to examine her writing from a perspective equal to that of any male travel writer; Barnard was given an education "in advance of ...her social position" (Wilkins 6). But her gender is of great import as she is the only source available for a comparative gender analysis with male travel writing in the Cape. In addition to gender, constructions of race are important to the colonial endeavor.

The Cape which Barnard encountered was peopled by diverse racial and class groups. There was the large Dutch population, Germans, Khoi and San, slaves brought from other parts of Africa, a few Chinese and East Indians, as well as the growing English population (Worden et. al. 89). Furthermore, although there were definitive race, class, gender, and ethnic

identities, "it is clear that race was not identical to class in VOC Cape Town. Some free blacks were property owners and some free whites were paupers. There was no absolute racial division of labour" (Worden et.al. 69). Some questions I will discuss are as follows. What was her relationship to the people of the Cape as a white, British, educated, noble woman? What was the impact of her writing? Were her concerns different from a male travel writer? How did her gender affect her role as advocate for colonization of the Cape? These questions allow for an examination of gender, race, and class. As I will show in my first chapter: "'Pocketing Without Shame': A Feminist Writes the Colonial Landscape," Barnard was very aware of these social workings.

The South African landscape since the 18th century has undergone numerous changes. Among these changes have been the introduction of foreign species of trees by settlers which have encroached on indigenous fynbos habitats (Cowling & Richardson 7). Furthermore, vast population expansion has changed the "uninhabited" landscape which Barnard depicts. Consequently, my visit to Cape of Good Hope did not allow me to experience landscape which Barnard encountered. But to have

been in the Cape gave me a sense of the most important aspect of place which affected Barnard - alienation.

In *The Romantic Sublime* Thomas Weiskel states that alienation "presupposes the bathetic collapse of the signifying relations which make a social order" (36). This collapse can result in the feeling of 'displacement' which can be defined as "the lack of 'fit' between language and place" (Ashcroft "et al" 391). The questions which arise ask: if the social order collapses for the eyes and tongue when encountering a new landscape, a new place, then what discourse, what vision replaces it? What does it mean to interpret and transcribe a landscape not only with which one is not familiar, but which one does not even have a vocabulary or language for? Was Barnard able to address the 'alien-ness' of the landscape? My second chapter: "The New English Landscape: the Sublime in the Cape of Good Hope" attempts to address these concerns using the discursive field of the sublime which was commonly applied to landscape in late 18th century England. The focus of my concern is to ask: to what extent did the use of English landscape discourses promote or impede colonial invasion in the Cape of Good Hope? In what way are these discourses powerful?

In this thesis, I will attempt to offer a complex and theoretically integrated approach to Barnard's work -- to her written and pictorial vision and envisioning of the Cape of Good Hope. Theoretical works which have had a major influence on my assessment of this topic include by are not limited by: Mary Louise Pratt, J.M.Coetzee, Raymond Williams, and Neil Everndon. Together they compose and challenge a number of issues related to landscape, place, nature, colonialism, and travel writing. Central to this thesis are the merging and overlapping categories of landscape, place, and nature which I will focus on in my quest to understand the inscription of colonialism in the Cape. They will be evaluated by the categories of gender, race, and class.

-Chapter 1-

"Pocketing Without Shame":

A Feminist Writes the Colonial Landscape

As an upper class, white, educated, woman, with the ear of the British Crown, Lady Anne Barnard occupied a specifically privileged position in the British society of the late 18th Century. In the Cape of Good Hope this privilege was accentuated by several factors. Barnard was the wife of the Secretary of the new British government in the Cape which gave her access to a great deal of political information about the inner workings of the colonial government. As the hostess of the administration, she was the key social figure of Cape society and was accorded the privilege of taking up residence at the Castle previously occupied by the VOC. Furthermore, she was one of only a handful of white British women living in the Cape of which she was the only female government representative; her nobility meant she ranked above them by a great degree.

In this chapter, I will assess the authority of her

writing as a woman, and as a colonialist. I disagree with both Margaret Lenta and Dorothy Driver in their assessment of Barnard's positionality. While they look for the oppression in Barnard's rather privileged life, I contend that Barnard's feminism is possible because of her powerful position. I will look at the ways in which Barnard used her position to exert colonial practice onto those around her and also how she resisted colonial practices. I call the humans involved in the colonization process (both colonizer and colonized) part of the 'colonial landscape.' Three key groups with whom she had relationships in the Cape are: the British colonizers, which include the subalterns and the upper classes; the Cape Dutch, known later as the Afrikaners; and the non-white population composed of indigenous inhabitants as well as imported slaves. In this assessment, I hope to offer a complex view of Barnard's dealings with the colonial landscape instead of falling victim to Driver's accusation of academics producing stereotypes of white writers "on to a vaguely defined and safely remote past" (47).

Authority of the Text

The series of unofficial reports in the form of letters to her friend Henry Dundas and Viscount Melville were not casual letters from one friend to another.[4] Rather, as I will show, Barnard's positionality accorded a higher level of influence to her letters. These letters were not intended for publication by Barnard, and in fact she strictly prohibited publication of many of her writings (Lenta, "Degrees of Freedom" 56; Lenta, *Lady Anne Barnard's Letters* 68). Barnard's limited readership meant that she did not have the typical widespread audience of other travel writers. Although I will not claim that this made her writing unaware of public representation - after all her audience was composed of two of the most powerful men who had interests in the Cape - it did affect the style of her work. Barnard's letters were focused on a specific concern, to assess the Cape for purposes of colonial exploitation. Her assessment of the Cape, although unofficial, given her readers, held a lot of weight.

In Barnard's first letter she establishes her relationship with Dundas, validates her authority as a writer and also states the mode in which she will be writing: "I

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Lord Macartney, governor of the Cape, made official reports to Dundas and Melville (Lenta, "All the Lighter Parts" 59).

begin this letter to my dearest Friend, firmly assured that he will be as much interested in its contents from private affection to the writer, as from curiosity to know every point, however minute, which regards a public concern" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 45). Barnard has acknowledged her close relationship with Dundas but emphasizes that the letters are not just affectionate musings. The letters will be written in a mode which reports on "public concerns." Despite Lenta's assertion that Barnard "seems to have that she must either apologize for or conceal her knowledge of the matters of state" (*Degrees of Freedom* 56) Barnard is well aware of Dundas's position as the Secretary of Defense in England. In fact, she is so confident in Dundas's respect for her that she presumes what she writes will be relevant to national interests.

Furthermore, in contradiction to Lenta's argument that "Expert knowledge, which is always claimed by the male traveller, must be avoided by a woman" (*Lady Anne Barnard's Letters* 63), Barnard employs the same rhetoric of many male travel writers (Peter Kolben, Carl Thunberg, John Barrows) in establishing the authority of their texts. Barnard establishes her reliability by claiming that she will report the truth: "I

promise that you shall find everything you wish to know - and some things you may not - from the honestest pen in the world (for I must not confine myself now to Europe). I never exaggerate - never; sometimes I may extenuate, but I set naught down in malice" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 46). By stating that she will report things which Dundas may not want to hear supports her claim of being honest; she will not paint him a rosy picture. Furthermore, her claim of being the "honestest pen in the world" is quite self-assured almost to the point of hyperbole. Given the unreliable history of travel literature pre-18th century, which tended to emphasize and exaggerate or even invent landscapes and events, this assertion of truthfulness was necessary. In Peter Kolben's introduction (1731), one of the first things his editor seeks to do is establish the authenticity of his account: "I am satisfied from his Manner of writing, that he is not subject to Transports of Imagination" (Medley viii). Kolben was later found to have invented and exaggerated quite a few of his reports, but it allowed other travel writers who followed to make the same assertions of honesty by denouncing Kolben and then others who followed. For example, Barrow discredited Le Vaillent, and Lichtenstein discredited Barrow (Lenta, *Lady*

Anne Barnard's Letters 63). Barnard is therefore *indirectly* setting herself apart from male travel writers before her by stating her intentions to "never exaggerate." In this way, she sets up her own authority without having to make a comparison.

In this initial letter Barnard also introduces a gendered rhetoric, which she uses subsequently in many other letters, and serves three functions. The first function is a rhetoric of 'false-shame'; the second announces the value of a woman's perspective; and the third function serves to bring to light gender oppression.

Barnard writes "it would seem almost conceited folly in me to describe things as they appear around me, or still more to give my miserable female notions on anything of importance" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 45). By announcing her gender to Dundas she separates herself from male travel writers of the Cape and effectively states that she will be offering a different version of the Cape - a female version. But although she seems to denigrate this opinion as she puts it forward, she is really indicating that the value of her letters lies in what she can know and experience as a woman. This becomes more apparent later in this chapter when as hostess of the administration she is able to report on the

'unofficial' but noteworthy events of importance to Dundas. This way of announcing her gender has been described by Lenta as apologetic (*Degrees of Freedom* 56) and Driver sees Barnard as putting herself forward "as a woman intent upon making herself useful as well as pleasing to her readers...but conscious of the inadequacy of her education" (50). Although to be fair to Lenta, in her most recent work, she does comment that "it seems unlikely that Lady Anne is sincere when she undervalues her own writing" (*The Art of the Possible* 170). Aside from the fact that if Barnard truly felt this way she would have shirked the task of writing such politically imbued letters, I argue instead, that these moments of self-depreciation in the text as a whole constitute a rhetoric of what I will call 'false-shame.' This rhetoric is not grounded in Barnard's true positionality, nor does it limit what she seeks to express. An example of this occurs when she is in the home of 'pastor' Alling and wishes to take notes about his natural history collection in her memorandum-book. She writes:

> I often wish...I could divest myself of that portion of false shame which prevents me from...marking it down...But for a woman very ill-informed on most subjects...to give herself the *air* of wisdom, while she knows how superficial she is...It is willfully drawing on pair of blue stockings she has no right to wear! In this I often put myself in mind of what an old friend used to

> say to us when children at her feasts: 'My dears, eat as much as you can, but pocket nothing.' Was I a man, I would pocket without shame.
>
> (Barnard *South Africa a Century Ago* 129)

Male naturalists were prone to public display of their efforts (Pratt 27). But Barnard feels "shame" in taking out such a symbol of 'scientific investigation' in the company of others. However, this feeling is one of *false* shame; she is not in fact ashamed of her desire to conduct research visibly, but does not wish to have to portray the event in a way appropriate to a woman to a woman's position, with bashfulness - a false shame. In fact, in Barnard's journals, much like the male travel writers of her time, she writes in the mode of natural history, including "descriptions of plants and geological phenomena...the Cape Dutch, the Hottentots, the Boshiemen and the Kaffres" (Lenta, *Degrees of Freedom* 56).[5]

Barnard is certainly aware of educated women before her, and in the previous quotation points to their accomplishments in comparison to her own. Her mention of "blue stockings" refers to a group of women known as the "blue-stocking ladies" who travelled the English landscape in the middle of the 18th

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In modern terms, these groups are also known as the Afrikaners, the Khoi, the San, and the various "black" tribes (Zulu, Xhosa, etc) joined under the term "Kaffres."

Century in search of picturesque views; among them, a Mrs. Delany was a landscape painter who also introduced landscape gardening to Ireland on a small scale (Hussey 95). Therefore, instead of looking purely to a male standard of education and knowledge, Barnard has managed to value female knowledge and education while in the process of seeming to denigrate her own.

Her desire to "pocket without shame" serves a different rhetorical function. She is pointing out the disadvantages of being female in the pursuit of knowledge. This is acknowledgment of a real rather than perceived hindrance. Elizabeth Bohls points out that, although women from the white, privileged classes had access to an education and were literate, they were still denied a classical education, and "were included in the practices of taste, [the study of] Addison on the...imagination, Burke on the sublime and beautiful, Gilpin on the picturesque..but marginally" (2). However, Barnard is less prone to these restrictions because of her positionality in the Cape and her social interactions with men of power back home. In this sense, the outright critique and abandonment of this knowledge differential makes Barnard a feminist. Furthermore, her comment "Was I a man, I

would pocket without shame" not only bemoans her situation, but points to her intention to "pocket" even if it is with "shame." She intends to continue her educational pursuits despite her gender.

In order to contextualize the situation in which she makes these comments and provide further evidence that Barnard is not ashamed to display her knowledge in these letters, I wish to examine her account of pastor Alling. She says: "This pastor Alling is a singular compound of learning and ignorance...He has a good deal of science such as books [his scientific knowledge has been attained largely through reading]...but some of the simplest things in life are as new to him as if he had not read them" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago 128*). In her evaluation, Barnard cannot avoid but make an assessment of his education and knowledge based on her own. She is therefore remarking indirectly that her education in science is such that she is able to recognize he has a "good deal." In this, books play a large role, they are a strong signifier of formal education and access to formal education. It is not *life* itself that she finds him ignorant of, but books he has not read. Not only does Barnard make a class distinction here, obviously access to education implies

class structures, she recognizes that part of Alling's ignorance has to do with lack of the "intercourse of conversation." However, this situation is remedied, as Barnard comments that Alling is lucky to have "the benefit of having a little conversation with a well-bred, well-informed, *civil* Englishman [she is referring to her husband Andrew]" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 127, 128). Alling is Dutch and implicit in her mention of Andrew as an Englishman is a feeling of superiority. Alling is not conversing with just anyone, but an *Englishman*. Furthermore, pointing out Andrew's civility (at this point the English and Dutch are not only politically hostile to each other, but socially as well) has the effect of creating a magnanimous gesture, albeit infantalizing, of the new British government. In other words, she suggests that if Alling were to have more conversations with educated Englishmen (women?), he would soon overcome some of his general ignorances.

When Barnard's view of Alling, which precedes her rhetoric of false-shame, is taken into account, her comments about her own inadequacy seem even more superfluous. It *is* Alling's nationality which allows Barnard to value his opinion less than an Englishman, as demonstrated by her comparison of

Alling and her husband, but she is also devaluing his knowledge despite his gender.

What I have tried to impress on my readers so far is that Barnard has a strong sense of her own importance intellectually and socially (the latter which I will further expound on). Her letters are written with authority and assurance, which will become particularly apparent in Chapter 2. Her moments of departure from an assured mode occur in reference to her gender. But these departures are grounded in false-shame, as well as serving to point out the specificity of a woman's point of view and its value.

The Colonial Landscape

As I have previously mentioned, I consider Barnard a feminist. Her feminism is apparent for the following reasons. Barnard is aware of her gendered role; she acknowledges the spaces in which she feels restricted and attempts to resist acting in assigned gender roles. Furthermore, she has taken on knowledges and methodologies which are traditionally male in

three areas: natural science,[6] travel writing, and landscape esthetics. In the case of the latter two, she has made efforts to include gender as a specific category of knowledge gathering.

In contemporary feminist thought, gender oppression has been linked to discourses of class and race. There has been a tendency in feminist academic writing, when dealing with historical materials, to look for the links between these categories in the works of women writers concerned with gender. I shall demonstrate this in regards to Lenta and Driver in analyses of Barnard's work. However, the notion that women who were concerned with gender oppression were also concerned with race and class oppression is fallacious. As Carli Coetzee writes: "My conclusions do not support the assertions made by many commentators on women's travel writing in colonial settings, namely that such women will, in contrast with the men of their group, tend to produce more sympathetic accounts both of the native inhabitants and of the colonial territory itself" (66). Barnard did have complex relationships

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I have only touched on her attitudes to natural history briefly and will not expound further on it in this thesis. Her journals contain much more information on this topic, but I have limited this thesis to a discussion of her letters. It does however deserve further study, particularly in comparison to the natural historian/travel writers of the Cape in the same period.

with colonial power, but in using these statements, I wish to assert that feminism and other oppressions are not concomitant. As Andrade notes, "differently oppressed groups in given historical moments often have conflicting political agendas that preclude ready alliances between struggles or easy understandings between individuals" (189). Barnard's positionality allowed her to be sympathetic to certain oppressions she saw and not to others. In the following, I would like to examine Barnard's relationship to different groups in the colonial landscape.

Barnard's position of power within the British Cape government has already been defined, but her actual exertion of power has not. Her attitudes to this government were complex. She supported colonial control of the Cape without question, but frequently criticized policies and behaviours she felt were unfitting. How this manifested itself in social and political concerns accentuates her ability to create change in the colonial system. Three instances in which she plays a key role are in relation to: the conditions of the military subalterns; the appointment of the second governor; and colonial policies towards the indigenous population.

Barnard arrives at the Cape in 1797 and finds a negative attitude toward it from the British military. Admiral Pringle comments that it "would be more likely in time to rob us of India than to secure it for us [the British]" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 54). Barnard is not content to take his opinion and finds that the social conditions of the Cape are in part the reason for the unhappiness of the military: "everything since the first capture of the Cape has been so extravagantly dear that the poor subalterns are both starved and undone" (*South Africa a Century Ago* 54). She finds out as well that the class structures in the military alienate the subaltern soldiers: "it is the *ton* of the general officers to discountenance the subordinate ranks from mixing in society. I think this is very bad from the young military...for want of a better society...the garrison were much given to drinking and gaming" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 58). Barnard's response to this situation is to take it upon herself to invite them to the official parties thrown every fortnight. Her sympathy for the soldiers demonstrates a class consciousness and empathy not usual to her position, since no one before her had thought to remedy the situation. Barnard also reveals her ideas around social deportment by downgrading

"drinking and gaming"; for her, despite being in a different *place*, the values of English society still apply.

Lenta has argued that Barnard "is a woman, barred from power of any kind, though not from influence" (*Lady Anne Barnard's Letters* 58). Although the incident seems slight, Barnard has displayed not only her willingness to critique the way in which the government runs, even from a social perspective, but her ability to exert direct power to change it. She has no need to ask anyone for permission to invite the soldiers; she is able to take the incentive herself. Therefore, Barnard is a key player in defining the workings of colonialism, not just subject to its machinations.

In a more serious matter, the appointment of the second governor of the administration, Barnard is equally vocal to Dundas about her concerns regarding his nephew General Francis Dundas. During the "Third Kaffir War" in 1799, when Ndlambe rounded up a number of Hottentots and Kaffirs in order to rebel against the Dutch farmers (and indirectly British rule), Francis Dundas responded by fighting back instead of following Lord Macartney's policy of conciliation. This resulted in loss of life and plundering of Dutch lands. Barnard writes to Dundas: "our friend General [Francis] Dundas is too sanguine

of success his own way...[his judgement] cannot be very experienced on such points" (*South Africa a Century Ago* 225). Very shortly after this letter, Dundas replaces his nephew with Sir George Yonge (*South Africa a Century Ago* 236), which again reiterates the value of Barnard's assessments to Dundas.

Barnard is seen in this case to support a very specific kind of colonialism. She calls Francis Dundas' way of dealing with the situation the "old, old policy" and in fact bases her critique of Francis Dundas in the defense of the Indigenous population: "the Hottentots I have mentioned, long habituated to oppression and unjustly treated on all occasions by the farmers, seeing no disposition (at least that they knew of) in the English to redress their wrongs, began to think this was a fair moment to redress themselves" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 223). Here Barnard is able to recognize racial oppression and even justify revolt against it, although she blames the Dutch for this oppression and not the British. Her colonial practice is nationalistic. For her, British colonial rule is a vast improvement over VOC rule, she boasts that "*now* ...there is an English government to support the Courts of justice" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 222). What 'justice' means to Barnard is difficult to define given

a more in-depth analysis of her relations with the indigenous population (see below). However, as in the case of Francis Dundas, she does not hesitate to critique policies which seem to her 'unfair' colonial practices.

What exactly is Barnard's colonial practice? She is able to critique conditions which seem out of keeping with her ideas of how British colonization should be enacted, but is nonetheless a colonial agent. Her attitude becomes quite apparent given her relationship with the Cape Dutch. Driver comments that "the imperialist enterprise was beginning to assign particular roles to white women in the colonies, giving them specific forms of domestic and social power" (52). A site of this social power is evidenced in the social gatherings which Barnard organizes. As hostess of the Cape, Barnard's responsibilities include making overtures to the Cape Dutch population. In this role, she serves as a 'social mediator' between the official government and the rebellious Cape Dutch. The Cape Dutch resent British rule and consider their occupation temporary. Furthermore, many of the Dutch had alliances with the French. Barnard's role required subtle indoctrination and persuasion to assure loyalty to the English, yet further evidence of her colonial agenda.

Barnard writes to Dundas, that upon arriving in the Cape, "I mean to do all in our power to carry out your wishes, to conciliate them [Cape Dutch] as much as we possibly can, and to meet their habits and the custom of the place half-way" (*South Africa a Century Ago* 48). Barnard arrives with these lofty intentions but her first impressions of the Cape Dutch are not appreciative:

> I had been told that the Dutch ladies were handsome as to their faces, but I saw no real beauty...as for manner, they had none...They remind me very much of the women one might find at an assize ball in a country town...As for the young Dutchmen, I hardly saw any; the young ones prefer smoking their pipes on the *stoep*, or perhaps they are altogether Jacobin.
>
> (*South Africa a Century Ago* 56-57)

Coming from the social center of London, it is not surprising that Barnard makes a comparison between what seems like the difference between an urban and rural culture. What this displays is not so much an evaluation of the Dutch themselves but the British attitude towards the colonies, which were perceived as the 'rural' backwater to the English 'urban' center upon which an economic arrangement to the benefit of the center held (Williams 279-281). Her debasement of these women has the function of placing her immediately superior to them, hence, making them more easily subject to her British

influence. Her attacks on the Cape Dutch women are often in reference to their moralities: "The French, I am told, corrupted them; the English have merely taught them to affect virtue" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 85). Although Dutch society accepts the pre-marital sexual relations of Dutch women, Barnard finds these sexual relations occur "rapid...in this country" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 85). Instead of viewing the relative openness of women's sexuality as a freedom (or loosening of harsh social standards), Barnard disapproves. In the same way that she supports British ideas of deportment in the case of the soldiers, she advocates British ideas of virtue and deportment in women. In this way, she actually imposes the patriarchal sexual restrictions she herself is subject to.

Barnard is very anxious to express her social power and influence. In fact, she is subtly angered when the Dutch women will not come pay their respects to her because she is the Secretary's wife, a title which to the Cape Dutch connotes little status. She sets out instead to visit them, declaring it an English custom (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 86). Her reasons are not based on sociability but her desire to make it known that she is the only female representative of

the government and therefore the standard of social interactions in the Cape.

Barnard's critique of the Dutch men is more scathing. Her reference to the young men "smoking on the *stoep*" is informed by the idea that the Dutch are lazy and idle because of their economic relationship to the slave population (*South Africa a Century Ago* 57).[7] As I have already mentioned, the Cape was typified as an anti-garden. The fear of the anti-garden is fear of the "wilderness tak[ing] root again in men's hearts"; it repels the imperialist idea of land ownership through cultivation because the Dutch Boer was seen as labourless (Coetzee, *White Writing* 3). Raymond Williams' *The Country and the City* identifies an economic and political expansion by Western Europe which is based on his model of the country and the city. In this model, colonized landscapes/nature/humans (the country) are used to provide resources for the imperial center (the city) (Williams 279-288). Many of the rural Cape Dutch kept slaves who did the actual farm work while the Cape Dutch oversaw their labour. This labour relation was despised by the British whose policy of imperialism was based on land

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[7] A *stoep* is a porch/veranda , or porch/veranda steps.

cultivation, thereby excluding Indigenous ownership because of their nomadic lifestyle (Coetzee *White Writing* 3). As Coetzee points out: "The Dutch Boer in Africa was subjected to close and censorious scrutiny (scrutiny that continues to this day) because his sloth, his complacent ignorance, his heartlessness towards the natives, his general slide into barbarism seemed to betray the whole imperial side" (*White Writing* 3). This is certainly true in Barnard's text. She often expresses her discontent at the behaviours of the Cape Dutch, choosing to comment on what she perceives as idleness and harsh colonial practice. Barnard rails that:

> Hottentots...poor things...[have] been driven up the country by their avaricious masters; and nothing can better prove the grasping hope of each Dutchman to possess himself of large domains than the distance at which the settlers have placed themselves. The Boer or farmer has only thought of keeping himself as little circumscribed as possible, and as far away as he could from the Landdrost's eye...As the land is cultivated by slaves, and as they are the property of the master, his house has generally a slave-house belonging to it, which alas! is in place of that happier cottage at home where each Englishman...[is] as great within its four walls as any emperor within his palace. Until we see here....the artificer [craftsman] receiving his shilling or two a day for his work...we will not see this a flourishing country. At present unwilling drudgery toils [indigenous labour], unthanked, for indolent apathy [Dutchmen]!
> (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 118-119)

One of the strongest characterizations of the Cape Dutch which

appears in this text is that of greed. Greed here is linked to land ownership and labour. First, Barnard feels threatened by Cape Dutch expansion and their "hope" to "possess large domains." By using the word "hope," she makes it subtly clear that it will not be allowed to happen under British rule. Furthermore, the influence of the Landdrost was essential in keeping the colonization habits and rebellions of the Cape Dutch under report and in check. The Landdrost's were mostly Cape Dutch who had already proven their loyalty to the British prior to their occupation. Their function was to act as a surveillance system for the British. The British could therefore rule and intimidate the Cape Dutch without having to be constantly present. This had what Michel Foucault has termed a "Panoptic effect" (195-230). The Panopticon was based on the idea of prisons where the prisoners feel that they are under surveillance because of the structure of the prison. The prisoners assume they are being watched from the tower where the prison guards reside. However, Foucault points out that there is no need for the guards to be present, the structure already represents that surveillance. Furthermore, the prisoners begin to watch themselves and others for signs of resistence. The knowledge that the Landdrost may be watching

continues this idea in Dutch space. The British do not need to be present, just to have a symbol of their presence there.

Second, Barnard favours a British feudalism which from her perspective allows Indigenous labour more freedom and incentive. It seems that Barnard is defending the indigenous population but that "happier cottage" which she refers to would not in effect change the relation of the land owner and labourer - Barnard is projecting a British rural nostalgia onto this relationship. In addition, Barnard is accusing the Cape Dutch of halting economic progress in the line "we will not see this a flourishing country." But this "flourishing country" she wishes to see would be ruled by the British, and in their style of rural economies.

Linked to the idea of idleness and labour exploitation is a more serious attack in the line about the young Dutchmen: "perhaps they are altogether Jacobin" (*South Africa a Century Ago* 57). The Jacobins were one of the most radical groups who fought for the French Revolution; they believed in democracy theoretically but seemed in practice to desire a dictatorship (*Dictionary of Modern Thought* 447). Barnard invokes this frightening brand of rebellion in reference to the Cape Dutch. The Cape Dutch were not necessarily interested in democracy

per se but did want to be free of any rule, including that of the VOC which did not allow them the freedom to expand further into the interior. Another part of that freedom involved having as many slaves as they wanted, as well as, laying claim to Indigenous lands that the British had signed treaties in protection of. Their loyalty to the French therefore was based on the idea that they would in practice be free to govern themselves.

Cape Dutch loyalty to the French was an extraordinary problem for the British. The British had taken over the Cape without appropriating Cape Dutch lands as a way of *conciliating* the Cape Dutch (Worden et. al. 86). The British government found another way to ensure *loyalty:* the Cape Dutch were required to swear oaths of fealty to the British crown. Between descriptions of flora and fauna which Barnard observes on her walks, she relates a disturbing tale of Cape Dutch who will not swear the "Oath of Allegiance":

> our Jacobins arrived, stout, sulky, democratic fellows, who with wives and children preferred refusing the Oath of Allegiance and going to Batavia to swearing to be honest and quiet members of the community, taking up no arms against us...But their reason was plain. Fully persuaded that the government of the Cape will not remain long in the hands of the English, they are taking grounds to be great men when the French get possession of it. But they may reckon without their host if they think the

> French are bound by any tie except what they suppose to be for their own interest.
> (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 115-116)

Barnard presents these "Jacobins" as infantile and stupid. She makes swearing the Oath seem like a reasonable thing. Why, she is asking her audience, can't they be "honest and quiet"? It is unlikely to her that they will be "great men" because (she assumes) that the French see the Cape Dutch as pawns in the greater mission of overtaking the Cape from the British. Yet, the British are also treating them as pawns in their lust to keep the Cape from the French. And so, the "Jacobins" are carted away by the dragoons, in their innocence "fully expecting...to be set at liberty" upon arrival into Cape Town (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 115). This episode is a counterpoint between the subtle exertions of Barnard's social power and the direct and immediate imperialism of the government. Both are informed by the belief in cultural and national superiority.

In a final comment about Barnard's relationship with the Cape Dutch population, even after two years of spending time with them, she concludes that: "I have not seen in any man or woman of this country one sparkle of what I could suppose was genius, or of any special talent or ability to make one regret

that improvement from education should have been wanting" (Barnard, *South Africa a Century Ago* 135). In her first contacts with the Cape Dutch, as with pastor Alling, Barnard presumed to think that British discourse and social interaction could "educate" them. In other words, she assumed that British culture would be automatically held as superior to Cape Dutch culture and interests. Her dismissal of them is not actually related to education at all, but to assimilation. Barnard was engaged in the process of social colonization, which on the occasions it failed, surprised her. As I have shown, the Cape Dutch were not easily absorbed by the British colonial machine, which becomes even more apparent given 20th - century Apartheid.

As a feminist, Barnard has displayed her understanding and subversion of oppressive patriarchal modes. The authority of her knowledge and text are apparent, despite her rhetoric of false-shame. Her relationship to colonial power, its functions, and her functions within it, are complex. She is able to critique the British administration she is a part of and exert power in order to put in place the behaviours she

feels it should represent. Barnard's colonialism is a conciliatory one. In regards to the indigenous population, she believes in a non-antagonistic approach to land appropriation and labour exploitation. Her frustration with the Cape Dutch has to do with a difference in colonial modes. Their colonial practice is evident: they take the land and resources they desire and rebel against the system of silent appropriation which Barnard favours. Furthermore, as I have demonstrated, Barnard represents a system which seeks to colonize the Cape Dutch through British social behaviours; Barnard's feelings of superiority illustrate this point quite clearly. Although, Barnard has shown herself to be capable of class and racial awareness, she applies this knowledge only when it does not conflict with her colonial practice which is grounded in British national interests.

-Chapter 2-

The New English Landscape:

The Sublime in the Cape of Good Hope

> Mr. *Van Riebeeck*, a surgeon belonging to it [the VOC], had the Penetration to discern the still greater Advantages which the company might reap from the *Cape* by the Means of a very little Cultivation. He saw the country was plentifully stock'd with Cattle; that the Soil was rich and capable of generous Productions; that the Natives were tractable, and the Harbour commodious and improveable...In short, he saw that it was highly advisable for the *Dutch* to make a settlement there.

Kolben *The Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope* 19

In 1731, Peter Kolben published his travelogue on the Cape of Good Hope. At this time, the VOC continued to refuse building a permanent settlement at the Cape and insisted instead that it remain an outpost. Van Riebeeck, in this epigraph, is presented by Kolben (who fully agrees with him) as an advocate for settlement by the Dutch based on the possibilities of the landscape. Indigenous people are conflated with the same improvements that Van Riebeeck would like to make of the

"soil" and "Harbour." A keyword which emerges in this discourse is "cultivation." In this case, cultivation implies a specific colonial exercise to be exerted onto the landscape: the imposition of a European habitation onto the African landscape. This imposition rests on two ideas: first, it presumes that the landscape can be modified; second, it presumes that the landscape can be modified into a form which would benefit colonial enterprise. The landscape is not figured as 'empty' we learn that it is full of "cattle" and "natives" and "rich soil." However, the idea of 'emptiness' is there. Obviously, native settlements are not perceived as the kind of "settlements" Van Riebeeck imagines. Therefore the desire to cultivate must come from the idea that, so far, the Cape is empty.

Lady Anne Barnard's quotation (used as an epigraph to this thesis) also portrays the Cape as empty, or in her words, "uncultivated." She too advocates the creation of a permanent settlement at the Cape - albeit in the interests of the English. Like Van Riebeeck's descriptions, Barnard veers towards a discussion of the promise of the Cape. Her persuasionary tactics are at times as straight forward as Van Riebeeck's; however, she also employs a complex discourse of

the 18th Century in both her writings and landscape paintings: the sublime. This discourse is uncommonly interwoven with Barnard's rhetoric of cultivation.

Where it is understandable for her audience in England that she employ the only devices available to her to describe a landscape alien to her, she also had political motives for doing so. Her intent was not merely to share the experience of South Africa with Lord Dundas and others, but to evaluate the Cape. In particular, to put forth a *specific* view of the Cape for evaluation. As I have already asserted, British interests were not yet firmly invested in the Cape of Good Hope. Representatives like Barnard and her husband were meant to be information gatherers as much as to be overseers of various colonial projects. Through the use of this discourse, she is, in effect, advertising the Cape's viability as a British colony.

The sublime is a European discourse. Barnard uses it in a way which overlays the 'alien-ness' of the landscape she encounters, thereby creating a "new" English landscape. Moments of departure from this overlay occur only in the disruptions provided by a competing *practice* (not written discourse) of landscape use, that of the Indigenous groups and

the slave population. In the following, I will discuss the sublime as an 'internal' mode of *relating to* the landscape and *relating* the landscape to those in England; these modes are inherently imbued with Barnard's interpretation of them from the perspective of her gender. I will discuss how the landscape is portrayed as *inviting* colonization despite the *uninviting,* harsh, realities of settling there. Throughout this chapter, I will also talk about the disruption that the Indigenous and slave presence poses to this vision of a new "English" landscape.

The basis of the 18th-century "sublime" in England is traced to the publication of Longinus *On the Sublime* (1674) a translation of his work *Peri Hupsous* (*On Great Writing, 1554*) by Boileau (Monk 1-10). After this, an explosion of works on esthetic observation appeared and many versions of the sublime were presented (Monk 1-9). A version of the sublime which dominated the English discourse, until Immanuel Kant's *The Critique of Judgement* (1766) was translated into English in the early 19th Century, was Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1750) (Monk 87). As part of the inner

educated circles of the British elite Barnard was likely to have read Burke prior to her trip to the Cape. Longinus indirectly and Burke directly would have had a major effect on Barnard's interpretations of landscape: indeed, her use of the sublime is apparent (see below). But, did she use it in the 'masculine mode' in which it was conceived (Yaeger 191)? What relationship did it have to her colonial endeavor? Was it merely a rhetorical form or do her pictures also express this discourse? How did it allow or disallow the articulation of the African landscape?

The function of the sublime in a general sense was the creation of a "justifiable category into which could be grouped the stronger emotions and the more irrational elements of art" (Monk 85). In Thomas Weiskel's *The Romantic Sublime*, he cites five sources of the sublime for Longinus: "vigorous mental conception; strong and inspired emotion; the employment of just figures; nobility of diction; and comprehensively, synthesis, or composition that is exceptional...[which as a whole] exhibit the confusion of nature and art, author and work." He also claims that the sublime art/experience has as its basis the transcendence of the human; it is a spiritual principle which "revives as God" and is invoked by nature:

"For Longinus, the human was the domain of art...the sublime, just that which eluded the art in our experience of art" (3). The naming of this moment of sublimity by Longinus was the word *hypsos*, meaning "height" (Weiskel 4). In effect, the sublime provided a discourse for emotions which could not otherwise be explained, what Weiskel describes as "novel experiences of anxiety and excitement" (4). In Burke, the delineation of the sublime is made more clearly in reference to landscape.

Burke believed that the sublime was produced in reaction to nature, more specifically, to objects in nature which produced a feeling of terror (53). The lesser emotions this *hypsos* inflicted were "admiration, reverence and respect" (Burke 53). Linked to this feeling of terror is obscurity, whether it be visual (the inability to see something clearly) or intellectual (organized violence by despotic governments); it is the inability to "know the full extent of any danger" (Burke 54). For Burke, the sublime in regard to seeing occurs when the eye encounters objects of vast dimensions (mountain ranges/buildings), height (looking down from a tower), a rugged surface, or the appearance of infinity (oceans) (66-67). Finally, the sublime occurs in a power relation between

the viewer and the object being observed: "power derives all its sublimity from the terror with which it is generally accompanied" (Burke 60).

These descriptions of the sublime suggest that art and feeling are interconnected experientially. So, although the sublime is a way of seeing landscape, unlike the picturesque, it orders the landscape in a way which uses as its basis, emotion. It also articulates a more complex interaction of human/landscape/God; it is a method for understanding ourselves. In this sense, the sublime is an "internal" esthetic; it requires an intense personal connection to landscape viewing.

Barnard's most obvious moment of written, experiential, and artistic sublimity occurs on her climb up Table Mountain. She takes with her travel writer and natural historian, John Barrow; there are also some slaves, servants, and naval officers.

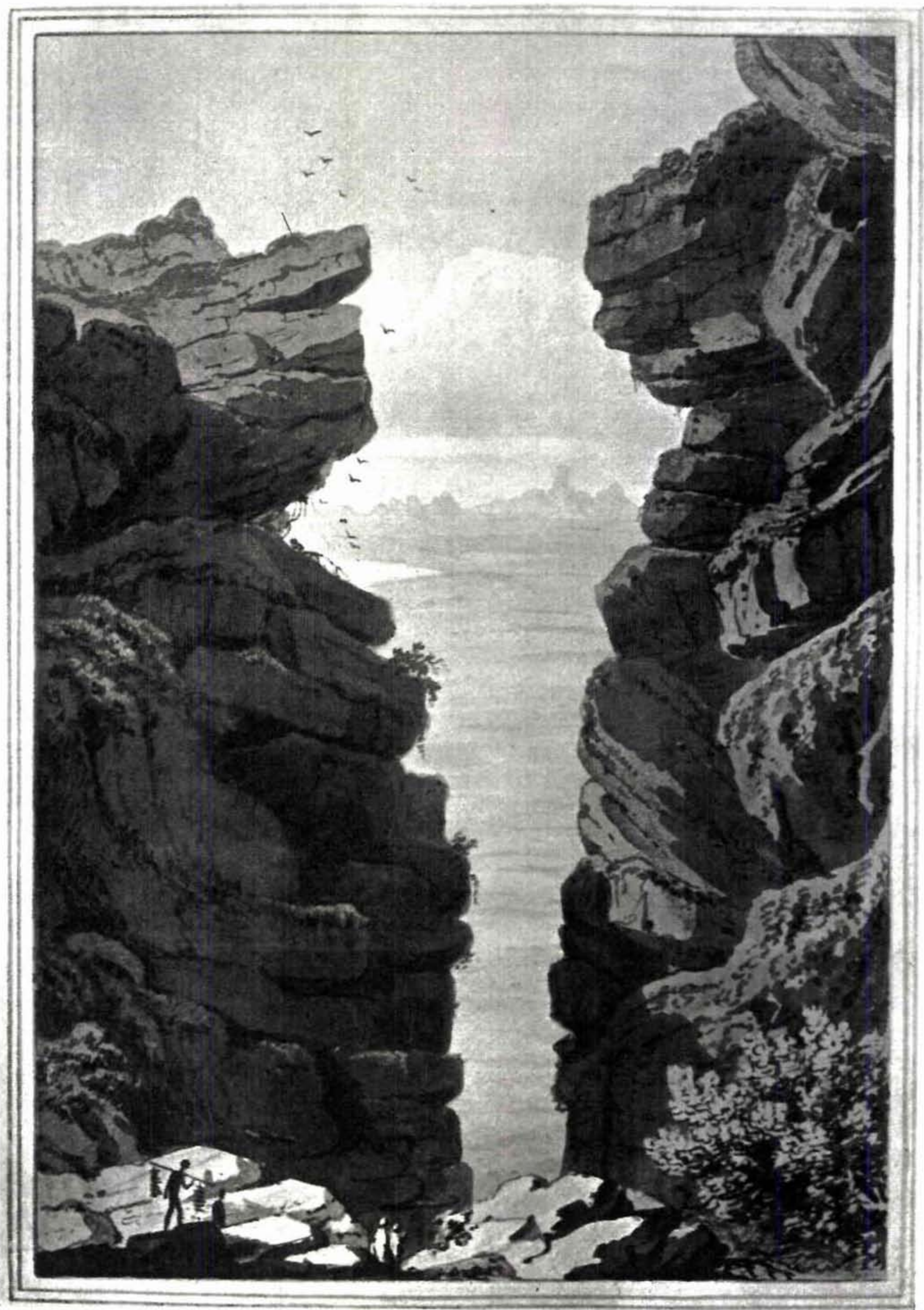
Barnard begins her trek by placing herself in a position of authority on the landscape of the Western Cape in several ways. She claims that she is one of the few women ever to have been on top of Table Mountain and therefore suggests that her audience will be privy to a woman's perspective on the

landscape(Barnard, *The Letters* 46). Furthermore, she informs us that she is one of few Europeans from the settlement to ever climb the mountain, which she believes is a sign of "Lazyness" on the behalf of European officers/settlers (Barnard, *The Letters* 46). Her account is authenticated by her referral to the mis-reports of the mountain, "there was nothing that luxuriancy of verdure & foliage flowers or Herbage, described by travellers" (Barnard, *The Letters* 49). In establishing this authenticity of account, Barnard prepares her reader to experience the sublime moment with her when it happens. There is a sense that she is journeying into a forbidden place, which not only invokes a sense of obscurity but mild terror.

This terror is also created by Indigenous figures and slaves in the background of the text which are characterized as a shadowy disturbance. For example, it is partially the fault of the "natives" that "Lazyness" is inspired in the officers of town, "all of whom wishd it to be considered as next to an impossible matter to get to the top of it" (Barnard, *The Letters* 46). It is quite possible the natives do not wish to encourage a white presence on the mountain because there is a slave hide-out there. In fact, slaves hid-out in

the mountains so frequently that in 1754 with the introduction of the 'slave code,' they were not allowed in the mountains without a pass signed by their owners and Table Mountain was out of bounds entirely for a brief period after the murder of a Cape Dutch family in 1760 by slaves (Worden et.al. 63). Barnard is fairly dismissive about this continuing use of Table Mountain: "there was a cave cut in the rock which is occasionally inhabited by runaway negroes, of which there were traces" (*The Letters* 49). As a European though, she feels little real fear of attack; after all, the landscape has been possessed by a European presence. But the cave represents disruptive uses of this colonized space which in order to remain non-threatening demands a gesture of unknowingness on the part of the Europeans. There is nonetheless a feeling of sublime danger created by the knowledge that the "traces" could mean recent occupation.

This sublime feeling is heightened by the sketch of Platteklip Gorge (a part of Table Mountain) which accompanies this written description. Not only does the sketch prove that she has first-hand knowledge of the place, but it is done in a decidedly sublime style. Furthermore, it is the only sketch in *The Letters* to break away from the picturesque



Platteklip Gorge, Table Mountain

sensibilities of her other landscape paintings.

The sketch follows certain formulas likened to the sublime. First, its subject matter, mountains, immediately invoke what is sublime in landscape, immensity and vastness. The height of the mountains is illustrated and accentuated by the tiny human figures at the bottom left of the sketch. The relationship of power becomes articulated in this sketch because of the immensity of the landscape and the smallness of the humans. The crude, rough surfaces of the mountain occur in the seeming haphazard placement of very large rocks on top of each other; they give the impression that at any point they may fall. The lack of vegetation creates a look of harshness about the rocks and is heightened by the solitary soft bush at the bottom right of the sketch.

Perhaps the most important indicator of the sublime is in the play of light and darkness. Burke felt that blinding light or darkness, or the quick transition from light to dark, or dark to light invoked the sublime (73). In Africa, the light of the sun is powerful to the point of being blinding. Furthermore, it creates very sharp contrasts between light and darkness; out in the open the light is stark while in the shade the darkness is deep. We can see this sharp contrast on

both sides of the illustration in the alternating light and dark planes of the rocks; the shift from light to dark is abrupt. In addition, the space in which the humans are, at the bottom of the sketch, is starkly light, while the high rocks are much darker. The two rock faces on opposite sides has the effect of leading the eye into the interior of the sketch where the largest plane of light occurs. The eye is invited to look out from the gorge and yet sees only in obscurity the ocean below (the ocean is also a classically sublime image) and more mountains further in the distance. Therefore, blinding light, obscurity and immensity are mated in this image, evoking several elements of the sublime.

Barnard's moment of *hypsos* arrives when they reach the top of the mountain "with much conscious superiority" (*The Letters* 49). Prior to her actual expression of this moment (see below), she analyses what she can see from a "*birds eye view.*" Throughout this description runs analyses based on Barnard's favorite topic, cultivation. Cultivation takes precedence over the sublime and may in fact be the thing which inspires it rather than the landscape itself:

> looking down on the town...and smiling at the formal

> meanness of its appearance, which woud have led us to suppose it built by children out of half a dozen packs of cards. - I was glad on this pinnacle to have a *birds eye view* of the country - the Bays the distant & near mountains - the coup d'oeul brought to my awed rememberance, the Saviour of the world presented from the top of "an exceedingly high mountain" with all the Kingdoms of the Earth, by the Devil, nothing short of *such* a view was *this* -but it was not the garden of the world that appeared all around; on the contrary there was no denying the circle bounded only by the Heavens and Sea to be a wide desart - bare - uncultivated - uninhabited - but Noble in its bareness & (as we had reason to know) capable of cultivation from its soil which submits easily to the spade and gratefully repays its attention.
> (Barnard, *The Letters* 49)

Barnard juxtaposes the grandeur of Table Mountain with the insignificance of the town. The mountain is in a place of superiority as an object of height; Barnard having scaled the mountain can claim a oneness with it and therefore also possess that sense of superiority. As Patricia Yaeger notes: "an object of *hypsos*...is grander than its spectator, and yet invites that spectator's identification and narcissism" (197). The expanse in this case invites the sublime feeling of gazing on the infinite; the Cape is "bounded only by the Heavens and the Sea." The nature and culture division is apparent here. In this moment Barnard feels the sense of insignificance that human exploit holds. The 'work' of nature is perfect while the town seems "built by children out of half a dozen packs of

cards." Barnard is setting up what Yaeger sees as a conflict in the masculine use of the sublime, a power struggle of identity between the sublime object and the speaker (196). How Barnard chooses to resolve this power struggle is not any of the female sublimes which Yaeger so expertly outlines, but by a sublime of "displacement." I will define and explain this term in a moment, but first, I wish to outline the rest of Barnard's sublime.

Barnard's moment of transcendence is linked to formal Christianity and nature simultaneously instead of nature replacing God as Weiskel noted above. The relationship of the mountain with the incident of Jesus's temptation is placed in a way to link nature with the power of God and to give nature a more meaningful slant. It is interesting that Jesus is shown a garden by Satan, a reference to Eden perhaps? As I have already mentioned, the Cape was mythologized as a garden, but as Coetzee points out, this Edenic garden was found to be an anti-garden (3). Which may explain Barnard's invocation of a moment in which Jesus rejects the "Eden" Satan offers.

After all, Barnard does not see a garden, but a "desart." "Desart" is the accepted spelling of "desert" in the 18th Century (OED 697). In this case, "desart" does not signify the

typical sandy landscape as in 'the Sahara desert.' The adjectives which follow "desart" modify the word, describing the landscape as "uncultivated," "uninhabited," and "bare." In the 18th Century one popular usage of the word "desert" is described as "Uninhabited, unpeopled, desolate, lonely" (OED 697) which seems to correlate closely with Barnard's description.

The Indigenous vegetation fynbos has a different impact to the eye than the English landscape. The landscape she speaks of is dominated by low lying scrubs and grasses rather than trees nor for most of the year are they necessarily green in colour (Cowling; Richardson 7). The mountains in particular are covered closely by fynbos which gives the impression that the mountains lack vegetation altogether. These characteristics gave foreigners the impression of barrenness.

Barnard's reaction to this "desart" is to immediately apply human ideas of cultivation to it: in effect suggesting the creation of a garden by human hands. In a sense, nature fails its role as plentiful provider but is enlisted in the project of land improvement. It "submits" "gratefully" to cultivation. Barnard goes so far as to bring a hammer with her so that Barrow can classify the rocks of the mountain, hoping

to find minerals worthwhile to mine (*The Letters* 46). This exercise is indicative of the kind of cultivation Barnard has in mind; it evokes a European idea of city and habitation meant as cultivation (land improvement) and the creation of buildings/fences/boundaries/farms. To see a "bare" or "empty" landscape ignores a native presence entirely and justifies these new improvements.

After Barnard's lengthy description of the view, she finally has that moment of height or *hypsos* where she finds it difficult to speak and is overcome by the magnitude of her vision. Here, mediated by the sublime, God, King George, the idea of nation, and nature are linked together conspiratorially in the colonial practice which is occurring:

> I proposed a song to be sung in full chorus, not doubting that all the Hills around woud Join us, God save the King - God save great George our King, roard I, & my troop - God save - God save God save - god save - god save - god save - god save - god GREAT GEORGE OUR KING...great George our King - great George...repeated the loyal mountains...I felt more than I chose to trust my voice with...but I wished great George our King to have stood beside me at the moment, & to have thrown his eye over his new possessions, which we were thus (his humble viceroys) taking possession of, in his name.
>
> (Barnard, *The Letters* 49)

Barnard's great moment in experiencing the sublime is a "displaced" one. She does not in the typical masculine mode

insist on her "own superior gesture of identity" in the power dynamic of the sublime (Yaeger 196). However, this gesture is there: Barnard claims this superiority in the name of colonial enterprise and more specifically through male power - that of the King's. Furthermore, Barnard is not claiming possession of the new landscape, but claiming it in a displaced fashion, for the King. In this moment, God as "beyond the human" is divorced from the experience: he is called on only to protect King George. The conquering of nature in the sublime is an intensely human activity.

What is interesting about this passage is the complicity with which Barnard betrays the natural world to its colonization. The hills are expected to join in song, and the mountains are anthropomorphized as "loyal." Barnard has no awareness of alien-ness in this passage whatsoever. It is of course the echo of human voices from which Barnard creates the illusion that the song is repeated by the mountains. Her colonial practice is nowhere more apparent than in this case. For her, Africa does not have its own voice: the mountains speak English of course, they know who King George is and are ready to serve him. I am being a bit literal, but as Coetzee notes: "English carries echoes of a very different natural

world—a world of downs and fell, oaks and daffodils...[in this lexicon] Is there a language in which people of European identity...can speak to Africa and be spoken to by Africa?" (*White Writing* 8). Barnard does not think about this concern; she already has an apt framework with which to speak to Africa, the voice of colonialism. This voice is articulated by the sublime; it mediates her relationship to landscape and gives her a discourse with which to possess or assimilate the overwhelming alien-ness.

The sublime is a useful discourse in British esthetic studies because it connects feelings to art and art to that which is beyond the human. It gives a voice to moments of disruption and anxiety in writing; it connects the natural world and the human world (which had become divorced by the imposition of reason) in a relationship of emotion and then art as expression of emotion. The sublime *allows* discourses of power to emerge; it is essentially an anxiety about human relationships with the natural world. The masculine sublime however seeks to possess nature once it is overcome by it to allay the anxieties of feeling overwhelmed.

Barnard uses this discourse to understand and mediate a foreign landscape. Her invocation of terror about the natural

world follows typical sublime modes. However, even the slight acknowledgment of an alien presence represented by the slave hide-way disrupts the crushing colonial possessiveness with which she uses the sublime mode. Barnard does display her own alienation from this discourse as a woman by displacing the moment of *hypsos* onto a powerful male figure.

Conclusion

When I began this thesis, I had intended to examine representations of the Cape which shifted from characterizations of hostile landscape to garden colony. I have had a growing awareness that the desire to identify such a shift may have been based on my own illusions of what the Cape has meant to the colonial endeavor. Instead, I have found that the way in which the Cape has been represented has been very dependant on historical spaces and esthetic discourses.

The Edenic garden which was searched for from at least the 16th Century in Africa by Europeans seems like a an innocent quest from my romanticized 20th-century perspective. This search for a mythical homeland based in Christianity had the function of brutally dispossessing other homelands and other mythologies. A legacy which continues to exist in South Africa with the geographical racism and philosophies of that non-homogenous group with European ancestry - the "Whites." The Indigenous population composed of Zulu, Xhosa and other

"Black" humans under Apartheid were forcibly removed from the South African shoreline and pushed deep into the interior. This interior was divided into various "homelands." The irony becomes apparent when we realize the fear and promise the interior once held for Europeans.

Coetzee's *White Writing* has addressed the anxiety created by the lack of identification with the African landscape in modern whites. Where is the language for whites which will transcend the alienation of a place, a once hoped for Eden, now an anti-garden? Of the poet, Coetzee comments: "he is seeking a dialogue with Africa, a reciprocity with Africa, that will allow him an identity better than that of visitor, stranger, transient" (*White Writing* 8). In order to understand the root of this desire, it has been important to *look* back, to see how a 'dialogue' with the African landscape was silenced. Perhaps the feeling of alienation was the place to begin a dialogue with Africa. Instead of silencing the landscape with European discourses, if colonists could have listened, perhaps the so-called emptiness of the Cape could speak

But I do not mean to lay too heavy a judgement. The modern day tourist phenomenon described by John Urry in *The*

Tourist Gaze is still based on that mediated gaze: "we gaze at what we encounter. And this gaze is as socially organized and systemized as is the gaze of the medic" (1). We now have different discourses of esthetics, different expectations, different ways of seeing. In a sense, the tourist is as much a colonist as Barnard, except the tourist seeks to own a new landscape through consumerism, through picture-taking, through the keeping of airline tickets. It is no longer about ownership of place, but the ownership of the experience - to say, "I was there." The root of this nonetheless lies in more blatant discourses of colonialism and in particular travel literature.

Barnard has held a unique position in the non-canon of South African literature. Her written and pictorial work, devalued and unpublished for a long time, has now emerged as a new discourse on the South African landscape due to feminist research. As a woman aware of her positionality but not hindered by it to a great degree, she has offered a text which allows an examination of gender discourse hitherto unavailable. Through the frame of modern feminist readings and the text itself, her position within Cape society has been established as not only influential but powerful.

Given the scant resources on women's lives in the 18th Century Barnard has been essential in subverting a discourse based on solely on patriarchal oppression and disadvantage. She does not shy away from natural history nor travel writing. In fact, she expresses her views on the Cape with authority and criticism. Often, she rivals male opinions on matters with an assurance that she will be heard by her readers despite her rhetoric of false-shame. She has been shown to participate in colonial activities and yet define for herself what that participation will be. Furthermore, her writings have show the complexities of race, class, and gender interactions. She defies the position of sympathetic colonialist which modern day feminism has a penchant for. Instead, we see a woman of powerful means who shares the colonial vision alongside her male counterparts. This is not to assert that Barnard was not sympathetic, indeed, her awareness of oppressive structures in relation to the military subalterns and to some extent the Indigenous/slave population has been asserted. Nevertheless, this sympathy has only surfaced when it is not in contradiction to her colonial beliefs. Racist beliefs still hold true in her relations with the competing colonial discourse of the Cape Dutch.

The language of esthetics has been influential in interpreting the South African landscape. Barnard uses the sublime in particular to articulate her connection with this landscape. Barnard's use of it is inherently colonial. The moment of *hypsos* demonstrates her desire to possess not only the Cape but to maintain a superiority to nature. This moment is displaced by a rhetoric of nationhood and monarchy. She does not claim height for herself but in the name of masculine authority. By using the sublime as a written and visual discourse, Barnard overwrites other ways of seeing the Cape. She invokes feelings of terror and anxiety in her reader through the typical style of the sublime. A moment of disruption in this mode is the native presence in the text. It shows indigenous knowledge of landscape as resistant to simple evaluations of it.

In this thesis I have tried to look at the ways in which nature/landscape, human/gender/race/class, and esthetic discourse interact with colonialism through the perspective of Barnard. My project was initially much larger than this thesis displays. There are several areas which I had sought to cover which do not appear in this work. First, I had hoped to conduct a more through analysis of the indigenous/slave

presence in her text and visual productions. Barnard approached these groups in three ways: as a tourist or natural historian, fascinated by their culture and physical differences; as a sympathizer, to the various oppressions imposed on them by the VOC and Cape Dutch order; as a colonist, in which she did not seek to emancipate them from their inferior role but advocated a conciliatory colonialism. Her sketches portray their labour in much the same way as European peasantry was portrayed. She views them with a certain romanticism which precludes any sense of equality.

Second, I was struck to the degree with which she used the picturesque in her sketches. She often overwrites the Cape landscape in her work. For example, instead of showing the violent ocean responsible for many shipwrecks, she almost always portrays the sea as calm which is reminiscent of the lakes popularized by the picturesque. Unlike her sublime sketch, the picturesque sketches are concerned with the gentle diffusion of light and the gradual movement from clarity in the foreground to obscurity in the background. Where she diverges from the picturesque is in her buildings which are always shown as new or in the process of being built while the picturesque tended to be devoted to romantic ruins. These

sketches show her concern with presenting a landscape which will garner appreciation for European eyes. Furthermore, the concern with cultivation is always apparent in the new buildings and in her constant portrayals of farms and farmland.

Third, the pastoral also appears to be a major influence in Barnard's work. This is apparent in her farm scenes which show no white labour but productive farms. The labour she does represent is that of the Indigenous/slave population. She makes farming appear easy and idyllic which is absurd given that most farms were on the edge of the colonial frontier. The pastoral is evident in her written work as well. She is given to romanticizing the Cape Dutch and Indigenous groups as innocents, who invoke for her a 'golden age.'

Finally, I wanted to look at the ways in which work and leisure were connected to the colonial enterprise. Land economies in town were different than those in the city. In addition, Barnard saw the Cape as providing the resources for a growing British empire. The questions I would have like to answer are as follows. What are the kinds of work done in the Cape? Who is responsible for doing this work? How is leisure portrayed, and to whom is it available? Discourses surrounding

land use include ideas of farms or cultivated spaces, gardens, and wilderness, how were these discourses interconnected? To what ends?

I can only hope that what I have done here is to inspire others to work on Barnard as I feel I have only touched the surface of the possibilities her work provides.

In 1997, *National Geographic* magazine said of Cape Town, that it is "one of the most beautiful and compelling places to visit on the planet" (quoted in Smith 222). In many travel brochures in South Africa, Cape Town is advertised to the tourist eye as "The Fairest Cape." In the typology of gardens, the Cape in apartheid South Africa fulfilled its anti-garden prophesy. But it is no less a garden landscape. By titling this work "The Fairest Cape" I leave open the many ways the Cape of Good Hope can be envisioned, imagined, seen. Neither Barnard, nor myself, offers the definitive view. And yet, the only thing I can foresee no argument with is that the Cape of Good Hope is indeed the Fairest of the Capes.

To return to Coetzee's quotation which appears in my introduction, the mythos of the garden is not dead. In the 20th Century, it has taken on a new form. In *The Life and Times of*

Michael K the search for the garden is an escape from the turmoil of South African society. But more than that, it is the desire to find a place where all human beings belong, where we were still perfect before the fall. The South African interior is not the lush garden of Eden which the mythology promised; instead, the interior is a desert-like landscape. Yet, the imaginary garden in Coetzee's words is both "sacred and alluring" (*Life and Times of Michael K* 228). South African literature will not easily shake off the promise of the garden. What Coetzee is suggesting to us is that the garden need not die despite its brutal colonial conceptions. We can continue to see and create the garden in our vision of ourselves and that of the society we wish to create. Eden is already here, in the South African landscape: it can be everywhere but the space in which life is meaningless.

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