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Dilemmas of audience and alienation in the fiction of Olive Schreiner

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Chapter 3

VOL II

England Unmade Me

i. "An Unclassifiable Phenomenon"

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his concern for "decency," but its practical effect is to present Schreiner as "a demented woman."[3] Of the even more lurid details of an allegedly sado-masochistic affair Schreiner had on the Isle of Wight in 1882, there is, understandably from any point of view, absolutely no mention in Cronwright-Schreiner's book.[4]

Yet his work is still useful, as he provides more detail on the early period of her stay in England than do many other writers. In Hobman's and Buchanan-Gould's biographies, the entire period between the docking of Schreiner's ship, the *Kinsfauns Castle*, on 30 March 1880 and the publication of The Story of an African Farm in 1883 takes up three pages at most; First and Scott devote slightly more attention to it (mostly for the purposes of giving social history). Because of Berkman's preoccupation with Schreiner's early vocation to be a doctor, the period has more significance for her, since it includes Schreiner's abortive stints at medical institutions in Edinburgh and London.[5]

There are understandable reasons why the period has received so little attention. First, little documentation of it remains. Secondly, there is very little writing that can be demonstrated to have emerged from this period. The salient biographical points remain constant: Schreiner tried, and failed, to become a nurse probationer at the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary (staying only three days); declared a wish to begin the studies to sit the the preliminary examination required to begin training as a doctor, but never sat it. First and Scott believe that her brothers Fred and Will, who both had had formal schooling since boyhood, perceived that she, with practically none, had little hope of a medical career, and they therefore encouraged her to "stick to literature."[6] Fred continued to support her through most of her years in England, and she frequently stayed with him at his school in Eastbourne, although her notoriety following the publication of African Farm caused him to be less willing to receive her. Her brother Will, who read law at Cambridge in the early '80s, was a disappointment to her, having in England become "strongly imperialist and anti-native."[7] When she did try a stint at the Women's Hospital in Endell Street, London, she experienced an "initiation into the street life of the London poor." It was a harrowing

ordeal for Schreiner to hear "the shouts 'of brutal or drunken men', and 'the screams of women....' ", and after only five days she fell ill and returned again to Eastbourne.[8] Fred arranged to take her to Ventnor for the winter, which is where she may, or may not, have experienced the sado-masochistic affair that Ellis described.

As to her writing, it seems clear that during this winter (1881-2) she did work on a few short stories or "dreams" that were published in her brother's school magazine, and at some point between 1882 and 1884 she must have begun work on Diamond Fields, a novel in which she seemed to have "worked up" some of her experiences of a decade before at New Rush/Kimberley (as she had, to some extent, in Undine).[9] How much revision African Farm underwent during the period before it was published is uncertain, but Macmillan had rejected African Farm in early 1882 and by March of that year "Olive was in London preparing to do the rounds of the publishing houses."[10] By April 1882 Schreiner had had her first interview with George Meredith of Chapman and Hall, and by early 1883 African Farm was issued in two volumes, for very little remuneration. Her response to her first review, by Philip Kent, was characteristic of her sense of alienation: "I'd thought no one would understand!"[11] The move to England did not bring her happiness. She wrote later that she "cried every night for hours" during her first three years there, and First and Scott record that she was at this time dosing herself with drugs reputed to deaden the central nervous system.[12]

An admiring letter from a reader caused Schreiner to reply to one Henry Havelock Ellis on 25 February 1884, and she found that he not only "understood" but seemed her soul-mate.[13] For at least the next year and a half he was unquestionably the most important person in her life, and the wealth of correspondence their relationship engendered has received much scholarly attention, as have Ellis' copious notes about Schreiner. In the context of Ellis' or Schreiner's life-history their relationship and its documentation are fascinating, but from a literary point of view, the relationship is less significant than many others Schreiner had. Neither as a personality nor, more importantly, as a source of ideas

does Ellis appear to have exerted a strong influence on her fiction. He agreed to criticise work she sent him, but she paid little attention to his comments. They certainly much enjoyed mutual confidences about similar experiences (religious and sexual) during adolescence. Ellis tried, in his capacity as a doctor, to help Schreiner through various illnesses, but it it may well be that the drugs he recommended to her had side-effects that proved worse than her symptoms. Much emphasis has been placed on the apparent failure of their sexual relationship -- she at least was disappointed -- but it is perhaps more important that, as years passed and they were less intimate on any level, they came to disagree profoundly on abstract questions about sex. Many years later Schreiner was to express distaste for Ellis's "decadent" lack of interest in "normal" sexuality.[14] For his part, as he recounted later in the curiously pompous language of My Life, he grew to see her (particularly in the years following the South African War) as dogmatic and irrational.[15] In terms of political activism Schreiner and Ellis were also often opposed.

For a time in the 1880s the pair attended meetings of the Progressive Association (where Ellis first met Carpenter) as well as meetings of the Fellowship of the New Life, but it is important to recall that Ellis never attended the Men and Women's Club; Pearson hadn't allowed it (partly because Ellis was known to be a "flabby-minded" disciple of James Hinton, the free-love philosopher).[16] Finally, Schreiner's increasing fascination with Pearson became a cause of strain between Ellis and herself. He was clearly jealous, while she denied or obscured her feelings but continued to defend Pearson even after he had wounded her. For this reason, though her letters from Europe to Ellis continued to be frequent, she ceased to be open about her pain, and years later she seemed to include even Ellis in her description of the period as a time in which "you all turned against me."[17] Although they still corresponded in the 1890s, Schreiner and Ellis moved in worlds that could scarcely have been farther apart: she in the parched little Karoo town of Matjesfontein, complaining bitterly about being surrounded by "Philistines," he in Paris, dining out with Arthur Symons

and Verlaine, or in London, editing a prestigious series of scientific books. Their affection rather than their common interests remained their bond.

Other important relationships Schreiner made after meeting Ellis included those with Eleanor Marx and Dr. (later Sir) Bryan Donkin. Schreiner became close to Marx, although she grew to hate her lover, Edward Aveling. Donkin's hopeless passion for Schreiner, culminating in more than one proposal of marriage, drove her almost to distraction (and into convent lodgings in Kilburn) by 1886. Edward Carpenter became a close friend and was the only person whom she could trust with confidences about Pearson, after Ellis had proved unable to understand her -- or perhaps, understood her too well. In later years Cerpenter was to be the recipient of some of Schreiner's most detailed letters on political subjects.

Reference must be made to Schreiner's involvement with the (second) Men and Women's Club, a group whose history can be seen in detail in work done by Judith Walkowitz.[18] The group planned to have monthly meetings, attended by carefully selected men and woman (in equal numbers), brought together "in an attempt at finding an alternative to the deep split between 'animal' and 'human' that characterized the dominant mid- and late-Victorian attitudes to sexual passion."[19]

The Club's second incarnation was mooted in 1884, but did not begin meetings until the summer of 1885. Schreiner joined the Club through the invitation of a Mrs. Elizabeth Cobb and her sister, Maria Sharpe, whom she had met in Hastings in the autumn of 1884. Mrs. Cobb was occasionally shocked by the younger South African woman, having found her book "not quite wholesome" and her character somewhat worldly. These views were shared by some members of the Fellowship of the New Life, one of whom, Henry Salt, thought Schreiner made "frank, almost immodest utterances."[20]

Though Schreiner always maintained that a monogamous union was the truest and highest state of male-female relations, her failure to obey superficial etiquette, her readiness to debate matters of sex, and her strongly expressed emotions and opinions continued to stigmatise her as a "free woman." While some of her colleagues in the Men and Women's

Club found such conduct progressive and beneficial, others were shocked. When Pearson's paper "The Woman Question" was circulated in the Club, "a friend of the Sharpes" felt

> horrified: it was different for Miss Schreiner, who grew up among "coarse and brutal natures" and must have learnt it all, but for unmarried women in general, at least educated ones, the fine sense of shame which taught them to shrink from "men's passions and animal instincts" with them was "the true and natural one."[21]

English society, which Schreiner had hoped would prove different from the colonial society of "lower middle-class philistines," could clearly be no less judgmental. Moreover, this attribution of Schreiner's unnatural candour to her colonial origins was based on a grossly mistaken set of assumptions about her upbringing. It would be hard to imagine a stricter sexual morality than that enforced by Rebekah Schreiner in her mission station. Whatever Schreiner knew about "it all" she had "learnt" from such cultured men as Gau, the Reverend Martin, and the anonymous businessman in Ventnor.

Schreiner's suspiciously forthright manner set her apart from the other women in the Club, even those, like Maria Sharpe, who found her encouraging. As First and Scott remark, "for all the formal equality of the club, the women tended either to defer to the men -- to Pearson particularly -- or to belittle their own capacities."[22] Schreiner stood out by addressing Pearson on more or less equal terms, although it was no doubt difficult for her to do so, given her own sense of inadequacy about her education. She also tried to ease the burdens of shyer women in the Club. Showalter writes of the Club's activities:

> Despite Schreiner's efforts, however, the quasi-scientific discourse of the male radicals, echoing concepts of late Victorian "sexual science," both intimidated the women members and made it harder for them to overcome their inhibitions and begin to discuss their own sexuality. Emma Brooke protested against the "distinctly dominant tone" Pearson took in talking to women, and Henrietta Muller eventually resigned, explaining angrily to Pearson that it was "the same old story of the man laying down the law to woman and not caring to recognize that she has a voice, and the woman resenting... and submitting in silence." In 1889, unable to reach a common position, the Men and Women's Club broke up, not only because of feminist resistance, but also because, as Judith Walkowitz has shown, "men were

> dissatisfied with the women's performance" and with their resistance to the language of scientific reason.[23]

The men in the Club addressed problems which they associated with women, and Schreiner had to remind Pearson that what was lacking in his paper "The Woman Question" was any consideration of men.[24] Still, apropos of Muller's attitude and her strikingly modern desire to hold women-only groups so that women could learn to speak for themselves, First and Scott remark that "Olive and Mrs.Cobb maintained a much less critical attitude-- Mrs.Cobb the more obsequious, Olive always advocating cooperation."[25] Schreiner argued against Muller, who "thinks we will have to rule over men in the future as they have ruled and trodden on us in the past."[26] She tried to maintain a "sexless" position with Pearson, continually telling him to think of her as a man, and claimed to be looking at the notion of "women's sex needs" from a solely intellectual point of view, "looking, at source, for a theory of sexual evolution."[27] On the basis of such assertions, Barash has argued that Schreiner was "othering" women in order to disinhibit homo-erotic desire. Such an interpretation is rendered less plausible by the concentration of such objectifying language in her letters to Pearson, whom she wished to impress, in part because she was sexually attracted to him.[28] A profession of objectivity was particularly expedient on the subject of women's rights, since Pearson rejected the very concept, arguing that "Mill's Subjection of Women" be "thrown overboard" and that both women's rights and men's rights should be judged by the touchstone of "general efficiency."[29]

Schreiner's relationship with Pearson, like her relationship with Ellis, had been initiated mainly through correspondence. As First and Scott have said, Pearson "quickly became Olive's intellectual reference point"[30] and she wrote to him (his replies have disappeared) on subjects from Goethe to socialism to her creative difficulties. Most conspicuously, Schreiner addressed numerous questions about sex: whether desire began in the eye or the ear, and whether eventually procreation might be accomplished "exclusively aesthetically for purposes of pleasure";[31] whether it might be felt by a man and a woman

when the woman was pregnant or lactating (and whether it might be paid for in the case of prostitution);[32] whether sexual desire could be a matter of "aesthetics" or not;[33] whether monogamy and "lifelong sexual union" was desirable or possible;[34] the prevalence of "solitary sexual indulgence";[35] the desirable role of "the State" in "sex relations";[36] her own menstrual difficulties;[37] birth lore in various cultures,[38] and many other topics, often arising from her contact with many prostitutes whom she had befriended.

Even when their friendship grew older, she never began her letters with a phrase less formal than "Dear K.P.," and as late as October, 1886 she still began some letters "Dear Karl Pearson."[39] The tone of her letters never attained to the "baby-talk" language that she used to Ellis, very occasionally to Carpenter, or in later years to her husband.[40] Despite this, by virtue of the very subject matter and also because of Schreiner's frank and ebullient style (she often teased him, a liberty few others took) her letters to him make most unorthodox reading for the time. Obviously, given Pearson's academic work on sexual relationships and the "sex book" Schreiner began to plan at this time, with its enormous intended scope (which Pearson felt sceptical about Schreiner achieving without the devotion of a life's work), there was an academic basis to the sexual subject matter of many of Schreiner's letters.[41] Significantly for her personally, she also felt she could discuss with Pearson the development of one version of From Man to Man, down to such details as Rebekah's feeling that her relationship with her husband was one of prostitution, and her extramarital attraction to a man called Drummond. Schreiner reports Rebekah's desire, not mentioned in the published book) to "creep up to his [Drummond's] feet and put her face against them." She describes the touching scene that follows as "the scene that I can't bear to think anyone should read," but she was obviously content that Pearson should read it, along with other (mainly allegorical) writings.[42] There are few letters in her entire correspondence to match this one for long and detailed comment on a work of fiction in progress.

It is impossible to read all the surviving letters from Schreiner to Pearson and not feel, as do First and Scott, that despite Schreiner's "striving to avoid any impression of emotionality," there is something amiss in her handling of

> ...what were bound to be suggestive issues. As with Ellis, so in the letters to Pearson: scientific inquiry into the condition and responses of women prompted comments on her own as well as other women's experience; yet she recorded them as impersonal and "objective" evidence. Was she too ingenuous -- or too self-deceiving-- to conceive of the provocation she was offering?[43]

In early 1886, Schreiner encouraged Pearson to come and "rest" himself near her on the Isle of Wight, a site which may have had erotic associations for her.[44] In a letter from the Isle of Wight -- the only letter in over 130 in which she addresses him by his Christian name -- she told him of a bizarre dream she had had of his drowning. Renewing her invitation, she said that might "...perhaps be good for [him] to come down... for a couple of days and walk about in the pinewoods," and she continued, "you need not come to see me, or I could walk with you sometimes if you liked."[45] In London too she would often follow invitations to him to visit her with offhand assurances that he needn't bother, really; or that he must think of her as a man. Because they occur so often, these phrases come to read as suspiciously as do her frequent assertions that she is "too busy" to write -- assertions which are sometimes followed by several consecutively-dated letters. This kind of protesting-too-much reaches a ludicrous apotheosis after December 10, 1886, when she writes (repeatedly) with the news that she will never write to him again, tells him she will not open his letters; then thanks him for his letters, discusses them, declares she will never write again, etc.[46] The subsequent letters are full of unhappy protestations that she loves him, but not with "sex-love," and of assertions (repeated up to four times per letter) that she "ha[s] no more need of intercourse with him." In addition, there are many images of blood, and the word "delicious" is repeatedly used to describe the process of crushing or being crushed.[47]

The events of October to December 1886 are not completely clear, since important evidence was destroyed by Schreiner, by Ellis, and by Pearson's personal secretary in 1950. It is relatively easy to construct the views of Pearson and Mrs. Cobb, who between them decided that Schreiner's passion for Pearson was great and that she was jealous of Mrs. Cobb's long friendship with him (Mrs. Cobb affected not to believe any of this at first, then acquiesced in Pearson's view). Schreiner seems to have tried at first to suppress her suspicions of Mrs.Cobb; the latter refers to a "stormy" letter of 3 December in which Schreiner passionately declared her love for her Mrs.Cobb, but this attitude was followed later by distrust and hostility, hinging, perhaps, on something Cobb said that she felt Schreiner had misunderstood. Cobb wrote on 14 December "she has accused me and will not hear me," and then the following day:

> O.S. has brought a painful lesson of how foolish it is... to act without [ask]ing an explanation, on a half-understood sentence, as she did when she left London, because she thought I wanted her to go, while nothing was so far from my mind and thought.... Now I have answered your letter I will destroy it, will bury in my heart for myself only the knowledge of poor Olive's sufferings....[48]

When wrapping up the whole episode two weeks later, Cobb wrote "She seems to have thought that I feared any intimacy between her and you, and that in some underhand way I was working to divide you."[49]

From Schreiner's point of view, the period was one of great stress as she tried to assist Maud Weldon, one of the unlucky women in the unfortunate affair of Howard Hinton (son of James Hinton, who had died repenting his views). In October 1886 the affair had reached maximum strain for all concerned, with a bigamy trial at the Old Bailey. Schreiner struggled with her own ill-health at this time, while she found herself trying to support Weldon, Hinton's second "wife," as well as to respond to Pearson's uncharitable remarks about all concerned (presumably including Ellis) and also to deal with the still-persistent and morose Donkin. After a few letters concerning Pearson's ill-health (in which Schreiner

seems to have worried that she had offended him by her familiarity), she wrote him a stiff-toned letter in the early hours of 9 November, charging him and more particularly Mrs. Cobb with a crime of the worst kind in her system of ethics: that Pearson had discussed her (Schreiner) with Mrs. Cobb in relation to her thoughts on the Hinton affair, and that Mrs. Cobb was asking questions of Schreiner that Schreiner "could not feel her right to ask me;" some of them may have had to do with Ellis.[50] With this letter, she enclosed a much terser one to Mrs.Cobb. In another letter of 9 November, she asked Pearson to burn the letter addressed to Mrs.Cobb, and on the same day she also sent him a telegram. The next two extant letters to Pearson are dated 10 December. The first, which is short and stiff, tells him she has written to Mrs. Cobb indicating that she does not wish to see her or write to her again. The second, which is more frenzied, tells him she has been working furiously and concludes in desperation, "Perhaps the reason you did not write was that you forgot" (this apparently follows "our agreement ... to write to each other on the 9th comparing work" -- an agreement which must have been made in the interim verbally or in a letter subsequently destroyed).[51] The same letter urges him to write to her of her failings with " 'brutal' sincerity. I like that."

Thus it would seem that Pearson had ceased contact with Schreiner from mid-November; various incidents show he was under strain following her panicky letters of mid-December, which include an appeal on 11 December and a heartbreaking note on the 12th:

> My Man-Friend, write to me. Find fault with me, please, if I am doing wrong; oh my soul is so little, so little. Can't your larger one for a moment put out a hand to me?[52]

Mrs. Cobb had for a time (until firmly told to stop) continued to visit Schreiner, convinced she was ill.

So was poor Donkin, who, distraught himself, wrote to Pearson on 13 December to say that Olive Schreiner was now "in a state of 'complete temporary madness'; that she had told him she loved Pearson, and had had a distressing letter from him."[53] Donkin begged

Pearson to go to her if he loved her at all. Pearson did not (on Cobb's advice, it later turned out).[54] Schreiner was completely humiliated, but whether this was because she felt humiliated by Donkin's misrepresentation, or because his representation was true and met no answer, is unknowable. Her letter to Pearson of the 13th is written in a wild, disturbed hand. In it she repeatedly thanks him for his letter -- presumably the one Donkin believed to have sent her into "madness." The manner of her own letter is robotic: "Thank you for your letter....Thank you very much for your letter and its truth.... Thank you for telling me you think I am wrong.... Goodbye.... Thank you for the truth of your letter...."[55] On the same day she sent him an unsigned telegram, saying only "I leave England tomorrow evening am better Good bye thank you." Early on the 14th she telegraphed again: "Should be able to see you after [sic] three doctors will not let me leave till tomorrow -- Schreiner." She wrote a letter that day also, despite her previous "Goodbye," and strenuously denied any "sex-love" on her part, seeing the notion as a delusion of Donkin's "simple beautiful child nature" and insisting that what drew her to Pearson was the similarity of their "mental processes," which enabled her when she read his work to feel her "brain beating against [his]." Added to that odd metaphor was another: "If I could I would open a vein in my arm and let all my blood run into your body to strengthen you for your work." With this she sent him her childhood Bible, with a pathetic note inside ("This book was given me before I could read, and it was the companion all through my childhood, that used to sleep with me at night...").[56] An undated letter from later in December indicated she was improving in health, having been dosed with morphia to help her sleep. She asked Pearson to see her before she travelled, insisting they could talk about their work and neglect to mention Mrs. Cobb. It is uncertain if such a meeting took place, but, on 16 December, Schreiner sent a postcard to Maria Sharpe with an attempt at a brave face:

> Please tell members of committee that I am leaving London. Every success to the club. I wish I had heard your last paper.... I am going to realize the dream of my life and see the Alps![57]

One is obliged to remark that the physical appearance of Schreiner's letters between early November 1886 and late January 1887, let alone the content of the letters, makes a nonsense of Berkman's comment that "...Schreiner's correspondence during the fall of 1886 reveals that scholars have overstated the severity of Schreiner's nervous collapse. Her letters are consistently articulate, clear-headed, sensible."[58] Still more extraordinary is the fact that Berkman's mentions Mrs. Cobb only once in her book, and then as a "meaningful connection" for Schreiner. This is a strange comment on the woman Schreiner viewed in December 1996 with absolute horror, and suspected of having visited her in December 1886 in order to "torture" her.[59]

By 22 December 1886, Schreiner had left England for Vevey. For the next six months she was to wander the Continent, returning to live in England from June to November (a period in which she refused to see Pearson). She then travelled again to Italy, Switzerland, and Paris, and returned to England in June 1887 (when she still refused to see Pearson). During this period, most of the "dreams" and allegories were written, while her moods fluctuated from despair to a serenity in which she claimed to have given up all need for human society.

However Schreiner protested, and continued to protest, the testimony of several witnesses in the months of November and December 1886 suggest that many suspected that Schreiner indeed felt more than the desire for her brain and Pearson's to beat against one another. Pearson's daughter wrote flatly that her father

> ... said that the temptation to give way to O's violent passion for him in the autumn of 1886 was a strong one, but that O, he felt, was like Goethe & would not be content with one such relationship for long.[60]

> As regards to there having been a "quarrel" between O and K, it appears to have been entirely on O's part when she withdrew from his friendship & retreated abroad after she had in word & deed thrown herself at his head with passionate sexual desire. He continued to write to her and he encouraged her literary work but she wrote back curtly, saying she would not even open his letters....[61]

Elizabeth Cobb wrote to Pearson that her sisters had "always thought that O.S. thought too much that purely physical feeling must sway, and could not be resisted... They have said that she lived in sensationalism." First and Scott point out that this view is "totally at odds with [Schreiner's] stated position in letters to Pearson, where she decried [animal feeling's] 'aberrant effect on the intellect." Regardless of Schreiner's true feelings in the matter, therefore, they argue that the views of the Sharpe sisters show "how Olive's perception of herself still differed so radically from [those] of other people."[62] One may agree with this conclusion, but consideration of the source (the Sharpe sisters) suggests an ulterior motive on their part. There was, after all, something of a rush by everyone involved in the events of November and December 1886 to exonerate themselves of blame following Schreiner's illness and flight. Pearson was disturbed by Schreiner's illness, even though he stayed away from her, and seems to have countered Schreiner's assertion that Mrs. Cobb had had any but pure motives in her interference. Afterwards, he and Donkin recriminated with each other; he and Cobb analysed Schreiner's motives, and Ellis got no thanks for his interpretation of the affair. [63]

An interesting letter which Schreiner sent to Ellis on 14 February 1887, just two months after her "breakdown," indicates that she was writing a story whose themes seem to subsume the pain of her version of the Pearson affair and also to foreshadow themes she would use again two months later in the allegory "Workers," and again four to five years later in the story "On the Banks of a Full River" (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 140 and pp. 83-98).[64] The reader may find it useful to substitute Schreiner herself for "the artist," Gau or her other, unknown lover for the first woman, Pearson (who was pale and had once told Schreiner he was dying) for "little white face", and Mrs.Cobb for the companion of "little white face."

> Some day I will send you I am an artist. It wouldn't do to print. It's an artist lying by himself on the rocks here in the sun and talking out his thoughts in the first person. How he loves a woman, first sexually, and how he's tempted to sacrifice his higher spiritual life for her, and how he breaks free from her

love when she isn't true to him: and then years after he meets a woman whom he only calls "My little white face," who is almost dying of consumption, and how he loves her and worships her for her genius, wants nothing from her, not even a kiss, only feels that if she hadn't her mother he would take care of her. She wakes up all his old art power, all his higher life, all that seemed slipped away from him forever. Then once he hears her talking, and she says to the person who is with her that he loves her, talks as though it were the common feeling that exists between men and women. Then she and the other person go away from under the trees. He never wants to see her again. As he lies there in the sun he laughs to himself and plans his work, his great picture.... that only she has given him strength to finish. And then he plans how perhaps he will marry and have children. And he gets more drowsy lying in the sun....[65]

This story has disappeared, if indeed Schreiner ever wrote it "out" at all, but it has a recognisable descendant in "On the Banks of a Full River. " In each story there is "an artist" and there is an overheard discussion between a beloved "genius" and another person which causes the narrator to wish never to see the "genius" again. Here the crime of the "genius" is to say that the protagonist's feelings are those of a commonplace romance; in "On the Banks" the crime of the "genius" is to say of the narrator "She is too restlessly energetic" (Pearson certainly said both of Schreiner to Cobb).[66] Differences obviously include gender-switching in "I am an artist" which are then switched back to fit the Pearson/Cobb triangle more recognisably in the later work. Also apparent is increasing bitterness against the interfering conversationalist who in both cases is overheard by the narrator gossiping "under the trees."

Schreiner's anxiety and pain about the affair are obvious through her letters to Carpenter from Europe, and also, arguably, from all of the dreams and allegories she wrote at this time. When she returned to Britain from the Continent, spending two periods of time there before returning to South Africa in October of 1889, mutual friends attempted to bring Pearson and Schreiner into contact, but she refused. There exist fewer than a dozen letters to Pearson after December 1886; one is a terse request for a loan, one an envelope empty save for dried leaves from an olive tree. News of his marriage to Maria Sharpe in 1890 unleashed a flood of memories in her, and she wrote to him again, relieved that his

new relationship meant he could not believe she had designs on him any longer. Her first letter chides him: "You have never understood me, Karl, my dear brother, never!" and she asked him not to reply.[67] When he did, she wrote again at much greater length, repeating, in tones of 1886, "I have no more need of intercourse with you" and begging the return of her letters. In this letter she adds, offhandedly, that her letters might be forwarded to her from Cape Town as she was moving "another thousand miles upcountry" for research.[68] Pearson declined to return her letters, and she accepted his decision with strained grace. This letter is in other respects extraordinary; whilst affecting a cheerful calm she indulges in spasms of protesting too much. Finally, after an extremely sentimentally-expressed desire to dedicate From Man to Man to Pearson and his wife, she asks them to give her permission to do so, adding hastily "There is no need to write. If I do not hear from you before next March I shall know I may; and if you think you would rather not, then a card with "no" will do enough." Her obsequiousness was such at this time that she even enclosed a self-addressed postcard with the word "No" on it. She then elaborates again on her intended (never undertaken) journey into the African interior, asking if they wish her to make "any special inquiries" to "throw light on your work." Again she swiftly adds : "There is no need to write, you could simply send the questions."

The greater part of the letter is in a style that can only be described as stuttering, and it is embarrassingly littered with sexual imagery and denial. Its content is a mixture of gratitude for "lessons" Pearson "taught" her and defensive assertions that she no longer needs these lessons, furiously followed by more agonised double binds: "I do not wish you to write to me. If you do wish to do so, write in your own person or through your wife." The tone resembles nothing else in Schreiner's writings so much as the equally desperate, repetitive and self-justifying letter of 14 December 1886, written at the height of her crisis, with its imagery of blood and brains and "crushing." Finally she makes reference to their friendship, saying it is still alive:

> If you have believed in me, if you have accepted no representation of any human being, discussing me with none but to justify me... if you have believed where you could not understand... that I was taking the only path open to me; then you are my friend.

Again (despite previous assurances that she had "forgiven" Mrs. Cobb) appears the accusation that he had "discussed" her with less than the pure intent she envisaged in ideal friendship, and this echoes her suspicions of Mrs. Cobb's hand in the 1886 mêlée. The story "On the Banks of a Full River," written some time in the year following her letter congratulating Pearson on his marriage, contains passages that suggest she still dwelt on the fear of being discussed. In this story, which contains two tales-within-a-tale, two women discuss the pain and futility of loving a man loved by another, devious woman. In the second tale, a woman recounts how she was forced to witness a man whom she admired for his genius as a painter (and whom she criticises when he does not live up to her ideals, as Schreiner had chastised Pearson) being flattered and corrupted into art and life unworthy of him by an older, married woman. The crucial part of the story "On the Banks of a Full River" is spoken by the narrator who says of the sly married woman:

> I do not say she told the younger woman that she loved him; that would be wrong in a married woman; but she knew the nature of the younger woman; she spoke so she implied that she liked him.... the younger woman was... in agony...It was terrible another woman should love the man she loved....
> (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, pp. 92-3)

One remembers Cobb's letter to Pearson about Schreiner's having acted "on a half-understood sentence, as she did when she left London, because she thought I wanted her to go, while nothing was so far from my mind and thought...." In the story, the heartbreak of the "younger woman" is complete when she overhears her beloved and the older woman discussing her thus:

> ...and then the older woman and the man came out and stood under a great tree to hear the nightingales sing, and she talked of the younger woman, and the young man said, "Yes, she is too restlessly energetic," and so they talked. The elder knew that the younger was there, and the younger knew she knew it. Then she went into the house. You see her love was broken....

> You can't cope with such women, you can't touch them, you must leave them. The day you touch them you sink to their level.... So she thought the thing out; and that night she packed her things; the next day she left. She did not say good-bye to the man. (Stories, Dreams, and Allegories, pp. 93)

This sounds precisely like Schreiner's attitude to Mrs.Cobb and to Pearson, whom Schreiner never saw again. However, contrary to the account of Mrs. Cobb's behaviour which she gave to Ellis, in the story the older woman certainly desires the artist, for she marries him as soon as her husband dies. The woman who did marry Pearson in 1890 was in fact none other than Elizabeth Cobb's sister, Maria Sharpe, thus giving some substantiation to Schreiner's anxieties.

First and Scott have identified a crisis in Schreiner's treatment of women (in life and in fiction) following the events of late 1886. Schreiner's suspicions of Cobb, following as they did mere weeks after her violent protestations of love and admiration for the older woman (which Mrs.Cobb found equally disconcerting) do not, on the whole, argue for a coherent position. Whether through guilt or through generosity, it is argued, Schreiner found that "if someone wanted something she had, she felt only the impulse to give it up," and this may have led to her renouncing contact with Pearson because she felt Mrs. Cobb was possessive of him.[69] But even if this were not her impulse, she was hampered still further in her ability to "cope with such women" -- if by "such women" one means women who want a man and are prepared to do something about it -- since from this period Schreiner seemed to become more and more convinced that, as she wrote in "The Buddhist Priest's Wife," the sexes were divided, "not" by "man's fault, but nature's," into two inevitable postures with regard to "sex love."

> ... If a man loves a woman, he has a right to try to make her love him because he can do it openly, directly, without bending. There need be no subtlety, no indirectness. With a woman it's not so; she can take no love that is not laid openly, simply, at her feet. Nature ordains that she should never show what she feels; the woman who had told a man she loved him would have put between them a barrier once and forever that could not be crossed; and if she subtly drew him to her, using the woman's means --

> silence, finesse, the dropped handkerchief, the surprise visit, the gentle assertion that she had not thought to see him when she had come a long way to meet him, then she would be damned; she would hold the love, but she would have descrecated it by subtlety, it would have no value.
> (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 72)

In short, the heroine concludes, "she [woman] must always go with her arms folded [,] sexually," and openness is pointless. On the first anniversary of the Pearson crisis she had written to Ellis that "nothing but sorrow comes from expressing love to anyone"[70] and in "Buddhist's Priest's Wife" (the idea of which had come to her in about March of 1891, and the substance of which, she told her brother, "is that which I have lived all these years to learn, and suffered all that I suffered to know") this point of view became an absolute creed.[71] Bizarrely, though, the woman who makes the speech above in "The Buddhist Priest's Wife" finishes it by saying that friendship between a man and a woman is "of course" a "different" matter: she can, for example, openly call upon her audience, a man, to visit her, because they are merely "friends." At the end of the story, however, she asks him to kiss her, and then disappears. The "long whistle" her companion gives thereafter shows that despite her foregoing talk about "friends" and equality and women being naturally and ethically forbidden to voice desire, she has indeed just managed to express her love for him.

Schreiner's relationship with Pearson, though much briefer than that with Ellis, lasting only from July 1885 to December 1886, cannot be overestimated in terms of its influence on her work, particularly with regard to her sense of audience. What began with Schreiner's anguished sense of being misunderstood in person became a conviction that she was misunderstood in print, and her letters of the late 1880s and early 1890s show an even greater unease about showing her dreams and allegories to the public than about revealing the characters of Rebekah and Bertie in From Man to Man.[72] The first indications of his effect appeared in shorter fictions she wrote between 1886 and 1892, wherein, as First and Scott remark (shrewdly, but without detailed demonstration) Schreiner "used her allegorical writing as a means of symbolizing the [Pearson] affair in terms of archetypal conflicts and

needs". Such symbolisation will be discussed in the next section with reference to individual dreams.[73]

If allegory and dream were the means by which Schreiner explored her distress at the Pearson/Cobb episode of 1886, and her decisions regarding the publication of Dreams in 1890 reflect her more generalised pessimism about finding a sympathetic audience, it is to be expected that the works will contain evidence of sublimated anger and fear, and that her agonies at publication will have an exaggerated, personalised, "neurotic" quality.[73] But this phase waned after 1892, as Schreiner's writing became more exclusively political and (perhaps) following an incident in 1893 which diminished Pearson in her eyes (see below). At this point, her use of allegory and dream began to lead to a more public, less alien type of fiction. In 1890 she addressed her Dreams to the "high and mighty" and to a "public of cultured persons,"[74] but by 1896, she was writing a genuine dream, Trooper Peter Halket, as an "Allegory story," and directing it at the "great British public."[75] And in this, as in From Man to Man, Pearson's legacy became, if anything, more obvious, but in a new way.

Ironically, while Pearson's legacy as a romantic disappointment waned, his legacy as a scientist seems to have grown stronger precisely because Schreiner did not see and scarcely ever heard of him again -- although she made a point of reading his work (as he made a point of reading hers) and was forever trying to get information out of Carpenter about him. From the very beginning of their relationship, it is clear that she had a habit of "talking" with him when he was not with her, eventually supplying his voice as well as her own. The second letter she wrote to him (July 1885) ended thus:

> When I came home I carried on our conversation for an hour or more walking up and down in room.[76]

Again in October she wrote a postscript to a letter:

> -- I carried on our conversation hours after you went, mentally.[77]

Schreiner's process is made more explicit in letters of March and May of 1886:

> I have long conversations with you and I do the talking for you too, and you are always then a "prig", I make you say such priggish things...[78]
>
> I had a long talk with you this morning about art. I used to have an imaginary person to talk to, now I talk to you. I always get the best of the argument![79]

Schreiner's proleptic rhetoric in many of her subsequent writings bears a great resemblance to her conversations with an absent Pearson. Here is Rebekah (pacing up and down in her tiny, isolated study as she often does):

> Now her thought shifted its standpoint. She imagined the mind she argued with to take a new view and to say, "Granting you are right... is it not practically our duty and for the benefit of humanity that we should forcibly suppress, cut off and destroy the less developed to survive?" She imagined it to produce all the arguments for the destruction of inferior races and individuals, stating them as fairly as she could. Then she turned to the other side and stated the view which was really her own. (From Man to Man, p. 195)

"You say, at least let us kill out the hopelessly unfit, the invalid and the sickly and the consumptive..." thinks Rebekah later in this scene (From Man to Man, p. 197) -- and this is exactly the kind of thing Pearson did say. (Much can be understood from his belief that "We may even say that Socialism is the logical outcome of the law of Malthus.")[80] Schreiner was still arguing against this point of view in Woman and Labour in 1911; Pearson was still maintaining it in 1934, when Hitler's "vast experiment" appealed to him as likely to prove the "culmination" of Eugenics.[81]

But the "Pearson effect" in Schreiner's writing is not simply a matter of political stance, it is also apparent in the rhetorical strategies with which she manages and exploits the experience of loneliness. A soldier in Peter Halket's company, discussing the effect of isolation in the veld, says:

> ... I think it's being alone in the veld that's got hold of him. Man, have you ever been out like that, alone in the veld, night and day, and not a soul to speak to? I have... Man, it's the nights.... And you think, and you think, and think! ....I used to talk to myself at last, and make believe it was another man. ... (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 113)

Loneliness is explicitly the genesis of the need for such an "imaginary friend" in the fictional scenes, but throughout and beyond the Schreiner/Pearson relationship this proleptic habit of mind became more and more pronounced in Schreiner until, at last, as a rhetorical procedure, it was a virtually ineradicable of her essay-writing. The text of Woman and Labour (which rarely departs from or shows any development beyond the arguments and stances Schreiner had voiced in the Men and Women's Club or in the letters to Pearson in the 1880s) also includes plentiful examples of a Pearson-figure placated or harangued. From Man to Man, it will be argued, suffered a transformation similar to that visible in Woman and Labour. It is clear that Pearson remained Schreiner's "intellectual reference point." It is also clear that her "imaginary friend" now doubled as her "imaginary foe."

The extent of the change in Schreiner's thinking between the autumn of 1886 and the publication of Dreams in 1890 reflected a basic pessimism concerning the likelihood of her being misunderstood by her contemporaries, as well as a desire for a new audience:

> I insisted on An African Farm being published at 1/- because the book was published by me for working men... Dreams is not published by me with the special intention of reaching the poor. I would prefer the rich to have it. If I dedicated it to the public, I should dedicate it "To all Capitalists, Millionaires, and Middlemen in England and America and all high and mighty persons." It is a book which will always have its own public of cultured persons who will have it at any price. It will probably be a far more valuable property in 15 or 20 years than it is at present, as the younger generation grows up and the older dies out.[82]

To Pearson she had almost boasted of being a novelist, speaking to the many; now she consciously addressed herself to "high and mighty" persons, intending, as she had said of Pearson, "not to influence the masses, but to influence those who influence them..."[83], but also aware that Dreams might take even longer to be understood in South Africa than she had feared it would in England. She wrote to Ellis from the Cape:

> My future movements are quite uncertain. I only see that for the present I must remain here and work. I wonder if my work is good and great or not.

> I do it in a kind of dream. I know it's all true that I write, but I think what I write is less and less popular. Fewer people will understand it... No one understands your NEW SPIRIT here. They are simply horrified. As to my allegory, they are silent to my face, and behind my back say I am [?...] It is very curious, to be so absolutely isolated, as one is in this country, but perhaps it is good.[84]

As she wrote to Edward Carpenter, homegrown South African society seemed to her "all philistines"; she had no kind of community apart from a few people from England with whom she could discuss his England's Ideal.[85]

May of 1891 found her more optimistic. Having sent Sauer "The Woman's Rose," a story of tentative female solidarity, which she called "a tiny thing," she was planning a book of "Women's Stories" which, she felt, would mean more than "the poor little possession of the franchise" to women.[86] This would seem to indicate a return to her earlier conviction of literature's public power, and suggests that (having written and been pleased with "The Buddhist Priest's Wife") she felt in control of a style and a subject more accessible to the public than the more esoteric dreams. Her work on "the sex book" was all condensed (she claimed to Stead) into "The Buddhist's Priest's Wife," a story in which a "woman scientific in tendency and thought but intensely emotional loves a brilliant politician..."[87] By now the Pearson scenario has been reversed: our heroine is a scientist (co-opting the authority of the sterile "preaching monks" of 1886).[88]

Because Schreiner herself had made such a point of saying of the story that its "substance" was "that which I have lived all these years to learn, and suffered all that I have suffered to know," it seems impossible not to see it as the beginning of a personal exorcism of Pearson, although her battle against his ideas and her uncertainty about her fitness for that battle would continue. First and Scott read the story as a straight rendering of the Pearson affair,[89] but this view must be modified in the light of the date of its conception, which is identical to that of a letter of Schreiner's to the politician Cecil Rhodes in which she makes a request of him remarkably like that of the woman in "The Buddhist Priest's Wife," i.e. that he come and visit her "to help me in my work" simply as a friend, "as you

would [visit] another man" because (like the heroine in the story) she can see him before she leaves the continent entirely. (Schreiner told Rhodes she would start by leaving Cape Town in a fortnight, though she did not do so for eight months.) This letter is certainly reminiscent of her letters to Pearson, particularly in the insistence on secrecy ("This note is for yourself, alone, not even for your secretary"), her insistence on asexuality ("I think you are large enough to take me impersonally") and above all in her affectation of carelessness at the close ("If you don't want to come, simply don't write"). When one considers everything that the Pearson episode had cost her, however, the audacious lie that follows is positively breath-taking:

> I tell you frankly, it will be a favour to me and help me in my work; but you must not allow this to influence you, if you are not inclined to come, or feel the conventionalities of Cape Town life make it difficult for a man to visit a woman as he would another man. I have lived so long in a larger atmosphere that they have almost lost this hold on me, and I am no judge in such matters [emphasis added].[90]

On the contrary, Schreiner's life in London had featured landladies throwing her out of lodgings because she had male visitors, not to mention the quite spectacular misunderstandings and losses of emotional control which followed such easy visits from one (Pearson) whom she claimed she wished to visit her "as he would another man." Schreiner's relationship with Rhodes, too, would end in a sense both of rejection and of embarrassment that she had been seen to be in love with him; it too would have its legacy of allegories.

Several years later, in December of 1896, following both her marriage and the birth of her daughter, Schreiner's thoughts seem to have returned to the events of London precisely a decade before when she wrote to Constance Lytton:

> ...When once a good woman has seen into the depths of a man's soul, and seen nothing there, then his power to touch her is gone forever. He might have been dead and buried for a thousand years for anything he is to her. One would like to take him and plant little flowers over him, like a grave.

> ... I wasted the best years of my girlhood over one man. I didn't want to marry him, he was supposed to be dying, to have only a few months left to live when I met him, and I worshipped him. This went on for year after year. I never met [with?] him and I believed nothing anyone told me of his nature. He is a most remarkable man with real genius and almost a European reputation. Everyone said he was selfish and mean, but I never believed it, because I didn't know him! One day a letter was shown me, at his request, in which he talked slightingly of a woman he was bound to be loyal to. Do you know, from the moment I read it he was dead and buried as though he had never existed for me, AND I WAS FREE.[91]

Rive's footnote to this letter unhesitatingly (but without substantiation) declares the subject of the postscript to be Pearson; certainly some details (his telling her that he was dying, his fame in Europe, his "selfish" qualities [both Charlotte Wilson and Ellis found him selfish]) fit. Other details seem less appropriate to the Schreiner-Pearson story; however, it is remarkable how often metaphors of death and burial appear in Schreiner's correspondence to and about Pearson. To Ellis on 16 March 1890 she had written: "Have you heard anything of Karl Pearson lately? Fancy it's all dead."[92] The letter she wrote to Pearson before his marriage concluded with a clear echo of her earlier claim to have "buried" their relationship: "To discuss this matter would be to exhume what was once very sacred to me, and show disrespect to its remains." At the risk of being fanciful, one might suggest that the dreams and allegories are like the flowers she once told Constance Lytton that she desired to place on the grave of a dead relationship. Some such idea is certainly present in the allegory "The Brown Flower". This allegory shows a "lonely woman" near death comforted only by a small flower named "Trust" which a man has given her; it has remained after other blooms have died -- "Rapturous-Joy" killed young by frost, "Sweet-union-in-daily-life" (given up to another), etc. (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 136). Letters from Charlotte Wilson to Pearson show that the pain of the situation was still much on both Schreiner's and Pearson's minds shortly before Schreiner left for South Africa in 1889:

> Your friend struggles with all the pride and all the courage of a strong and noble nature to do her life work; it is heart sickening to see at what a cost. Sometimes when I have been with her I have felt a sense of despair, of utter misery, for the intellect and energy exhausted, the splendid possibilities

> crippled by mental suffering...I know no details of the separation you allude to -- but this I am sure -- that the friendship is in her mind the most living of realities. Was she always certain that its perfect trust was untarnished in yours?[93]

Two days later, after a conversation with Pearson, Wilson wrote again, and metaphors for burial/murder seem to have been used by both parties:

> Thinking over ... by the light of what you told me, I feel convinced that you were entirely right when you said, Let the matter be buried. It is too delicate... I only deeply regret that my misconception as to the cause of the separation led me to write to you as I did, causing you pain.... In writing to Olive Schreiner two days ago I let her know what you had said in your note to me. Last night I had a letter from her ... "No, I never murdered my friendship for Karl Pearson. It was not in my power to do so. It rose simply and inevitably out of my perception for his character; he never did anything to change that. The friendship could not change. I think if ever he put out his hand for comradeship in any work towards me, it would find mine simply take it." Surely you did not express your actual conviction when you said that the higher -- the desirable -- development of man implies the destruction of the emotions... [94]

The coldness of Pearson's attitude rankled with Wilson, who wrote again that Schreiner was becoming harder through suffering, and that "in a few years she will be purely the woman of intellect -- less than her best self I think -- but a human being as you would have them be."[95] Pearson preserved Schreiner's letters so that posterity should know of their association; for himself, the case had remained important to him as an intellectual puzzle about what constituted the proper conduct of a man desired by a woman whom he did not desire. For her part, Schreiner did not often refer or write to Pearson from the early 1890s onward (apart from sending him a photograph of Cron and herself [in 1895, not long after the death of their baby]) with a request for one of him with his wife and child. When she sent him a newspaper in which a pro-Boer, anti-British address by her was printed (which he retained in his papers) he wrote back to her in December 1900 in the severest terms, accusing her of hypocrisy and hate-mongering:

> It seems to me -- and I have fought too often in the minority to mind any sarcasm that I have been blinded by capitalists or seeking gold or suchlike --

> that it is men and women like you, who are capable of influencing large masses of men, on whom the responsibility for the bloodshed, and the bitterness which have accompanied and followed this war, will largely rest...
>
> You speak as if a moiety of the South Africans in South Africa today had sole right to that land now and for ever. But my children and the children of all the crowded lands of Europe have a right in all new lands and the conditions must be such or made such that they can live in them....[96]

A point must be made about Pearson's euphemism in the last line: he was well aware that the conditions which would allow European "children" to live in these "new lands" had to be "made" at the point of a gun. In 1894 he had written that "No thoughtful socialist, so far as I am aware, would object to cultivate Uganda at the expense of its present occupants if Lancashire were starving;"95 in 1881 he had worried that charitable societies trying to slow the quite "necessary" extinction of Australian aboriginals might halt it altogether.[97] Pearson's letter of 1900 survives only because Cronwright returned it to Pearson with the curt note: "Mrs.C. S. has not seen this. It is quite unnecessary that she should see it."[98] There is no record of further contact on either side.

In conclusion, Schreiner's admission that the dreams were indeed very much drawn from her experience (a point she also made about "The Buddhist Priest's Wife") make what Gray has called "bio-criticism" necessary in this case. Schreiner was to write to Mary Sauer of Dreams:

> I don't think you will like them because they are almost, it seems to me, too much part of my life, and took their colour from it too much, [to] be of much general interest. To me they are very dear.[99]

Pearson undoubtedly also associated Dreams with himself. Schreiner's break with him seemed to have affected him strongly as well, and the emotional poem he wrote after Schreiner's death indicates that he too saw "dreams" and allegorical writing as the native language of their relationship. His memorial poem gave his side of the story in allegorical fashion, personifying Love, Doubt, and Life, and making use of uncannily Schreiner-like metaphors of the childlike seer, of violent wounding, and of the stage:

Childlike in form with upward gaze you stood

A seer beyond your age, beyond my mood.
You turned, you saw my doubt, you felt its chill
You drank the bitter cup which cramped your will.
Came hoarsely: "I would gladly plunge my knife
In there." Thus scorn killed Love, thus Doubt maimed Life.
Our friendship died, each poorer sought the goal,
On diverse boards each played self-chosen role.[100]

Another verse included the line Schreiner had borrowed from Emerson's essay "The Poet" and put into "A Dream of Wild Bees,"

You grasped my hand and with inflamed eye
Fixed on the field above gave forth the cry:
"For unto him Ideal shall be a Real,"
Thus first to me and then to man the appeal.

The poem shows that Pearson felt the two had had different approaches to progress, she advocating swiftness, inspiration, emotion; he, "halt," replying "Make secure/ The path; smooth first the road"; she maintaining that "the ray of love" was enough to "trace aerial lane," that it was " vain to waste Life's years of gold/ Constructing cause[w]ays to the crag's foothold." In the final verse, he muses:

No longer summit-seeking, I ponder o'er our youth;
Were you or I possessor of undiluted truth?

Pearson showed his poem to Professor William Paton Kerr -- who told him "Rewrite it as a 'Dream' and it might be worth reading." Pearson replied "but only O. S. could have done that!"[101]

ii. "The Ideal Shall Be Real": In Dreams of Defence

> Was she really so strong as she looked? Did she never wake up in the night crying for that which she did not have? Were thought and travel enough for her? Did she go about for long days with a weight that crushed her to earth? Cover her up!... In one way she was alone all her life; she would have liked to be alone now!"
>
> -- "The Buddhist Priest's Wife" (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 61)

> I have been bled to death.
>
> -- Schreiner to Ellis, 24 April 1887[1]

The period marked at its beginning by Schreiner's flight to Italy, Switzerland and (back in Britain) to several obscure addresses well away from London, following the disturbing incidents of late 1886, is that in which most of her cryptic visions of future Utopias and brutally realistic ones of dark betrayals and misunderstandings in love proliferated. The writing of many of the Stories, Dreams and Allegories can be pinpointed to a particular evening: others to a month; two only are entirely unattributable by date. The confused and sometimes apparently altered dates of composition have suspiciously close links with the enigmatic nature of the allegorical forms Schreiner chose at this time. Since many were transparently linked to the development of her attachment to Pearson and its traumatic end, she may have wished to conceal (or rearrange the revelation of) her feelings about the relationship's history. Some allegories that were published in Dreams were clearly familiar to Pearson, who had seen many in draft, particularly "A Dream of Wild Bees" and most probably "In a Far-Off World," the former of which she had sent to him in a October 1886, and the latter of which became so important to his view of their relationship that he chose, when writing a memorial poem after Schreiner's death, to quote these lines:

> In that world were a man and a woman; they had one work, and they walked together side by side on many days, and were friends -- and that is a thing that happens now and then in this world also. (Dreams, p. 59)

The book in which this allegory occurs constitutes another part of the strange dialogue Pearson and Schreiner maintained in the "after-life" of their relationship. When she

published Dreams in 1890 she made a point of including, on the Table of Contents page, that "A Dream of Wild Bees" had been "Written as a letter to a friend." There seems little reason to have noted this except for Pearson's benefit. It was to him she had sent it in a letter of 23 of October 1886, two months before her "breakdown" but well within her increasingly tense period of self-justification to him; early in the following year she sent another draft of it to him, through Donkin, this time signing it "Ralph Iron." Her return to her male pseudonym seems part of her insistence that she wanted him to see her as an artist first, and to remind him (as she frequently had) to look on her "as a man."

It has been argued that Schreiner's sense of confusion and betrayal in the aftermath of the Pearson/Mrs. Cobb affair provided material for the theme of the "woman-parasite," her shallowness and treachery, and the necessity for the enlightened woman to renounce love in the interim before men and women's relationships changed (all topics visible in the fiction of 1886-92). It also demonstrably fuelled obsessive fictional dialogues with a Pearson-figure on issues of art, science, and desire, and contributed to the poignant awareness haunting many of the dreams and allegories that to be a prophet is to be damned like Cassandra. Female dreamers are shown to be alienated by their visions of a new kind of love; artistic dreamers are alienated from their fellows by their vision of the Ideal -- both in ways forecast by the death's head apparition in "A Dream of Wild Bees." Likewise, on waking from his dream of forgiveness in "A Ruined Chapel," the dreamer longs to practise his new-found knowledge that to understand is not just to pardon, but to love one's enemy; but s/he is restrained from making human contact by social boundaries. Seeing a peasant boy walking ahead, the awakened dreamer thinks "I should have liked to walk by him and hold his hand -- only, he would not have known why" (Dreams, p. 112).

Yet the dilemmas of being alone and of having one's visions and good intentions being misunderstood or neglected do not, any more than the desire to "protagonise" the creative process, enter Schreiner's work for the first time following her relationship with

Pearson. If one reviews stories and allegories written before 1886, it is clear that such themes are inchoate in earlier works. A brief consideration of "The Lost Joy", "Dream Life and Real Life", "Master Towser", "The Wax-Doll and the Stepmother", and "The Hunter's Allegory" (all written in their original forms by 1882) will show this. This will also facilitate comparison with the later writings, in which such dilemmas began to be exacerbated by Schreiner's concentrated authorial anxieties following the Pearson affair.

The assertion that Schreiner's failed emotional relationship with Pearson did not merely affect, but determined, the content of most of Schreiner's shorter fiction has been put forward in the previous section; that assertion will be further addressed in this section, with detailed reference to some individual works. Schreiner's intellectual disagreement with Pearson concerning the nature of human awareness and subjectivity has been dealt with to some extent by Chrisman in her analysis of, for example, "A Dream of Wild Bees", which she sees as part of Schreiner's "struggle with the sexist, oppressive and inhumane basis of Pearsonian 'scientific rationality' and/or its monopolistic claims on the category of reason itself."[2] For Chrisman, "it is not accidental" that the dream was dedicated to Pearson, for it contained a debate on "What is real?" As Chrisman shrewdly notes, "the real" in this story, while undefined, certainly "consists of something more, and other, than the biological reductivism and literalism of Pearson." It will further be argued in the next section that Schreiner's challenge to Pearson about the nature of the "real," as well as her anxieties about those who would and would not survive into the socialist golden age to come (the elect and the reprobate, as it were), should signal to us the specifically Puritan, anti-rationalist background to her use of allegory.

As was noted earlier in connection with her broken engagement to Gau, the earliest surviving creative work by Schreiner is an allegory, "The Lost Joy", which was begun in 1872. Schreiner finished it for publication in her brother Fred's school magazine in England in 1883. It still seemed topical enough to her to publish it (after Pearson had seen it) in Oscar Wilde's Woman's World in 1888, and yet again in Dreams in 1890. The allegory

tells of the journey of "Life" and "Love" and their child "First-Joy." The three trek through "strange drear places," after which "First-Joy" mutates from a rapturous little thing into the grave "Sympathy...the Perfect Love" (Dreams, pp. 13-21). Considering its early genesis, the allegory shows a precocious preoccupation with the short shelf-life of passion, and in its imagery of blood and of a desert landscape placed in contrast to a land of "sunshine and flowers" it shows many of Schreiner's characteristic allegorical tropes already in place. A traditional device of allegory -- a journey through a landscape barren except for obstacles -- obtains, as well as several peculiarly Schreineresque uses of blood as metaphor (little Sympathy must wipe Life's blood on his clothes, must kiss "wounded feet with his little lips," must suck poison from wounds, etc.). "The Lost Joy," like seven of the eleven stories in the volume Dreams in which it was finally included, uses blood as a primary image.

Pearson found the message of "The Lost Joy" sufficiently relevant to warrant his using a portion of it as an epigraph to his 1887 pamphlet "Socialism and Sex" (where he credited it to "Ralph Iron"). As he saw the case, new social developments signalled that "We are full of new emotions, new passions, new thoughts; our age is not one of pettiness and lust, but replete with clearer and nobler ideas than the past..."[3] This analysis rather conflicts with Pearson's view that Schreiner's attitude to him comprised quite old-fashioned emotions, passions, and thoughts, but he certainly found the allegory's equation of "Sympathy" with "Perfect Love" important and even visionary.

Three stories written after "The Lost Joy" was begun are "The Wax Doll and the Stepmother", "The Adventures of Master Towser" and "Dream Life and Real Life"[4], all of which seem very much in the mode of moral stories for children (the latter two were published as such in Fred's school magazine). Their formal ancestors may well include the stories of "Cameron and Maria Edgeworth... cast in the mould of 'stories' to make their moralising more palatable to young readers...."[5] and also perhaps "allegories" featuring Schreiner herself, which she recalled her elder brother Theo making when he "loved" her in

the years of her early childhood, before his punitive religious teaching divided them.[6] However, Schreiner's personal sense of alienation, and even of persecution, took her stories in a new direction.

If considered as stories for children alone, "Master Towser" and "Dream Life and Real Life" make grim reading. Both protagonists (a dog and a young servant girl) with whom, presumably, the child-reader is meant to identify, are helpless victims of cruel figures much larger and more powerful than themselves. Despite their attempts at placating and even rescuing their oppressors, both are hideously ill-treated for their pains, the dog held fast and beaten "on his little forefeet, and in his eye," on his backbone, and on his "little skull" (Stories, Dreams, and Allegories, p. 121); while the young girl of "Dream Life and Real Life" is actually stabbed to death, repeating in her person the fate of the kid goat whose throat her murderers slit after stealing the animal from the girl's flock.

"Master Towser" is wholly unlike most Christian allegories for children, though it is presented as one in three sections titled "I. His Sorrow," "II. His Search," and "III. His Reward." It is a gruesome affair, which Beeton unnervingly finds agreeably "simple" and "charmingly written."[7] "Small Towser", first seen weeping with "his tail in a puddle of mud," soon comes in contact with a "comfortable-looking dog" who wants to know his "sorrow," and who mocks him when he finds that he wants to be loved and to be needed. Towser is a clearly a well-bred Calvinist canine, worrying, like any young Schreiner protagonist, that "I'm not any good" (Stories, Dreams and Allegories pp. 113-4). In section II, "His Search," Towser decides to dance "a little dance of affection... meant to say, 'I want to love you'" to a little boy he meets. The boy invites the dog to come to him, then gives him "a powerful kick in the nose." Next, the dog ingratiates himself with a lady invalid who already has a dog and, unhappy at being snubbed by her snobbish white terrier, leaves her house. In the last section, "His Reward," Towser sits in a wood. "It doesn't matter if you're not loved if you've made somebody happy," he weeps, consoling himself that the lady had benefited from his company. Almost immeditately he is roused to save a

young boy and his bacon (literally) from an attacking gipsy. "His Reward" is the beating described earlier, which is inflicted by the boy whom he has rescued. ("Reward," incidentally, was the euphemism Schreiner used in family correspondence when referring to a black servant getting whipped by Theo as a punishment).[8] The last sight of Towser which the narrator gives to the reader is the little dog, nose to the sky, with "one eye... shut up" and the other shedding tears; the narrator pleads ignorance of the dog's subsequent life: "I don't know if he ever... became a comfortable, respectable dog." Until this final sentence, which can be interpreted as a sarcastic "moral" that both emotional needs and generosity are best suppressed in order to be "comfortable" or "respectable" in the world, the story is a repetitious and pointless catalogue of humiliations, sadistic in its treatment of its protagonist and of the young reader. Clayton calls Towser's beating, like the flogging scene in African Farm, "emotionally suspect," and she argues that the bathos sinks to "an all-time low" in Schreiner's writings. "Those childhood beatings [Schreiner suffered]," Clayton concludes, "had tied love and pain tightly together."[9] "Dream Life and Real Life" operates within much the same schema as "Master Towser", but with still bloodier consequences. The protagonist, "little Jannita," a young indentured servant of Danish extraction, is beaten by her Boer employer for losing one of his goats, he having been informed of the loss by one of his "Hottentot" workers, Dirk. Jannita runs away, and is eventually murdered while trying to protect the Boer family from being robbed and killed by the same gang (made up of a "Bushman," a "navvy", and Dirk himself) who stole the goat. The major differences between the tales lie in their settings ("Master Towser" seems to be set in England, while "Dream Life and Real Life" is in the Karoo) and in Jannita's "dream life," which is a notable part of the structure.

As Berkman has noted, "the ambivalent impact of dreaming, at once creative and destructive," is an "important feature" of "Dream Life and Real Life."[10] The first "beautiful dream" Jannita has, when she falls asleep while out herding, is one in which her "real life" is transformed from heat, barrenness and cruelty to cool verdure and kind employers. She

dreams also of being comforted and taken away by her father, who in "real life" is dead. However self-nourishing this dream, as Berkman remarks, it is precisely because Jannita is asleep on the job that her kid goat is stolen, thus setting in train the events leading to her beating and murder. Jannita's second dream is brighter still, as it has to be to compensate for her even more desperate circumstances after she has been deprived of dinner and beaten, and has then run away and made a hide-out between a stone precipice and a river. In her second dream she sees her father and herself crowned with wild asparagus, parading in the sunlight while onlookers give the pair flowers and food. The vividness of this dream is purchased, the narrator implies, by Jannita's weakness following two days on nothing but "kippersol juice," for the "loveliest dreams of all are dreamed when you are hungry" (Dream Life and Real Life, p. 35). Unfortunately, this makes the disappointment of awakening even worse. "Ah, I am not there, I am here," Jannita mourns. Then she creeps "closer to the rock, and kissed it, and went to sleep again" (Dream Life and Real Life, p. 36). All the emotional stops are pulled out now: the child's pathetic affection for the rock is ascribed by the author to her loneliness, for "When you have no one to love you, you love the dumb things very much."

The Karoo setting is richly described -- there are willow, "kippersol," and prickly-pear trees, "feathery" asparagus, karroo-bushes, rocky kopjes, and a dry sluit which becomes an angry red river in spate. Wild animals are introduced into this story more than elsewhere, including a springbok and a pair of coneys, the former of which inspires Jannita to take her freedom. In contrast to this variety, the human villains-- Jannita's Boer employers, the "Bushman," Dirk "the Hottentot," and the English "navvy" -- are described within Schreiner's traditional lexicon of racial cliché. One character, the "Bushman," is given a motive for his evil-doing: he claims he wishes to burn the farmhouse because a "Dutch" man burnt his mother and three of his siblings alive in their hut. Only in this attempt at "historical" detail is there a departure from the usual schematic division in

Schreiner's early stories between guileless innocents and motivelessly terrorising oppressors.

Apropos of this, it is well to remark on Jannita's own racial origins. Berkman has characterised Schreiner's choice of a little white girl as the victim of a story and a black man as a villain as anomalous, a reversal of Schreiner's "usual" pattern of victimisation.[11] This is inaccurate, for, giving discredit where it is due, there are few examples where the case is otherwise (Trooper Peter Halket will contain a sympathetic black character but he is neither the hero nor the real victim of the story, nor is Saartje in From Man to Man). Barash feels that Jannita's colour is ambiguous, and both Krige and Schoeman hold that she is actually "coloured," but these judgments ignore the allusions to the girl's Danish father and her "long silky hair," not to mention the comment of the "Hottentot" on "the little white girl" (Dream Life and Real Life, p. 16 and p. 40).[12]

The piece is not, as Barash believes, chronologically "transitional...between stories Schreiner wrote as a governess...and her three novels"[13] and it is emphatically not thematically "transitional" either: in many respects "Dream Life and Real Life" is a Schreiner Ur-text. In "little Jannita's" circumstances in "Dream Life and Real Life" we visit the heartland of the country of childhood itself in Schreiner's fiction. Jannita is a vulnerable, orphaned child who must live and work in a stranger's house. She nourishes herself emotionally with fairy-tale dreams of kindness, a rose, and a tender father. She is identified with the moonlight. She even gets to live in a stone "home" as an escape (other children in Schreiner's fiction only build miniature ones). The land about her succours her, yet is to some extent responsible (in that it wore down and killed her parent[s]) for her predicament. Eventually she lies buried beneath it. All of these characteristic devices or incidents occur in one form or another in every novel Schreiner wrote. Jannita's goodness, her fragility, and her pale beauty show (as do Cinderella's) her princess-like superiority to her surroundings and, like Cinderella's, would in the normal course of fairy tales be rewarded with rescue to a plane of higher-class comforts where such heroines belong. Her

dream of her father taking her back to Denmark while both are showered with gifts suggests that this "ending" is her ideal. On this fairy-tale level, the "Bushman," the "Hottentot" and the "Navvy" seem to exist (in conjunction with the Boer) as types whose ethnic otherness, cruelty, and age naturally emphasise the absence of her father and her lack of connection to anyone around her.

What prohibits the expected fairy-tale rescue is the tale's bleak South African setting. Jannita lives in a barren part of the Karoo, while in her dreams the drab stones become covered in lilac bushes and (in a Biblical allusion to Aaron's rod) the Boer's staff sprouts flowers. Above all, Jannita fantasises that her father is taking her "home" to Denmark. In fairy tales, men who travel to distant unknown lands to make their fortunes are made kings or return wealthy heroes. The fact that the "real life" of this story tells us that Jannita's father was an immigrant who lay down under a bush and died of an unromantic fever under a pitiless sun undermines the kind of story this somehow should be, just as Lyndall's death in the plain so upset expectations of the aesthetic order of Victorian narrative that the only explanation that could be found for it was that it was a punishment. In fact, Jannita's "lifted... hands and cr[ies] for mercy" are ignored and she too dies in a plain, but at least by reason of her cries the lives and farm of her employers are spared ("Dream Life and Real Life," Dream Life and Real Life, p. 47). Her martyrdom thus stands out from the childhood struggles of African Farm, wherein no one's sacrifices do any good for anyone else, but this is already a tale of isolation, homelessness, and lonely self-sacrifice, all motifs to be developed in Schreiner's major fictions.

"The Wax Doll and the Stepmother" stands out from Schreiner's fiction by virtue of its happy ending and its inclusion of a good (step) mother, and its derivation proves to be the reason why it is the exception which proves the rule. This story features motherless five-year-old Rolly and his timid older sister, Nina. Typically, despite, or perhaps because of, Nina's disturbing fragility (the girl is lighter than her younger brother, and her neck is "so thin that when she hung it, it always seemed as though it might break off") the children's

irascible nurse, Bromage, is inclined to single her out for particular brutality. When Nina gets her lessons wrong Bromage likes to "whip[] her hands with a little rod tied with a red string", but Bromage does not whip Rolly, "because he [is] her favourite" (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 101, p. 103). Nurse Bromage frightens her charges into believing that their father's new wife will hate them because they stand between her and getting "all your Papa's things when he dies." Initially, this looks as if it might be the case, for the formidable "lady" in question appears

> ... very beautiful; tall, with red cheeks, and lips like cherries, and black hair shining like a crow's wing.... She was very beautiful, but she had not a happy face. No one had ever taught her that it was not money and fine houses and fine clothes that could make a person happy; and so her heart felt all over as though it were pricked by little pins. (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 101).

In short, the stepmother is Lady Edith Dombey out of Dombey and Son, and she too comes to be redeemed by the love of her husband's daughter by his first marriage. As Edith had loved the fragile Florence (her younger brother Paul, being dead) so the stepmother thaws and comes, for all her snow-white arms (so like those of Edith, who is also always associated with snow and ice) to love Nina and Rolly, after Rolly gives Nina' s most prized possession, a wax doll, as a sacrifice to appease the lady. Even Rolly's conveying the doll to the lady seems fraught with danger for Nina, however, as Rolly fears Nurse Bromage will object: "She'll find out and she'll whip you, Nina!" To this, Nina, "a little sorrowfully," replies "You know she will whatever I do." (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 104). The appalling dénouement this sort of exchange bodes in Schreiner's narratives of childhood experience does not in this case occur, even though the reader's heartstrings are given another twist by Nina's pessimism even after the doll has been given, for the girl concludes that despite Rolly's report that the lady said "thank you," the lady is actually "angry." In fact, at last Nina is settled on the lady's lap, kissed "six times, very softly"

and called "dear little daughter." Rolly becomes ecstatic, vowing to be, in contrast with the "little daughter," a "big son" (Stories, Dreams, and Allegories, pp. 110-111).

The happiness all around at the end of this story is agreeably anomalous among Schreiner's narratives. This is one of Schreiner's early "English" fictions, written, like Undine, before she left South Africa, and there is nothing to link it with anything else she wrote afterward. Its chief striking feature is that the desperate desire to be loved is, for once, gratified, following the sacrifice of a beloved possession (the doll) to an authority figure who is, for once, amenable to appeasement. In this context, it is therefore significant that the story is clearly modelled on another author's work. What is important is what Schreiner changed from Dickens' story: she resurrects Florence's dead little brother (who in life was thin and delicate). Here he becomes the hardy, healthy one of the pair of children; while Nina is, even more than Schreiner's other young heroines, very "little" indeed, and singled out for special horrors not just by her nurse but by the step-mother, who on first meeting the children kisses Rolly but not her. Following this humiliation, Nina's reaction is typical of a Schreiner protagonist in that it follows a plot pattern wherein a cruel act by a strong figure arouses mingled fear and desire in the oppressed:

> "...Oh! I am so afraid of her," said Nina, when they went up the long stairs holding each other's hands.
> "I'm not frightened," said Rolly, I'm a man and you are only a woman, you know. But I don't like her. Why didn't she kiss you?"
> "Oh Rolly, I love her!" said Nina, with tears in her eyes.
> (Stories, Dreams, and Allegories, p. 102).

The appearance of this exceptional plot in a story conspicuous for its lack of creative originality calls into question Berkman's thesis that Schreiner, in her attempt to rehabilitate the "stepmother" in many stories she claimed to have "written" (presumably in her head), was attempting some unique overturning of "Victorian gender acculturation."[14] Granted, the text provides evidence that both woman and girl have been damaged by their upbringing ("no one had taught" the beautiful lady about the evils of materialism, and no one had

taught Nina to expect anything but ill-treatment). However, this alone cannot refute one's sense that a display of such gratuitous feminine cruelty (adored and appeased by abject feminine self-sacrifice) is not an unmitigated triumph for sisterhood, (step)motherhood, or anything else. Something of the same uneasiness follows the reading of "The Woman's Rose" (1891), wherein the reigning femme fatale, who looks remarkably like Nina's doll, appeases the narrator (who has taken all her suitors) with the gift of a rose she was given to wear at a dance. Both endings appear optimistic, but the future beyond the truce is never seen.

The next surviving work Schreiner undertook in the form of allegory was the "Hunter's Allegory," originally part of African Farm. In the novel, the temptations, trials, and thankless reception of the efforts of an allegorised "artist" figure are set out for the breathless Waldo by his dapper Stranger, who weaves his story around a carving that Waldo has made. Waldo is dumbfounded that he has found someone who appears to understand him, and he finds the lonely, gruesome end of the artist's life satisfyingly in tune with his intentions in sculpting his piece of wood.

In 1890 Schreiner chose to republish the allegory as a discrete entity in Dreams, indicating thereby that she thought its message, like that of "The Lost Joy" and "Dream Life and Real Life" (all of roughly the same vintage in their final forms) was still in consonance with her own beliefs. Indeed, the form of allegory now meant more to her than any other form of art: as she told Arthur Symons in mid-1889, it constituted "pure symbol." In fact, when she recently reread African Farm, she had been

> ... so disappointed that she said to herself: "That the African Farm---that?" But when she came to the allegory she said "That is right" in the low beautiful tone of deep conviction and serene calmness.[15]

Renunciation for the sake of "Truth" is the central theme of "The Hunter." The Hunter must leave his native valley, followed by the missiles and imprecations of his fellows, who consider him a dangerous fool in his search for the bird "Truth." The Hunter is tempted by

the twins Sensuality (children of "Human Nature" and "Excess") for he needs to warm his "frozen blood." These he must renounce, and yet his fierce desire for Truth is also characterised in sensual terms: he feels a "burning desire" even for its reflection; later he finds "a great fire burnt within my breast... I desire nothing more on earth than to hold her." He must forswear, as advised by his guide Wisdom (the son of The-Accumulated-Knowledge-of-Ages) the specious comforts of "the brood of Lies" who are also birds. Their names include "A-human-God," "Immortality," and "Reward After Death." The territory of the Hunter's quest covers the "valley of superstition", the "Land of Absolute Negation and Denial" and the nameless "country of dry sunshine" ringed by "mountains of stern reality." Even sleep is a temptation to be resisted by the Hunter, and the "Echoes of Despair" tempt him to the permanent sleep of suicide. The derision and hatred of the Hunter's fellows, his being forbidden to rest, his physical and emotional isolation and deprivation, and the arduous task he undertakes, are all undergone in order that he may capture Truth, or at least that because of his efforts others may follow him and be more successful than he. At the moment of his death, the Hunter consoles himself with the thought that "other men" will "mount, and on my work, they will climb, and by my stair... And no man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself." (The latter sentence, a close paraphrase of Paul to the Romans, 14:7: "For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself," was clearly important to Schreiner: it is found in Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland and also in From Man to Man, as will be discussed below). The Hunter dies clasping a feather of the bird he seeks.

Gray has seen in this allegory another gloss on the failed-hunter ideology he sees underlying African Farm. For him the main point is that the "Hunter," like Gregory Rose and unlike Selous or other Great White Hunters, never "bags" his quarry.[16] He finds the Hunter's final, meagre catch, the single feather, the "silver plume [which is] Schreiner's emblem as a novelist", a significant indication that the "central irony of Schreiner's relationship to the literature around her is complete." Gray's usual perspicacity here is

compromised by his undue emphasis on "hunter literature" in this case, for it was certainly not the only "literature around her" in her youth. It may be true that no one but the Hunter wants the "Bird of Truth" anyway, and that he "sets off at a tangent from a man like Harris or Selous." Certainly the people of the Hunter's native valley are much happier with their fantasies and lies, their carousing and fellowship, and the Hunter's conviction that one day his sacrifice will attain meaning remains his own speculation. This an irony which Gray misreads, however, inasmuch as Schreiner can be seen as working here in the form of a Christian typological allegory. In that context "failure" is a misleading term, for Christians see Christ's lonely death as implying not ruin but triumph. This argument cannot be dismissed merely because Schreiner was not a Christian. She never escaped, nor, it would appear, did she wish to escape, her Christian heritage with regard to this kind of endeavour. Schreiner wrote to Pearson of her view that:

> ...in that action that seems a great failure may lie a great success. I suppose one of the greatest successes the world has ever seen was when the Jew carpenter's son hung alone, and cried "My God, I am forsaken". One can only form one's ideal and strive for it, success and failure must come as they will.[17]

When reviewing this group of pre-1882 narratives, the theme of self-sacrifice undertaken on behalf of ungrateful or uncomprehending others remains a constant. One of the features the Pearson affair seems to have added is a specifically erotic subtext. What is now required is the renunciation not simply of the generalised lust personified by the twins "Sensuality" but of a particular love. This added martyrdom is visible in "The Gardens of Pleasure" and "In a Far-Off World", and has its more "realistic" fellow-narratives in "The Buddhist Priest's Wife," "The Policy in Favour of Protection--" and "On the Banks of a Full River."

Clayton has found the renunciation theme in the "realistic" group so patently autobiographical that she considers their artistry to be marred by self-pity.[18] Schreiner would not have agreed; from her point of view "The Buddhist's Priest's Wife," albeit admittedly full of her own "suffering," was so heavy with meaning for other women that

she considered it a "condensed" version of the big "sex book" at which she still occasionally claimed to be working at in the 1890s.

Another change visible in the aftermath of the Pearson/Cobb debacle is that anger (much circumscribed, but identifiable) is at last allowed to make an appearance in the shorter fictions. Schreiner's earlier stories all show mistreated and misunderstood protagonists, and it is interesting to see how the attitude such protagonists take towards their oppressors mutates in the stories, dreams and allegories of the late 1880s and early 1890s. In the early works we see the endlessly placating and supplicating attitudes of Jannita, Towser, Rolly, and Nina. When aggression is shown by the protagonists, it is projected, and undertaken for the sake of another "underdog" -- Towser attacks the gipsy only to save a boy, and Rolly's desire to beat his drum outside his stepmother's bedroom door arises as much from the lady's snub to Nina as from his own sense of injury. In contrast, in the later works there finally emerges a powerful admission that victims feel anger toward those who have done them wrong.

Direct confrontation is still absent from all narratives, however, and protagonists strive only to renounce their own desires and ultimately forgive those who have pained or robbed them. Retaliation remains out of the question. Protagonists are simply injured and then left alone to struggle with their anger, and any difficulty in forgiving is experienced as traumatic and paralysing. Only death, as in "A Dream of Prayer," or a vision of unity like that seen in "A Ruined Chapel", can provide closure. The content of the "dream" of "In a Ruined Chapel" allows the total circumvention of conflict through fusion of the interests and even persons of the combatants, returning them to individuality only after harmony has been achieved.

"A Dream of Prayer" (written in May, 1887) begins with the narrator's self-description: "I stood on the footstool of God's throne, I, a saved soul..." (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 138); the anguished soul whom the narrator watches resembles Schreiner's own, begging, in the aftermath of the Pearson affair, for the power to forgive

(Mrs. Cobb, perhaps?). The narrator watches from heaven as a prayer like a "cloud of fire" rises from earth, and it is "Give me the power to forgive." The same prayer from the same source billows up year after year, and the ministrations of angels never have more than a temporary effect on the soul's anguish, which is a mask for its rage.. God finally answers the prayer, saying: "I have sent Death with the message."

In a longer and more ambitious effort, "In a Ruined Chapel," God likewise instructs angels to lend a hand to a soul who cannot forgive its brother. Chrisman sees in this allegory a complicated paradox involving the setting in which the dreamer falls asleep (the chapel, a representation of Christianity) and the "old Roman road" nearby which represents a period of "Imperial occupation" which Christianity has overcome.[19] Thus Chrisman sees the "democratic holism of the inside" (that is, of the dream) "countered by the military (and religious) contestations, political conquests, represented by the outside." Further, she takes the view that the epiphany granted to the man of the dream and to the dreamer (for all that it is one of "meta-physical unity") is made ironic not just by the "imperialist" setting but by the fact that the wakened dreamer cannot share her "enlightenment into common humanity" with the peasant boy she sees ahead of her on the path. The dreamer wants to hold the boy's hand -- "only, he would not have known why." In Chrisman's interpretation, this signifies that text must rely "upon a notion of exclusion of the peasant from the domain of enlightenment... [which] suggests that at its core such enlightenment defines exclusiveness as being itself an inevitable condition of universality."[20]

Such a reading rather ignores the pain, the guilt, the anger, the alienation, and the rage against alienation, that are clearly discernible in this narrative. These emotions (set forth in the framing, "real-life" parts of the story) must condition what we see inside the dream itself. It is possible, even highly plausible, to read the dreamer's reluctance to take the hand of the peasant boy as a fear of his rejection of her, not the other way round. When one gives due weight to the beginning of the story, such a conclusion appears more

plausible than that indicated by the ominously imperialist and exclusionist scheme which Chrisman discerns.

A reader of this story immediately wants to know what is the secret sorrow that drives the dreamer to come to the chapel in the first place, and why she dreams of a man who cannot forgive his fellow. The way the details of the chapel and its surroundings are supplied -- their picture-postcard quality, as it were -- suggests that the narrator is exactly what Schreiner was, a visitor to the area, not a local, and she is certainly alone. True, as Chrisman says, the narrator emphasises the area's ancient past, including the Christian chapel and the Roman road. But the narrator does this for one reason only: to remark on how neither decayed world has any relevance to the present. Thus, despite the bright frescos on the walls of the chapel,

> ...all the roof is gone; overhead is the blue, blue Italian sky, the rain has beaten holes in the wall and the plaster is peeling from it. The chapel stands here alone upon the promontory, and by day and by night the sea breaks at its feet.
>
> (Dreams, p. 99)

The narrator peels back the layers of history. After mentioning how "Now no one stops to pray here, and the sick come no more to be healed," she fancifully describes how, if one comes "alone on a hot sunny day," one "may almost hear at last the clink of Roman soldiers upon the pavement." The past may have seen the soldiers clinking on the road, but nowadays it is used only by the occasional "peasant girl," or "old woman," or "brigand-looking man." "For the rest," the narrator repeats, "the Chapel lies here alone upon the promontory, between the two bays, and hears the sea break at its feet."

If one attends to the rhythm of the prose, several things become obvious. One is the repetition of the Chapel's situation -- alone, between two bays -- which occurs at the beginning of the short introduction and at its end (the whole covers only two pages). Negativity, solitude and absence are reinforced: "now no one stops to pray here... the sick come no more." The supernatural conceit about hearing Roman soldiers is just that, and

smacks less of imperialism than of isolation: the ghosts can only be perceived if the listener is "alone." The effect of this whole opening section is to make the reader wonder not only why the narrator is driven to this lonely place, but also what is being implied by this mode of description. Why does the narrator repeat the word "alone" three times, and why does Schreiner invoke the language of absence and decay ("there is a Blessed Bambino with the face rubbed out..." "all the roof is gone"), defeat (there are Roman soldiers "and a Christ with tied hands") and ambiguity (there are two versions of what the chapel is doing there).

The second section begins to supply such information:

> I came here one winter's day when the midday sun shone hot on the bricks of the Roman road. I was weary, and the way seemed steep. I walked into the chapel to the broken window, and looked out... Far off, across the blue, blue water, were towns and villages, hanging white and red dots, upon the mountainsides, and the blue mountains rose up into the sky, and now stood out from it and now melted back again.
> The mountains seemed calling to me, but I knew there would never be a bridge built from them to me, never, never! I shaded my eyes and turned away. I could not bear to look at them. (Dreams, p. 101).

Again, this creates more suspense. Why do the mountains, their villages and towns, cause the narrator such anguish she must turn away from their sight? The narrator leaves the chapel and sits down on a stone in its porch, remarking that her "tiredness... seemed older than the heat of the day and the shining of the sun on the bricks of the Roman road." She falls asleep and the dream narrative begins. Chrisman rightly observes that the dream is enclosed by the Roman world, but it must also be recognised that in this touch (the tiredness) Schreiner implicates that what ails the dreamer is not simply a product of European cultural tradition. The dreamer's psychological wound was got in another place than the chapel, and the character of the wound lies not in the realm of history, but in that of personal relationships, whose impossibility has been symbolised by the narrator's grief that a bridge will never connect her with the towns and villages on the distant mountainsides. Such

anguish is connected to the dilemma of the man in the narrator's dream: "cannot live and not love," but he is overwhelmed by his hatred and injured feelings.

The dreaming narrator witnesses an angel telling God that it cannot help a man who has been crying up to Heaven for help because he wishes to forgive someone who has injured him, but finds it impossible to do so. The angel says it has sought to help the man in all the ways it knows, advising the man:

> See, when other men speak ill of that man do you speak well of him; secretly, in ways he shall not know, serve him...so, serving him, you will at last come to feel possession in him, and you will forgive.
> (Dreams, pp. 103-4)

The man complies, but cannot manage the task, crying, "If I share my heart's blood with him, is the burning within me less? I cannot forgive; I cannot forgive!"

The angel tries to bring the man to a consideration of his own sins, but this works no better. With the masochistic vocabulary Schreiner was wont to use when describing her own conduct, the man now justifies himself:

> I have not sinned, not so! If I have torn my fellows' flesh ever so little, I have kneeled down and kissed the wound with my mouth until it was healed. I have not willed that any soul should be lost through hate of me. If they have but fancied that I have wronged them I have lain down on the ground before them that they might tread on me, and so, seeing my humiliation, forgive and not be lost through hating me; they have not cared that my soul should be lost; they have not willed to save me; they have not tried that I should forgive them!
> (Dream, p. 106)

Such anguish stuns the angel into surrender, and he advocates that the man wait until the next world to forgive. To this the man cries, "Go from me! You understand nothing!... I am lost now, today.... I cannot live and not love. I cannot live and hate."

Harmonious success is finally achieved when, in a series of three revelations, the angel removes from the unforgiven person's soul "those outward attributes of form, and colour, and age, and sex, whereby one man is known from its fellows and marked off from

the rest" (Dreams, p. 108). In the first, the man sees his enemy's spiritual past from earliest childhood to the present. This causes him to cry "It is I! Myself!" In the second, the man sees in his fellow a "tiny drop [which] reflects the whole universe." He is thus afforded a cosmic vision which links humanity to "the furthest star" and the "crystal...under ground," to the leaves of trees and the movements of jellyfish. From this vision the man concludes that God is the interconnectedness between all forms of matter. Finally, the soul reintroduces the man's enemy "re-clothed in its outward form" and the man, not merely forgiving but ecstatic, cries out "How beautiful my brother is!"

As the dreamer awakes, the world seems refreshed by rain. She looks with new eyes at the chapel, and outside of it finds olive trees and ice-plants picked out in gorgeous clarity, and she marvels at the "heavens and earth." So far from the last lines about holding the peasant boy's hand being the expression of a narrow exclusiveness on the part of the now-enlightened dreamer, the chief sense conveyed by the ending is that the narrator has been liberated from her "old, old tiredness" through a philosophical and visionary triumph over personal resentment. Her preternatural tiredness has been linked to the unhappiness and frustration the dreamer felt in contemplating the unbridgeable gap which divides him from nature and (it seems reasonable to assume) from one particular fellow-human. Her vision does not mean that ordinary social boundaries have disappeared, but, as is often the case in dreams of this type, she seems comforted by her belief that whatever can be imagined can one day be realised.

Even in her allegories Schreiner could not always eliminate human conflict by invoking an Emersonian or (Herbert) Spencerian concept of universal harmony. In the 1887 allegories "The Gardens of Pleasure" and "In a Far-off World," she kept all the conflict of the stories within the breasts (literally) of their respective heroines. Each allegory involves renunciation, compelled by duty or for the good of a man one loves. Chrisman has written of this pair thus:

> These are the most enigmatic and uncompromising of Schreiner's Dreams, and the most radically ambiguous. A rational explanation or narrative scheme is refused altogether; what this suggests is that the desire for freedom precedes its naming, is as violent and inexplicable as the oppressive condition which produced it.[21]

If one looks at the dates of composition, however, and remembers that Pearson chose extracts from "In a Far-Off World" (and "In a Ruined Chapel," incidentally) as epigraphs for his poem about his relationship with Schreiner, and if one then shamelessly descends straight to the unfashionable level of biography, there is very little that is "enigmatic" about either allegory. "The Gardens of Pleasure" shows a woman thrown out of a garden into a desert by the stern voice of Duty, who forces her to relinquish all the blossoms she has gathered, even down to one small one she has hidden in her bosom. (Schreiner, of course, had felt thrown out of England into exile, for all her talk of "seeing the Alps.") If one connects this with "The Brown Flower", where a woman hides the small flower, "Trust," in her bosom, it becomes clear that Schreiner believed Pearson's friendship to be one of the sacrifices which "Duty" required (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, pp. 135-6). On the other hand, the stern male voice of "Duty" itself in "The Gardens of Pleasure" can be identified as that of Pearson himself, proclaiming to Schreiner, as he had done to Charlotte Wilson when speaking of Schreiner, that "the higher -- the desirable -- development of man implies the destruction of the emotions...."[22]

Such a duty of renunciation is more explicitly set forth in "In a Far-Off World," where are shown a "man and a woman" (the "woman" is later "the girl") who share "one work" and are "friends" living on another, Schreinerian planet. In this setting Schreiner approximates a reification of her desire to cut open her arm and have her blood pour into Pearson's body to strengthen him for his work, for there exists on this planet a special shrine within a "thick wood" wherein

> ... if one crept here quite alone and knelt on the steps of the stone altar, and uncovering one's breast, so wounded it that the blood fell down on the altar steps, then whatever he who knelt there wished for was granted him....

> Now, the man and the woman walked together; and the woman wished well to the man....
> [Therefore] she uncovered her breast; with a sharp two-edged stone that lay there she wounded it.... a voice cried, "What do you seek?"
> She answered, "There is a man; I hold him nearer than anything. I would give him the best of all blessings.... that which is most good for him I wish him to have." (Dreams, p. 60-1)

Subsequently, to her horror, the girl witnesses the man for whom she has prayed standing up in a boat moving swiftly out to sea. Distraught, the girl cries out

> "With my blood I have bought the best of all gifts for him. I have come to bring it him! He is going from me!"
> The voice whispered softly, "Your prayer was answered. It has been given him."
> She cried, "What is it?"
> The voice answered, "It is that he might leave you." The girl stood still.
> Far out at sea the boat was lost to sight...
> The voice spoke softly. "Art thou contented?"
> She said, "I am contented."
> At her feet the waves broke in long ripples softly on the shore.
> (Dream, p. 63-4)

Once again, the figure of the bereft, lonely woman, prepared to sacrifice her feelings (and blood) for her beloved's good (and his love for another) is in evidence. No critic has commented either on the fairly obvious implication of the fact that the girl sees "another figure sitting in the stern" of the boat in which the man departs. The girl is forced to assume that a companion is among "the best of all blessings" she wished her friend to have. Similarly, the heroine of "The Policy in Favour of Protection --" grinds her teeth and tries to be satisfied with the thought that the man she loves has a wife who might be better for him than she. In "The Buddhist's Priest's Wife" this idea will be theorised thus: "No woman has the right to marry a man if she has to bend herself out of shape for him. She might wish to, but she could never be to him with all her passionate endeavour what the other woman could be to him without trying" (Stories, Dreams, and Allegories, p. 71).

"The Policy in Favour of Protection--" puts forward a moral dilemma in a realistic format. The story's subtitle ("Was it Right? Was it Wrong?") appears to beg the question of the use to anybody of constant self-abnegation, but the rhetoric of the story affirms renunciation anyway. The heroine of this story, a journalist, realises that according to her moral code she must selflessly renounce her hopes for love in order that she may help another woman gain her own beloved's heart. It is clear that the man in the case, a "well-known writer," is close to the journalist. However, shortly after she refuses to see him, he apparently feels driven to seek consolation in a hasty marriage with a young girl (not the woman the journalist was trying to help at all). The selfish, foolish woman who had begged for the journalist's help returns to her at the time of the marriage to blubber that her life is over, and the journalist's only way of expressing her anguish about her own loss is to try to make the other woman promise she will herself try to help women in the future. When the selfish woman leaves, the heroine grasps the irony of her futile sacrifice and allows herself to break down and "wail[] like a little child when you have struck it and it does not dare to cry loud" (Dream Life and Real Life, p. 89).

A year later, the allegedly devastated other woman marries and writes to the journalist, prating of her happiness and dismissing her former attachment. In the face of this final proof of the futility of her renunciation, the journalist rips the letter to shreds. After a period of silence, she calmly takes up her pen again and finishes an article which concerns "the causes which in differing peoples lead to the adoption of Free Trade or Protectionist principles," (Dream Life and Real Life, p. 89) a most unsubtle comment on her own career in trying, by absenting herself from the competitive market for her beloved's attentions, to "protect" the interests of another woman. In the event, fresher goods won the day. The "well-known writer" chose an eighteen-year-old bride, and the journalist explained his choice:

> Older women may have failed him; he has needed to turn to her beautiful, fresh, young life to compensate him.... If he trains her, she may make him a better wife than any other woman would have done.
> (Dream Life and Real Life, p. 82)

An allegorical variant of this painful renunciation is visible, as has been mentioned, in "In a Far-Off World"; other variants crop up in "On the Banks of a Full River" and "The Buddhist Priest's Wife." These narratives leave untouched the question of what "love" has to offer a woman; there is instead an obsession with defining what is best for a man, either emotionally, or for the sake of his "important" work. The chief complaint of the women in "On the Banks of a Full River" is that their lovers went to women who "flattered" them, and that therefore the men would never produce their best work, whereas they themselves were ever honestly critical in order to spur their men to achieve their best. Only the heroine of "The Policy in Favour of Protection--" shows any approval of her lover's choice, and she does so in the hope that he can successfully "train" the woman he has chosen.

The other woman in "The Policy in Favour of--" finds this attitude incredible and is particularly jealous about the new bride's future children. The honorable journalist misunderstands her attitude and effuses:

> "Yes." The elder woman moved quickly. "Yes...One wants to have the child, and lay its head on one's breast and feed it." She moved quickly. "It would not matter if another woman bore it, if one had it to take care of." She moved restlessly.
> "Oh no, I couldn't bear it to be hers. When I think of her I feel as if I were dying; all my fingers turn cold; I feel dead. Oh, you were only his friend; you don't know!"
> The elder spoke softly. "Don't you feel a little gentle to her when you think she's going to be his wife and the mother of his child? I would like to put my arms round her and touch her once, if she would let me. She is so beautiful, they say."
> "Oh, I could never bear to see her; it would kill me. And they are so happy together to-day! He is loving her so!"
> "Don't you want him to be happy?" The older woman looked down at her. "Have you never loved him at all?" (Dream Life and Real Life, pp. 83-4)

The heroine's supposedly altruistic posture is juxtaposed with the selfish younger woman in ways that illustrate Schreiner's thesis (argued in letters to Pearson) that the new ideal love should include a fierce regard for another's best interests and a perpetual battle against the egoisme à deux. Schreiner denies the validity of the younger woman's impassioned sentimentality ("If once I have loved a thing, I love it forever") by showing that for all her protesting she marries within a year. In the meantime, the journalist who devoted herself to solitary work and argued that "Love [was] not everything" is recognised as one for whom the love that had proved impossible was "everything."

The problem with the heroine's noble attitude in this story is manifest in the strain revealed by her "restless" movements as she discusses her desire to breastfeed another woman's child, and by her maudlin desire to embrace and "touch" her beloved's bride, "if she would let me." In the former passage, she is at least admitting to fantasising her own desire for her lover's baby, even if she must renounce the pleasures of conception. In the latter passage, she has so twisted herself about in order to see everything only from the perspective of her beloved's pleasure that she participates in a fantasy which is either maternal (seeing the bride as her child) or (homo)sexual (in that she is trying to see the bride as an object of desire through her beloved's eyes). The self-abnegation evinced by the heroine throughout the whole episode (first when she renounces her intended for the benefit of the younger woman, and next when she defends his choice of bride) is so extreme as to make the melodramatic utterances of the younger woman refreshing in their recognisable self-interest. When the journalist first questions the younger woman about her love for the man they both want, the journalist asks her,

> Can you forgive him his sins and weaknesses, even when they hurt you most? If he were a querulous invalid for twenty years, would you be able to fold him in your arms all that time, and comfort him, as a mother comforts her little child? (Dreams, p. 75)

Given the heroine's constant identification of love with maternal self-abnegation, it is unclear in this story what exactly attracts a woman to a man. If the younger woman is reprehensible for her vanity and her condition of being so "in love with love," the heroine is surely not the more commendable for being so very much in love with pain. The picture of heterosexual relations in "The Woman's Rose" is not dissimilar. In this story, men's attentions are described as fickle. The narrator realises that because she is a novelty in a small country town she has taken the attentions of all the men in the town away from their former objects. She observes:

> They worshipped me.... Partly I liked it. I had lived alone all my life; no one ever had told me I was beautiful and a woman. I believed them. I did not know it was simply a fashion, which one man had set and the rest followed unreasoningly. I liked them to ask me to marry them, and to say, No. I despised them. The mother heart had not swelled in me yet; I did not know all men were my children, as the large woman knows when her heart has grown.... I liked my power. I was like a child with a new whip, which it goes about cracking everywhere, not caring against what. (Dream Life and Real Life, pp. 57-8)

There seems no room in this paradigm for men and women to love one another sexually, or to regard one another as equals. In retrospect, the narrator characterises men's love for her as "a fashion." When she believed it real, she behaved like a sadistic child. The narrator seems to imply that a woman attains sexual maturity by regarding all men with the eyes of an indiscriminately loving mother.

"The Buddhist Priest's Wife," like "The Policy in Favour of Protection--" contains much good advice from a woman to her male "friend" on the best sort of wife for him, one who would "help you to succeed... not drag you down." (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 71). (Apropos of this subject as a topic between Schreiner and Pearson, see her letter of 12 June 1886: "No, you must not marry. Who ever it was, she would drag you down").[23] There are many maudlin passages in this story, some of them autobiographical in nature. The heroine expresses her desire to protect the pride of a rejected suitor through an

extended metaphor, in which she envisages the suitor as a wounded stag and herself as the deer who conceals his spilt blood from the herd with her hoof.[24]

"The Buddhist Priest's Wife" ends with a sublimation of sexual desire into maternal gesture like that in "The Policy in Favour of Protection--." The drama of contradiction through which this sublimation is effected has been considered in the previous section. Having declared her invitation to her visitor to have been one based solely on honest, open friendship, and having theorised at length about the social impossibility of a woman declaring a romantic interest in a man, the heroine boldly asks for a kiss and then disappears into the night, leaving her companion to ponder on his lost chances. There is here at least an embryonic manifestation of voiced female desire, but Schreiner ensures that no consequences can be expected by presenting the tale as one told in retrospect and the woman as one who was "in one way alone all her life" and is now dead. The final embrace is described, with characteristic ambiguity, from the man's point of view:

> In after years he could never tell certainly, but he always thought she put up her hand and rested it on the crown of his head, with a curious soft caress, something like a mother's touch when her child is asleep and she does not want to wake it. (Stories, Dreams, and Allegories, p. 79)

"Life's Gifts" at least seems to address a problem which desire poses for women. It depicts a woman forced to choose between "Love" and "Freedom." This dilemma is forced upon the woman while she sleeps, when, in a dream, "Life" comes to her and offers her one or the other. When she insists on "Freedom," "Life" praises her, saying that if she had chosen otherwise, he would have given her "Love" and never returned. Because she has chosen "Freedom," "Life" promises to return one day and bring her both gifts "in one hand." In the indeterminate interim, according to this allegory, women must presumably forswear relationships.

The bleakest expression of this dilemma occurs in the second part of the allegorical triptych "Three Dreams in a Desert" (1887). Here, a woman must cross a "dark flowing river" to get to the "land of Freedom" (Dreams, p. 76). Not only must she travel "down

the banks of Labour, and through the water of Suffering" to get to "Freedom," she must strip off first. She is glad enough to shed her moth-ridden girdle, her "mantle of Ancient-received-opinions" and her "shoes of dependence," until all that remains is a single white garment emblazoned with the word "Truth." The woman's stern advisor, an old man called "Reason" who carries a staff with his name on it, approves of her garment, and says it will help to buoy her over the river. He also gives her his staff to help her cross the ford. But he will not let her go until he discovers what she is concealing at her breast, so she has to show him that "against her breast was a tiny thing, who drank from it."

> And Reason said, "Who is he, and what is he doing here?"
> And she said, "See his little wings---"
> And Reason said, "Put him down."
> And she said, "He is asleep, and he is drinking! I will carry him to the Land of Freedom. He has been a child so long, so long I have carried him. In the Land of Freedom he will be a man. We will walk together there, and his great white wings will overshadow me. He has lisped one word only to me in the desert -- "Passion!" I have dreamed he might learn to say "Friendship" in that land."
>
> (Dreams, pp. 79-80)

Reason insists that the woman relinquish the infant, who is revealed to be "Love." When she does so, the infant gives her a bite on one breast so vicious that "the blood ran down on to the ground." She loses faith in her journey, and cries out "*Oh, I am alone! I am utterly alone!*" The old man Reason finally persuades the woman to continue her journey and undertake the vital work of making "a track to the water's edge." Such a trek is tantamount to suicide, he says, for none has ever crossed the river successfully. Some of the drowned bodies are swept away pointlessly, but some make a bridge, he intones, over which one day the human race will cross. Moved by this, "...the woman grasp[s] her staff" and proceeds at once "down that dark path to the river." (Dreams, p. 82-3).

This dream alone shows much Schreiner's thinking has changed and hardened since African Farm. It is indeed clear from the first dream of "Three Dreams in a Desert", in which the narrator observes the linked "beasts of burden" representing Man and Woman,

that women can be saved (and, in turn, save men) only through their own efforts. Lyndall too had had to learn to look to herself for salvation, but her education took place within a different world, and in African Farm she is identified with "the full African moon" and with her ring. In contrast, the second dream of "Three Dreams" offers the stern masculine voice-over of the old man with his phallic "staff of Reason," while Lyndall with her motto "I like to try" is replaced by a martyred woman whose hope of love is painfully and bloodily sacrificed at the behest of "Reason." Lyndall's aspiration towards a "day when love shall no more be bought or sold" is made visible in the third dream, when "brave women and brave men" walk "hand in hand" on the hills, and women even "hold each other's hands" (Dreams, p. 84). But again, the dreamer/narrator has to ask "him beside me" for information about the scene. The dreamer feels elated when told that the setting is "heaven.... on earth.... IN THE FUTURE," but there is something disturbing about another all-knowing, all-interpreting masculine voice, and the fact that when the dreamer awakes s/he comforts her/himself with the knowledge that although the sun was setting s/he "knew that the next day he would rise again." (In "Dream Life and Real Life," the moon is a "she.") "Three Dreams in a Desert" shows a woman as a beast of burden, crushed by a yoke; a woman with a bitten, bleeding breast, wounded because men refuse to grow up (although they will still get to heaven first!); this same woman willing to drown that "thousands" may cross a river over her back; and finally a masculine ending under a masculine sun. What has become of Lyndall's moon, her capacity for admitting that she likes "to try, to experiment," her self-comprehending eyes and their vision of a future?

In an allegory of this period, "The River of Life" (written in May, 1887), which Schreiner chose not to publish, "a soul" is distraught because no support, neither reeds nor a staff, will help it to cross the river. "Oh, River of Life! How am I to cross; I have tried all rods and they have failed me!" cries the soul, to which the River itself replies "Cross me alone." (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 134). In one light this is simply a restatement of the comment made by the narrator in African Farm that "Friendship is good, a strong stick,

but in the hour of need all souls are alone," etc. Yet, if we interpret the allegory sexually, we see a female soul trying all the phallic "rods" and finding, unlike the woman in "Three Dreams," that all let her down and she must cross alone. This matches the other allegory's message that neither male passion nor friendship is to be trusted; hence, as the woman there cries, "*I am utterly alone!*" Or, in Schreiner's words to Ellis on 6 June 1888:

> We none of us sympathise with each other, none of us understand each other, each one only himself. The lesson of the last five years has been to me that there is no such thing as friendship, just as the lesson of the two before was that there is no such thing as sex-love, only sex-selfishness.[25]

Shortly after writing this letter, Schreiner wrote "The Winged Butterfly" in which, in order to be loved by its fellow-insects, a butterfly tries to suppress its beauty and capacity for flight. In the end it dies "of a broken heart," unable to bear the lack of fellowship (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, pp. 155-6).

By the later 1880s the allegorical figure of the artist or seeker was faring little better than the seeker of love. While they resemble the selfless genius-heroes of Fichte and Carlyle in their ability to "see the moral significance of life" and in the total unselfishness which makes them always put duty before happiness, Schreiner's artist-heroes either renounce or are denied that social power which Fichte and Carlyle saw as their natural right. In the South African Library there is an unpublished allegory headed "Harpenden from the train to London, 1881", which, despite its heading was clearly written in 1888. Like "A Soul's Journey: Two Visions" it concerns immolation, this time of an artist.

> The poet's soul lay in its agony struggling before God, and it cried "why must I suffer thus?" God said, "That one of my sparks must fall on thee, and that in thy struggles it may chance to take light, & blaze up and give a little light to the world -- therefore.[26]

The agonies undergone by the "Hunter" in his attempt to build a path up a mountain of stone to catch the "Bird of Truth" cannot be worse than those of the allegorical figure of the burning poet here or of the painter in "The Artist's Secret". The latter paints in a

single colour, which has "a wonderful red glow" while he himself grows "whiter and whiter" (Dreams, p. 120). Little effort is expended in creating any uncertainty about the outcome, which is of course that the artist dies after painting away his blood supply. As in the stories and allegories that concentrate on a woman selflessly sacrificing her own happiness for the sake of that of her beloved, the reader is never told just what it is about the creation of "art" that either demands or deserves such sacrifice.

"The Sunlight Lay Across My Bed" is the bloodiest of all Schreiner's allegories, as it relies on a metaphor of wealthy society feeding itself on its poor and making wine from their blood. It remained Schreiner's favourite "socialist" allegory, even though, as Chrisman has argued, her vision of heaven is full of "imperialist activity" and looks remarkably like a capitalist-run activity. As to its connection with the Pearson affair, it seems clear that the "beautiful women" who walk among the fruit trees of Hell, setting their mouths softly to the fruits on the trees and kissing them in order to inject poison, bear more than a family resemblance to Mrs. Cobb. (Dreams, pp. 134-5). The women act as they do, God explains to the narrator, because of their dog-in-the-manger mentality, so that if they cannot enjoy the fruits, none else shall. (A letter of 30 January 1887 to Pearson contains the lines "I have watched two of the humanbeings [sic] nearest me die slowly in the hands of a pure sweet loving woman ... [who] put her lips to them and suck[ed out]... all their life").[27]

Kathleen Blake, who focusses on Schreiner's agonies during the 1880s concerning a perceived duality between work and love, notes how the allegory "Sunlight..."

> constitutes a left-handed glorification of eros that is quite Platonic and favours transcendence....The progression of the heavens yields the ever more self-sufficient individual, one finally not needing other people as he/she comprehends them.[28]

Thus, God tells the narrator that "In the least Heaven sex reigns supreme; in the higher it is not noticed; but in the highest it does not exist" (Dreams, p. 175).

The "workers" in Heaven disturb Chrisman. Leaving aside her quite justified suspicions about the nature of the work the labourers in heaven undertake, the mining analogy Schreiner uses recalls her other allegory about labour and mining, "Workers" (April 1887). No scholar seems to have connected "Workers" with the Pearson conflict, but it answers to Schreiner's need to recoup her self-respect and emphasise that her regard for Pearson was based on her reverence for the "work" to which they were committed.

During the crisis itself, on 10 December 1886, she wrote a letter to him which read simply:

> The gentlest impulse in your heart to Mrs. Cobb is the manliest. Follow it. I will not write again. Work. I will work.
> Shall open and read no letter sent.
> O.S.

When she did confess her love for him, it was <u>because</u> of work:

> ...when I look into the depths of my own heart I see a feeling that is deeper than the feeling I have had for any other human being; but it is <u>not</u> sex-love. I do not love you as a soul loves itself. You will say "O.S., you are deceiving yourself, that is sex-love. <u>I deny it</u>.
> ...what draws me closer to you than any other human being.... is that your mind works in the <u>same way</u> as mine... If I could I would open a vein in my arm and let all my blood run into your body to strengthen you for your work. Your work is mine.
> ... See, I love you better than anything else in the world, and I have tried to keep far from you that nothing material might creep in between my brain and yours...
> I took in earnest what you said about our working for a month. The first part of last month was the happiest in my life.[29]

The ending of this letter is the most significant part in relation to the allegory "Workers," for it paraphrases that text very closely. Schreiner tells Pearson: "I am going to work hard. It may be that not at the end of a month but of a life you and I, an old man and woman, will compare work! Won't it be glorious!" Compare this to the allegory in which,

> In a far-off world, God sent Two Spirits to work. The work he set them to do was to tunnel through a mountain. And they stood side by side... And they began to work. They found that the place they had to work in was too narrow; their wings got interlocked (<u>Stories, Dreams and Allegories</u> p. 140).

When they are thus forced to separate, one spirit says "You stay here. I will go and work from the other side." Each spirit works on alone, and "after years in the dark, each one heard the sound of the other one's axe, picking." The spirits die before they can meet again, but the sound of one another's labour has been "enough for them."

In Schreiner's letters, the fervency, the desperation of her concern with Pearson's work and his importance for society usually outstrips her concern for her own. She frequently offered him anecdotes about her own philosophy of work. After the break between them she told him more sternly than ever: "Strike yourself mentally," by which she meant he should force himself to rest so that he might work the more: "This must be done if we are to have your best work."[30] Ironically, all through his difficulties with Schreiner, Pearson was steadily and capably carrying out his duties as Goldshmid Professor of Applied Mathematics and Mechanics at University College, London. As well as publishing many eugenic-socialist articles and pamphlets he was undertaking the preliminary work that would give him the name "father of statistics." Nevertheless, Schreiner, roaming the Continent and writing stories (many of which she burnt) and her novel (which she never completed) spoke of their work in equal terms, and scolded him about his.

Even stranger than this attitude was her fantasy that the work she undertook at this time was not the personal exorcism it patently was. Thus she could recommend to Carpenter, who had himself been disappointed in love, the following course of action:

> I have a curious idea that you would write a story so well. Won't you try? It is only in work that has no connection with the self that we can find rest to our spirits. Life, personal life, is a great battlefield. Those who enter it must fight. Those who enter it and will not fight get riddled with bullets. The only thing for them is to keep out of it, and have no personal life. One will never find a man that <u>some</u> other woman does not desire. Write a little story. I should love it so tenderly if you did.[31]

This letter suggests something extraordinary: could Schreiner possibly see the "little" stories she wrote at this time, riddled as they are with the dilemmas of loving a man whom "some other woman" desires, as having "no connection with the self"? The example of

Chrisman's exegesis of "In a Far-Off World" (which she sees as devoid of "rational explanation or narrative scheme") strongly suggests that without intimate knowledge of Schreiner's biographical "self" the audience of such a "little story" may be reduced to responding with phrases like "violent and inexplicable."

Such a thought is sobering, if one assumes that an artist desires to communicate a specific meaning, or a finite set of possible meanings. Waldo's Stranger averred that the "attribute of all art" was its plethora of meaning, but, as Chrisman herself demonstrates, the Stranger's aesthetic laws were also, paradoxically, predicated on the indivisibility of "truth."[32] Schreiner was an artist who emphatically hated the discussion of "personalities" in conjunction with art and the prospect of her audience knowing anything of her personal life disgusted her. Nor was she, even in her most mystical moments, the sort of theorist who believes that the good text is one that repels hermeneutics altogether.

The allegories of this period which do not contain shadows of a triangular relationship are rather easier to understand than those that do. "I Thought I Stood" is a particularly blood-soaked effort in which (as in her response to W. T. Stead and the "Maiden Tribute of Babylon" affair)[33] she chooses to concentrate on women's snobbery, ignorance and collusion rather than with man's lust in the degradation of prostitutes (Dreams, pp. 125-9). The aftermath of the Pearson affair also threw up a number of relatively straightforward allegories dramatising arguments between "The Poet" and "The Thinker." "They Heard..." fiercely argues the equality of Art and Science, continuing Schreiner's argument about the equality of "the emotional" and "the intellectual," and indeed denying any real difference between them. "Two Paths" is a more economical expression of the same theme, so brief that it can be quoted in full:

> A Soul met an angel and asked of him: "By which path shall I reach heaven the quickest -- the path of knowledge or the path of love?" The angel looked at him wonderingly and said: "Are not both paths the same?" (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 137).

During this now one-sided argument with Pearson, a certain self-pity in connection with the poet's hard labour is evinced in "God's Gifts to Men", which is also short enough to quote in full.

> The angels stood before God's throne to take down his gifts to men.
> One said, "What shall I take to the little child?"
> God said, "A long cloudless day in which there shall be no rain, to play in."
> And one said, "What shall I take to the woman?"
> And God said, "The touch of a little child upon her breast."
> And one said, "For the man?"
> God said, "He has all things, let him enjoy."
> "And what shall I take for the poet?"
> And there was silence for a little while.
> And God said, "For the poet, a long sleep in which there shall be no dream, and to which there shall be no waking: his eyes are heavy."
> And the angels went down. (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p.).

"Workers" remains the least tormented of Schreiner's attempts to "wrap up" what had happened to her relationship with Pearson. Her "realistic" stories would continue to tell unhappier tales of betrayal and agony, their plots trying out slight variations on still-unresolved emotional dilemmas.

iii. "The Most Natural Way of Seeing": The Choice of Dream and Allegory

> Most people have a prejudice against allegories, and very justly. The form is dangerous for the artist, and rarely acceptable to the public. The one popular allegory -- Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress-- is popular largely on account of its least artistic qualities. But the allegories of Miss Schreiner are something entirely new....
>
> Arthur Symons, review of Dreams

> As I walk'd through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was a Denn; And I laid me down in that place to sleep: And as I slept I dreamed a Dream.
>
> John Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress

> As I travelled across an African plain the sun shone down hotly.... And all to the right and the left stretched the brown earth.... And after a while a heavy drowsiness came over me, and I laid my head down against my saddle, and I fell asleep there. And in my sleep, I had a curious dream.
>
> "Three Dreams in a Desert," (Dreams, pp. -).

> The choice of allegorical fiction by an author implies something about the construction of his world.[3]
>
> Stephen Barney, Allegories of History, Allegories of Love

For many years, Schreiner's "dreams," which were attempts to heal old wounds caused by loss of love and loss of faith, provided an answer to her personal dilemma of alienation. Through the process of "dreaming," the Pearson debacle could become the noble renunciation of a lover seen in "A Far-Off World"; unbearable anger could be staunched in "A Ruined Chapel" and "A Dream of Prayer." However, when we consider that throughout the late 1880s and 1890s Schreiner's "dreaming" became almost an involuntary reflex, we see that allegorical fiction was not only a vehicle for the various debates occasioned by Schreiner's individual experience. It was also a literary mode whose functions and potentialities formed part of the subject matter of those debates.

It will be recalled that throughout the 1880s and 1890s, however clinical and objective Schreiner sought to be, "Three Dreams in a Desert" appeared instead of the clinical, heavily-researched "big sex book" Schreiner was supposed to be writing,[4] and the introduction to Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Women which she was supposed to be writing at this time never appeared at all.[5] At precisely the time in which she was struggling with this introduction (1886-9) she began more and more to characterise her tendency to allegorise as something she was powerless to halt, even when she wished to. As we have seen, she had shown herself to be uncomfortable with what she felt to be Pearson's harsh divisions between intellect and feeling, and produced works like "The Poet" accordingly. Equally, she showed herself to be uncomfortable with what she saw as Wollstonecraft's too rationalist, eighteenth-century discourse of feminism, and responded to it by putting "six or seven allegories in [the introduction]; I've tried to keep them out, but I can't."[6] This element of inner compulsion bears some examination.

The pithy observation by First and Scott that "dreaming" and allegory were forms Schreiner chose because "neither fiction nor the data of science really allowed her to develop her idea of life as a moral journey"[7] is shrewd. Other valid and interesting points are made by Cherry Clayton in her essay "Olive Schreiner: Child of Queen Victoria: Stories, Dreams and Allegories".[8] Clayton begins by offering a general definition of

allegory, distinguishing it from symbolism and placing it in opposition to mimetic realism, reminding us, in Hough's words, that allegory "is the mode 'in which the exploitation of two layers of meaning becomes a formal constituent of the work.'"[9] Clayton then goes on to demonstrate skillfully how it is that Schreiner schematically charted the journeys of Carlylean Artist/Heroes through terrains of Emersonian "mystical monism" that can be seen to underlie and ultimately to transcend physical reality in some of her allegories. Clayton comes close to asking crucial questions about Schreiner's compulsion toward allegory when she cites Curtius's discussion about the characteristic "laws" of the "Emersonian mind" which govern "not only... structure but even... perceptibility." But her essay is chiefly concerned with "plot," and stops short of a satisfactory explanation of Schreiner's attachment to the form itself.[10] Strangely, Clayton quotes Sarah Gertrude Millin's remark that Schreiner was "intellectually a free-thinker" but "temperamentally a religious martyr," but having quoted it shows little interest in its implications. She simply agrees that "temperament obviously played a role in her [Schreiner's] sense of persecution," as if this were a mere genetic accident and not a pointer to cultural backgrounds and precepts antedating Schreiner's "Emersonian mind."[11]

As we have seen, Berkman in "The Healing Imagination of Olive Schreiner" has striven to show that Schreiner's writings in general and her dreams and allegories in particular demonstrate a <u>conscious</u> concern on Schreiner's part to break down dichotomous thought-structures that Victorian thought had inherited from the Enlightenment.[12] Chrisman agrees with this viewpoint, but considers Schreiner's attempt to have been less successful than Berkman suggested. Chrisman chooses to concentrate on the paradoxes that arise from Schreiner's avowed beliefs and her alleged <u>unconscious</u> inability to free herself from tropes of "imperialist activity."[13] Hence, while Berkman notices only the light and joyous labour produced in the "Heaven" of "The Sunlight Lay Across My Bed", Chrisman by contrast argues that the allegory undermines itself because "Heaven," being sited on a mountainside where souls mine for gems, is part of a "scheme of domination." Similarly, Berkman sees the connectivity of "In a Ruined Chapel" as

positive evidence of Schreiner's "Buddhist" sensibility, while Chrisman finds a disturbing ambiguity in the story's structure.[14]

Clayton closes her essay by opining extravagantly that Schreiner's allegories remain readable because they "stimulate other minds into excited activity," and thus fulfil Ezra Pound's definition of authorial "nutrition of impulse," a judgment which jars with the thrust of important criticisms in the rest of her essay.[15] Meanwhile, the polarity of Berkman's and Chrisman's arguments makes obvious their particular briefs: Berkman to see a "healing" inclusivity everywhere in Schreiner's texts (as part of form and content), Chrisman to concentrate on Schreiner's entrapment within metaphors of imperialist exclusivity (again, structurally as well as in "plot"). Berkman, in her discussion of the allegories even more than elsewhere, must perforce gloss over copious evidence of Schreiner's anguish and even hatred for other women. Chrisman must also ignore biographical background for her theory to hold -- as has been demonstrated in the previous section with regard to her reading of a number of the dreams and allegories. More importantly in the terms of this discussion, both Berkman and Chrisman comment on allegory only as an ironic, and ironically employed, residue of a discarded Christianity.

In the light of the work of Berkman, Chrisman, Clayton and others in this area, First and Scott's simple remark about Schreiner's perception of life as a "moral journey" must again be invoked in order to sum up this introduction and clarify the aims of the section to come.[16] For the narrow purpose of answering the question of why Schreiner used allegory both as much as she did and as involuntarily as it appears she sometimes did, First and Scott's comment proves itself the most resonant analysis of all. It suggests that the significance of Schreiner's allegiance to allegory goes beyond a simple catalogue of the emotional or political principles or preoccupations she aired within the form. Secondly, it (fittingly enough) refers us typologically to the most famous "moral journey" in English literature, important in the context of English history in general and in Schreiner's youth in particular: Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. It can be argued in this section is that Schreiner's case requires reference to the common elements that link the Puritan culture of Bunyan's day (and its "persecutory imagination") with Schreiner's

earliest consciousness, upbringing, intellectual convictions, emotional traumas and aesthetic intentions. It may not be enough to say, as Berkman does, that Schreiner "took the moral allegorical mode of Pilgrim's Progress, a work she knew well, and secularized it,"[17] if what Schreiner shared with Bunyan was a fundamental, even fundamentalist, psychological framework that denied a difference between spiritual and secular, or between (as she wrote to Pearson) the intellect and the emotions.[18] Many of her allegories convey this perceptual idealism in terms that are anything but "secularized." An obvious example is "Two Paths":

> A Soul met an angel and asked of him: "By which path shall I reach heaven the quickest -- the path of knowledge or the path of love?" The angel looked at him wonderingly and said: "Are not both paths the same?" (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 137)

Like Calvin himself, Schreiner could use the terms "faith" and "knowledge" almost interchangeably:[19] for her what was imaginable and desirable required only time to be proved factual -- that is, intuition preceded cognition, rather as it did for her mentor Herbert Spencer. That, it may be argued, is precisely why she found that his teleological view of the universe slotted so very well into the gap left by her loss of faith in a traditional Calvinist God, and also why she held (grimly, when necessary) to Emerson's promise that "The Ideal shall be Real." These exchanges will be seen to have far-reaching implications for her use of allegory, which is important to her, as it was to Bunyan, not just as a tool of propaganda but a natural way of viewing the world.

It is important to be explicit in locating Schreiner's use of allegory as Bunyanesque, given the tendency of Showalter and others to mistake her technique as being connected with fashionable "dreams" and "fantasias" of the fin-de-siècle period.[20] It may also be worthwhile noting that Schreiner's choice of allegory had little to do with the medievalist vogue of the mid- to late nineteenth century, which gave rise to attempts at allegory by some nineteenth-century authors. William Morris, for example, published in 1890 the visionary, quasi-allegorical novel News from Nowhere, which Schreiner had read and admired.[21] It boldly depicted a post-revolutionary England where mediaeval

ideals of fellowship, "back-to-nature" living were practised. This was a book for the masses by one whose mediaevalism (unlike that of Carlyle and Ruskin) did not make him pessimistic about human nature itself, and who concentrated on fellowship and joy in labour as features of mediaeval society, rather than espousing Ruskin's feudal paternalism or Carlyle's patriarchal Golden Age -- "godlike and my father's."[22]

Clearly prescriptive where Schreiner was suggestive, the Utopian England of News from Nowhere dealt with the glorious future down to its light fittings;[23] and Schreiner no doubt agreed with some of Morris' views, as is suggested in Woman and Labour by her almost obsessive cry "Give us labour!" and her wistful desire for fellowship.[24] Any optimism gleaned from Morris, however, was confined to that one book. Although she could write to Carpenter in 1892 from South Africa, "One feels so sure here, that everything is in a transitional state, and that the bigger time is coming some day, " she had to add "It's harder to feel it in the world."[25] "Here" in 1892 was the farm at Gannahoek, where she was visiting the Cawoods, and "the world" was presumably -- England.

And England was for Schreiner at this time inextricably associated with failures of human relationships, for Schreiner the very building blocks of progress, without which a Utopian socialist future could not come to pass. That Schreiner could write that letter to Carpenter in 1892 from a state of isolation such as she had yearned to be free from eleven years before says much. There is a bruised quality about her writing at this time that contrasts with Carpenter's or Morris's optimism: she expects even less understanding of her sexual idealism, aesthetic aims, or her political views from her readers or even her friends than before. This is due to the fact that in her idealist ideology she believed "the revolution" without waited upon many individual revolutions within. Socialism (as she told Edward Carpenter) was only half the story, "individualism" was the other half.[26] Thus she could not accept Morris' fellowship/inclusivity any more than she could accept Carlyle's exclusive hierarchies: the "moral journey" to socialism was conceptualised by her as an overwhelming number of individual Christians struggling towards the City. This explains why the blessed figure at the top of the mountain of the third Heaven in

Schreiner's socialist allegory "The Sunlight Lay Across My Bed" stands alone. As mentioned, Chrisman finds this in itself a trope of exclusivity, yet it need not be seen so, for the allegory fights Calvinist conceptions of the irredeemability of the damned by arguing that "Hell is the seed ground from which Heaven springs" (Dreams, p. 177). The narrator's view of a "mightily" labouring figure who, God explains, has mounted to Heaven "by a bloody stair... from the lowest Hell," proves that Schreiner's ultimate vision was anti-Calvinist and inclusionist, though she argued her vision, as Stachniewski could have predicted, in Calvinism's mother-tongue, and saw that each person's battles would be fought out alone.

Chrisman has noted that Schreiner was no more comfortable with the confidence of Carpenter's "romantic ego" in the prospect of a "utopian moment of fusion" than she was with the confidence of Pearson's unblinking rationalism in its different version of the beautiful future.[27] In contrast to both she emphasised the struggle of it all, while trying to convince herself of the inevitability of success; her anxieties in this context are identical to those experienced by the haunted Puritan conscience, hopeful, but uncertain, of salvation. Such Puritanical anxieties led inevitably to allegory, the "cultural mode of transmission" most appropriate to Puritan culture. As Stachniewski has demonstrated, the sensibility formed by a Calvinist society perceives allegory not as a mere vehicle for propaganda but as the most "natural way of seeing."

Scholars who have addressed Schreiner's quasi-mystical accounts of her creative processes have tended to look for models or precedents in Buddhism and the works of Emerson, and these approaches have their validity. However, John Stachniweski's analysis of the seventeenth-century "persecutory imagination" provides another model which seems to fit Schreiner's case better. Freethinker though she was, Schreiner was wont to observe that, "except in my own language of parables, I cannot express myself."[28] She also wrote of feeling that "while it is easy to express abstract thoughts in argumentative prose" she had found it hard to express the emotions awakened by these thoughts "in any other form"[29] than allegorical fiction. It is even possible to assert that the approach used by Gay Clifford, who argues that "allegory is always conscious; the writer

knows what he is doing and why he is doing it"[30], is misleading in Schreiner's case. To argue that she uses allegory as a tool or a weapon is to grant her choice more consciousness than she granted it herself. She so often declared herself surprised to have an allegory "flash" upon her unbidden. Stachniewski comments on how Bunyan likewise "disavows conscious intention" when describing his "creative process":

> The fast-multiplying allegorical ideas came to him unbidden while he was working on a treatise-- and even when he proceeded to organize and develop these he had only to draw latent material out of his mind: *"Still as I pulled, it came"* (p. 2). The importunate allegorical sparks testify to a powerful imaginative need which they offered to satisfy.[31]

In this "imaginative need" Schreiner shows herself a puritan at heart, albeit a Spencerian one, and this is rooted in her fundamentally providential view of the world. Stachniewski argues that, "if the idea of metaphor is taken to presume the existence of another, more natural mode of understanding [emphasis added]," then "most of The Pilgrim's Progress, is scarcely metaphorical to Bunyan" at all.[32] These two statements can readily be connected within the context provided by Stachniewski's discussion of the habitual "providential" perception of the world which was so ingrained in the Puritan mind that everything was an act of God (or the devil), and constantly referred to and interpreted as such. Such a world-view was held with unsurpassable literal-mindedness by key figures in Schreiner's formative years, as has been discussed. She herself had participated in, and suffered from the psychological effects of, an absolute providential reading of the world.

If (as Stachniweski remarks) "allegory accommodates the puritan experience more fully and therefore communicates it more effectively than any other form," that is not because allegory's "perceptual modes" are designed to "replace rationalist assumptions," but rather because the "providential reading of the world and the self was already in place as the natural way of seeing." To the faithful, what exists suggests its Creator and His aims -- whether they be to save or to damn, to include or exclude -- and it naturally follows that what is seen stands for what is unseen.[33] Schreiner recorded herself as having received Spencer's teleological theories with a joy like that of "Christianity breaking in the dark Roman world" and a fervour more like religious belief

than rational assent,[34] and for her they replaced the "providential agency of God (or the devil)" which the Puritans believed to be always and everywhere at work. Where for the Puritans "God's persistent interventionism was moreover the logical correlate of the Calivinist belief in total human passivity in relations with God"[35], Schreiner hopefully prophesied that revelation would come by experience of a fundamentally natural and benign set of moral laws. This notion is discussed by Waldo's Stranger:

> In the end experience will inevitably teach us that laws for a wise and noble life have a foundation infinitely deeper than the fiat of any being, God or man, even in the groundwork of human nature. (African Farm, p. 171)

Schreiner kept a faith in the ultimate triumph of some kind of justice according to such laws, and believed that the "Ideal" could not but be "Real" in time. Such a belief came to underpin her theoretical interpretation of her own creative energies. As Berkman remarks,

> Despite Schreiner's search for a scientific explanation of creative flashes and dreams, she could not settle for purely physiological theories...According to Symons, she claimed "a force works in us such as works in nature, and if we follow that we must be right."[36]

Feeling this "force" Schreiner sometimes, Bunyan-fashion, "Fell Suddenly into an Allegory."[37] Her language elided easily between the Spencerian vocabulary of nature and connectivity and that Calvinist vocabulary of divine inspiration: in a letter to her brother Will Schreiner jokingly threatened him: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me and I could prophesy -- but I refrain."[38]

It is important to remember that, if allegory was the chief vehicle of expression of Puritan ideals, it was also the chief vehicle for those wishing to criticise their fellow Puritans. Schreiner's choice of an apparently anachronistic mode does not therefore, despite the antiquity and allusiveness of the form, imply an ideological conservatism. On the contrary, Schreiner's exploitation of the Puritan modes of allegory, prophecy, and dreaming is entirely consistent with their seventeenth-century functions as the tools or weapons of the out-of-favour, the ill-educated, the persecuted and the voiceless -- who often used them to address others in the same condition. Bunyan and many contemporary

female "prophetesses" (including Lady Eleanor Davies, Mary Cary, Anna Trapnel, and others) had used the form almost exclusively in these ways during times in which the former was in prison for his views and the latter were legally forbidden by virtue of their sex to speak out in any other way.[39]

It is fitting in this context, too, that Schreiner found allegory the most natural and powerful method of conveying to a British audience what she had observed, thought, and dreamed concerning Cecil Rhodes and his handling of conflict in Mashonaland in the 1890s. Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland is a complex and subversive work which began its life as a dream and which Schreiner transformed into an allegorical nightmare. It was entirely fitting that one awed contemporary reviewer immediately saw in Schreiner's writing a combined "moral and imaginative courage" reminiscent of "one of the old puritans of the Seventeenth Century or of the Hebrew prophets....[40]

iv. "Take a Message to England:" Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland

> Once I looked at them [the Vietnamese prisoners] strung from the perimeter to the treeline... [A few of the] men went out there and kicked them all in the head, thirty seven of them. Then I heard an M-16 on full automatic starting to go through clips, a second to fire, three to plug in a fresh clip, and I saw a man out there, doing it. Every round was like a tiny concentration of high-velocity wind, making the bodies wince and shiver. When he finished he walked by us... and I knew I hadn't seen anything until I saw his face. It was flushed and twisted like he had his face skin on inside out.... His eyes were rolled up half into his head, his mouth was sprung open and his tongue was out, but he was smiling. Really a dude who'd shot his wad.
>
> Michael Herr, Dispatches[1]

"I saw a man out there, doing it": Peter Wilhelm quotes Herr's sentence twice in "Peter Halket, Rhodes and Colonialism," an essay in which he argues that Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland is proof that "Schreiner had seen Rhodes 'doing it' " up north in 1896, when he was "pacifying" Rhodesia in the wake of the Matabele and Mashona uprisings against his Chartered Company. In Wilhelm's view, Schreiner

> ...understood Rhodes all too well. In his penetration of Africa, Rhodes had cleared a space for the exercise of the darkest impulses of Colonialism. A passage in Trooper Peter traces a connection between warfare and sexuality that Herr would not find unfamiliar: "The logs sent up a flame clear and high, and, where they split, showed a burning core inside: the cracking and spluttering sounded in his [Halket's] brain like the discharge of a battery of artillery. Then he thought of a black woman he and another man caught alone in the bush, her baby on her back, but young and pretty. Well, they didn't shoot her! -- and a black woman wasn't white!" (Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 36-7).[2]

Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland can boast a critical pedigree as bizarre in its diversity as that belonging to any other of Schreiner's works. Wilhelm's response is intended to serve as a shocking, possibly salutary introduction to a text which has often been lumped among Schreiner's occasional political writings as a sterile tract. Wilhelm argues that, on the contrary, the book is not only a subtle work of art, but the beginning of a tradition in South African letters which stretches down to such works as J. M. Coetzee's 1974 novel Dusklands. In that book Jacobus Coetzee admits, while describing his "exploration" of the

Khoikhoi, that he lost his "sense of boundaries" in the wild and committed "upon the dark folk the murders we have all wished."[3]

It is useful to begin a discussion of Trooper Peter Halket by providing some historical context to the events which in part account for its plot, since it is indeed a work of propaganda specifically aimed at a British audience as well as a work of art. As Wilhelm's use of the word "penetration" is still fresh in the mind, it may be apposite to turn to First and Scott, who use the same term when summarising the background to Schreiner's novella:

> Rhodes and Jameson had planned the eventual conquest of Matabeleland from 1890 but the clash had been postponed largely because Lobengula, king of the Matabele, had gone to such lengths to maintain the peace.... In 1893 a pretext was found for the war and Jameson marched on Bulawayo with white volunteers who were paid in captured land and cattle; Lobengula was dead within a month. Over the following three years Matabeleland experienced a dispossession of Africans and the penetration of white settlement on a scale as yet unparalleled in central and east Africa.... The volunteers of the Company column had to be rewarded; as well, important sections of English society were given a stake in the success of the new colony.... The result was that in 1896 first the Ndebele and then the Shona rose in rebellion against Company rule.[4]

Referring to Rhodes' tactics in the territories to the north, Cronwright wrote to Carpenter as early as 1894 "that it would not do for the truth to be known about the campaign."[5] Critics often lay stress on Schreiner's personal disillusionment with Rhodes as the most important inspiration for Trooper Peter Halket; few mention that she and her husband had personal knowledge of combatants in the conflict as well, a fact she pointed out to her brother Will in 1897 in response to his objection that she was "unfair:"

> With regard to Peter Halket being over drawn, dear Laddie; perhaps much as you know about most points connected with South Africa more than I do, I may know some aspects of the Northern matter better. You see I have known intimately such numbers of young men up there, and from their letters, the journals they have sent me, and from the conversations we have had with some of them in Kimberley when they came down. It would take me too long to tell you about things, but Peter Halket is a very toned down dead picture of the reality.[6]

In addition to her repudiation of the conduct of the "Northern matter," and in the aftermath of the notorious "Jameson Raid,"[7] Schreiner was convinced that Rhodes would try again to provoke war in the Transvaal, the purpose of which, in the words of a "Jingo" friend of hers who was also "an intimate friend [of] Jameson and Rhodes," was to "wipe the Dutchman out of South Africa forever." She warned her brother:

> Yes, Rhodes will say in public nothing! and in private he will haul up those men and say war is certain, and send them half mad with enthusiasm; as one leading Bay man said to Cron, if Rhodes can only bring on a war we'll forgive him everything! And then he will go to Cape Town and talk "Dear old Africander" to you and Hofmeyr; and you will be quite touched.... There is coming a big awakening for you two!! The spirit of the Lord is upon me and I could prophesy -- but I refrain.[8]

Something like the "spirit of the Lord" (see also Schreiner's definition of "the voice of God," below) had already come upon her three months before this letter was written, and its result was a dream from which she awoke one morning in August 1896 with what she called "A sort of allegory story about Matabeleland" almost fully formed in her head.[9] Not long afterwards she named it Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland.

There are, on the surface, two different narratives operating in Trooper Peter Halket, but they are in fact connected in many ways. The outer, framing "realist" story of the last days of a particular soldier, an employee of Rhodes' Chartered Company, contains an inner, dream-like narrative spoken by a "stranger" whom Peter encounters while lost in the veld. This inner narrative is full of allegories, some relating to Peter's own experiences and some to the contemporary political situation in southern Africa. One of the major connections between the two stories is by the much-punned-upon word "company." Besides identifying at the beginning of the story that which the isolated soldier lacks, this word unites with the similarly ambiguous word "charter" to identify two polar opposites: the rapacious Chartered Company for which Peter works, and his visitor's spiritual "company" whose charter is based on love.

It was not until the work of Stephen Gray that these two stories were analysed as one. Gray points out that the whole story falls "within the realm of realist fiction," since Schreiner allows Halket's physical and mental state to deteriorate so far that the visitation by his Christ-like "stranger" is totally explicable in terms of delusions brought about through loneliness, guilt, hunger, thirst and perhaps the "touch of fever" to which some of his fellow soldiers attribute his behaviour later in the book (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 112).[10] Gray also notices that Schreiner is careful to return throughout her narrative

> ...to the fireside on the koppie upon which Peter nods in his loneliness, so that it is ultimately clear that the entire stranger section is located not in Symbol Land but on Rhodesian ironstone (Symbol Land is in Peter's "blue" and "weary" imagination).[11]

Schreiner wrote of the work to her friend Betty Molteno:

> Don't think I mean anything supernatural takes place, though that decision which our nature gives when one tries to silence the lower and purely personal interest to allow the higher elements in it to adjudicate amongst themselves is what the ancients call the "Voice of God," and it is to a certain extent, because it is the highest and for each soul within itself the most ultimate injunction.... And this thing is certain, that when one acts in obedience to it, one never regrets, even though absolute failure in the eyes of the world follows....[12]

Gray's reading throws up a series of proofs of Schreiner's artistry in forming subconscious parallels in Peter's mind between the early, "realist" part of the narrative and the "stranger section." Through such parallels Schreiner shows how the procedure she described to Molteno (adjudication by one's "higher elements") might function in the case of a rather simple young man, educated to be decent but up to his neck in indecency. Gray demonstrates how, within the soldier's reveries, Peter's memories of his mother's ducks are linked to Halket's own feelings about killing; his raids on birds' nests and his raids on the Shona are so linked that his "childish vandalism" comes to stand for the "rape of a continent"; and the "hanging tree" on the young Peter's school-room door is the hanging tree from which black rebels are hung in Bulawayo.[13] In the school-room picture Jesus was

shown "with his arms stretched out and the blood dripping from his feet." The reader naturally remembers this picture when the "stranger" appears with "bad scars" on his feet, but the connection is not consciously made by the soldier whose delusions are being reported (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 30 and p. 48). Indeed, as Gray points out, "networks of association so proliferate in Trooper Peter Halket that one is tempted to keep turning them up endlessly."[14]

Perhaps the most sinister set of imaginary connections of all is in this single-paragraph masterpiece:

> ... after a while, Peter Halket's thoughts became less clear: they became at last, rather, a chain of disconnected pictures, painting themselves in irrelevant order on his brain, than a line of connected ideas. Now, as he looked into the crackling blaze, it seemed to be one of the fires they had made to burn the natives' grain by, and they were throwing in all they could not carry away: then, he seemed to see his mother's fat ducks waddling down the little path with the green grass on each side. Then, he seemed to see his huts where he lived with the prospectors, and the native women who used to live with him; and he wondered where the women were. Then--he saw the skull of an old Mashona blown off at the top, the hands still moving. He heard the loud cry of the native women and children as they turned the maxims on to the kraal; and then he heard the dynamite explode that blew up a cave. Then again he was working a maxim gun, but it seemed to him it was more like the reaping machine he used to work in England, and that what was going down before it was not yellow corn, but black men's heads; and he thought when he looked back they lay behind him in rows, like the corn in sheaves. (Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 35-7)

Viewing the passage above, and watching how Halket's consciousness drifts from this bloody harvest to his rape of a "native girl" and his embarrassed sense that the episode is not one he could explain to his mother ("His mother didn't understand these things; it was all so different in England from South Africa"), it is not difficult to perceive that Schreiner is here seeking to suggest a growing unease in Peter's psyche that is bound to require some transformative consequences. Gray sees it this way:

> ...Peter, also called Simon, is, in the ferment of his own skull, to persuade himself into a radical transformation. Thus, inevitably, he is going to create for himself a position in which he has to be martyred for Christ.[15]

Peter is going to do this, moreover, not just because of the Christian values with which he was raised in the school-room, but because the secular morals of English "fair play" go against the grain of what he has learnt to do and to watch in Africa. The fact that he acquired his moral code from his mother is significantly recalled when he attributes to her influence the queasiness he feels about the hangings in Bulawayo. Every anecdote the stranger tells him about the wounded refugees hiding out near his kopje has a connection with his own memories; for example, the man with the wounded leg whom the stranger says he helped to a pool (Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 49-50) clearly becomes, in Peter's mind when he is back at camp, the man his captain intends him to execute, and the husband of one of the black women he kept.

Thus it is demonstrable that the apparent "conversations" between Peter and his stranger are the products of a mind disordered by isolation, hunger and guilt. Out of loneliness and alienation Schreiner herself frequently engaged, as has been shown, in such "mental conversation" with a Pearson-figure, and in From Man to Man she would have Rebekah do the same. Peter also suffers from hunger -- a potent stimulus to vivid dreams, as Schreiner demonstrated through Jannita's experience in "Dream Life and Real Life". Guilt provides the stimulus for Peter's to become the most potent and corporeal dream in a corpus of fiction which contains many dreams, and Peter is forced to see the arguments of his mother and his religious faith all reified in the person of Christ come to arraign him. Of the images afforded by his background, Christ as judge is the only one suited to the task of self-condemnation his psyche requires. Gray admires the

> ...achievements of Schreiner's chosen method: a monitored stream-of-consciousness from a limited man, who will go for the charisma of Christ, re-enact a Christ-like deed that makes utter sense in terms of his own upbringing and best intentions, and die the death of an obedient follower.[16]

Gray's analysis traces some of the "constant and intricate cross-references between her [Schreiner's] two means of character representation," of which he provides a large, but scarcely exhaustive inventory.[17] In the light of his work, it is hard to credit Beeton's comparatively brief and unexamined conclusion that the work shows that "Olive Schreiner, the pamphleteer," only fitfully displayed "the qualities of a thoughtful artist."[18] Beeton does not show any understanding of what Wilhelm describes as Schreiner's approach to "the deeper impulses of the system [of Colonialism]: the way in which unsubdued territory becomes an invitation to feral control."[19]

Peter is first presented sitting on a kopje under a sky of "impenetrable darkness." He is not just alone, he is lost, having been separated from his group while on scout duty. He is cold, hungry, thirsty, sleepy, and frightened by both the sounds and the silences of the veld. He feels confident that he has nothing to fear from "the natives," since, thanks to the activities of the "Chartered Company forces," "their kraals had been destroyed and their granaries burnt for thirty miles around, and they themselves had fled." A stream-of-consciousness narrative soon reveals Peter's past: his careless attitude as a boy in England toward his schooling, his moral idealisation of his mother, a poor but upright washer-woman to whom he fears he is something of a disappointment. He misses her, and dreams of striking it rich like Rhodes or Barnato and buying her a great house in London. Peter is confused about the manner of making his fortune, but is confident that by forcing land and labour out of the Matabele and the Mashona, and then forming some kind of "Syndicate" and "floating" the same by a mysterious process he does not understand, he will become fabulously wealthy. He has no intention of putting out any money himself, but relies on selling shares in his "Syndicate" at the right moment after having persuaded numerous others to put up capital. Any shareholders who lose by his selling out, he rationalises, will have only themselves to blame: "Everyone knew that you had to sell out at the right time" (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 34). When his conscience baulks at this, he consoles himself that "the British Government would have to buy" any worthless remaining shares, "and then no

one would lose." This programme allows him to fantasise without guilt about earning "five or six millions," then perhaps going "to Sandringham" (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 35).

This reverie suddenly causes Halket to feel depressed. Perhaps an awareness comes upon him that whatever fantastic riches his stock-market antics might afford him, his mother's class might continue to matter. In any case, as "disconnected pictures" begin to flood his brain shortly thereafter with images of mayhem and rape, and he tries to imagine explaining his participation in various atrocities to his mother, it is clear that it is memories of her teachings and her love that inspire what follows, as a sudden sound of "footsteps ascending" the kopje causes him to freeze with dread. On Peter's query "Who is there?" a voice answers, "A friend." Once Halket has got over his shock, he declares himself "confoundedly glad of any company," and from this point on the central hallucinatory portion of the story takes over.

This episode, which makes up two-thirds of the length of the book, can be divided into four parts. In the first, the stranger is introduced and identified simply as a Jew from Palestine, and assures Halket that "Cecil Rhodes has had nothing to do with my coming here" (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 39). Peter, unaccountably "exhilarated" by the stranger's presence, is moved to tell him about himself: how he came to Africa eighteen months before, how he got two black women to live with him in the days when he worked for a prospector, how he signed up with the Chartered Company when he heard it was going to have a "row" with the Matabele, and how his women had run away and were last seen making for "Lo Magundis country as fast as they could go" (Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 42-8).

The stranger in turn begins to tell Peter that there are wounded Matabele still in the area, despite the Chartered Company's recent destruction of an entire settlement, and Peter cautions him that such information could get him shot by his "martinet" of a captain, of whom Peter says to the stranger, "[he'd] shoot you as soon as look at you, if he saw you fooling around with a wounded nigger." Warming to the subject, Peter then asks:

"Did you hear of the spree they had up Bulawayo way, hanging those niggers for spies? I wasn't there myself, but a fellow who was told me they made the niggers jump down from the tree and hang themselves; one fellow wouldn't bally jump, till they gave him a charge of buckshot in the back: and then he caught hold of a branch with his hands and they had to shoot 'em loose. He didn't like hanging. I don't know if it's true, of course; I wasn't there myself, but a fellow who was told me. Another fellow who was at Bulawayo, but who wasn't there when they were hung, said they fired at them just after they jumped, to kill 'em. I--"

"I was there," said the stranger.

"Oh, you were?" said Peter. "I saw a photograph...but I didn't see you in it. I suppose you'd just gone away?"

"I was beside the men when they were hung," said the stranger.

"Oh, you were, were you?" said Peter. "I don't much care about seeing that sort of thing myself. Some fellows think it's the best fun out to see the niggers kick; but I can't stand it: it turns my stomach. It's not liver-heartedness," said Peter, quickly, anxious to remove any adverse impression as to his courage which the stranger might form; "if it's shooting or fighting, I'm there. I've potted as many niggers as any man in my troop, I bet. It's floggings and hangings I'm off. It's the way one's brought up, you know. My mother never even would kill our ducks; she let them die of old age, and we had the feathers and the eggs: and she was always drumming into me; -- don't hit a fellow smaller than yourself; don't hit a fellow weaker than yourself; don't hit a fellow unless he can hit you back as good again. When you've always had that sort of thing drummed into you, you can't get rid of it, somehow." (Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 50-2).

The stranger impresses Peter by claiming to have witnessed these executions, as well as another brutal one which Peter describes.

> "Why, you seem to have been everywhere," said Peter. "Have you seen Cecil Rhodes?"
>
> "Yes, I have seen him," said the stranger.
>
> "Now he's death on niggers," said Peter.... (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 52).

This marks the beginning of the second portion of the episode, which is explicitly political. Peter describes the "Strop Bill," and declares himself in sympathy with Rhodes there and also in his desire "to parcel them [niggers] out and make them work on our lands... just as good as having slaves, you know: only they haven't the bother of looking after them when they're old...."[20] This leads to a debate on the contemporary conflict between the Armenians and the Turks, in which the stranger probes Peter for an explanation as to why the British

support the Armenians against the Turks, but not the Mashona and the Matabele against the Chartered Company. It is effectively a debate on the difference between "freedom fighters" and "terrorists," and it becomes almost comical as the stranger's simple logic drives Peter to increasingly absurd arguments. Having declared that the British are supporting the Armenians because they have the same kind of hair, he finally admits that the real reason may be "if we don't help the Armenians the Russians would" (Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 57-8).

The third portion begins when, exasperated by the stranger, Peter cries out that at least the Armenians are Christians. "Are you Christians?" the stranger asks in sudden anger. "Is the Chartered Company Christian also?"(Trooper Peter Halket, p. 59). Under the pressure of these questions Peter's platitudes about Christian doctrine are progressively overwhelmed by what he remembers of his mother's teachings about justice and charity. In this context the final meaning of "company" becomes clear:

> "It's curious how like my mother you are; I mean, your ways. She was always saying to me, 'Don't be too anxious to make money, Peter. Too much wealth is as bad as too much poverty.' You're very like her."
>
> After a while Peter said... "If you don't want to make money, what did you come to this land for? No one comes here for anything else. Are you in with the Portuguese?"
>
> "I am not with one people more than any other," said the stranger....
>
> Peter looked intently at him. "Why, who are you? he said; then, bending nearer... he added, "What is it that you are doing here?"
>
> "I belong," said the stranger, "to the strongest company on earth."
>
> "Oh," said Peter, sitting up, the look of wonder passing from his face. "So that's it, is it? Is it diamonds, or gold, or lands?"
>
> "We are the most vast of all companies on earth," said the stranger; "and we are always growing. We have among us men of every race and from every land; the Esquimo, the Chinaman, the Turk, and the Englishman, we have of them all. We have men of every religion.... It matters to us nothing by what name the man is named, so he be one of us." (Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland, pp. 59-60).

When Peter asks if there are any of the stranger's "company" in "this country," the stranger describes two women, one old and one young and heavily pregnant, refugees who fled from

from the Chartered Company and sought refuge in a nearby cave. The older sacrificed her food for the younger, until the younger gave birth and was strong enough to travel. Other members of the stranger's company include a white prospector and his black servant who died for one another, and a Cape pastor who against his own interests preaches against the actions of Jameson and Rhodes.

Overwhelmed by this conversation, Peter tearfully expresses his desire to join the stranger's "company," and in the last part of the episode he is given a series of messages which he is to take back to England. The speech that brings about his capitulation includes the stranger's account, delivered in the accents of Darwin, Spencer and the King James Bible, of the "company"'s history from a distant time when "the dicynodant bent yearningly over her young." After tracing the history of the "company" from the time when cannibalistic humans first began to cultivate a primitive morality up to the present age of imperial expansion, the stranger prophesies that

> ...the day shall come, when the stars, looking down on this little world, shall see no spot where the earth is moist and dark with the blood of man shed by his fellow man; the sun shall rise in the East and set in the West and shed his light across this little globe; and nowhere shall he see man crushed by his fellows. And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. And instead of the thorn shall come up the fir-tree; and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle tree: and man shall nowhere crush man on all the holy earth. Tomorrow's sun shall rise," said the stranger, "and it shall flood these dark kopjes with light.... Not more certain is that rising than the coming of that day. And I say to you that even here, in the land where now we stand, where to-day the cries of the wounded and the curses of revenge ring in the air; even here... where man creeps on his belly to wound his fellow in the dark and an acre of gold is worth a thousand souls, and a reef of shining dirt is worth half a people... even here that day shall come. I tell you, Peter Simon Halket, that here on the spot where now we stand shall be raised a temple. Man shall not gather in it to worship that which divides; but they shall stand in it shoulder to shoulder, white man with black, and the stranger with the inhabitant of the land; and the place shall be holy; for men shall say, 'Are we not the sons of one Father?'"
>
> (Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 78-9)

After one final allegory from the stranger, Peter leaves his gun on the other side of the fire and collapses at the stranger's feet. "I would like to be one of your men... I am tired of belonging to the Chartered Company." (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 80).

Like his namesake, however, Peter denies the stranger three times: first when he is asked to persuade the "great people of England" and to "take back" their sword; second when he is asked to beg the whites of South Africa to reform their racial attitudes; and third when he is asked to appeal to Rhodes himself. All of these messages are clothed in lengthy parables or allegories. Peter feels unable, because unworthy, to deliver any of the messages. The stranger consoles him, saying that the "call" is more important than the "trumpet," and tells him to concentrate on simply bringing "the kingdom" into being "in that small spot where alone on earth your will rules." He then disappears, leaving "...Trooper Peter Halket...alone on the kopje" (Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 93-4).

After this episode, the "realist" method of the novella is resumed, and Peter's fate is in the main narrated by others. The first scene, which opens in his camp, involves the conversation of "three Colonial Englishman" reclining on the ground on a particularly bleak and boring day. Schreiner establishes an air of sordid banality among the members of the "Chartered Company" in comparison with the exalted "company" of the stranger: by the side of the trio of Colonials rests a "huge trooper" chewing tobacco between "rows of broken yellow teeth." He probably comes from somewhere "in the British Isles," and is said to have done "three years' labour for attempted rape in Australia" (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 97). He is present as a silent audience while the three Colonials criticise their food and their superiors, and he hears their complaint that the Jameson Raid has left the whites around Bulawayo at risk of being massacred by the Ndebele. Eventually two of the three "Colonials" depart, leaving the stage free for one of them to talk with a man who suddenly appears out of the bush, where he has been hunting.

This new arrival, "evidently an Englishman, and not long from Europe," learns from the Colonial the circumstances of Peter Halket's "row" with the captain about the matter of

a "bloody rascal" of a "nigger" found wounded by a nearby pool. The captain considered the prisoner a spy and ordered his execution, but Peter interrupted him with a "deputation" the Colonial compares to "a boy in Sunday school saying up a piece of Scripture." In fact much of Peter's plea is for the simplest justice: "if we have to fight against them we should remember they're fighting for freedom; we shouldn't shoot wounded prisoners when they were black if we wouldn't shoot them if they were white!" Peter's nervous protest seems also to have relied on the text "All men are brothers," and is punctuated with "at least fifteen" requests to take the prisoner, whom he claims he recognises, "up Lo Magundis way." This detail particularly amused his audience: "As if any born devil cared whether a bloody nigger came from Lo Magundis or anywhere else!" exclaims the Colonial (Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 105-8). To the reader, it should be clear that, whether from real recognition or deranged guilt, Peter has identified the black prisoner with the husband of the elder of the two Mashona women he once kept. The outraged captain's response to Peter's outburst is to order him to guard the prisoner until dawn. If the "big troop" which is meant to join them has not done so by then, Peter is to execute the prisoner himself.

The Englishman is appalled. He considers it "hardly sport to shoot a man tied up neck and legs," and is determined to stand up for Peter's right not to be executioner. His companion warns him dissent is useless, for no one can even get word of the affair outside the camp because "all one's wires are edited before they go down; only what the Company wants to go, go through" (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 111).

That night, after the camp goes "dead and still," Peter slips out and cuts the prisoner free, noting the while the "small flow of blood" from where the riems "had cut a little into his ankles" (another reminiscence of the blood dripping from Christ's feet in the picture on his school-room door). The prisoner's escape into the bush is not noiseless enough, because of his injuries, and it rouses the camp. When the Englishman and the Colonial arrive at the tree to which the prisoner was tied, they find beneath it the body of Peter Halket with a bullet through his chest. His death is patently the work of the captain, and was

foreshadowed by Peter's warning to the stranger that "He'd shoot you as soon as look at you, if he saw you fooling around with a wounded nigger." The story closes with the Englishman and the Colonial piling stones over Peter's grave beneath the tree against Peter was to have shot the prisoner. Both survivors are convinced of the hopelessness of trying to broadcast the real story, and it is generally accepted by the men of the camp that Peter was shot by Mashona "rebels." A stylistic analysis of the "inner story" of Trooper Peter Halket offers little to surprise those familiar with Schreiner's earlier writings. The use of a Christ-like "stranger" and of the Cape pastor in particular makes it easier for Schreiner to introduce numerous parables and allegories. The portions of the Bible to which the narrative most particularly returns are those with which a reader of Undine and African Farm is very familiar already, including Kings, Proverbs, and Paul's epistles to the Romans. The Book of Kings and Samuel had been plundered for Undine, and Paul's adjurement to the Romans (14:7) that "none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself," had been quoted by Waldo's Stranger as part of the Hunter's Allegory (African Farm, p. 168). The latter reappears here, in the mouth of Peter Halket's stranger, while he is midway through his description of the inexorable advent of the time of joy which lies ahead. That time is represented as the logical outcome of a chain of causes and effects from the days when a "dicynodant bent yearningly over her young" to a future of peace and ecstasy, but Schreiner's quasi-scientific prediction invokes phrases from Isaiah about what "shall come to pass in the last days" when "they shall beat their swords into ploughshares" (see Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 78-9 and Isaiah, 2:4).[21] Virtually everything in the Cape pastor's speeches about the Jameson Raid and the Blue Book Report concerning it had been said by Schreiner in her articles or letters of the time. Moreover, it is likely that Schreiner, like the "little" pastor, received poisoned pen letters for her pains and that she felt "alone" in Cape society, just as he did (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 75).[22]

Unsurprisingly, the message which the stranger asks Halket to deliver to the "men of thought" in England is among other things a message from Schreiner to Pearson:

> "Cry to the wise men of England: 'You, who in peace and calm and shaded chambers ponder on all things in heaven and earth, and take all knowledge for your province, have you no time to think of this? To whom has England given her power? How do the men wield it who have filched it from her? ... Oh, you who sit at ease, studying past and future -- and forget the present -- you have no right to sit at ease knowing nothing of the powers you have armed and sent to work on men afar. Where is your nation's sword -- you men of thought?" (Trooper Peter Halket, pp. 80-1)

In the "outer" narrative, there are other elements that link this work to others by Schreiner. Peter Halket, both before and after his conversion, is an isolated figure. His one outburst to the captain causes him to be considered, like the pastor, as perverse or mad. Although he releases the wounded prisoner, his death resembles that of Jannita in having no apparent repercussions beyond the event. Gray is partly right when he complains that this ironic defeat "in no way measures up to the heroic dénouement a fighter for Christ should be entitled to," but in forming that judgment he forgets that from Schreiner's standpoint the death of Christ appeared comparably unheroic and ineffective. Her central concern, as she told Pearson in connection with her attempts to be "Christ-like," was not with consequences but with purpose: "One can only form one's ideal and strive for it, success and failure must come as they will. The results must come as they may."[23] It could also be argued that the death which results from Peter's act of contrition at least places him permanently beneath Rhodesian soil. He thus has a purchase on the land, the only purchase Waldo and Lyndall achieved, the burial that makes him a part of Africa.[24]

The specific irony in Peter's case is that neither his speculative fantasies nor his affairs with "native" women afforded him any purchase at all. As Gray points out, there is an incongruity between Peter's forcible impregnation of the "nigger gals" and his fear that they will abort his children. Although he complains that they have "no feeling," he can remain morally in possession of them only be denying their capacity for feeling -- especially in the case of the older woman, who has a husband and two children. As Gray remarks, his relationships with these women have been the only true happiness he has known in

southern Africa, and Peter misses the "garden" which they created for him there. Although he wants the children and is therefore fearful of abortion, he cannot reconcile these feelings either with the women's colour or with his treatment of them. His concern is heightened by the fact that he is attached to the elder woman, not just because she is "plushly set up," but also because she reminds him of "mother."[25] On the one hand, Peter's feelings as a boy/man are hurt. On the other, the women's defection is a problem for Peter as a worshipper of Rhodes and his policies. If Peter's children are destroyed, his "penetration" of Africa will not have succeeded. When the black women abscond, he reports, they leave behind all European clothing that he has given them, but are careful to take his gun, some cartridges, and the lid from the tea-box to melt for shot. Peter's fear that the women have done away with his babies is linked to these thefts, for they preferred his gun without his penis to his penis without his gun. Moreover, Peter is convinced that the elder woman's husband had previously lurked round his hut and helped to plot the women's escape. Because he fears that the husband will return with the gun, Peter's favourite fantasy is that he shot the husband in their first encounter.

Given the loss of his "garden," his failure to win the hearts or control the wombs of his "nigger gals," and his hatred of the elder woman's husband, it is scarcely surprising that Peter should fear "vaguely, he hardly knew what, when he looked forward to his first night alone in the veld" (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 27). The dilemma of un-belonging is as much a problem as it was for characters in Schreiner's earlier fiction. Like Waldo, he can surmount it when a revelation of the unity of all relationships is quickly followed by death and an African grave, but in Peter's case the death has to be violent to match the violence of his life. On these levels, the "inner story" (in which Peter tells the stranger his "only story," that of the women's defection) is in harmony with the "outer story" (his martyrdom and burial). On another level, the inner and outer narratives can be seen to be in considerable opposition, if we recall the thesis of the previous section that Schreiner replaced her religious faith with an unshakeable faith in a "a unity underlying all nature."[26] On the one

hand there is the stranger's ecstatic revelation of the evolving sublimity that is the history of his "company" from pre-historic times to the present -- a revelation which resembles the rapturous vision of unity in the climax of "In a Ruined Chapel." On the other hand there is the existential horror into which the jaded Englishman is plunged by Peter's fate -- a fate which conveys to him a "message" not of unity and hope, but of despair. If the vision of the stranger's "company" and the philosophy of the Cape pastor are familiar variations on Schreiner's belief in humanity's inevitable progress towards peace, then in her portrait of the Englishman Schreiner suggests that she has her more cynical moments. Physically, the Englishman resembles Schreiner in that he is an asthmatic; he is also a former "medical student." Most characteristically of all, he declares a belief not in a God but in some force "greater than I could understand." Unfortunately, Peter's ignominious death deprives the Englishman even of this comfort, as the following exchange shows:

> "Do you think they will make any inquiries?" asked the Colonial.
> "Why should they? His [the captain's] time will be up tomorrow."
> "Are you going to say anything?"
> "What's the use?"
> They lay in the dark for an hour, and heard the men chatting outside.
> "Do you believe in a God?" said the Englishman, suddenly.
> The Colonial started. "Of course I do!"
> "I used to," said the Englishman; "I do not believe in your God; but I believed in something greater than I could understand, which moved in this earth, as your soul moves in your body. And I thought this worked in such wise, that the law of cause and effect, which holds in the physical world, held also in the moral: so, that the thing we call justice, ruled. I do not believe it any more. There is no God in Mashonaland." (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 121)

A provocative paradox remains. If it is to some extent Schreiner's voice that speaks through Peter's stranger, predicting a never-ending physiological, social and spiritual progress, her thought-process is also communicated by the weary tones of the Englishman as he denies the possibility of any such faith. The cognitive dissonance which the novella explores is that occasioned in Peter's mind by the disparity between his mother's lessons and his actual experience of enslavement, atrocity and injustice -- and that dissonance is re-

defined by the comments of the Cape pastor, for whom the observed facts of southern Africa distressingly challenge a keenly-felt sense of England's moral superiority. On another level, however, Trooper Peter Halket seems to articulate a philosophical or philosophical division within the mind not of its central character or even its narrator but rather of its author.

What factors caused this change, and did it permanently mark Schreiner's work? The immediate answers would seem to be "Rhodes/Rhodesia" and "No." The latter answer is easily made because in "Seeds-A-Growing" (1901), "Who Knocks at the Door?"(1917) and above all "The Dawn of Civilisation" (1920), Schreiner stubbornly proclaimed her belief in the immortality of the desire for, and the inevitability of the triumph of, universal freedom, peace and unity. But there is no doubt that the reasons for the apparent conflict of evidence between the stranger and the Englishman lie partly in Schreiner's intimate and appalled knowledge of the "spree" Rhodes's men had "up Bulawayo way" and partly in her sense of what had gone wrong within Rhodes himself. For Schreiner Rhodes was a kind of Lucifer, a man who had "wonderful gifts" and yet "had deliberately chosen evil"[27] Her sense of the distinctiveness of this tragedy rose from her belief that such "Children of Genius" as Rhodes had laid on them "a burden that [was not] laid ... on others..." (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 92). For the Cape pastor (a Schreiner-figure in his small size and his lonely stance), it is predominantly through such "Children of Genius" that the mission or divine purpose of humanity must or should be advanced. As he argues elsewhere:

> That Unknown that lies beyond us we know of no otherwise than through its manifestation in our own hearts; it works no otherwise upon the sons of men than through men. (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 72)

Thus the revelation of Rhodes's perfidy was bound to shake Schreiner's confidence, for it was from "Children of Genius" that she felt most was to be expected in working out the "manifestation" of the "Unknown." It has been suggested that Schreiner had been trying to seduce Rhodes since 1890, but it was no mere romantic disappointment that led her to tell

her sister that "The perception of what his character really was in its inmost depths was one of the most terrible revelations of my life."[28]

Among the practical repercussions of this "terrible revelation" was Schreiner's anxiety to get Trooper Peter Halket published, quickly. She feared that Rhodes would provoke an incident and start a war before she could sway, through Trooper Peter Halket, the hearts and minds of their common British audience. She wrote to her brother Will:

> ...if once Rhodes and his party can get only two English women, nay only one, shot say in the bombardment of Johannesburg, the whole English nation will stand up, the evil half simply to smash the cursed Dutchman, the best half of the nation simply because they have been made to believe that the English are being cruelly oppressed and ill-treated by the Boers, and that in wiping out the Dutch they are taking the side of the weak and the oppressed. Now it is to this public, which really is the great British public apart from the speculators and military men on the one hand, and apart from the ignorant mass on the street on the other, that my little book is addressed.[29]

The fear that Rhodes would try to provoke conflict by exploiting an attack on English womanhood was based on his tactics over the Jameson Raid. Schreiner accurately predicts the language to be employed in British propaganda during the South African War, and foreshadows the scene in A Passage to India in which Forster observes: "They had started speaking of 'women and children' -- that phrase that exempts the male from sanity when it has been repeated a few times."[30] There were many white women and children in the Bulawayo district, and Jameson's march into the Transvaal left them exposed to the possibility of murderous revenge. To enforce this irony, Schreiner uses the voice of the "Colonial":

> Fine administration of a country, this, to invite people to come in and live here, and then take every fighting man out of the country on a gold hunting marauding expedition to the Transvaal, and leave us to face the bitter end. I look upon every man and woman who was killed here as murdered by the Chartered Company. (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 99)

Schreiner's letter to her brother Will explicitly states that Trooper Peter Halket was "addressed to the great British public," because she was convinced that "If that public lifts

its thumb there is war, and if it turns down there is peace...." Thus, "It is for them and not at all for the South African public (who would not understand it) that the book is written." Unfortunately, as First and Scott report, Schreiner mistook her audience: "Most of the provincial dailies and the London papers revered its style and ignored its politics."[31] Salient exceptions to this reverence included the responses of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine and The University Magazine, the former of which called it a "political pamphlet of great bitterness."[32] Both these journals condemned the propagandist use of a Christ-figure as blasphemous, but Schreiner may well have been more disturbed by the verdict of G. W. Cross, who affirmed that "only the simplest and firmest faith could have created Him."[33] A partisan stance prevailed among Schreiner's early biographers, with the staunchly pro-British Daisy Hobman devoting such scant attention to the work that she did not trouble to spell the title correctly.[34] Buchanan-Gould, on the other hand, offers a judgment which is not only eloquent but critically astute: "So might Bunyan have written had he lived in South Africa in those days and been as familiar with its evils as Olive was."[35]

When the most recent edition of Trooper Peter Halket was published in 1974, with an introduction by Marion Friedmann, Rhodes's treachery and brutality against the Mashona and the Matabele from 1890 onward, and his attempted takeover of the Transvaal Republic by means of the no less treacherous but considerably less effective "Jameson Raid" of 1895, were no longer part of living memory. Nevertheless, the era of Rhodes seemed very fresh in the early 1970s because of what Marion Friedmann, in an access of understatement, called "unfinished business" in contemporary Rhodesia and South Africa.[36] Her introduction concentrates on the historical context of Trooper Peter Halket, discussing Schreiner's relationship with Rhodes and citing the reports of one "Sykes" who served with Colonel Plumer in the Matabeleland Relief Force.[37]

Also in 1974, Ridley Beeton published A Short Guide to Olive Schreiner's Writing and his student Richard Rive completed his thesis. In Beeton's book, Trooper Peter Halket is effectively dismissed as "hardly more than propaganda written in the white heat of

emotion," and Rive likewise opines that Schreiner's "characters" in Trooper Peter Halket are mere "sounding boards and mouthpieces."[38] Writing a year later, Gray asked some fundamental questions about Friedmann's historical and Beeton's literary criticism:

> Although one could maintain that the electric shock effect of finding contemporary relevance and morally engaged polemic only too applicable to one's own times is a large ingredient in one's enjoyment in and stimulation by books-- the feeling that books work must in the end be what we mean by their having value-- this "moral obligation" approach could deaden what it intends to evaluate. What is really unhelpful about Marion Friedmann's introduction and a summary of the novel like Ridley Beeton's... is that they make some mistakes in literary procedure.... novel or not, the techniques Schreiner uses in Trooper Peter Halket are abundantly and importantly those of the fiction-writer.[39]

In reply to various criticisms including this one, Beeton in 1983 grudgingly amended his view of Trooper Peter Halket from "hardly more than... propaganda" to "distinguished propaganda," adding that the work is best viewed "as a pamphlet to be placed alongside 'A Letter on the Jew' and An English South African's View of the Situation."[40] He reiterated that Trooper Peter Halket did not work for him as fiction, and insisted that it was too "specifically" aimed to be anything more than a period piece. A similar view has been expressed by Nadine Gordimer, who she decries the book's "preachy, nasal singsong" and comments derisively that

> Rhodes and the Chartered Company get a lambasting, and we feel thankful that, at least, the temptation has been resisted actually to personify them, in a burst of fire, as, respectively the devil and his red cloak.[41]

One often feels in reading Schreiner criticism that different critics must be discussing quite different books, but it could be argued that Trooper Peter Halket does indeed contain two books which are stylistically and thematically contrasted. There is an obvious distinction between the hallucinatory "inner story" about the stranger, which contains the most directly propagandist material, and the realistic "outer story" about the last days in the life of an English soldier working for the Chartered Company. Besides identifying the connections between the book's two parts, however, Wilhelm and Gray have argued that Trooper Peter

Halket deals with themes that go far beyond the particular conflict in which it is rooted. They attempt to reclaim the work from naive or complacent readings, and they patently admire Schreiner's interweaving of sleeping and waking nightmare with historical fact and even with humour -- something, it must be said, otherwise absent from Schreiner's writings after the Pearson affair. Trooper Peter Halket, as Wilhelm and Gray read it, is neither a work of art undermined by the inadequacy of its political thinking nor a political treatise rendered ineffective by the defects of its artistry. Gordimer, who tends to wish that Schreiner had been more faithful to fiction, complains uncharacteristically that Trooper Peter Halket should have been an essay and continues: "What a forceful essay Olive Schreiner could have made out of what she wanted to say in this duologue, but her powers as a novelist would have none of it."[42]

Gordimer's observation provides a stepping-off point to a different kind of discussion of the work, for it does not seem to have been the "novelist" in Schreiner who was responsible in this case at all, but, to an unprecedented extent in a work this long, the dreamer in her. In this book the transformative power of Schreiner's "persecutory imagination" works as effectively on contemporary events as it once did on her heartbreak over Pearson. It seems that Schreiner and her husband holidayed briefly at Kowie (south of Grahamstown) in late December of 1895, at the time of the Jameson Raid. In Cronwright-Schreiner's words, "We both saw at once that Rhodes was behind it, and said so," and a letter from Schreiner's to W. T. Stead only two days after Jameson's defeat at Doornkop, shows Schreiner's incisive understanding of its implications.[43] In August of that year, after a period of illness and depression, Schreiner returned with her husband to the Kowie. From there she wrote to Betty Molteno:

> The first four days we were here I did nothing but bathe and walk about barefoot on the sand, but the other morning I woke, and as I opened my eyes there was an Allegory full fledged in my mind! A sort of allegory story about Matabeleland. So I've been writing hard ever since. I shall get it copied out and sent off to England by Saturday I hope....[44]

Cronwright-Schreiner testified that her dream became, in its essentials, the published work. This phenomenon calls to mind certain processes that we have already seen theorised by Stachniewski, who warns us that

> ... an assumption of didactic intent should not be allowed to supervene on Bunyan's own, unpuritanical claim: I did it mine own self to gratifie (p. 1). Bunyan discloses, therefore, that production was self-gratifying and, to update his words, that its ingredients were largely thrown up from his own unconscious. The flux of expressions and images current in puritan culture... had seeped into his mind where they had apparently coalesced with unconscious images and feelings. These latent images and feelings were often the repressed sediment, it seems, of painful social experience... That the ideas took shape so readily, and so much to the surprise of their author, suggests that the dream-work had already been done.[45]

In Schreiner's case, much of the "dream-work" had already been committed to writing. The book contains many things which are both eerily familiar and instantly comprehensible to anyone who has read Schreiner's letters of this time. The emotional "little" Cape pastor has little to say, in the stranger's account of those who belong to his "company," that has not already been said by Schreiner in her own person. What with the evidence given her by the "young men" currently engaged in fighting the "Northern matter," and the public confirmation of Rhodes's involvement in the Jameson Raid, Schreiner had ample personal "mulch" by the time these experiences became the dream/nightmare which she had on the Kowie in August 1896.

Other "mulch," which has since been amply tilled by critics and biographers alike, was to be found in the complex personal feelings Schreiner had about Rhodes himself.[46] From the first, she reported that Rhodes had a strange attraction for her, which caused her to feel an "almost painfully intense interest in" both him and his work, and even to claim that "this man belongs to me."[47] She dined with him in November 1890, and thereafter evinced, as First and Scott record, not just a feeling of tenderness for him, but a " ... reserve... reminiscent of a similar anxiety vis-a-vis Pearson: though he himself was higher and nobler than she had expected, they could never be friends because their milieu was so

different.[48] The period of intimacy between Rhodes and Schreiner must have been short indeed. If a letter of January 1892 is correct, it extended only from November 1890 to March of 1891, when political differences, as well as rumours that she had romantic designs on him, caused her to distance herself.[49] She continued to laud him to her English friends for over a year before events in 1892 caused her to "insist that her name should not be mentioned in connection with his 'in any way whatever'."[50] Previously, in 1891, she had written the satirical sketch "The Salvation of a Ministry" (which was never published) in which the contempt she held for his policies, particularly with regard to the "Strop Bill," was modified by her awe of his character and force. Thus, in the allegorical "skit," when God sends Rhodes to Hell, Hell's front door proves too small for him to get through, and Heaven has to take him back in.[51]

There are comparisons to be made between Schreiner's feelings for Pearson and her feelings for Rhodes, not least in a consideration of the politician in "The Buddhist Priest's Wife," which has already been discussed. However, while the legacy of Rhodes in Schreiner's fiction may consist of his being partly the model for the politician in "The Buddhist Priest's Wife" and undeniably the inspiration of "The Salvation of a Ministry," her relationship with a young Cape farmer whom she met while visiting Gannahoek in 1892 left her little time to brood over her disappointments, whatever their character. In Samuel Cron Cronwright she found a man as anti-Rhodes as it was possible to be. As Rive notes, he had always been less "dithering" about Rhodes than Schreiner. Writing to Carpenter in early 1894, he stated flatly: "as a politician he is the embodiment of all that is untrue & unlovely; it is he who is corrupting the whole of our political life."[52] Cronwright-Schreiner's strength of opinion was a great support to Schreiner when chance put Rhodes, Schreiner and her husband on board the same ship to England in 1897 -- Rhodes travelling to answer the questions of Her Majesty's Government about the Jameson Raid, and Schreiner and her husband travelling in search of a publisher for Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland.[53]

Schreiner was terrified by impending publication, not just because she was certain it would "make Rhodes and the Chartered Company very bitter against [her] and all conflict is so terrible," but also because she feared the reaction of her family.[54] Her mother was ever staunchly pro-Rhodes and the attitudes of Theo and Ettie were particularly "Jingo." Schreiner used the language of her siblings when she wrote to Will that it was "the spirit of the Lord" that called on her to "prophesy" against Rhodes. This linguistic register, however, was her only connection with the faith of Theo and Ettie. When the war came in 1899, Ettie "declared that God had sent the Imperial troops in response to her prayers and those of others," and Theo asserted that "the power and position of the British Empire in South Africa had been ordained by God."[55]

Schreiner was angered by the failure of the British public, or of the British elements in South Africa, to see Rhodes as she did. Through the Cape pastor's indignant rhetoric she argued fiercely that a people is responsible for any leader whom they "set up on high," and that if they have armed such a man with their sword "his sins are theirs" (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 70). Meanwhile, in letters, Schreiner had begged James Rose Innes and Sauer to "come out of the City of Destruction."[56] In Trooper Peter Halket, it is clear that Schreiner did not so much condemn imperialism (which, compassionately administered, she supported as a help to "feeble or oppressed" peoples [Trooper Peter, p.73]) as oppose its implementation by stealth and deception. (Her dedication of the book to Sir George Grey is proof that she had not an entirely accurate view of his actions in the Cape Colony).[57] She was sure nonetheless, as her letter to her brother Will shows, that there was a better side to the British character and that she was the one to call it forth, and this confidence affected her sense of audience throughout the mid- and late 1890s. Such a position left her extremely isolated from much of Cape society, however, and was the cause of fierce and painful battles with her family -- one of which was so stressful that it caused her to miscarry.[58]

In the late 1890s, she found it increasingly hard to believe that any "force" other than capitalism was working in the world. She declared this period to be one of the most

solitary in her life: and her spirits were not of course raised by the outbreak of war. Early in 1901 she wrote to her husband about her subdued but not completely moribund faith:

> It's not only my faith in England and our English race that's gone, but I know now that humanity is hundreds of centuries nearer the wild beast than I had dreamt. Yet one must not give up hope. The hope, the aspiration, of the heart today will one day after all be realized in fact....[59]

By the time Schreiner wrote this letter, she could look back in disappointment on almost eight years in which (Trooper Peter Halket apart) she had published virtually no fiction of any kind, and in which the non-fiction she had written (The Political Situation, An English South African's View of the Situation and numerous articles and speeches printed in newspapers both in the Cape and in Britain) had not moved her intended readers to the extent she wished, if it had moved them at all. She had married in 1894, but had been compelled for reasons of health, money and wartime exigencies to live apart from her husband for long periods. She had given birth to, and lost, a daughter in 1895, and had suffered numerous miscarriages. She was in Johannesburg in the first half of 1899, and there produced An English South African's View of the Situation. She was in Cape Town in October when war broke out. Though she declared that she would not have minded at all if Johannesburg itself had been destroyed, she was considerably depressed by the destruction of the home she and Cronwright-Schreiner had there. In the burning and looting she claimed she lost not just personal effects, including locks of her father's and her sister Ellie's hair and her baby daughter's clothing, but many "old journals" and "about twenty 'Dreams' that were really good." Most catastrophically, she would later claim, the manuscript of her "big sex book" was burnt beyond salvation.[60] She worked sporadically at From Man to Man, but after the "nervous breakdown" to which she succumbed in 1901 while living under house arrest in Hanover, even this became difficult.

This study is predominantly concerned with Schreiner's fiction, and in these years her only fictional publications were "The Salvation of a Ministry", Trooper Peter Halket, the allegory "Seeds a-Growing" and the story "Eighteen-Ninety-Nine". Schreiner's

movements during this period will not be therefore be considered in detail.[61] Some general points about the period and her political writings must be made, however, as they have a bearing on Schreiner's sense of acute alienation at this time. That feeling, together with her faltering sense of audience, affected the fiction which followed and may perhaps have prevented that which did not.

Apropos of Schreiner's attempts at journalism, there is an illuminating comment both on the polarisation of South African society and on Schreiner's occasionally unfortunate style in Schoeman's remark that those moved by her polemical writings "most likely... already shared her views and were therefore susceptible to her highly emotional pleadings":

> Edmund Garrett, editor of the establishment organ the Cape Times and confidant of Milner... protested at the "question-begging rhetoric, however glowing, of Olive Schreiner's appeal for 'peace.' Penned in the name of the 'English South African', the one class in the country that most passionately repudiates it, that document supports the logic of a schoolgirl with the statistics of a romanticist, and wraps them both in the lambent fire of a Hebrew prophetess."[62]

Whatever one may think of Garrett's politics, it is hard to disagree with his description of Schreiner's argumentative tactics. The features he notes, in fact, have already been considered as evidence of her "persecutory imagination."

Schoeman comments shrewdly on the dubious methods Schreiner employed in dealing with such fundamental dilemmas as her wish to champion both Boer and "Native" without regard to the difficulty that her own husband had diagnosed -- that is, that in the 1890s a great many of the Boers "still retain[ed] the inhuman and primitive ideas with regard to the native, bred of ignorance and the days when 'zwart schepsel' was their slave."[63] Her grand-nephew summed up Schreiner's outlook and tactics in the matter thus:

> The dominating force in Olive's life was undoubtedly the love of man, mitigated here and there by hatred of some individual she conceived to have offended. This vigorous type of driving sometimes misses the gear changes,

> but always means so well. She was sometimes in a very tight corner when simultaneously loving some really reactionary Boer and some victimised Native. Logically she frequently squared the circle in talk with me..[64]

One also calls to mind the anecdote told by Schreiner's niece Lyndall Gregg, who recalled in Memories of Olive Schreiner "tales of her [Schreiner's] own boys [sic], such as Jim, the Zulu":

> Aunt Olive was anxious to explain to him her longing for universal brotherhood, so she started talking about how nice it would be when the White Man and the Black Man were good friends together. Jim was very busy polishing the floor, but he stopped, and looked up: "Then what for you kill my chief, Cetewayo?"
>
> This was a facer, but Aunt Olive tried again: "Well, that was wrong, only we must forget, and all be friends."
>
> But Jim just shook his head, and repeated firmly "What for you kill Cetewayo?"
>
> And he went on with his polishing.[65]

Schreiner had to face many challenges of this kind in her attempts to "cure" what Berkman persistently calls "the diseases infecting South African politics."[66] Unfortunately, Schreiner's emotional attachment to those whom she saw as the underdogs of South Africa (Boers and blacks) erased for her the necessity of <u>really</u> dealing with the question of relations between them. Since she perceived her audience to be British, she maintained (justly at the time) that Boer treatment of the blacks could not be used as an excuse by British for treating the Boers badly. As she wrote in December 1896:

> *Now* no person feels more strongly our duty to the native than I do. But we cannot do wrong today that good may come tomorrow. I cannot understand how any person who professes a large humanitarian attitude, and who is actually endeavouring to kill out national and racial bias with regard to the native, yet indulging [sic] it to the uttermost with regard to the Boer.[67]

Nevertheless, "Why you kill Cete[sh]wayo?" was not going to be a question that went away, and Barash is right to question Schreiner's attempts to "hold together the wide range of political demands in South Africa with the notion that all people are mothers' children after all."[68] With all her experience, she did always remember that Peter Halket's

stranger's question, "Are not all men the children of one father?" was of rather limited value as a guide to practical politics.

Finally, the greatest obstacle Schreiner faced was one she probably sensed from the early 1890s but certainly did not see clearly until after the war: as she sought to promote her crusade against oppressive imperialism, the face of imperial enterprise was itself changing. Under an ideology of Sammlungspolitik, late Victorian imperialism had become a mixture of nationalistic fervour and cold-blooded opportunism. The watershed year appears to have been 1896, which was followed (in Norman Stone's words) by "an orgy of imperialism which for the first time became a popular cause."[69] Stone lists the crises over African territories which in the years 1896-8 involved Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Germany and concludes that "This imperialism was not the rather haphazard affair it had been in the early 1880s when at least the pretence could be maintained that Africa had been partitioned 'in a fit of absence of mind' ".[70]

In this context, Schreiner's misunderstanding of her British audience becomes clear. As imperialism really was now a thoroughly popular cause in the British public mind, appeals to English "fair play," or even nightmarish accounts of what "our boys" got up to in the bush, were not enough to change public opinion. One of the few commentators to consider Schreiner's allegations seriously, the reviewer in Blackwood's Magazine who accused Schreiner of blasphemy, argued that "families with sons out there" had "an interest in knowing" whether the reported activities of the soldiers were "horrible truth or still more horrible invention." "Mr. Rhodes," the reviewer continued "is not our affair... but if our sons are trained in South Africa to be like that we are bound to know it."[71]

Citing Rhodes's biographers J. G. Lockhart and C. M. Woodhouse, Friedmann remarks that the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1897 did not "scrutinize.. the conduct of the Chartered Company's administration of Rhodesia" as it had been instructed to do. On the contrary, the "Charter was saved and it was saved again" in a subsequent parliamentary debate, when "Chamberlain championed Rhodes."[72] By now, in British public policy,

imperialism was not only popular but also increasingly consciously thought-out -- which could not, unfortunately for all concerned, be said for British military strategy and procedure. The lengthy duration of the war, given the grossly mismatched numbers, reveals both the comparative excellence of the Afrikaner fighting man (and woman, as Schreiner, among others, observed) and the gross mismanagement of the war on the British side, later to be dissected in long commissions of enquiry which revealed that there had never existed a coherent British plan of war, right up to the Peace of Vereeniging in May 1902.

Thomas Pakenham notes that there was never an offical count of "natives" killed as a result of the war, but estimates the figure to be in excess of 12,000. They were killed as combatants, potential spies, and in the course of casual massacres committed by both sides. Approximately 22,000 British or imperial troops were killed outright or died of injury and disease following the conflict, and something over 7,000 "rebel" Boer troops succumbed likewise. In comparison, the death toll wreaked upon the Boer victims of the "concentration camps" through malnutrition or disease was between 18,000 and 28,000 (mostly women and children).[73] When the end of the war came, Schreiner wrote to Carpenter, one of her first visitors was "a quiet Boer woman" to whom she had to break the news that "the 'peace' had been made and the Republic[s] had not got their independence." On hearing this the woman "threw her arms over her head... crying 'Then there is no God! There is no God!' "[74] Certainly Olive Schreiner, who through the persona of the Englishman in Peter Halket had written "There is no God in Mashonaland" six year earlier, knew the feeling. In 1904 she completed the story "Eighteen-Ninety-Nine," in which there is a complete absence of the cajoling or placating attitude to England which had been shown in earlier works. In "Seeds-a-Growing", for example, the "Spirit of Freedom" is explicitly identified as the enemy of the British forces who are keeping the narrator under guard. The narrator's situation is clearly a defiant allegorisation of the author's house arrest in Hanover, and the story offers no flattery to any Briton's amour-propre. Out of the mouths of babes and grandmothers in "Eighteen-Ninety-Nine" come particular gems:

> "Grandmother," he said suddenly..., "Do the English want all the lands of all the people?"
>
> The handle of his grandmother's knife clinked against the iron side of the basin. "All that they can get," she said. "Eighteen-Ninety-Nine," (Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 34).

But it was all a bit late. Rhodes, the Englishman who wanted to annex the planets, had been dead since 1902. In 1898, however, Schreiner had warned her friend Betty Molteno: "If Rhodes were to die tomorrow... capitalism would be with us still!"[75] Furthermore, she was depressed by what seemed to her a collapse of community spirit among the Boers in the aftermath of the war, and was alarmed by the increasingly hard-line attitude they took to both blacks and the English. In the terms of the Peace of Vereeniging, the Boers had demanded a "one-word change" from the previous peace terms offered at Middelburg, and this "was a concession to the Boers' determination to refuse Africans the vote." Thus, as Pakenham remarks, was a mockery made out of Chamberlain's pre-war warning that Britain ought not to "purchase a shameful peace by leaving the Coloured population in the position they stood before the war."[76] Eventually, H. M. Hyndman's description of the war as "a struggle between two burglars" began to make sense to Schreiner as well.[77] For Hyndman, First and Scott report, the "splendid native tribes" were the only group worth supporting, and in 1905 Schreiner wrote to Betty Molteno: "If there is any public fight which will be worth fighting in this country, it will be defence of the natives and the Chinese."[78]

In South Africa, the repercussions of Schreiner's Trooper Peter Halket may have seemed faint after the war was over, as she mourned that it had not kept "one Matabele...alive" and that her other writings had not prevented "one English shot." The book had, nonetheless, been tremendously popular and had been translated into many languages. Ironically, in view of the rumours among the British that Schreiner had been paid £4,000 by the Transvaal Government to write the book, it was banned in Stellenbosch

Library (whose readers were chiefly Afrikaners) "because of its blasphemous and ungodly nature."[79] Another irony emerged during the South African War, when one Trooper Peter Halket, who was serving in the imperial forces, very much objected to Schreiner's use of his name.[80] This final bizarre touch leads us to the conclusion that, because of its politics, its style, and its fractured audience, Trooper Peter Halket perhaps had to wait for three-quarters of a century before it could for less partisan readings to emerge.

Yet, as Wilhelm notes, "Schreiner's vision in Trooper Peter Halket has been echoed (with perhaps different degrees of consciousness) down to the present" in South African fiction, if not sufficiently in its criticism.[81] In addition to Dusklands, which Wilhelm mentions, one thinks of Barney Simon's 1983 play Woza, Albert!, in which Jesus pays a visit to the cell of two black prisoners on Robben Island and asks them if they can explain to him what is going on in their country. Even if one questions the modes in which authors feel drawn to express the horrors of what Alan Paton (in a review of Trooper Peter Halket) called "the terribleness of our colonial heritage," one must remark on the prevalence, even the tradition, of what may be called the ironical "Bunyanesque" as a way of discussing such "terribleness."[82] In this tradition, Schreiner must surely have a prominent place by virtue of her attempt, in Trooper Peter Halket to find the "form in which to contain the South African experience" -- that very form which Gordimer accuses her of "abandoning... after her abortive experiments with a 'distancing' allegory.[83]

From this consideration of the ironical Bunyanesque mode as a vehicle for the South African experience, we may recall the note in the previous section that Elaine Showalter sought to place Schreiner within the era of the "aesthetic moment," to which she attributed a "nauseating fin-de-siècle style." According to Schreiner's definition of "aesthetics," an "aesthetic" action had no moral implication, but was undertaken simply for stimulation or pleasure, and not from necessity. On the basis of that definition, it could be argued that the crucial "aesthetic moment" in Schreiner's work is located within a grotesque epiphany of the imperialist consciousness. In this scene, three black men are attached by

ropes to a bough and then forced to crawl out on that bough, jump, and strangle themselves. If there were no such participation, the "punch line" would be missing -- for that "punch line" achieves its impact as an emblem of the imperialist process, which requires that the "natives" should ultimately be forced to collude in their own oppression. The black man whose dignity would not permit him to hang himself for sport is shot at until he surrenders his dignity and jumps. Moreover, this vignette is presented to us in the nervous tones of a young Englishman who is not entirely sure that he is right to feel squeamish about it. After all, some of his fellows in the Chartered Company like "to see the niggers kick," and on the basis of merely aesthetic criteria he cannot easily challenge their valuation of this "aesthetic moment." In the context supplied by the novella the young man's hesitation is obviously symptomatic of a deep-rooted sickness, and there is nothing in Trooper Peter Halket to suggest that this sickness could be cured with the restricted pharmacopoeia of the fin-de-siècle. It is abundantly clear, however, that the author not only rejects that valuation as nauseating but also demands that her readers should likewise reject it.

v. "Self-to-Self" Stories: From Man to Man and the Unhealed Imagination of Olive Schreiner

> My baby, do you know who Charles is?-- He's the boy who always plays with me.... He always tells me stories, and I tell him stories, and we walk up and down together.... He's not a real boy, you know! I made him up....
>
> "The Prelude-- The Child's Day" (From Man to Man, p. 55)

> Then she dreamed away and half asleep made one of those little stories, "self-to-self' stories, that she made as she was going to sleep, not for other people, too sweet and close, just for herself.
>
> "The Book--The Woman's Day" (From Man to Man, p. 226)

From the very beginning of From Man to Man, when five-year-old Rebekah tells stories to an imaginary baby, some of which include her other imaginary friend, Charles, it is clear that story-telling is as important to Rebekah as it had been to her creator. Schreiner confessed herself to be writing particularly autobiographically in this portion of the novel, the "Prelude," which she at the same time called an allegory or "picture in small" of the book as a whole.[1] Jean Marquard, in her essay "Olive Schreiner's 'Prelude': The Child as Artist", has illuminated many examples of a "network of associations" from 'The Prelude' to the rest of From Man to Man in a process of exegesis similar to that undertaken by Gray in his study of Trooper Peter Halket.[2] Furthermore, Marquard sees in Schreiner's "Prelude" not just " 'a picture in small' of the novel it introduces" (as Schreiner knew it to be) but also a "picture in small of Schreiner, the artist herself."[3] Marquard shows how Rebekah as a child "artist-protagonist" uses her stories, fantasies and imagined audience as a means to "convert a potentially escapist and withdrawn response to life into something robust and positive," a feat which, Marquard adds, is "perhaps unique[]" in Schreiner's fiction.[4]

The means which served Rebekah as a child does not always serve her so well as an woman and, arguably, the allegories of "The Woman's Day" do not serve From Man to Man as well as those of "The Child's Day." As an adult, Rebekah's story-telling tends to be undertaken in a spirit of desperate and, from Schreiner's point of view, anti-Pearson

didacticism, and is addressed to somewhat unrealistically-drawn young boys who (in their swaggering cruelty or over-sweet, lisping coyness) never in the least resemble the kind of child Rebekah herself had been. Moreover, the adult Rebekah is driven to be more "escapist" and "withdrawn" than her child-self had been. The child Rebekah escapes her angry "Ayah" by going outside the farmhouse of Thorn Kloof, and into a garden (From Man to Man, pp. 37-65). The adult Rebekah is more often shown taking refuge from her unhappy marriage and her unpopular status among the women of Cape Town by going further inside her house, into a tiny study adjoining her children's bedroom. Here, in rare moments of leisure, she spends time reading, writing, dreaming, and pacing up and down whilst haranguing a Pearson-imago. Finally, wrapped up in bed alone, Rebekah likes to dream and to tell herself such "self-to-self" stories as require no audience at all. In From Man to Man we can see the biggest, the most self-revealing (and, arguably, the most self-indulgent) "self-to-self" story Schreiner ever made.

From Man to Man started out in mid-1876 as Thorn Kloof, became Saints and Sinners some three months later, and initially consisted of a fairly simple story about two sisters, one an unhappy wife (Rebekah), one an unhappy prostitute (Bertie). The book was largely completed within a year, and polished, with perhaps the addition of Bertie's suicide, in 1880.[7] Whatever it was by 1881 when Schreiner submitted it to Chapman and Hall, its state was such that George Meredith rejected it, making this note in passing: "Plot silly. Early part well written."[5] After this, the manuscript's fate is less easy to trace. By 1883 it was called by a new name, From Man to Man, and Schreiner reported herself hard at work in making the novel shorter, to please the publishers. In 1891 the novel was again called Saints and Sinners, then From Man to Man again. After the turn of the century Schreiner considered The Kamel Thorn and Perhaps Only as titles.[6] From 1881 on, she undertook revisions, condensations, expansions, and interpolations, a process which continued for the

rest of her life. By the mid-1880s, Schoeman estimates, Saints and Sinner effectively "vanished," and in his opinion,

> In the course of Olive's incessant revisions the didactic strain which had been noticeable even in her earlier works became a dominant force, to the detriment of the novel. Of the more than 400 pages of the published novel, about a fifth is pure theorising and sermonising. Rebekah's introspection on "the real cause of that curious hunger for an exact knowledge of things as they are" (48 pages in the published text), the passionate letter she is supposed to have written in a single night (46 pages), the "dream" she tells her children one evening at bedtime (21 pages) and her long-drawn philosophical conversation with Drummond on the dark verandah (16 pages)-- none of these is integral or useful to the plot... One recognises here the woman who had grown up in isolation, obsessed with her own voice and thoughts, and now, in England in the eighties, developing into the Olive of polemics and pamphlets, "dreams" and allegories; a woman whose mind had become broader and richer, but who was increasingly losing the discipline and selectivity needed to adapt her fervid convictions to the demands of the novelist's art.[7]

At some point, as Schoeman remarks, Schreiner began even to revise her accounts of her revisions. In 1909, she told a friend, "In England I was too much absorbed in social problems ever to read it [the manuscript of From Man to Man] over," and she claimed that she thus had not worked on it in the years 1881-1888, at which latter date she felt inspired to write the "Prelude."[8] This is patently untrue. At many points in the early 1880s she wrote to Ellis that she was working on or even had nearly finished From Man to Man, indeed that she was polishing it to a high gloss by rewriting chapters up to nine times each.[9] After Schreiner's meeting with Pearson in 1885 she sent him enormously detailed letters about her current work on the novel.[10] It seems likely that it was in about 1885 that Schreiner's erstwhile motto: "Condense, condense, condense!" went into reverse. By July of 1886 she wrote Pearson a long letter in which she describes the plot and themes of From Man to Man, including a completed ending, in great detail. She even asks "as a favour" if she may dedicate the finished novel to him -- and thanks him in her next letter "for saying I may dedicate my little book to you."[11] The word "little" was never appropriate to the manuscript of From Man to Man and Schreiner usually referred to it in correspondence as

her "big novel." What is on show here is her coquettish humility -- and a modified version of it appears in a letter of November 1890.[12]

After leaving England in the wake of her 1886 breakdown, Schreiner insisted she intended to finish the novel, and in January 1888 she had reached such a point of identification with her characters that she wrote to Ellis: "Rebekah is me; I don't know which is which any more."[13] Schreiner worked on the novel sporadically on the Continent while recovering from the Pearson affair; she was in Italy when, in 1888, the "Prelude" first "flashed" upon her. At this time she also began some of the stories Rebekah tells her children, and in so doing may have begun her mutiny against Pearson's ideas. By 1889 Schreiner's feeling for her characters is protective in the extreme: she began to voice her distress that publication would mean the exposure of her "beloveds" (Bertie and Rebekah) thus: "Do you think I could write Bertie's death scene, do you think I could show all the inmost workings of Rebekah's heart, if I realised anyone would ever read it?"[14]

Journals which Schreiner kept when she was interned at Hanover during the South African war testify to her continued struggles with the novel, which continued to grow in size. Schreiner recorded revising the first seven chapters between 1901 and 1902, and then adding to later sections. Perhaps, after years of epistolary obeisance, delivering allegories, theories, plans for fiction and non-fiction to Pearson for criticism, she wished the final novel to contain an explicit attack on eugenic theory. The measure of the harm done aesthetically to the novel by the lengthy perorations in question is a measure of the importance Schreiner attached to these issues. These perorations are the product of Pearson's crippling legacy and of Schreiner's urgent need to respond to him, and they could not harmoniously be integrated into her new novel. It may have been no more fortunate for the novel's structure that Schreiner revised Rebekah's long letter to her husband in 1906-7, when Schreiner was uneasy about her own husband's relations with other women. All in all, it is clear that a number of autobiographical preoccupations served to throw the novel out of balance. It is also clear that material from Woman and Labour leaked into

those parts of From Man to Man which were written in the same period. That is the most charitable construction that one can place on why Schreiner's decision to make Rebekah give this reason why she does not leave her vile husband:

> ...I asked you to divorce me or send me away if you wished, and you said nothing. I have often asked myself why I didn't go. Is it perhaps the spirit of those old ancestresses of mine who for millions of years have followed the man over steppes and through deserts and across mountains, with stripes and burdens, always following, following, following,-- which to-day cries out in us, "Follow--follow--till he sets you free! (From Man to Man, p. 286)

The unwieldy shape of From Man to Man, Edmands suggests, may be a result of the fact that Schreiner was simply unable to construct any new form commensurate with the themes she was now tackling -- for From Man to Man really was "Olive's most ambitious project" in political and sociological terms.[15] Edmands notices also that Schreiner seems to have used the book both as her "confidential diary" and as a polemical outlet for "everything she had ever thought or felt about being a woman."[16] Inevitably, Edmands continues, "as her ideas were constantly changing, so the novel grew and was revised time and again." Equally inevitably, the backbone of the plot started to crack under the strain: in order somehow to include "everything she had ever thought or felt" about women (or Pearson), Schreiner resorted to the devices of Rebekah's essays, her long letter to her husband, and the complicated stories which she tells her children. The effect is often heavy-handed and/or redundant, rendering certain passages patronising to Schreiner's audience. Schreiner apparently was unable to believe that, for example, the humiliation suffered by Bertie at a Cape Town ball, where she overhears women gossiping cruelly about her own seduction, is enough to let us know what Schreiner thinks about women's collaboration in a sexual double standard. Rather than leave the obvious conclusion to be drawn, or perhaps have Rebekah speculate on why a particular woman character (Mrs. Drummond, a practised adulteress) feels the need to betray the comparatively innocent Bertie, Schreiner has

Rebekah write furiously in her diary at the same time a long, Carpenteresque, anthropological meditation on the "finesse" of scheming women.[17]

In Schoeman's view, along with the capacity for literary self-criticism, one of the great casualties of Schreiner's trip to England had been her sense of humour. Nowhere is this more obvious than in From Man to Man, and the phenomenon may be related to Schreiner's intense emotional attachment to her two main characters, which permitted less and less of artistic detachment, as time went on. As Schoeman remarks, what humour there is in From Man to Man "in Griet is patronising, in Bertie unintentional."[18] He finds that Bertie's "conventional domesticity and femininity are pushed to the brink of parody" -- especially when Schreiner dwells upon the grotesquely obese Bertie's wobbling walk on "tiny feet" during the character's stay in London (From Man to Man, p. 368 and passim).[19] Bertie is also the victim of some particularly infelicitous sentences -- e.g., "She still kept her forehead on the mantelpiece" (From Man to Man, p. 371). Furthermore, there also exist infelicitous phenomena arising from Schreiner's use of the novel as a "confidential diary." There are any number of narrative anomalies which are straight autobiography, like Bertie's apparent asthmatic attack (an attack, neither precedented nor repeated in the book, which Bertie suffers at the memory of the ball in Cape Town, and which mirrors Schreiner's memories of the aftermath of the Gau affair) and Rebekah's sudden, out-of-place outburst to her young sons that she can't like "coloured women" as much as she wants to because they laugh at her when she doesn't wear stays.[20] Many parallels between Schreiner and Rebekah, physically, can be found, from their dark hair to their habit of pacing back and forth as well as parallel opinions on relatively trivial matters like the experience of dancing.[21] Biographical tics in the text are often signalled by an onset of what looks like maudlin self-pity, on occasion associated with loneliness or ostracisation -- see, for example, Mrs. Drummond's report to Veronica that "women didn't seem to care for Rebekah" (From Man to Man, p. 157). It seems as though Schreiner's most intimate letters were not safe from pilfering: in an interesting coincidence the wording (though not the

subject matter) of the close of Rebekah's desperate letter to her husband about his infidelities closely resembles a highly emotional letter Schreiner herself wrote to her own husband on the eve of their marriage in which she is apparently berating herself for some kind of sexual impropriety.[22] Elsewhere in the novel, Schreiner gives us a description (through a "conversation" between Drummond and Rebekah) of the creative processes involved in writing fiction and this description includes an almost word-for-word account of the genesis of her own "Prelude". Consider the following letter to Mrs Francis Smith, which Schreiner wrote in 1909:

> One day, I think it was in the winter of 1888, I was on the Riviera at Alassio; I was sitting at my dear old desk writing an article on the Bushman and giving a description of their skulls;-- when suddenly, in an instant, the whole of this little Prelude flashed on me. You know those folded up views of places that one buys; you take hold of one end and the pictures unfold one after the other as quick as light. That was how it flashed on me.[23]

This can be usefully compared with a little speech Drummond makes to Rebekah, after which he glances "gently at her, almost like a little child seeking sympathy":

> It was a drizzly rainy day and I was sitting at my desk writing out a description of Bushmen and their habits as I'd seen them, to go with some curios; I was just setting down the exact measurements of some skulls I'd taken and was feeling rather depressed and heavy, when suddenly, in a moment, the whole of this little thing flashed on me. You know those folded-up views of seaside places and cities that you buy in a sort of little book, and as you pull them open they flash out one after the other in a moment. Well, it was so.... (From Man to Man, p. 467)

The only difference between the above accounts (between that of Schreiner herself and that of Rebekah's ideal man) is that Drummond goes about measuring skulls for a living, as did, incidentally, Karl Pearson.

From Man to Man is in some ways the most nakedly autobiographical "fiction" Schreiner committed to paper, surpassing even the 1887 allegories in its self-enclosed, obsessive fidelity to her own experience, and documenting that experience from 1871 Dordrecht to at least the mid-1890s. Obviously, it cannot be argued that close correspondences between an

author's life and her work necessarily make for poor fiction. From Man to Man's weaknesses lie not just in its parallels with Schreiner's life, but in its parallels with its author's earlier work. The novel's theme is at best familiar, at worst downright repetitive, even reactionary in the context of Schreiner's fiction and reading. In the splitting of experience between Rebekah and her younger sister Bertie, Schreiner appears to have returned to the formal level of Undine, with Bertie replacing the "fallen" Alice Brown, Rebekah replacing Undine herself, and the two sisters simply living out the parallel paths of prostitution within marriage and prostitution outside it in a variation on what Schreiner had observed in Dombey and Son, where Dickens created a pair of cousins, Edith Dombey and Alice Brown, to illustrate this very premise. (In contrast, Lyndall in African Farm had summarily dealt with the topic in a single paragraph, and moved on [African Farm, p. 190]). It may be argued, however, that both Dickens and Lyndall had referred to marriages entered into by women with mercenary motives, and that by creating an innocent victim of marriage in Rebekah (who marries chiefly for the sake of children, and later falls in love with her husband) Schreiner is breaking a mould. This is not so according to Penny Boumelha's view of the literature of the 1880s and 1890s:

> The difficulty of establishing a satisfactory relationship between an anti-stereotype woman, capable and independent, and a situation adequate to her sense of oppression often leads to the punctuation of realism by melodrama. Few marriages, for instance, are simply boring, or mutually irksome; "bad" husbands and wives must be alcoholic, syphilitic, cruelly selfish or monstrously violent.... Sensitive and intelligent women are almost invariably married to violent, boorish, or venereally-diseased husbands with a string of past or present mistresses and illegitimate children in tow.[24]

Frank is not "monstrously" violent, but he is "boorish," a compulsive philanderer, the father of at least one illegitimate child, and furthermore inherently a sadist (Rebekah, in her long letter to him, twice dwells on the pleasure he takes in killing fish in a way that links it to their sex-life).[25] For her part, Rebekah, the "sensitive and intelligent" woman of

Boumelha's equation, has such elevated notions of love that, when confronted with the first proof of her husband's infidelity, she reports her reaction thus:

> I cried out I knew you loved her, I knew everything; and I begged you to tell me the truth; and I threw myself down at your feet and I clasped them and I told you I was quite willing you should get a divorce from me, and I would go away and take care of the child and would love you all my life just the same, and I kissed your feet and cried out to you, "Please to tell me the truth, " and told you I loved you.... And then you pushed me away from you and swore; you said I must be mad.... (From Man to Man, p. 270)

There is no analogue in From Man to Man for the eerie discontinuities which, as Doris Lessing has pointed, African Farm somehow survives without difficulty.[26] In From Man to Man Schreiner seemingly opted instead to create an ordinary, realistic novel, in which she could include such ham-fisted Victorian intrusions as, "Now, what really happened to Baby-Bertie was this..." (From Man to Man, p. 232), or, "What the letter, which Rebekah held twisted in her hand, contained, was this:" (From Man to Man, p. 251). This is precisely the type of narrative which Schreiner had dismissed as the "stage method" in her revolutionary Preface to the second edition to African Farm in 1883. Furthermore, as the heavy-handed device of Rebekah's notebooks prove, Schreiner certainly betrayed her 1886 claim to Pearson that in the novel, "I make no comment throughout the book, I never speak in my own person, the characters simply act and you draw your own conclusions."[27] As First and Scott comment, this claim is further belied by the "form" of the book, in which male and female sexual "worlds" are completely polarised. It is also belied by many passages of Rebekah's writings, where Schreiner is demonstrably addressing using Rebekah as a mouthpiece to address Pearson.[28]

From Man to Man contains passages of scenic description which are among its greatest strengths. These relate both to Thorn Kloof and to London, and their evocative detail may perhaps indicate what Meredith meant when he observed that "the early part" of Saints and Sinner was "well-written."[29] Hugh Walpole considered some passages in Chapter 11, "How the Rain Rains in London" to be "of great and possibly enduring

importance" and observed that they were "so strangely alive as compared with the rest of the book that they seem to have been written by another hand."[30] The early portions of the book, which deal with Rebekah and Bertie's work gardening, sewing and baking at Thorn Kloof, have genuine life and beauty. Here, instead of discussing women's need for work, Schreiner shows women working. Schreiner never despised the labour of running a house herself, and even Lyndall is proud of having "got the Hottentot girl to show [her] how to make 'sarsarties' ", and pleased that Tant' Sannie is going to teach [her] to make 'kappies,' " [African Farm p. 199].[31]

In From Man to Man there are also many passages of subtle characterisation. From Man to Man's Veronica could be called a "better" portrait of a villain than Blenkins, in that her experience of loneliness, insecurity and sexual hunger makes her ill-treatment of Bertie psychologically credible, as the behaviour of Blenkins is not.[32] In a like manner, "the Jew," despite his lack of a name and his irritatingly transliterated accent (see, for example, From Man to Man p. 362: "... vy do you not call Marzer zat she comes and sits viz you? I vill tell her") is provided with some kind of background (From Man to Man, pp. 331-3). But in other ways, Bonaparte Blenkins can serve, as Veronica and "the Jew" cannot, as a comic archetype, an imperialist Munchausen, the parasite who kills its host (Otto), half of a split Freudian father-figure, and in other functions as well. Veronica remains a petty schemer in a suburban melodrama, and From Man to Man is on one level very much a suburban melodrama, interrupted at intervals by lengthy polemic. Relatedly, because of From Man to Man's repressive structure, Schreiner's irrepressible impulse to allegory does not assert itself here as naturally as it did in African Farm. In the earlier book the allegorical speeches are assigned to an almost mythical man, Waldo's Stranger, who is part saviour, part devil, part dandy, who declares that he "believes nothing, hopes nothing, fears nothing, feels nothing" and who lives "beyond the pale of humanity" (African Farm, p. 148). In From Man to Man, if we exclude the "Prelude", allegory appears only in the laboured writings and children's stories of Rebekah. Schreiner's allegiance to "realism" allows no other

opening by which allegory can enter the text. Whereas many critics agree that "Times and Seasons" and the "Hunter's Allegory" are successfully incorporated into African Farm, the analogous sections of From Man to Man tend rather to sink the novel under their weight. It is difficult, therefore, to sympathise with Schreiner when she writes, in her diary for 1907: "I like Rebekah's letter; it's too long, all to have been written in one night, but that doesn't matter."[33]

It certainly mattered to critics like Walpole, to whom the book appeared embarrassingly old-fashioned. When Cronwright-Schreiner published From Man to Man in 1926, Walpole declared it at once to be a relic, opining that

> ... the interest of From Man to Man really depends upon how far a book belonging in form and manner and subject to an age far deader for us than the eighteenth century can by the force of its personality be interesting to us.[34]

Arnold Bennett, who was rare in his persistent admiration for Schreiner's "dreams" and allegories, thought that at least a hundred pages could have been chopped out of the novel, with no ill effect.[35] The patronising review by "C. M." in the Manchester Guardian of 15 October 1926 is of interest for its urbane recognition that women as well as men have sexual "inclination[s]"; at the time of the 1880s' Men and Women's Club many people had denied the very existence of such "animal passions" in women.[36]

Walpole's review found the book outdated not in its handling of sex but rather in its literay style. He quotes a simple passage from the "Prelude" in which Rebekah is visiting the house she is building for mice, and he concludes

> Description of this order seemed realistic in 1890 and belongs to the period of Esther Waters. In two lines of Mrs. Dalloway there is more realism than in pages of Olive Schreiner. This may be called foot by foot realism. In the '90s it was a kind of challenge to Victorian sentimentalism as though the novelists were saying: "You are going to see every bit of it and don't you dare say that I am a sentimentalist" ...
>
> But Olive Schreiner's descriptive powers have further defects in that they are used too obviously to adjust the reader's mind to the coming psychology. For instance: "When I got to the sandy beach it was lying there all so calm

and beautiful. Not the mark of a human foot was upon it, and only the great white seagulls were flying over the sea." Those seagulls were flying for Olive Schreiner's benefit and resemble the swan on the end of a string in the first act of Parsifal.

The atmosphere then being deliberate, what of the narrative? Of narrative there is very little. Two sisters there are, both good and unfortunate. One is unfortunate because she marries; the other, unfortunate because she does not. The married sister has a bad husband who is unfaithful to her, and is always taking journeys so that she shall not be around. As she is forever "raising a long low cry like a stricken dog" his attempts at freedom are not too astonishing. The wife writes an immensely long letter to her husband.... in too literary a fashion. For instance: "When I wake from it I know that the loveliest thing on earth is the binding of man and woman in one body, one fellowship, and I know that all the failures are only the broken steps which Humanity builds in stairs she is shaping herself to climb by, which she will have to rebuild better in the future. All man's love cry is not a delusion, and the dreams we have dreamed in our girlhood will have their realization though it may never be by us." That is of the '90s and is dead indeed.[37]

So much is clearly true; but Walpole fails to address the possibility that the book's lack of narrative development (discussed more recently by Ursula Edmands) may be connected not just with the length of Rebekah's letter or her other "sermonising" but with Schreiner's constitutional difficulty over conflict, confrontation or even dialogue. That is, Schreiner's "foot by foot" realism and Rebekah's epistolary verbosity may have come about because Schreiner had so much to avoid, as well as so much to tell.

As we have seen in connection with her dreams and allegories of the late 1880s and early 1890s, Schreiner had great personal difficulty in managing confrontation. Following the events of December 1886, she fled England altogether rather than face Pearson, Cobb or Donkin again. Despite Pearson's letters to her, she assured him urgently that she had no more need of "intercourse" with him and did not need to write. She assured mutual friends that she was perfectly well. In the meantime, she poured out allegorical accounts of their relationship, and incorporated her "mental conversations" with him in From Man to Man. Josephine Dodd has commented on the absence of confrontation from Rebekah's life in From Man to Man, and she compares the failure of Rebekah and Bertie to retaliate with the "implausible" but "enjoyable" retorts of Undine.[38] Such conflict as exists in From Man to

Man is for the most part confined within the letters, and the significance of this rule is confirmed by the two conspicuous exceptions. The first of these is the occasion when Rebekah tries to persuade her husband to read her first, very long letter and he refuses (see the episode of Rebekah's "long low cry like a stricken dog" [From Man to Man, p. 250]). The second is the occasion when Rebekah tells him what she has written in another letter (From Man to Man, p. 304). Such conflict as exists is expressed only in the letters. There is scarcely any real communication or confrontation in the novel, which is precisely why all the allegories come out as they do -- in response to an imaginary opponent, or to children who do not contribute much to the subject under discussion (in fact two of them, Sartje and Rebekah's son Bertie, merely fall asleep).

The heroines of From Man to Man, like those of Schreiner's other fictions, are isolated figures. But while Lyndall, Waldo, and Em were alone in a desolate part of the Karoo, Bertie and Rebekah are most often seen as alone among people. Rebekah learns to shun company; company learns to shun Bertie. Frank and Veronica, who are both socially successful, nevertheless have evil inner characters which are manifested in moments where they are alone (as when Frank torments his dog, or Veronica smashes Bertie's picture). Here, to some extent, the dog and the picture stand for (respectively) Rebekah and Bertie, just as Frank's coat stands for Frank when Rebekah holds it to her face, desiring him when he is absent. These two examples work symbolically (as does the device of the aloe and mimosa that symbolise Bertie and Rebekah respectively). But such actions can too often take the place of interaction. Whereas Lyndall's awareness of being alone in the universe was fully compatible with a power to act in her own interests, the concentration of such power in the antagonists of From Man to Man produces a different perception of solitude and consigns Rebekah and Bertie to a state of learned helplessness. One consequence of this, as Edmands has noted, is a disappointing lack of development in the narrative: much of the book consists simply of "Rebekah's thoughts on the subjects that interested her creator: human rights, the position of women, the cruelty of men, the race problem in South

Africa, and the proper education of children."[39] In African Farm, Lyndall pours out her impassioned feelings on the position of women to Waldo, drawing chiefly on her own observations and experiences, and from the individual perspective of a pregnant teenager with plenty of plans for the future. Rebekah's thoughts on the subject are delivered in solilitude and on paper, in large chunks that seem to be (and probably were) preparatory notes for Woman and Labour (see, for example, the anomaly in Rebekah's letter to her husband, quoted by Walpole above in the passage above. Addressing her husband, Rebekah speaks of "our girlhood" [emphasis added]). What this kind of lengthy rhetoric means to the narrative is that, after 50 pages of Rebekah's theorising in Chapter 7, "Raindrops in the Avenue," the omniscient narrator has to take over again with the lurching link mentioned above, "Now, what really happened to Baby-Bertie was this..." (From Man to Man, p. 232). Furthermore, for substantial sections of time and text both Bertie and Rebekah disappear from the book while, essentially, Schreiner gets back to talking to Pearson, and subjects like the precise circumstances of Bertie's slide into prostitution, or the nature of Rebekah's feelings for her "stranger" (Drummond) go undescribed. This is remarkable, because Schreiner boasted at one time that From Man to Man was going to be "awfully outspoken," and it is hard now to see what, apart from Frank's liaison with the servant girl, could have provided the cue for such outspokenness. The answer may lie in Schreiner's plan for the "main scene" of the novel, as she explained it to Pearson -- the scene in which Rebekah's husband would reproach her for bringing Bertie to his house to die, and Rebekah would respond that she considers this quite fitting, since she has herself lived there as a prostitute for "fourteen long years." This is melodramatic identification of marriage with prostitution no doubt seemed "awfully outspoken" to Schreiner in the 1880s, but it could scarcely remain so even a decade later, when Stead had promoted the phrase "monogamic prostitution" and Shaw had treated the whole subject as a joke.

Another regression to a much earlier theme occurs in the middle of Rebekah's reverie in "Raindrops in the Avenue" (From Man to Man, p. 223), where Schreiner

paraphrases of Paul's affirmation in Romans 14:7 that "no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself." This was one of Schreiner's Judeo-Christian/Spencerian panaceas, and it had previously appeared both in African Farm, spoken by Waldo's Stranger, and in Trooper Peter Halket, spoken by the Christ-like "stranger" in Halket's head. And, as in those books, the phrase is used as a kind of mantra, or a magic spell, spoken at a point in the plot when there is pathetically little to support its veracity, in order to counteract other sayings (African Farm's "a striving and a striving, and an ending in nothing" or Trooper Peter Halket's "There is no God in Mashonaland") which compete with it. In the case of From Man to Man , Romans 14:7 has to battle with the mechanisms of a plot in which there is little solidarity "from man to man" and still less from woman to woman, despite the workings of a mighty "maternalist" rhetoric throughout.[40]

Perhaps the strangest feature of From Man to Man as a whole is the way Rebekah and her only friend, Mr Drummond, discuss the "labour" of writing and selling books in ways that cast light on Schreiner's own difficulties with completing her novel and publishing it. Through the mouth of Drummond, Schreiner compared the process of negotiating publication payment to prostituting one's daughter and putting her up for public auction (From Man to Man, pp. 464-5). On the other hand, not publishing a work meant absolutely killing one's children. Schreiner wrote of "All the things and people" in From Man to Man as her "children", but also pointed out that their dependence on her was not that of ordinary children: "you see they'll die, if I die first".[41] With such sentiments of either identification ("Rebekah is me") or maternity ("All the...people...are my children") it is not surprising that Schreiner felt ambivalence about the matter of completing, let alone publishing and exposing, From Man to Man. When Rebekah and Drummond discuss "art," each is full of irascible comments about ignorant outsiders who just don't understand what it takes to make art: "They think you write... for them!" sneers Drummond.

> "I suppose they think Newton struck on his great thoughts to please humanity, and Milton wrote Paradise Lost for the sake of the ten pounds he

> got: and so, of course, the small ephemera must do the same! They can't understand that their praise is as insolent as their blame!..." From Man to Man, p. 465).

Rebekah agrees, and contributes to this discussion, which is very much a monologue pulled out of Schreiner's letters. She describes the third of what she calls the "three distinct processes to be gone through before it [art] is given to the world": when the work is finished, the artist must decide what to do with the work-- whether to expose it to public view or not. When that decision has been taken, "the cord is cut," and the work, being "now severed," has "its organic existence quite apart from" the artist: "The child is weaned" (From Man to Man, p. 473). Although the pronouns referring to the artist are always masculine, the "three stages" described are obviously stages of labour, and they are followed (remarkably quickly!) by the process of weaning. The text of From Man to Man is saturated with such metaphors: Rebekah even suggests that the creative ideas which one has put off during one's life will return like abortions to haunt one's death bed.

As has been demonstrated, From Man to Man is full of the evidence of its own prolonged construction. The novel may be said to fall into two parts. The first part is a simple story about two sisters, which Schreiner conceived at Klein Gannahoek and finished in 1877 at Ratelhoek. The second part reflects the tremendous endeavour of self-consolation and self-justification which lasted all her subsequent life. In that endeavour she fought off Pearsonian eugenics, and her own anxieties about expressing desire, and her concern about the audience for her fiction. Prompted by this concern, she seeks to justify herself against those who have criticised her for not finishing this book -- and so the novel as a whole comes to resemble a "self-to-self" story. Bertie's portion of the story offers a nightmare extrapolation from the aftermath of Schreiner's Dordrecht experience. Rebekah's portion represents the various disappointments Schreiner had experienced since then, but sets against them the consolatory wish-fulfilment devices: the brood of living children that Schreiner wanted, and the dubious Mr. Drummond. Drummond is introduced into the manuscript at a very late stage, and never becomes substantial enough to offer a

solution to Rebekah's problems. From his first appearance he reminds Schreiner of Pearson, the reader of Schreiner, and Rebekah of herself. On first looking at him, Rebekah feels that she "had never seen such a man before," but his thoughts and utterances afford no comparable revelation to the reader. When he speaks at length he discusses such issues as publishing just as Rebekah or Schreiner would discuss them. With only the occasional quotation- marks to indicate that this is meant to be dialogue, the reader is forced to flip back through pages in order to remember whether it is Rebekah, Drummond or the narrator who is speaking.

In many ways, then, From Man to Man can be seen as a great reprise of all of the themes and conflicts that Schreiner's former works contained. The book tackles such themes as adultery, prostitution, miscegenation and imperialism, which were either not essayed or merely hinted at in African Farm, but even here the treatments and metaphors are rarely innovative and the cure for all evils usually relies on an appropriate dose of mother-love. That the book appeared old-fashioned in 1926 is unsurprising, for in its embryonic form as Saints and Sinners it had preceded everything in Schreiner's oeuvre except Undine -- yet it outlasted all her other projects, and even her life. Perhaps Schreiner's wish, expressed in her last Will, to have the bulk of the manuscript destroyed and only the "Prelude" (the story of Rebekah's childhood) published, is an indication that she perceived that in the story of Rebekah's adulthood she had lost control.

vi. Mother's Ruin

> From the time when, in dimly living form, amoeba sought and touched amoeba, and, meeting, broke out into a larger form and divided into fresh forms, life has been governed, step by step, by union.... till love becomes incarnate in the female mammal feeding her young from her breast--this is my blood which I give for the life of the world-- through all nature, life and growth and evolution are possible only because of mother-love.
>
> (From Man to Man, pp. 209-10)

Nina Auerbach has written (with specific reference to George Eliot) that Victorian times were an "age whose language of womanhood was inseparable from the language of family."[1] For Schreiner, the concept is alive even in some of her book titles. Woman and Labour has a double meaning not always recognised by critics, and even African Farm once had a sub-title, "Life is a Series of Abortions," which startlingly re-interpreted its story as a reiterated frustration of the reproductive process. The great body of Schreiner's political writing concerning the various races and peoples of South Africa based itself (at times shakily) on unifying metaphors of family relationship (often positing Boer and British as "brothers" and "natives" as "children"). The opening line of From Man to Man sustains this motif, not this time as metaphor but as blunt reality: "The little mother lay in the agony of childbirth," (From Man to Man, p. 33). The book is dedicated to Schreiner's baby sister, who lived only eighteen months, and to her daughter, who only lived eighteen hours. The painful labour with which it begins is partly fruitless, since only one of the female twins survives, and their elder sister Rebekah responds strangely to this event by initially disliking the live child and loving only the dead one.

The "little mother" loves the new baby, Bertie, but the mother's own weakness and indeed childishness disable her, forcing Rebekah to assume a maternal and protective role in relation to her sister. Rebekah's early entry into marriage and maternity deprives "Baby-Bertie" of her protection. The child is thus exposed to harm and eventually to ruin, while Rebekah's experience in her new family life proves comparably destructive. A lack of adequate parents had been evident in both Undine and African Farm; that is, there were scarcely any parents at all. Only Rebekah and Bertie, the heroines of From Man to Man, grow up with parents -- and they end suffering as much if not more than the orphans. All of them in adult life endure acute alienation from their fellows, because none of them has inherited a code of behaviour appropriate to their circumstances. For the sisters Rebekah and Bertie, the simple platitudes of their isolated home life do not prepare them for the outside world, even in so mild a form as Bertie's tiny, oily schoolmaster, Percy Lawrie

(From Man to Man, 82). His seduction of Bertie, or "near-rape" as Merryn Williams calls it more appropriately, is not directly described in the story.[2] Rather, the narrator concentrates on Bertie's fretful mother, who wanders vaguely about the house and comes upon her young daughter after the ordeal is over.

> "Are you ill, my baby?" she asked, bending down. Bertie said nothing. There was in the large eyes the look that an animal has when it is in pain; the mute fear of a creature that cannot understand its own hurt.
>
> The little mother saw nothing in it but the look of one who has a violent sick headache. (From Man to Man, p. 98)

The school-master absconds almost immediately. In the two months that follow this episode, Bertie's pain and partial recovery are shown symbolically. To begin with, she ceases to eat, and her flower garden is found to have been trampled down in the night and destroyed. She spends most of her time lying down, facing the wall. Finally, a storm clears a patch of sultry weather and the sky, "a bloody pall of crimson" emblematic of her stolen virginity, fades into a "faint glow." This epiphanic moment raises the possibility that Bertie may be able to heal herself, her sin being forgiven or simply forgotten. She is eased by the onset of a heavy dreaminess, in which "a curious quiet" overcomes her: "Was there not something that might make the past as if it had never been, and the 'I have done it' as meaningless as 'I have dreamed it'?"(From Man to Man, p. 102). In the comforting weight of her father's hand on her shoulder as he passes, and in the gently fading sky, man and nature seem to conspire to reinforce her hope. But her hope is false, because she has no one who can teach her how to protect herself. Bertie's mother's remarkable failure even to guess at the nature of her daughter's distress is proof that Bertie has no one to educate her to protect herself. Her father is well-meaning but ineffectual, and her mother fails even to guess at the cause of her distress. On the biographical level we are back in Hertzog in 1871, during the dreadful spring in which Schreiner tried to come to terms with Gau's rejection, while her mother told her sister she "was in the dark" about "poor Olive," and her father tried to comfort her with stories of his youth.[3] In the letter from Mentone which

described her anguish, Schreiner wrote: "Oh, I've been so desolate all my life, Harry. I've never had a home, I've never had anyone to take care of me like other girls have."[4] Bertie's fate is a hypothetical extrapolation from Schreiener's own experience, a nightmare vision of what could have happened if Schreiner had not possessed the discretion and inner resources which the novelist attributes to Rebekah.

After Rebekah's marriage and departure from Thorn Kloof, Bertie has no real protector, direction or support. Schreiner makes it clear that for a woman without Rebekah's resources, or the cunning to hide her mistake in marriage, the fruit of experience is not wisdom, but martyrdom. Bertie twice attempts to confide her trouble: first to her fiancé, and later to her aunt. Her fiancé not only jilts her but, in later telling his new bride, betrays Bertie's shame to Cape Town and indeed to most of the white society of the Cape Colony. The reaction of Bertie's aunt is at least as hurtful as that of John-Ferdinand. When she begins to understand the nature of Bertie's trouble, she refuses to hear any more:

> One thing I should like to say to you, Bertie: never attempt such confidences as you were desirous of making to me this evening. If a woman has made a mistake there is only one course for her -- silence! (From Man to Man, p. 327-8)

Given the willingness of Liz Stanley and Dale Spender to read Schreiner through a haze of feminist optimism, it cannot be said frequently enough that "sisterhood" is almost completely unknown in Schreiner's fiction. The aunt who will not even listen, much less comfort, Bertie, leaves the girl in greater distress than ever, as her alienation from a community of women makes her feel dirty and diseased. Her aunt warns her solemnly that the "soap hasn't been invented" that can clean a woman's character when it has once been soiled. After this conversation Bertie spends a sleepless night, during which she makes another futile attempt at contact, this time with a sleeping servant:

> "Dorcas, please wake!" She touched her softly. "Oh, please wake, Dorcas!"
> Dorcas gave a low guttural sound.... her eyes fast closed.
> "I'm so lonely, Dorcas! Oh, please let me hold your hand!"

> Dorcas snored and turned slightly on her side. Bertie put her hand under the blanket and took the thick coarse hand and held it tight in her own. "I'm so lonely, Dorcas!" But Dorcas moved heavily and then lay motionless. Bertie shivered; after a while she withdrew her hand and rose softly and glided with her naked feet back to her own room. (From Man to Man, p. 339)

Lacking the physical and moral strength of Tess Durbeyfield, and having neither a canny mother nor comrades who work with her in the fields, Bertie is consigned by her intense isolation to a pathetic life in a profoundly dreary London, to which she flees under the dubious protection of a Jewish diamond merchant who has visited Aunt Mary-Anna's house. The long chapter "How the Rain Rains in London" details Bertie's continued emotional and social decline. She is initially at least safe from gossip in England, but only because there is no one to care who she is. "The Jew" has two servants, Martha and Isaac, who attend to Bertie's every wish in a house whose opulence is all for her sake. Her value to "the Jew" is expressed in the "long bills" he receives from decorators, silversmiths and dressmakers, and in the sums which are paid to those who evict his lodgers. All this is arranged by him from Africa for Bertie's pleasure. "Yes, it had cost well," he muses, before going to caress the sleeping Bertie on the "purple sofa" he has bought her (From Man to Man, p. 351-2).

Purchased and decorated, Bertie veers from a state of manic glee (during which she can eat "three helpings like a child of some wonderful cake with cream and almonds in the middle" [From Man to Man, p. 356]) to one in which she weeps "so persistently that there were sometimes not six hours in the twenty four when she was not weeping either waking or asleep" (From Man to Man, p. 367). She finally becomes so heavy that she can barely move about on her "tiny feet, which hardly supported her large body, and gave her...[a] slight uncertain swaying movement" [From Man to Man, p. 368]). As her old energy and altruism are starved of meaning, she becomes lethargic and is reduced a state of maudlin inertia, her only diversion being the ritual mothering of a trio of kittens. There is a palpable sense of unwholesomeness amidst the luxury, particularly toward the end of her stay with

the Jew, when she wears a single "crimson velvet gown" day after day. When the lace at the neck becomes soiled, she does not remove it but throws a scarf over it. Her life is now metaphorically as well as physically thousands of miles from her scrubbed childhood on the Karoo, where she and her sister laboured at baking and cleaning, dressed in the ubiquitous starched white aprons and kappies of Schreiner's Cape girlhood. Bertie was earlier labelled by her aunt as dirty and unfit for society, and that judgment has now been reified.

Moreover, during Bertie's miserable walks about London, when she craves to touch passing window-shoppers simply for the pleasure of human contact, she is thwarted. Isaac, the servant who accompanies her, has been warned by her master to prevent her from speaking to anyone. The Jew warns her that "England is not like South Africa" -- but in some respects England is South Africa in a more brutally uncaring form.

At one point, feeling an acute homesickness and an incoherent desire for space and freedom, Bertie begs a servant to take her to "country... a place where there are no houses or people. In my country... we call it veld" (From Man to Man, pp. 380-1). The well-meaning servant takes her to a moderately rural area outside the town of St. Leonards-on-Sea (Schreiner herself had lived at or near St Leonards-on-Sea in 1881 and again in 1884), but the "grey sky" ruins the experiment. Under the perpetually grey skies of urban and alien England, she lives a wretched and claustrophobic existence among people who know nothing of the "veld". Such people do not understand the distress she feels at the sight of stage shows with scantily- dressed dancing girls -- through fiction contains no clearer instance of projection than Bertie's sobbings plea that "their mothers" should save them from "the men" by "fetch[ing] them home".... When even the security that the Jew affords her is gone, we see that there is worse to come.

Once again, a woman's jealousy and perfidy result in flight for Bertie. Martha arranges for the Jew to catch Bertie with the Jew's handsome nephew in a situation which appears to be compromising. Despite Bertie's protestations of innocence, the Jew melodramatically pushes her down stairs, rips the rings from her fingers, thrusts her out of

the door, and -- in a final act of sadistic fury -- kills her kittens. Even Bertie's faithful ally Isaac cannot save her, and the Jew's nephew carries Bertie off and down the next rung of the ladder from mistress to prostitute (From Man to Man, pp. 393-410). Bertie's return to South Africa to continue her career as a prostitute is a far cry from Undine's hopeful journey home in search of freedom.

The connections between Rebekah's superficially respectable married life and Baby-Bertie's career of degradation in prostitution are similar to those made between bourgeois marriage and prostitution in Woman and Labour, but the conniving role played by other women in bringing about Bertie's fall is portrayed with a virulence not otherwise seen since Undine. Moreover, Mrs. Drummond, who spreads the rumour in Cape Town that sets Bertie off on her travels, is also, despite her initial affection of fondness for Rebekah, one of the many casual lovers of Rebekah's husband.

In fact, Rebekah has few acquaintances and no friends in Cape Town -- for, as Mrs. Drummond says to Veronica, "Women didn't seem to care for Rebekah." The irony of all this lies in Rebekah's tremendously generous nature. If the key to Lyndall's character lay in her drive to fulfil her own needs, then the key to Rebekah's is the desire and capacity to give. This is in keeping with their respective roles as orphan child/woman and fecund mother. Rebekah is ultimately both provider and visionary, a flesh-and-blood combination of heroines celebrated in Woman and Labour, such as the scientist, the pioneer, the tender and toiling wife and mother, and above all the sacrificer of self. Lyndall ached for work, freedom, fame, love and sex, and for such trappings as fine clothes. But where Lyndall has desires, Rebekah has only the impulse to give birth, nurture, and educate. Rebekah even brings gifts to Frank's mistresses in order to foster general good-will. All Rebekah's desires for happiness, freedom, love and even simple justice are projected onto those she loves, usually her children, whose education she undertakes that they may build the kind of future she wants. It is interesting, however, that Schreiner makes all Rebekah's real children male -

- they are named Charles, Frank, Bertie, and Hughie -- and thus exempts herself from the still-unimaginable task of portraying an educated girl.

The first intimations of Rebekah's maternal feelings are given in Chapter One, "The Child's Day", in which the young Rebekah listens to her mother in labour, and then wanders outside to fantasise about a baby of her own. The imaginary baby will not have to do the things Rebekah herself hates: listen to the clock ticking, be called "a strange child," learn hymns. "My baby, I'm so glad you are a little girl. I'll make you a pair of thick trousers to climb trees in," Rebekah promises. She even apologises for her lack of breast milk for the baby (From Man to Man, pp. 56-7).

Despite the child Rebekah's insistence that she doesn't like boys, most particularly her cousins, the opening of the next chapter, "Baby-Bertie and her New Tutor," finds her in her twentieth year on the eve of marriage to her eldest cousin Frank, who has wanted to marry her since he was eleven. He has asked her many times, and now suddenly she agrees. Rebekah's wish to be married in her "gardening dress" -- which is not permitted -- symbolises the reason for her acceptance. She marries not for love or passion but because of a primordial "hunger" to have children, "a voice from that primal depth of nature which, before man was man, called beast to beast and kind to kind" (From Man to Man, p. 86). Frank on the other hand is sensual in ways scarcely connected with reproduction, and is also disposed to cruelty:

> Presently he lifted his hand as he read and drew her [his pointer bitch] nearer by the ears; she winced a little, but crept up and put her nose against his arm. By and by, when he had emptied his cup, he raised his large not ungraceful body and sauntered to the house...
>
> "How nice you look in that dress," he said slowly. She [Rebekah] was dressed in white muslin, with a little blue sleeveless jacket cut away from the waist. "I like that jacket; it shows your little waist..."
>
> He put out a large, soft, well-shaped hand, and let it rest gently on her waist for a moment. Then he drew it back and re-folded his arms on the window, and smoked. He blew a long whiff of smoke softly at her; he knew she liked it. (From Man to Man, p. 83)

It may be that Rebekah likes it about as much as the pointer likes having her ears pulled-- but that doesn't matter, for what is at stake (for Frank) is always Frank's perceptions of events. He disturbs Rebekah by beginning to discuss Bertie's tutor, the "new arrival" on the farm, and projecting his own prurience on to him:

> "Don't you think it's a little dangerous, too?"
> "What?" Rebekah looked up at him quickly.
> "Oh, setting him and Bertie down every day for three hours with nothing but the table to divide them and French verbs to unite them! It's a dangerous thing for any young man, or old either, to have a head of curls like Bertie's dancing within three feet of him!" Rebekah stood up quickly again.
> "I think--" she said.
> He blew a whiff of smoke softly towards her across the table... and laughed. "Oh, I know just what you are going to say-- men should teach women and women should teach men; what difference does it make?-- But it's not the Garden of Eden yet! Bertie'll be the finest looking woman in Africa in a few years. Have you noticed how she's developed since I was here six months ago?" (From Man to Man, p. 84)

Unfortunately for both sisters, Frank's worldly view proves the prophetic one, and Bertie's seduction is accomplished within months, and without difficulty. Bertie, it appears, does not share Rebekah's high intelligence, but has an equally compelling need to give. On the night before Rebekah's wedding, Bertie pathetically tells her sister of her desire for a white wedding dress. Bertie also tells her of having tried on Rebekah's ring, at Frank's request, and of the scolding she got from the old Ayah, according to whom trying on other people's wedding rings means that

> "...you never get married, and the most dreadful thing in the world happens to you. She wouldn't tell me what.--It's only a geloofie [superstition] isn't it, eh Rebekah?-- Rebekah, what is the most dreadful thing that could happen to anyone?"
> "It would depend on who the person was," Rebekah said. (From Man to Man, p. 88)

Superstition or not, it is significant that it is Frank who encourages Bertie to try on the wedding ring. Frank's readiness to sexualise the innocent Bertie ("Have you noticed how

she's developed in the past six months?") foreshadows his infidelities after marriage. Frank is always on the look-out for young girls, and the longer he is married the younger the girls become. One of his lovers appears to be no more than "fourteen or fifteen" (From Man to Man, pp. 273-5).

Rebekah wanders about the house on her last night of maidenhood and, signally, lingers at her bookshelves, at her microscope, and at the print of Raphael's Madonna della Sedia, which had given her "a quiet thrill of joy" since she acquired it at the age of six. She then rereads the letter Frank had written to her after she first accepted his proposal, in which he rhapsodised: "My one love! My own love! My only love!" She stays awake listening to baboons fighting outside. Again, her early admiration for the Raphael print indicates her characteristically maternal ambitions, but the juxtaposition of the letter with the baboons is a sinister portent. "My only love" is what Frank promises, and in a sense he will keep his word: but he will not share Rebekah's equation of love with sexual behaviour. The behaviour of the polygamous baboons is a more accurate prediction of Frank's future sexual life. After these portents, Rebekah's wedding goes undescribed. Set off from the text, closing the chapter, one sentence thuds like the closing of a prison door: "The next day, Rebekah got married" (From Man to Man, p. 92).

It is four years before Rebekah revisits Thorn Kloof (see From Man to Man, Chapter 3, "The Dam Wall"). Now a careworn mother of three children, Rebekah herself looks "smaller and more like a child than ever" (From Man to Man, p. 105). Bertie is now "a magnificent woman," but she is quiet, speaks and moves "almost heavily," and retains an infant-like expression. The child-like appearance of the sisters belies their griefs; Bertie's secret encompasses her in a fog of wistfulness, and Rebekah's serenity conceals the wounds caused by Frank's infidelity.[5]

Rebekah is a changed woman. When she is not attending to her children, her life is devoted to reading with a "fierce avidity... as though she hardly saw the world about her" (From Man to Man, pp. 117-8). Following a pattern set in her tiny study at home in Cape

Town, she sleeps little, preferring always to study, and even reading while breast-feeding.

She gives a clue to the source of her obsession with learning when she tells John-Ferdinand, Frank's brother:

> Some women with complex, many-sided natures, if love fails them and one half of their nature dies, can still draw a kind of broken life through the other. The world of the impersonal is left them: they can still turn fiercely to it, and through the intellect draw in a kind of life-- a poor, broken, half-asphyxiated life, not what it might have been... but still life. But Bertie and such as Bertie have only one life possible, the life of the personal relations; if that fails them all fails. (From Man to Man, pp. 121-2)

Rebekah compares the women of the first sort (clearly including herself) with mimosa trees, who will live and bear flowers even if their stems are chopped down, and women of the second kind with aloes, who flower only once. The context of this passage is Rebekah's attempt to establish John-Ferdinand's intentions towards Bertie, who is obviously in love with him. He satisfies Rebekah by protesting a love so great that it makes him understand how "men have made a god of woman -- 'eternal virgin-mother!' " (From Man to Man, p. 122). Predictably, this love is destroyed in the following chapter when John-Ferdinand's ideal of purity cannot accommodate Bertie's revelation of her seduction.

The unhappy Bertie joins Rebekah on her journey back to the Cape Town suburb of Rondebosch, where she falls into a listless depression. When she learns of John-Ferdinand's marriage to Veronica, her situation resembles that in which Schreiner found herself, when during a visit to Rondebosch she learned of Gau's engagement to Florence Reilly. Being driven into a frenzy of social activity, Bertie begins to attend dances and is very popular with the men there, some of whom propose marriage. While Bertie goes on a visit with Rebekah to the farm Rebekah has bought in order to be independent (From Man to Man, p. 282), the newlyweds visit Frank. Veronica befriends Frank and Rebekah's neighbour, Mrs. Drummond, and relates to her the secret about Bertie's tutor which she has wormed out of John-Ferdinand. This sets the scene for Bertie's next shame and flight.

The portion of the narrative describing Bertie's experiences on her last night in Cape Town forms a very small part of the chapter, "Raindrops in the Avenue", in which they appear. Before a ball to which Frank and Bertie are going, the two sisters discuss balls and dancing, and Rebekah more than hints at her sexual dissatisfaction in marriage. She shows Bertie her one ballgown, which she made in her first year of marriage, and says that although she doesn't like dancing anymore, except alone, she can still imagine it:

> "Perhaps," Rebekah said, "if you had someone you liked very much, and you two were quite alone-- and you could go on dancing on and on for ever and ever with no one there, it might be better than dancing alone-- perhaps better than almost anything."
>
> "Yes," she [Bertie] said dreamily, "it would be nice to dance with someone you liked very much; I never have. But Rebekah, you know, I don't care very much whom I dance with now. It's the light and the noise and the going round and round I like. All the men are so kind to me, too," she added slowly, "and all the girls also; they don't mind that I dance so much all evening. Isn't it nice of them, Rebekah?"
>
> "Very." (From Man to Man, pp. 169-70)

The difference in the way the sisters react to romantic, even erotic, disappointment reflects their characters and their destinies: Bertie seeks forgetfulness through indiscriminate "dancing" and fantasies of kind men and women; Rebekah wistfully imagines a soul-mate. Meanwhile, the "nice" girls who "don't mind" Bertie's dancing with "all the men" symbolise the great mass of women who allow the institution of prostitution to continue while they remain safe. In due course, Bertie finds that she is shunned by a number of girls at the ball, but that the men invite her not only to dance but also to go and "rest" in enclosed verandahs -- which she declines to do. During one waltz, someone treads on her dress, ripping it to the waist. The ripped skirt which followed her confession of sexual experience to John-Ferdinand back at Thorn Kloof is parallelled by the way the ballgown skirt exposes her to shame when she retires to the dressing-room to repair it. There she overhears gossip about herself, and, overcome by horror, races back to Rebekah's house. That night she has a nightmare of exposure and humiliation.

Rebekah passes the evening in her study, a tiny room "hardly larger than a closet" which opens on to the children's room and to the garden (From Man to Man, p. 171). It contains her books, her fossils, her microscope and the Raphael print. On the floor is a track worn into the carpet, where, as Showalter remarks, she walks round and round like a prisoner. Showalter describes Rebekah's room as "all too clearly and pathetically the embodiment of her femaleness; it is connected to the children and Nature, and linked to the evolutionary past, literally a womb with a view."[6] On the walls are the books which serve as substitutes for the lovers Rebekah does not have:

> From her shelves, the bindings of her books looked down...each one a little brown face that seemed to love her. Behind each was hidden the mind of some human creature which had at some time touched her own; they were all the intellectual intercourse she had ever known.... each one was there because at some time she had lived close to it and it had penetrated her. (From Man to Man, p. 175)

Rebekah's sanctuary is a place for reading and writing, and while it is a place of isolation, it is also a place in which to dream of community. Her thoughts, on the evening of the ball at which Bertie's shameful past is revealed, are far-ranging. Rebekah starts with a perusal of her diaries in which Frank's infidelities are catalogued in a cryptic shorthand and then moves on to a Gibbonesque comparison of fourth century B.C. Athenian thought with that of the nineteenth century. Beginning to write in a most non-Gibbonesque style, she declares that modern minds are beginning to seek after truth and question its nature with a new passion, and that this is transforming even the relationships between man and woman. With a language so lush, dramatic, and not infrequently maudlin as to make the loftiest flights of Woman and Labour appear flat, Rebekah describes the dawn of this new age:

> All women of the past and in the present find woman's heaven when their head rests on the shoulder of the man they love and his strong arm is about them; and as dear to the women of today as to the women of the remotest past is the love and tenderness of the man she is bound to. But yet the cry of our hearts is not the same. Beyond the cry for passionate tenderness there is another--"Give us truth! Not jewels, not ease-- nor even caresses, precious as they are to us-- are the first thing we seek: give us truth.. The highest

> sacrament of love we thirst for between our two souls is an almighty sincerity; if there is not this, then for us love's holy of holies is defamed." (From Man to Man, p. 184)

Rebekah asks herself why Greek civilisation fell, and develops an answer like that offered by Schreiner in Woman and Labour. She identifies two principal cause of decay: the enervating luxury afforded to the wealthy by the availability of slave labour, and the fact that women were excluded from the "culture and freedoms and labours" of the community. Unsurprisingly, she attaches more importance to the second cause, arguing that women "alone have the power of transmitting the culture and outlook of one generation safely to the next." But she then reasons that, even without these factors, Greece would sooner or later have suffered "moral decay" through interaction with barbarian societies, and would therefore have "fallen back to the common level" (From Man to Man, p. 190). From this hypothesis she extrapolates a passionate anti-Pearson manifesto:

> If the whole of our vaunted modern advance, our science, our art, our social ideals, our material refinement, were to pass away tomorrow, swept away by the barbarians we nurse within the hearts of our societies or which exist beyond: would it for a moment prove that humanity had reached its possible limit of growth, and not rather that a sectional growth is no permanent growth?...-- the true cry of permanent human advance must always be-- "Bring up your rears! Bring up your rears." (From Man to Man, p. 191)
>
> Now her thought shifted its standpoint. She imagined the mind she argued with to take a new view and to say, "Granting you are right... is it not practically our duty and for the benefit of humanity that we should forcibly suppress, cut off and destroy the less developed to survive?" She imagined it to produce all the arguments for the destruction of inferior races and individuals, stating them as fairly as she could. Then she turned to the other side and stated the view which was really her own. (From Man to Man, p. 195)

Rebekah's own view can be summarised as one of unwillingness to throw out the baby with the bathwater, for she can see no means by which a "net can be shaped to capture the self-seeking ignorant violator of the law which shall not also capture in its meshes the hero, the prophet, the thinker, the leader-- the life of the world!" (From Man to Man, p. 200). Rebekah's "imaginary" opponent, who is clearly Pearson, misuses Darwin in the service of

an imperialism which is at once racist and parochial, but he is crushed by Rebekah's (and Schreiner's) "maternalist" reply:

> You say this is the great law of the survival of the fittest which leads to all beauty strength and unfolding in sentient life; that to interfere with it in any way is to interfere with nature's one plan for attaining perfection.
>
> You shelter yourself under the name of science. Are you not, and one-eyedly, perverting the teaching of great minds, as the priestly in all ages pervert and make falsehood of the perception of all the great prophets who preceded them?
>
> ...You say all evolution in life has been caused simply by this destruction of the weaker by the stronger.
>
> From every cave and den and nest... rises but one great "No!" that refutes you. Neither man nor bird nor beast, nor even insect, is what it is and has survived here today, simply because the stronger has preyed on the weaker. The law of its life and its growth and survival has been far otherwise. (From Man to Man, p. 209)

Union and co-operation are as important as competition in the survival of species, Rebekah argues. Above all else, maternal love and care are what make life possible. Her language becomes explicitly sacramental at this point, as she intones (following one of several unfortunate references in her writings to amoebas seeking other amoebas) that

> ....life has been governed, step by step, by union.... till love becomes incarnate in the female mammal feeding her young from her breast--this is my blood which I give for the life of the world-- through all nature, life and growth and evolution are possible only because of mother-love. (From Man to Man, pp. 209-10)

Inevitably, Rebekah concludes with an allegory. Humanity is represented by a woman naked and beautiful from the waist upward, but "ill-nourished and loathsome" from the "waist downward." The winged "Spirit of the Ages" visits the desert wherein the woman languishes, and asks her why she does not move forward. She replies that her feet, beat them as she will, refuse to move. The Spirit counsels her: "Despairing one, no deliverer will ever come. You, you must save yourself' (From Man to Man, pp. 223-5). But this hopeful Lyndall-like conclusion leads precisely nowhere. In one way, as Josephine Dodd has noted, the allegory seems to suggest Bertie's fate, which is to be struck down with a

"loathsome disease" from the "waist downward."[7] But Bertie is not destined to save herself. Without elaborating further on her self-delivery, Rebekah ceases to write and composes herself for sleep. Within moments she is absorbed in a curious dream-fantasy, a "self-to-self" story, in which she imagines "how beautiful it would be to be a man and be able to take care of and defend all the creatures weaker and smaller than yourself." The fantasy expands to include embracing a wife in bed, and kissing her newborn baby (From Man to Man, pp. 225-7). This extraordinary episode demonstrates yet again Schreiner's (post-African Farm) inability to encode female sexual desire without putting it into terms of maternal generosity or transferring it to a man's feelings or both.

Rebekah's sexual emotions are inextricably bound up with her maternal ones. If there is anything to be said for Frank in the following chapter, "You Can't Capture the Ideal by a Coup d'Etat," in which Rebekah discovers that her husband's latest infidelity has been with their teen-aged black servant girl, it resides in this fact. This infidelity, virtually on her own doorstep, upsets Rebekah so much that she writes her husband a 50-page letter. In this letter she lists every infidelity in which she has caught him, from his affair with Mrs. Drummond to the case of an insolent white school-girl whom he actually brought into the house. Yet even Rebekah's discovery of her husband's latest infidelity is related to her feeling for her husband as "my beautiful boy, the father of my children." Rebekah does not so much desire Frank as desire to be desired, not in terms of lust but in terms of filial need (From Man to Man, p. 244). As Barash points out, the result of such regard is that "Rebekah's instincts for love and 'guardianship' lead her, often without conscious choice, to discover the truth. Thinking of her husband "as one thinks of one's little child", she goes to join him in bed only to discover that he is outside in the servant's hut."[8]

In seeking to understand his need for other women, Rebekah loses sight of the marital situation, in which she as Frank's sexual partner has some right to comment on his

infidelities. Instead of speaking as a wife, she chooses to speak as a mother and a counsellor when she speaks of her attempt to understand his love for another woman:

> If I had a son and he had loved another woman not his wife, and he had come and laid his head on my breast and told me about it, would I not have sympathised with him and tried to help him to find a way that was truthful and open? (From Man to Man, p. 268)

Even this example is nothing beside another, in which Rebekah's self-abnegation verges on the deranged. In the long letter which Rebekah writes in response to Frank's affair with the servant girl, she refers to a previous letter in which she had offered her husband a divorce because she was convinced that he loved Mrs. Drummond. Overwhelmed by what she had been sure was a sublime love between Mrs. Drummond and Frank, Rebekah had felt herself free of any "bitterness" toward her husband's lover: "If you loved her," she had asked, "why should I judge her!" And, in that other letter she had used these words: "tenderly, because I never felt so tender to my little baby when it lay sucking at my breast as I felt to you that day" (From Man to Man, p. 269). What makes this image even more gruesome than it is per se, is that Rebekah wrote it while ill in bed after a fever brought on by the stress of learning of her husband's affair. The fever leads to a miscarriage in which she lost a real "little baby." In her "tenderness" for the the "baby" Frank, who was responsible for the death of a real child, Rebekah actually withheld her letter for six days so that she might be well when he read it. She seems to have feared -- for no reason that the reader can see -- that if she gave the letter to her husband earlier, his concern for her health might inhibit him from speaking freely.

Later, Rebekah comes to realise the shallowness of Frank's affairs. After claiming, with dignity enough, that it is the meaninglessness of his liaisons which depresses her most (because she cannot sanction any sexual activity without a deep love accompanying it), she writes:

> I do not know whether other women feel so, but I can understand, I can almost sympathise with, a wave of black, primitive bestial desire surging through a nature otherwise pure and lofty. I can imagine it for an instant

> sweeping all before it, so that the creature itself cried out in the pain of a grasp it cannot comprehend, which drives it forward to action it abhors,--the resurrection of that long-buried animal past, when man on earth knew not of love or loyalty... (From Man to Man, pp. 287-8)

It is in fact difficult to avoid the implication that Rebekah would prefer her husband to rape other women than dally with them. She appears therefore to be subjecting not only herself but also other women to her masochistic desire to find excuses for her husband. Her appalling reasoning is a logical extension of the self-deceiving strategies employed, for similarly masochistic reasons, by the journalist heroine of "The Policy in Favour of Protection--".

As Barash has written, the "personal danger in Rebekah's caring instinct" is that she herself cannot leave Frank entirely, despite his failure not just to live up to her moral standards but even to discuss them with her.[9] Frank's initial reaction to Rebekah's letter is a refusal to read it. When she begs him to read it, pleading that she has not slept, he replies:

> "Then why the Dickens don't you sleep! If you choose to sit up all night making an ass of yourself, is that any reason you should come here howling to me?...If you don't care anything for me or yourself, you might at least think of your duty toward the child. It can't be very good for you to be going on this way."
>
> "The child--oh, the child--my duty towards the child!--I --don't --do--my--duty--towards--the--child!" She raised a long low cry, like a stricken dog...
>
> He seized her arm. "Look here, Rebekah, be silent at once! How dare you make such a noise in this house!" His anger was not assumed now, it was real... "You are not fit to be allowed to have children at all if you conduct yourself in this manner!" (From Man to Man, p. 250)

While Rebekah's particularly strong internalisation of the maternal ethos may have incommoded Frank sexually, he nevertheless uses it automatically as a weapon against her. For Rebekah, however, (as for Lyndall) love for a child is deeply connected with love and respect for its father. Frank demands of her that she, as a woman, put children first no matter how he treats her, and this demand is the one real strain on her otherwise invincible attachment to him. Finally she rebels:

> something rose and surged within her; from her feet it seemed to mount till it reached to her brain and swept all before it. She would go into the house and gather them all into her arms, those children born of lust and falsehood, and they and she and the unborn would pass away together! (From Man to Man, p. 299)

Characteristically, what saves Rebekah from suicide and infanticide is a return to ecstatic selflessness:

> She walked along slowly. The question came,"Why are you agonising here? Are you the only creature in the world who has suffered wrong? If life has no value to you, are there not others weaker than yourself to whom you can make it of value?" (From Man to Man, p. 300)

Filled with peace, she visits the black servant girl, and then realises with shock that the girl is pregnant.

When Frank returns, Rebekah has another letter for him, but this one is only one sheet long. It demands either a divorce or a separation, and insists that she and the children must remove to her farm. In either case he is to understand that she henceforth considers them both free. The previous letter had included another possibility, that of reconciliation, but the servant's pregnancy has strengthened Rebekah's resolve (as perhaps only the fact of a baby could do). Frank's bluster is silenced by her firmness, and he feels "an unpleasant sensation as he looked at her that she was growing physically taller and larger." Considering her ultimata later, he feels rage that she should desire to marry again: "She, whom he had always looked upon as the type of all that was pure and womanly, to talk of giving herself to another man!...NO! There would be no divorce."

The ways in which Veronica, Mrs. Drummond, and Martha injure Bertie beyond the requirements of their own advantage evince extraordinary malice. Mrs. Drummond's wickedness is especially hypocritical--she is a practised adulteress but she nevertheless hastens to destroy a young girl who has "strayed" only once. Schreiner appears to suggest, however, that the personal tragedies recorded in From Man to Man are indicative of a general truth about human development. The typical fate of undesigning females in

contemporary society is the fate suffered according to the stranger's narrative in Trooper Peter Halket, by those innovative members of a primitive society who refuse to go on practising cannibalism: they are destroyed by the less progressive members of their own group. This, says Schreiner, is always the fate of pioneers like Rebekah, while innocents like Bertie are trodden down simply because of their innocence. In this context, even Bertie's Aunt Mary-Anna, for all her good intentions, contributes to the maintenance of standards which she knows to be unfair: "it may be perfectly untrue, my dear," she says of the rumour about Bertie's seduction, "... but a woman's character is like gossamer..." (From Man to Man, p. 326).

This theoretical model of societal advance provides a context in which Schreiner can account for women's lack of solidarity. The men who are instrumental in Bertie's downfall also work in accordance with their own natural rules. For Schreiner it was important to establish that these men,

> ... from the first who seduces her to the last who leaves her in London streets, are none of them depraved, they are more or less all of them "good fellows" in different ways-- the only misfortune is that they look upon a woman as a creature created entirely for their own benefit.[10]

Even the "noble pure-hearted" John-Ferdinand is as guilty of this attitude as his sensual brother is: for does he not describe his passion for Bertie in terms of "the eternal virgin-mother?" Although Schreiner does not clearly acknowledge the fact, John-Ferdinand's ludicrously unrealistic expectations of womanhood and of love are described in the same language which Rebekah uses for sexual love -- the language of mother and child.

In fact, in the eagerness of most characters to mother or be mothered, only predators like Veronica or Frank really achieve their goals. If they are despicable in their means and irresponsible about the consequences of their actions, at least they are refreshingly direct. Yet in spite of this problematic evidence the authorial voice in From Man to Man appears to leave unchallenged, not only in ethical terms but even in terms of practical effectiveness, the doctrine of utter self-abnegation and maternal self-sacrifice.

Bertie's ruin is begun by her mother's selfish carelessness, and Rebekah's unselfish mothering becomes the cause of her own ruin. Issues of dependence, independence and co-dependence are left unresolved in the celebration of Rebekah's maternal Eucharist, and sexual equality is farther off than ever.

vii. Some African Farms and Their Economies, Part 3

The last two chapters of From Man to Man, "Fireflies in the Dark" and the unfinished "The Verandah", review Rebekah's life, five years after the declaration of her unilateral "divorce." Although she has not resigned her share of the house, Rebekah lives as a single woman, and much of her time is spent in her farm, along with her own children and Frank's daughter by the servant girl. As the chapter opens, she is preparing to go out in the evening for the first time in years, to a concert. "As Frank had said he was going, she had taken a ticket for herself for the seat next his and was going with him" (From Man to Man, p. 415). The tone of this sentence expresses the air of mere arbitrary circumstance with which Rebekah now regards her husband and their cohabitation. When Frank changes his plans for a trip and offers only a feeble excuse, she is indifferent: "She had long ceased to look for the real reasons of his obviously superficial explanations, or to have instinctive perceptions about anything that concerned him" (From Man to Man, p. 444).

Her passionate feeling about her children, however, remains unchanged. While waiting for their father before the concert, she overhears her eldest son being cruel to Sartje, and discovers that he is ashamed to be seen with her in the street, as neighbour boys have taunted him with cries of "Walking with a nigger-girl!" (From Man to Man, p. 417). (Neither the children nor Frank is aware of Sartje's parentage). Patiently, and then passionately, Rebekah begins to tell the children a "dream" parable about colonialism, in which a race of snowy-skinned aliens settles among humans whom they first enslave and

then label "savages" and "Inferior Races." Worst of all, the labels which the aliens give to the humans convince the humans themselves.

> So, when they took from us all our old laws and our old customs, when they told us all we had thought right was wrong and all we had known foolishness--and when they made us believe them; when they did nothing to teach us their wisdom and make us grasp their freedom-- then we despised ourselves; and so we died. (From Man to Man, p. 423)

The sin of whites despising blacks is worse than that of aliens despising humans, Rebekah tells her children, for everyone on earth shares an ancestry of "savages."

At the concert Rebekah meets Mrs. Drummond's husband, who is home for a week's visit after a twelve-year absence from his wife. He is immediately identified as Rebekah's longed-for soul-mate by the way he reminds her of herself (From Man to Man, p. 446). Having witnessed Rebekah make a reckless lunge into the crowd outside the hall after the concert, when she hears a voice that resembles Bertie's, Frank informs Mr. Drummond with loathsome jollity that Rebekah is obsessed with re-locating her sister, last heard of in a brothel in Soho: "What I can't get my wife to see is how much better it is for everyone she shouldn't turn up!...-- things get so soon forgotten, if they're not talked of." Mr. Drummond ignores Frank and delicately offers to assist Rebekah in finding Bertie (From Man to Man, p. 450).

"The Veranda" traces the growing bond of respect and admiration between Drummond and Rebekah, which is strengthened by his rapport with her children and by their common interests in science and in the nature of creative inspiration. She represses any element of conscious sexual invitation in her behaviour. Once when he calls she finds herself changing her dress and brushing her hair, but then she rejects even these humble acts of grooming as too artificial for her ideal:

> She hesitated. Why should she try to show herself to this man looking better than she often looked? Why should he not see her at her worst? For anyone else she would have dressed, but not for him. She...put [back] on the blue pinafore... (From Man to Man, p. 458)

In her strenuous ethical self-examination and sexual self-sabotage, Rebekah shows very clearly her creator's conflicts about exhibiting desire. This "self-to-self" fantasy is no less familiar:

> She fancied one day she went into the garden and the man said quite frankly, "I have come to see you." And she went up to him just as one child goes up to another who has come to play with it. She said, "Come and I'll show you all my things!" And she took him into her study. (From Man to Man, p. 460)

There are three disturbing double-entendres which reek of Schreiner's desire-denying letters to Pearson: by characterising oneself as a child, one seems to remove the taint of what Schreiner called "sex-love"; however, "Come and I'll show you all my things!" is also an invitation to "play doctor." "And she took him into her study" can also be interpreted as a sexual invitation -- especially if one accepts Showalter's characterisation of Rebekah's study as her "womb with a view." In any case, Schreiner had prepared us for the implications of such phraseology in "The Prelude." Speaking in that context to her imaginary baby, Rebekah said that she wanted to play with Frank and John-Ferdinand "and show them all my things," but she was put off by Frank's insults and by his cruelty to animals (From Man to Man, p. 55).

Three days after Rebekah has these thoughts, one of her children gratifies her wish. "Mofhter, Mofther," he cries in the strange language used by children in Schreiner's later fiction , "he [Mr. Drummond] sayth he wanth to thee you. I've tooked him to your sthudy!" That night Drummond visits her again, fulfilling her fantasy by declaring "I have merely come to see you" (From Man to Man, p. 463).

The novel's unfinished seams are obvious in their conversation, which is the final dialogue of Schreiner's manuscript. Drummond begins without preamble a careless account of the wearisomeness of publishers and fame, and follows this with a mini-dissertation on the nature of artistic inspiration. Rebekah has little to say until they debate an artist's duty

to his [sic] art and his motive for showing it to the world. Rebekah predictably speaks of the latter in terms of an artist's desire to help or comfort-- art made for "mere love of fame or notoriety" would have "something fraudulent in its very nature" and not be "true art." Also, the true artist, like a pregnant woman, is compelled to give birth to his creation by nature, and Rebekah's share in Schreiner's "persecutory imagination" as well as her maternal fixation asserts itself in her response: "Shall I call to the birth and not cause to bring forth? saith the Lord--I think it's something like that!" (From Man to Man, pp. 472-5). Rebekah's masochistic obsession with the imagery of birth, blood, milk and artistic creativity is finally meshed with her own betrayal in marriage:

> Even a woman feels that when she gives birth to a child; though, if she has not loved the man she lived with, she has not conceived it for the good it might do or the beauty it might show,-- yet, even then, when she is in the agony of childbirth, the thought will flash in her with sudden joy, "Perhaps it will live on when I am gone and be the beautiful and the good to others;" and the thought gives her joy... (From Man to Man, pp. 476-7)

Drummond agrees, but one is puzzled as to why.

Then Rebekah ponders her greatest dilemma-- the conflict of love and art -- both of which she typically constructs as forms of selfless duty.

> ... it would be a terrible thing if, when death came to a man or woman, there stood about his bed, reproaching him, not for his sins, not for his crimes of commission or omission to his fellow-men, but for the thoughts and the visions that had come to him, and which he, not for the sake of sensuous pleasure or gain, had thrust always into the background, saying "Because of my art, my love and my relations to my fellow men shall never suffer; there shall be no loaf of bread less baked, no sick left untended, no present human creature's need of me left unsatisfied because of it." And then when he is dying, they gather round him, the things he might have incarnated...- and would not....his own dead visions reproaching him; as the children a woman has aborted and refused to give life to might gather about her at last... (From Man to Man, p. 478)

Drummond disagrees gently, and reminds her that no art can be greater than "the creature from whom it takes its birth." He warns her that if artists dwarf themselves for the sake of their art, then both "art and thought are shorn." Blake notes that Drummond

> ... can answer the question so easily because he isn't much disturbed by the question. Rebekah imagines that such a nightmare might afflict either sex, but it seems no nightmare to her friend, while she remains deeply disturbed.[11]

Rebekah still agonises over what she perceives as a dichotomy, and cries out at the complexity of life.

> "Life doesn't become more complex to me," he said;" it lies right ahead. I know which path you would always choose."
> "Which?" she asked. "Whichever gave you most pain or least pleasure. You would always think that was the right one." (From Man to Man, p. 479)

Here the manuscript ends, with the tantalising problem of Schreiner/Rebekah's answer unresolved.

In an early letter to Pearson, Schreiner forecast a bitter-sweet ending to the Drummond/Rebekah affair-- she refusing to live or travel with him as she is still married, he leaving her angrily when she cannot accept his view of "the right of the individual, the right of each human-being has to complete and perfect his life, not to have it crushed and warped."[12] Scenes of outrageous sentimentality follow. Rebekah longs to go to Drummond's waggon (they are camped out, miles apart, in the desert) and "creep in where he lies asleep, and creep up to his feet and put her face against them -- just that, nothing more, while he lies asleep there." Drummond then dies, hallucinating about Rebekah lying next to him. Just as conflict is made explicit only in letters, so desire is clearly voiced only in dreams -- and, as with Rebekah's earlier dream of being a man in bed with a woman, female desire can be voiced only ventriloquist-style, through a fantasy of maleness. Ultimately, Rebekah might be seen to have followed Lyndall's path in that she chooses to save herself, to follow the "Spirit of the Ages" which had come to her in a dream-allegory and told her "deliver yourself." In the absence of the real things, Rebekah time and again through her "self-to-self" stories becomes her own mother and her own lover and her own child, and in caring for those about her tries to care for herself.

Barash shrewdly calls the plot of From Man to Man a failed one which highlights "the limits of a maternal ideology."[13] The moral contortions Rebekah enforces on herself do indeed compel her always to "take the path" which gives her most pain -- a pain she then glorifies. The most perspicacious critic of Schreiner's doctrine of self-abnegation, at least during her lifetime, was Karl Pearson -- who also seems to have queried her inclination to kill her characters off. In the 1890s, when her romantic disapppointment became her ideological enemy, she remained conflicted about what was owed to oneself and what was owed to others. For Pearson as well as for Schreiner, self-sacrificing motherhood was the most important factor in the happiness and health of humanity. Yet at bottom Pearson's concerns about motherhood revealed his fear of it. Fearing that the unmarshalled breeding which had produced "bad stock" would go on to produce worse, he concluded that the only solution was to "alter the relative fertility" of the "good" to the "bad" within such "civilised" nations as Britain, and to destroy inferior (i.e. non-Aryan) stock altogether.[14] For Schreiner, such doctrines had become more unacceptable than ever after the "Northern Matter" and the South African War. Pearson had applauded the latter, approving of the slaughter of "virile" race by "virile" race as effective race-pruning stuff, while his untroubled advocacy of genocide for darker races continued. In the fictional format of From Man to Man, Schreiner repeats the fervent repudiations of Pearson's theories she had made/would make/was making in the writing of Woman and Labour. Attacking his attachment to an evolutionary model that stressed competition, conquest and death, and she sought to replace it with one that emphasised development by co-operation and nurturing -- and in this context she used her maternal ethos as the greatest weapon she had.[15] Blake sees in From Man to Man the tragedy of a creative mind censoring itself in a ludicrously repressive narrative, and attributes this "self-postponement" to Schreiner's identification of her "sympathetic nature" as an "artistic problem."[16] This interpretation is certainly right -- but Schreiner's dilemma was not simply to correct selfish sexual and creative impulses with

altruistic self-sacrifice, but also to combat an ideology which threatened her view of the world.

The obstacles which prevented Schreiner from completing From Man to Man included the spectre of Pearson and her willing submission to a modified version of his beliefs in the importance of motherhood -- perhaps poignantly conditioned by her childlessness, and further conditioned by the Calvinist sensibility formed during her childhood. In many ways, her English experiences had given life to this enormous "fragment"; unfortunately, they also wounded it mortally, having taught her new ways of being lonely without teaching her a language in which to express either anger or desire. The final result is a book which turns in on itself; a romantic ideology which implodes before a resolution can appear. Instead of showing Rebekah and Drummond making love, instead of even going through the melodramatic scene of passion renounced which Schreiner had described to Pearson, the last scene which survives of the manuscript shows the couple spending their time discussing how to write the novel in which they themselves appear. This may look like post-modernism, but it is more plausibly interpreted as a product of the frustration which Schreiner increasingly communicated to her characters. That frustration in turn was a symptom of her own inability to break out of her constitutional isolation and commit herself to solving, in a social context, the ancient dilemmas of desire and duty, self-gratification and nurturing.

Ultimately, as Edmands observes, the 1870s Dordrecht plot of two sisters could scarcely bear the weight of all Schreiner "knew about being a woman," let alone all she wanted to know about being a beloved daughter or a loving mother.[17] Perhaps the most poignant of all the autobiographical resonances of From Man to Man is that on which no critic or biographer has commented: the fruit and vine farm which Rebekah buys and works in order to be financially independent of her husband, and to which, in the putative ending to the story, she retreats with her children, is run by an "old German and his wife" (From Man to Man, p. 156). Here we see the unhealed wounds of Olive Schreiner's life and

imagination most clearly. The suggestion is that the new generation which Rebekah hopes will bring about an age of freedom and justice is going to be reared in the old family template presided over by Gottlob and Rebecca, the parents from whom Schreiner was separated at the outset of her lonely journey. Perhaps Schreiner's inability to finish her novel may have been connected with the magnitude of her own wounds. To complete it she would have had to explore much uncharted territory: not just the expression of emotions and sexual desire between Rebekah and Drummond, not just the attempt to deal in a progressive way with Sartje, but the creation of an outcome which for Schreiner was equally unimaginable, a happy family with roots in a fruitful land. As the necessary home of such a family she had to imagine a place where the outcasts with whom she identified -- Berrtie and Sartje, the prostitute and the half-caste -- could be admitted and accepted under the eyes of an old German man and his little English wife. In this way the absence of a good mother for Rebekah (or Schreiner) makes a contribution to the "failed maternal ideology" of From Man to Man. This perhaps may be why Rebekah's "mothering" of others is carried on with such intensity, and why Schreiner had to speak of "all the things and people" in this novel "her children."

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE, "ENGLAND UNMADE ME"

SECTION I -- "An Unclassifiable Phenomenon"

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[1] Carpenter, My Days and Dreams, p. 227.

[2] Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, p. 145.

[3] Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, pp. 173-6; Calder-Marshall, Havelock Ellis, p. 103. Cronwright-Schreiner's generalisations shed no more light than do his quotations from letters to Ellis from an unnamed "eminent man who was a devoted friend of Olive's at this period" -- quite clearly, Dr. Bryan Donkin.

[4] This episode is described by Calder-Marshall, in Havelock Ellis, pp. 91-2; its source is Ellis's "Notes" of January 1885. Meintjes' Olive Schreiner makes much of Calder-Marshall's work, but, as First and Scott remark, "without throwing further light on it," (First and Scott, Olive Schreiner, p. 115). Beeton (Facets of Olive Schreiner, pp. 28-9) quotes valuable passages from the "Notes," including Schreiner's sense that she "used to feel just as if she was a prostitute in those days"; Beeton's commentary is skeptical and pleonastic: "One could, if one so chose, translate this into an experience so ordinary that it verges on the mundane," not to mention sexist: "The voluble expression of fearful emotion reflects the attitudes of any over-fanciful woman."

[5] See: Hobman, Olive Schreiner, Her Friends and Times, pp. 38-41; Buchanan-Gould, Not Without Honour, pp. 66-8; First and Scott, pp. 108-123; Berkman, The Healing Imagination, p. 23, pp. 55-6.

[6] Schreiner to Erilda Cawood, 15 August 1881 (Rive, Letters, p. 33).

[7] Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, p. 51.

[8] First and Scott, pp. 114-115; Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, p. 151.

[9] See history and synopsis of Diamond Fields in both Rive's article, "New Olive Schreiner Story Discovered" Weekend Argus, April 17, 1974, pp. 4-5, and 7, and, in his thesis, pp. 117-8.

[10] Cronwright-Schreiner The Life, p. 154; First and Scott, p. 116.

[11] Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, p. 158.

[12] Schreiner to Ellis, 27 October 1884 (Cronwright-Schreiner, Letters, p. 43). First and Scott, p. 116, p. 137.

[13] Schreiner to Ellis, 25 February 1884 (Cronwright-Schreiner, Letters, p. 35).

[14] Schreiner to Cronwright-Schreiner, November 24, 1906 (1820 Settlers Memorial Museum, Grahamstown). She wrote: "To a certain extent Ellis is a true decadent; that is why he has a sympathy with Oscar Wilde's writings and Symonds etc., which I can never have." She precedes this with an account of how she could never interest Ellis in an account of "sex in its normal, beautiful manifestations", still less where sex "in its higher manifestations... becomes in men and women the stimulus to noblest self-sacrifice, and the highest intellectual activity." Ellis "would have none of it"; more interesting was, say, the "certain unhappy, abnormal man ... only in love with the digestive organs of dogs!"

[15] Havelock Ellis, My Life, p. 93. See also Grosskurth, Havelock Ellis, p. 315 and passim, where she exhibits puzzlement about Ellis's attitude to Schreiner after her death. Pearson's daughter, Helga Hacker, while acknowledging how "hurt" Schreiner had felt by her father, makes the reasonable point that at least Pearson kept her letters "secret during his own lifetime & did not wear her as a feather in his cap as did Ellis." (Hacker to B. M. Fradkin, 22 June 1975, Hacker Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

[16] Calder-Marshall states the case thus: "Karl Pearson despised the Hinton group, including Ellis. He thought they were flabby-minded, unhealthy, and immoral..." (Havelock Ellis, p. 97).

[17] Schreiner to Ellis, 12 June 1890 (Rive, Letters, pp. 174-5).

[18] Judith Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger (London: Virago, 1992). See Chapter 5, "The Men and Women's Club," pp. 135-69; see also her earlier paper, "Science, Feminism and Romance: The Men and Women's Club, 1885-1889, " History Workshop Journal, April 1986, pp. 37-59.

[19] First and Scott, Olive Schreiner, p. 146.

[20] First and Scott, p. 145 and pp. 148-9. See also Cobb's letters to Pearson, 20 January 1885, 3 June 1885 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

[21] See First and Scott (pp. 149-50) who are responsible for this passage and do not attribute the authorship of the letter; see also Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Night, p. 149. Walkowitz traced the comments to a "friend[] of Mrs. Cobb," Mrs. John Brown (presumably not the woman to whom Schreiner dedicated African Farm) who made it in the course of a letter to Cobb, which she in turn enclosed in a letter to Pearson in 1885.

[22] First and Scott, p. 147.

[23] Showalter, Sexual Anarchy, p. 48.

[24] Schreiner to Pearson, 14 July 1885, Pearson Papers, Watson, UCL. "The omission [in your paper] was 'Man'. Your whole paper reads as though the object of the club were to discuss woman, her objects, her needs, her mental and physical nature, and man only in as far as he throws light upon socialism. This is entirely wrong."

Rive further quotes from this letter in the footnote of a letter written two days earlier (Schreiner to Pearson, 12 July 1885, Rive, Letters, p. 65) without reference to the source of his quotation: "Man, his opinions, his intellectual and physical constitution, his use in the world, his dependence on the social circumstances by which he is surrounded, these, and the minor problems opening out of them, are not even indicated."

[25] First and Scott, p. 154.

[26] Schreiner to Ellis, 24 December 1884 (Rive, Letters, p. 61).

[27] First and Scott, p. 151-2.

[28] Carol Barash, "Virile Womanhood: Olive Schreiner's Narratives of a Master Race," Women's Studies International Forum, 9, No.4, (1986) 334. "Schreiner enacted this objectification and scientific examination of other women, a pattern of defining herself by way of but in contrast to them, when she sought out and lived among prostitutes while writing From Man to Man."

[29] Karl Pearson, "Woman and Labour," The Fortnightly Review, (1 May 1894), 564.

[30] First and Scott, p. 159.

[31] Schreiner to Pearson, 2 July 1886 (Rive, Letters, pp. 85-6).

[32] Schreiner to Pearson, 12 June 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 82).

[33] Schreiner to Pearson, 6 July 1886 (TS), 7 July 1886 (MS) (Rive, Letters, p. 87-90).

[34] Schreiner to Pearson, 13 July 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 95).

[35] Schreiner to Pearson, 10 September 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 103).

[36] Schreiner to Pearson, 11 October 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 105).

[37] Schreiner to Pearson, 18 October 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 107-8).

[38] Schreiner to Pearson, 19 [?] September 1886, Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL.

[39] For example: the letter of 20 October 1886 begins "Dear Mr. Pearson," the letter of 23 October 1886, "Dear Karl Pearson" (Rive, Letters, p. 108).

[40] As one of many examples, see Schreiner's letter to Ellis, 22 November 1884 (Rive, Letters, p. 54), beginning: "My baby, my baby is ill! I want to take care of it. I want to love its head and put it to rest and tell it such nice stories...." See also see Cronwright-Schreiner's discomfort with the rapidity of Schreiner's moving into "baby-talk" following serious discussion (The Life, p. 239). There is some indication of like behaviour in the sudden "childish manner" of the heroine of "The Buddhist Priest's Wife," (Stories, Dreams, and Allegories, p. 77).

[41] See Schreiner to Pearson, 10 September 1886 (Rive, Letters, pp. 103-4). See also Cronwright-Schreiner, p. 354-5 (the versions are slightly different). The plan of Schreiner's proposed "sex book" looked like this:

WOMAN: Vol. I. Part I: PHYSIOLOGY OF SEX
Chapter I. Origin of Sex, Chapter II. Several Differences in the Human Race.
Part II. HISTORICAL. Chapter I. Sexual Relations among Savages. Chapter II. Condition of Woman in Early Germany. Chapter III. Condition of Woman in Egypt, Greece and Rome. Chapter IV. Condition of Woman in China. Chapter V. Condition of Woman in India ? Chapter VI. Condition of Woman in Early Arabia ? Condition of Woman among the Slavs, etc., etc. would be interesting Chapter VII. General Summary of Historical Survey.
WOMAN: Vol. II. CONDITION OF WOMAN IN THE MODERN CIVILISED WORLD.
Chapter I. Introduction. Chapter II. Description of Modern Position of Woman. Chapter III. The Causes Which Lead to It. Chapter IV. Its Evils. Chapter V. The Direction which Change seems Tending to Take. The Direction which it is Desirable that it should Take. Chapter VI. Summary of the Entire Work. Pearson's reaction is understandably one of astonishment.
"Your letter reached me yesterday and rather took my breath away! The field is so novel that one wants a first-class philological power to get the facts one requires. Otherwise, one would just slip the very points one wants" (First and Scott understandably attribute this letter to Pearson, although Cronwright-Schreiner probably destroyed it and certainly does not name its author).

[42] Schreiner to Pearson, 9 July 1886 (TS), 10 July 1886 (MS) (Rive, Letters, p. 90-5).

[43] First and Scott, p. 163.

[44] Calder-Marshall, Havelock Ellis, pp. 91-2. These associations (Schreiner is meant to have experienced a sado-masochistic relationship on the Isle of Wight with an anonymous "businessman") are irresistibly linkable to the many violent metaphors Schreiner used in writing to Pearson. In a letter of 30 January 1887 (Rive, Letters, p. 121) she wrote "You were quite right to strike me as firmly as you did." On 5 February 1888 she begged him to "strike me firmly, and unsparingly if I should require it at any time. I have the right to demand this of you." She concludes with some advice: "Do not seek to kill out any part of your nature.... Steadily seek for all that may relax that tension when it becomes agony.... Strike yourself mentally when you wish to run about everywhere...." (Rive, Letters, pp. 135-6). This is in addition to the "blood-transfusion" wish of the letter of 14 December

1886, and, on 11 November 1890, Schreiner's gratitude to Pearson for having behaved (emotionally) like ice applied to a haemmorhage victim (Rive, Letters, p. 117 and p. 177 respectively).

[45] Schreiner to Pearson, 17 February 1886 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL). There is no salutation or heading to this letter.

Schreiner writes: "I have had three very terrible dreams in my life that have printed themselves upon me as a part of my life. I had the fourth last night. They're quite different from any other dreams, like visions. You almost fancy they're real. I thought I had a little red-haired servant boy. I was looking at him, & suddenly something flashed upon me, & I asked him if he had killed you. He denied it at first & then he said yes he had drowned you in a large dark pond of water. The horror of the dream was the walking round & round this pond & thinking that you were down in the middle of it. It doesn't seem horrible when you tell it but it was most awful to dream. I half woke with that kind of horror, the funny thing was that I thought, "Ach it isn't true, he isn't dead, he's only curled up." & I went to sleep again. It all looked so ridiculous when I woke this morning, but I've not been able to shake you out of my mind for a minute. I was going to write to you this evening. No, Karl, you will not get hard & bitter, your nature will broaden out into greater richness.

[46] Karel Schoeman, whom Rive and Russell Martin put in charge of the index of Rive's Letters: Volume I, found Schreiner's requests that Pearson not write back to her so frequent that the matter required an index entry. For examples see letters of 14 December 1886 (p. 117) 25 January 1887 (p. 119) 30 January 1887 (p. 123) 5 October 1887 (p. 130) 5 February 1888 (p. 136) 24 May 1890 (p. 173) 11 November 1890 (pp. 177-80; includes three requests for him not to write).

Unpublished letters in the Pearson Papers show more: one (postmarked 5 October 1887) reads "There will be no further communication." Another, 25 January 1888, contains the proviso (in an altered script from the rest of the letter) "You must not write to me on any subject, what - so - ever: but I will accept all your works from you."

[47] Schreiner to Pearson, 14 December 1886 (Rive, Letters, pp. 115-6) and 11 November 1890 (Rive, Letters, pp 177-80) and passim.

[48] Cobb to Pearson, 15 December 1886 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

[49] Cobb to Pearson, 30 December 1886 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

[50] Schreiner to Pearson, 9 November 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 114). There exists an undated letter of Schreiner to Ellis, probably written in early 1887 (published in Beeton, Facets of Olive Schreiner, pp. 141-2) in which Schreiner gives her version of events. The quarrel may have concerned information about Ellis' and Caroline Haddon's editorship of the Hinton papers, and it caused Schreiner to write to Cobb that she "would never write to her or have more to do with her.... The real thing which drew me into writing to her was what she said to Miss Haddon" of which, Schreiner wrote, Pearson knew nothing.

[51] Schreiner to Pearson, 10 [?] December 1886 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL). See also Beeton, Facets of Olive Schreiner, p. 113.

[52] Schreiner to Pearson, 12 December 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 114). The postscript is equally affecting: "My Man-friend, some day when your spiritual life is burning low and dim I will put out my hand if you will help me now."

[53] See Beeton, Facets of Olive Schreiner, p. 135; see also First and Scott, p. 166.

[54] Cobb to Pearson, 15 December 1886 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL). "When I said to you that about reciprocation to my little note on Monday night, it was because I felt you had asked my advice, and I had advised you not to go [to Schreiner], and then it struck me that in a few words you had placed her above any other woman you ever knew in certain greatness of qualities, and suddenly I feared lest I might be standing in the way of happiness for you, and longed only to tell you to follow your own feeling." This generosity disappeared by the 30 December, when Cobb wrote: "I am so humiliated for my sex that a woman has so broken down before you."

[55] Schreiner to Pearson, 13 December 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 116).

[56] Schreiner to Pearson, 14 December 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 116-7).

[57] Schreiner to Maria Sharpe, 16 December 1886 (Sharpe Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

[58] Berkman, The Healing Imagination, p. 248, n. 50.

[59] Berkman, The Healing Imagination, p. 251, n.79.

[60] Hacker to B. M. Fradkin, 18 June 1975 (Hacker Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

[61] Hacker to B. M. Fradkin, 13 July 1975, (Hacker Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

[62] Cobb to Pearson, 15 December 1886 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL); see also First and Scott, p. 168.

[63] Schreiner to Ellis, 1 February 1887 (Rive, Letters p. 124).

[64] Olive Schreiner, Stories, Dreams, and Allegories (London: Fisher Unwin, 1923).

[65] Schreiner to Ellis, 14 February 1887 (Cronwright-Schreiner, Letters, p. 109).

[66] See Stories, Dreams and Allegories, p. 93. Compare with the Cobb-Pearson correspondence (see Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL), especially the tone of Cobb's letter of 8 September 1924, "...I do not think one could ever exactly "understand" her,

surely she was too erratic for that. She went by impulse -- also perhaps when one arrives so far as saying that one does understand?"

67 Schreiner to Pearson, 24 May 1890 (Rive, Letters, p. 173).

68 Schreiner to Pearson, 6 June 1890 (Rive, Letters, pp. 173-4).

69 First and Scott, p. 170.

70 Schreiner to Ellis, 13 December 1887 (Rive, Letters, p. 131).

71 Schreiner to Will Schreiner, 13 September 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 208).

72 Schreiner to Ellis, 5 April 1889 (Cronwright-Schreiner, "Do you think I could write Bertie's death scene, do you think I could show all the inmost workings of Rebekah's heart, if I realised anyone would ever read it?"

73 Showalter, A Literature of Their Own, pp. 30 - 31. "As the feminists themselves often seem neurotic and divided in their roles, less productive than earlier generations, and subject to paralyzing psychosomatic illnesses, so their fiction seems to break down in its form... [Following the disappearance of] the three-decker novel... women turned to short stories and fragments, which they called "dreams," "keynotes," and "fantasias."

74 Schreiner to T. Fisher Unwin, 26 September 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 209); see also Schreiner to Edward Carpenter, October 1892 (Carpenter MSS, Sheffield City Libraries).

75 Schreiner to Will Schreiner, December 1896 (Rive, Letters, p. 299-300).

76 Schreiner to Pearson, 19 July 1885 (Rive, Letters, p. 65-6).

77 Schreiner to Pearson, October 2 1885 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

78 Schreiner to Pearson, 5 March 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 73).

79 Schreiner to Pearson, 21 May 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 79).

80 Pearson, The Moral Basis of Socialism, (London: William Reeves, 1887), p. 21.

81 Pearson, "Prof. Karl Pearson's reply," [to] Speeches Delivered at a Dinner Held in University College London in Honour of Karl Pearson 23 April 1934, (Cambridge: Privately Printed) 1934, p. 23. Addressing "Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen," Pearson reminisced about "fights" in his academic career about "biometry" and concluded: "...whether we lost or won, we did produce some effect. The climax culminated in Galton's preaching of Eugenics, and his foundation of the Eugenics Professorship. Did I say 'culmination'? No, that lies rather in the future, perhaps with Reichskanzler Hitler and his

proposals to regenerate the German people. In Germany a vast experiment is in hand, and some of you may live to see its results." This is perhaps not to say Pearson would have approved the methods of the holocaust, but he consistently failed to analyse or prescribe the means whereby his desired ends (removal, replacement, or reproductive restriction on "undesirable" races) might take place.

[82] Schreiner to T. Fisher Unwin, 26 September 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 209); see also Schreiner to Edward Carpenter, October 1892 (Carpenter MSS, Sheffield City Libraries).

[83] Schreiner to Pearson, 23 October 1886 (Rive, Letters, pp. 108-110).

[84] Schreiner to Ellis, 16 May 1890 (Rive, Letters, p. 172).

[85] Schreiner to Carpenter, 23 May 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 206).

[86] Schreiner to Mary Sauer, 27 May 1891 (Rive, Letters, p. 192).

[87] Schreiner to W. T. Stead, March 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 201).

[88] Schreiner to Pearson, 23 October 1886 (Rive, Letters, pp. 108-110).

[89] First and Scott sum up the plot of "The Buddhist Priest's Wife" by suggesting that it is "as though Olive was rounding off the Pearson episode in a rational discussion with him rather than in flight" (p. 191).

[90] Schreiner invitation to Cecil Rhodes, May 1891 (Rive, Letters, p. 192).

[91] Schreiner to Constance Lytton, December 1896 (Rive, Letters, pp. 296-7). Rive's gloss on this letter is that it refers to Pearson. But, somewhat puzzlingly, the letter concludes: "After ten years' separation I met him again last time I was in England and he wanted to make friends with me. I simply laughed at him and said, 'You are dead, I don't have dead men for friends.' "

How could this be Pearson? The "last time" she was in England was 1893; ten years before that would be 1883. She had not met Pearson until 1885; a little late to be wasting the "best years of her girlhood" (she was by then thirty years old). Either there is a man in Schreiner's history of whom nothing is known, or Gau is the "dead man" (he had indeed shown up in England [see First and Scott p. 145], and Schreiner had failed to find him on his ship). The only alternative explanation is that Schreiner fictionalised the Pearson situation (to protect whom?) or that, as with the two-year time lag that obtains every time she referred to her life in Dordrecht, she got her dates mixed up. It is possible that on her 1893 visit to England she was "shown a letter" at Pearson's request. But as to having told him to his face, "You are dead," no account of such a meeting exists, although Cobb, replying to a letter from Pearson in 1924, did refer with some surprise to what might have been such a conversation: "I did not know she had ever said to you she would never write or speak to you again," indicating that perhaps there had been a meeting of the kind

Schreiner's letter suggests, in which Schreiner could have told him he was "dead," if Cobb's "said" be no accident for "wrote." See Cobb to Pearson, 8 September 1924, and Pearson to Maria Child, his second wife, 23 November 1928, in which he writes "From 1888 to her death in 1922, I did not see Olive Schreiner again...." If he got the latter date wrong by two years (Schreiner died in 1920) could he have mistaken the former as well? (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

92 Schreiner to Ellis, 16 March 1890 (Rive, Letters, p. 166).

93 Charlotte Wilson to Pearson, 12 May 1889 (Hacker Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

94 Charlotte Wilson to Pearson, 14 May 1889 (Hacker Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

95 Charlotte Wilson to Pearson, 17 May 1889 (Hacker Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

96 Pearson to Schreiner, 22 December 1900 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

97 See Karl Pearson, "Socialism and Natural Selection," Fortnightly Review 56 (1894), 6. See also Pearson, The Positive Creed of Freethought, (London: William Reeves, 1888), p. 14. Pearson did not desire to advocate "a brutalising destruction of human life" but only because he felt the "anti-social effects of such a mode of accelerating the survival of the fitter, may go far to destroy the preponderating fitness of the survivor. At the same time, I think there is cause for human satisfaction in the replacement of the aborigines throughout America and Australia by white races. The Society for the Protection of the Aborigines may usefully act as a break [sic], but it would be harmful as a check on the extermination of the inferior races."

98 Cronwright-Schreiner to Pearson, 18 January 1901 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

99 Schreiner to Mary Sauer, 26 December 1890 (Rive, Letters, pp. 183-4).

100 Karl Pearson, "In Memoriam," handwritten ms., December 1920 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

101 Pearson to Maria Child, 23 November 1929 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

SECTION II -- "The Ideal Shall Be Real"

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1 Schreiner to Ellis, 24 April 1887 (Rive, Letters, p. 127).

[2] Chrisman, p. 127.

[3] "Socialism and Sex," (London: William Reeves, 1887), p. 16.

[4] Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, p. 152.

[5] Schoeman, Olive Schreiner, p. 411.

[6] Schreiner to Ellis, 10 July 1884 (Rive, Letters, p. 45).

[7] Beeton, A Short Guide, p. 47.

[8] Schoeman, Olive Schreiner, p. 262.

[9] Clayton, "Olive Schreiner, Child of Queen Victoria: Stories, Dreams and Allegories", English in Africa, 6, no. 2, (1979) rptd. in Clayton, Olive Schreiner, p. 195.

[10] Berkman, The Healing Imagination, pp. 216-7.

[11] Berkman, Feminism on the Frontier, p. 22.

[12] Schoeman, discusses little "Jannina [sic]" Olive Schreiner, p. 436. Barash argues that the matter of Jannita's colour is both ambiguous and irrelevant, since what really matters is her "class... Jannita may be a white or a black indentured servant; in either case she is economically dependent and at the absolute bottom of the family from which she initially flees" (emphasis added). An Olive Schreiner Reader, p. 133.

[13] Barash, An Olive Schreiner Reader, p. 133.

[14] Berkman, The Healing Imagination, p. 217.

[15] See Arthur Symons, quoted in Cronwright-Schreiner, p. 185.

[16] Gray, "Schreiner and the Novel Tradition," p. 156.

[18] Schreiner to Pearson, 23 October 1886 (Rive, Letters, pp. 108-110).

[19] Chrisman, p. 144: "The walls of the chapel seem to establish a kind of dialectic between Imperial occupation (for which ancient Rome is a central trope) and Christianity, by which it was subsequently overcome."

[20] Chrisman, pp. 143-4.

[21] Chrisman, p. 141.

[22] Charlotte Wilson to Pearson, 14 May 1889 (Pearson Papers, Watson Library, UCL).

[23] Schreiner to Pearson, 12 June 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 82).

[24] Schreiner to Pearson, 11 November 1890 (Rive, Letters, pp. 177-8). In this letter Schreiner speaks of Dr. Bryan Donkin, who had loved her and whose proposals she had rejected, as "an eagle." She extends this analogy for some time. She also consistently referred to him as "beautiful" (as the heroine of "The Buddhist Priest's Wife" does of men she has rejected) in her letters of 1886 and 1887 (at least to Pearson; to Ellis she was sometimes openly annoyed with Donkin for his histrionics).

[25] Schreiner to Ellis, 6 June 1888 (Rive, Letters, p. 140).

[26] Clayton, "Olive Schreiner: Child of Queen Victoria...", p. 198.

[27] Schreiner to Pearson, 30 January 1887 (Rive, Letters, p. 121).

[28] Blake, p. 222.

[29] Schreiner to Pearson, 14 December 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 117).

[30] Schreiner to Pearson, 5 February 1888 (Rive, Letters, pp. 135-6).

[31] Schreiner to Carpenter, 6 September 1887 (Rive, Letters, p. 129).

[32] Chrisman, pp. 130-1.

[33] See Judith R. Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London (London: Virago, 1992) p. 133.

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iii "The Most Natural Way of Seeing"

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[1] Arthur Symons, review of Dreams, Athenaeum, London, 47, (Jan. 1891), rptd. in Clayton, p. 78.

[2] John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to come, 1684, p. 1.

[3] Stephen Barney, Allegories of History, Allegories of Love (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon-Shoestring Books, 1979), p. 14.

[4] Schreiner to Mary Sauer, 8 May 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 205)

[5] See Schreiner to Pearson, 10 May 1886 (Rive, Letters pp. 76-7). Rive's footnote to this letter reads "Olive was approached by a publisher, Walter Scott, to introduce a new edition of Mary Wollstonecraft's The Vindication of the Rights of Woman..... and at one time she considered collaborating with him on it."

Schreiner's "15-page fragment 'Introduction to the Life of Mary Wollstonecraft, and the Rights of Woman' remains unpublished, in typescript form, and is... the property of the National English Literary Museum, Grahamstown..." writes Chrisman (p. 149).

[6] Schreiner to Ellis, 2 November 1888 (Rive, Letters, p. 142).

[7] First and Scott, p. 182.

[8] Clayton, "Olive Schreiner, Child of Queen Victoria," in Clayton, p. 192.

[9] Graham Hough, An Essay on Criticism (London: Duckworth, p. 1966), p. 121.

[10] Clayton, "Olive Schreiner, Child of Queen Victoria," in Clayton, p. 196; E. R. Curtius, Essays on European Literature, trans. M. Kowal (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U. P.), p. 214.

[11] Clayton, "Olive Schreiner, Child of Queen Victoria," in Clayton, p. 197; Sarah Gertrude Millin, The Rand Daily Mail, 6 December 1924.

[12] Berkman, The Healing Imagination, pp. 222-30 and passim.

[13]Chrisman, p. 148.

[14] Chrisman, p. 148.

[15] Clayton, "Olive Schreiner, Child of Queen Victoria," in Clayton, p. 197; Ezra Pound, "How to Read," Literary Essays, ed. T. S. Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1954).

[16] First and Scott, p. 182.

[17] Berkman, p. 215.

[18] Schreiner to Pearson, 7 July [MS] 6 July 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 90).

[19] Religious Encyclopedia vol III p. 33.

[20] Showalter, A Literature of Their Own, pp. 30 - 31.

[21] Schreiner to Carpenter, 25 December 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 216).

[22] See Alice Chandler, A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth Century English Literature. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971) p. 1.

[23] William Morris, News from Nowhere, or, An Epoch of Rest, Being Some Chapters from a Utopian Romance (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1891).

[24] Schreiner, Woman and Labor, p. 205.

[25] Schreiner to Carpenter, 25 December 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 216).

[26] Schreiner to Ellis, 29 March 1885 (Rive, Letters, p. 63).

[27] Chrisman, pp. 127-8.

[28] Schreiner to Rev. J. T. Lloyd, 29 October 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 214).

[29] Schreiner to Rev. J. T. Lloyd, 29 October 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 214).

[30] Gay Clifford, The Transformation of Allegory (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1974).

[31] Stachniewski, p. 179.

[32] Stachniewski, p. 177.

[33] Stachniewski, p. 181.

[34] Schreiner to Ellis, 23 November 1882 (Rive, Letters, p. 34).

[35] Stachniewski, p.

[36] Berkman, p. 201

[37] Bunyan, p. 1, quoted in Stachniewski, p. 179.

[38] Schreiner to W. P. Schreiner, December 1896 (Rive, Letters, pp. 299-300).

[39] See Elaine Hobby, A Virtue of Necessity.

[40] G. W. Cross, from "Trooper Peter Halket: A Reader's Notes," Eastern Province Magazine (March 1897) excerpted and rptd. in Clayton, p. 84.

SECTION V -- "Take a Message to England"

[1] Michael Herr, Dispatches (London: Picador, 1978) p. 84, quoted in Peter Wilhelm, "Peter Halket, Rhodes and Colonialism," in Clayton, pp. 208-212.

[2] Wilhelm, p. 211.

[3] J. M. Coetzee, Dusklands (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1974) p. 84 and p. 113, quoted in Wilhelm, p. 210.

[4] First and Scott, p. 225. "The Chartered Company had banked on finding a new Rand north of the Limpopo; this would have made Charter territory, and not the Transvaal, the coming economic centre of South Africa, capable of dictating, together with the Cape, the terms of the new economic federation for which Rhodes planned."

A more in-depth discussion of the 1893 conquest (carried out by Dr. Jameson with back-up from Rhodes) can be found in Chapter 27, "Rhodes, Raiders and Rebels," in Thomas Pakenham's The Scramble for Africa (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1991) pp. 487-503. The Ndebele under Lobengula had not been kind to the Shona or the Amaholi, to put it mildly, but as Schreiner has Peter remark with outrage of what his [Shona] women have told him: "They've got the damned impertinence to say, that the Matabele oppressed them sometimes, but the white man oppresses them all the time!" (Trooper Peter Halket, p. 45).

[5] Cronwright to Carpenter, 4 February 1894 (Carpenter MSS, Sheffield City Library Archives).

[6] Schreiner to W. P. Schreiner, 15 March 1897 (Rive, Letters, pp. 305-6). Rive adds a footnote to the letter from a biography of Will Schreiner; "Will thought Peter Halket a 'definitely unfair belittling of Rhodes.' " See E. A. Walker, W. P. Schreiner: A South African (London: OUP, 1937) p. 90.

[7] See First and Scott, p. 221. "By...1896, Olive's suspicions of Rhodes' machinations were confirmed in the Jameson Raid. This was a plot to achieve a British take-over of the Transvaal Republic as the result of the entry of a military force under Dr. L. S. Jameson, Rhodes' subordinate, at the same time as a rising was staged within the Republic by the white immigrant Uitlander population, in ostensible protest at its exclusion from republican franchise. The plot to take the Transvaal from within and from without, referred to in mysterious telegrams as the flotation or the polo tournament, failed...." Eventually, the affair "was traced back to Rhodes and officials of the Chartered Company and De Beers."

An almost comical account of "this wild gamble, this dash for Johannesburg" appears in Thomas Pakenham's The Boer War (1979; rpt. London: Futura Paperbacks, 1988) pp. 1-5.

[8] Schreiner to W. P. Schreiner, December 1896 (Rive, Letters, pp. 299-300).

[9] Schreiner to Betty Molteno, August 1896 (Rive, Letters, p. 288).

[10] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," English in Africa, 2, no. 2 (Sept. 1975), rptd. in Clayton, pp. 198-208. This observation occurs on p. 201.

[11] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," p. 200.

[12] Schreiner to Will Schreiner, 29 June 1898 (Rive, Letters, p. 333).
Oddly, First and Scott, who quote an almost identical passage, attribute it to a letter Schreiner wrote to Betty Molteno, 9 January 1896 (University of Cape Town, J. W. Jagger Library). See First and Scott, p. 229. Either they are mistaken, or Schreiner reproduced the passage in almost exactly the same words to her brother and her friend more than two and a half years apart.

[13] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," p. 202.

[14] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," p. 202.

[15] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," p. 202.

[16] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," p. 203.

[17] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," p. 202.

[18] Beeton, A Short Guide, p. 37.

[19] Wilhelm, p. 210.

[20] The "Strop Bill" was the name in Afrikaans for "Masters and Servants Bill," for which Rhodes voted in the Cape parliament when it was introduced in 1890 and again in 1891. It allowed flogging to be administered to African servants for minor offences (see First and Scott, p. 200). Cronwright had first come to Schreiner's notice by writing a "splendid leader" attacking the Bill in around March of 1892 (see Schreiner to Ettie Stakesby-Lewis, 25 May 1896 [Rive, Letters, p. 279]). The practice of forced indentured labour to which Peter refers (and which he has already been party to in keeping his "nigger gals," who are similarly convenient for the disposability of their sexual labour-- "The whites you've got to support, but the niggers support you! And when you've done with them you can just get rid of them"[Trooper Peter Halket, p. 42]) was "known about and frequently condemned in Britain" according to Marion Friedmann (introduction to Trooper Peter Halket, p. 22).

[21] This same passage from Isaiah (concerning myrtle-trees and briars) shows up again in "The Prelude" to From Man to Man, when the young Rebekah tells her imaginary baby how

"nice" the Bible is. Rebekah likes Elijah (1 Kings)-- see also African Farm, p. 139. The older Rebekah's "diary" shows a reappearance of Romans 14:7 (From Man to Man, p. 223).

[22] Schreiner and her husband had co-written an anti-monopolist pamphlet, "The Political Situation," in 1895, and experienced reactions from her family and some acquaintances. In Schoeman, Only an Anguish to Live Here, p. 103. Schreiner wrote to her friend Betty Molteno in "the winter of 1900" (Schoeman gives no more clue to the date) that "I have got the most fearful, insulting letters from Port Elizabeth... I thought I was past feeling such things, but the meanness and cowardice of these letters seem to make life darker."

[23] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," p. 207; Schreiner to Pearson, 20 October 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 110).

[24] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," pp. 206-7, and "Schreiner and the Novel Tradition," p. 154.

[25] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," p. 206.

[26] Schreiner to Ellis, 8 April 1884 (Rive, Letters, p. 37).

[27] Friedmann, introduction to Trooper Peter Halket, p. 11.
See also Schreiner to Ettie (Schreiner) Stakesby Lewis, 25 May 1896 (Rive, Letters, pp. 279-80).

[28] Schreiner to Ettie (Schreiner) Stakesby Lewis, 25 May 1896 (Rive, Letters, pp. 279-80).

[29] Schreiner to W. P. Schreiner, December 1896 (Rive, Letters, pp. 299-300).

[30] See E. M. Forster, A Passage to India (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1924) pp. 180-3, where the assault allegedly committed on Adela Quested, combined with the iconic figure of the "brainless" but "most *beautiful*" *young mother*, Mrs. Blakiston, addles the minds and rouses the vengeful instincts of an expatriate community in India.

The phrase "women and children" certainly resounded in 1895 at the time of the Jameson Raid (see note 7) and was repeated in another form by England's current Poet Laureate, Alfred Austin, in an "Ode" on the Jameson Raid which contained "absurd nonsense about 'the Girls in the Gold Reef City,'" (see Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, p. 49).

British propaganda about mistreatment of British womanhood reached a new low when the South African War got under way. Among contemporary British newspaper stories was one asserting "Oom" Paul Kruger had placed an English girl between two wooden boards and then sawed her in half.

[31] First and Scott, p. 230.

[32] Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, April 1897, p. 478. In addition to opining that the Schreiner's "bitterness" was "linked on to the very smallest thread of a story that ever

carried red-hot opinions and personal abuse of the fiercest kind into the world," the anonymous author of the review called Schreiner's use of a divine "Interlocuter... little less than blasphemy."

In "The Downfall of Olive Schreiner," which appeared in The University Magazine, May 1897, p. 156, another anonymous reviewer wrote: "If Olive Schreiner has been hardy enough to give us her own Passion Play, it is only because her scriptural modesty has persuaded her that the Man of Sorrows, were He to be born again, would certainly think as she thinks, and would certainly come to her for His political opinion."

[33] G. W. Cross, "Trooper Peter Halket: A Reader's Notes" Eastern Province Magazine, 6 March 1897, excerpted in Clayton, pp. 84-7. The phrase quoted appears on p. 87.

[34] Hobman, p. 63. Hobman's mistake suggests that she relied on Cronwright-Schreiner's biography instead of looking at a copy of the book itself, since Cronwright-Schreiner himself misspelt the title in The Life (pp. 287-9). Hobman's account of the Boer War (Chapter 8, pp. 112-23) veers wildly between sentimental effusions about Rhodes's love of England, especially Oxford, to a cool catalogue of the means of warfare used by the combatants, including trench-fighting, barbed wire entanglements, and high-explosive lyddite shells. Hobman regrets the devastation in the concentration camps but defends the scorched earth policy that made them necessary; she admires Emily Hobhouse but quite plainly believes the Boers at fault for having "shattered a very long and very prosperous peace" and opines that "the Cronwright-Schreiners were fortunate to have suffered no worse fate at the outbreak of war than to be hustled off a platform... while loyal British passengers were allowed to wait unmolested for the arrival of their train."

[35] Buchanan-Gould, p. 164.

[36] Friedmann, introduction to Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland, p. 10.

[37] Friedmann, introduction to Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland, pp. 23-4; First and Scott, p. 229.

Friedmann declares that the matter of where Schreiner got the photograph of three hanged black men (which appeared as the frontispiece in the first edition and then disappeared until 1974) to be a mystery; First and Scott seem to think Sykes himself gave it to Schreiner (p. 229).

[38] Beeton, A Short Guide, p. 34. Rive, "A Biographical and Critical Study...," p. 210.

[39] Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," p. 199.

[40] Beeton, "Olive Schreiner's Fiction Revisited," in van Wyk Smith and Maclennan, p. 35.

[41] Nadine Gordimer, "The English Novel in South Africa," NUSAS: The Novel and the Nation, National Union of South African Students, Winter School 1959/1960, p. 17.

[42] Nadine Gordimer, "The English Novel in South Africa," p. 17.

[43] Cronwright, The Life, p. 277. Schreiner to W. T. Stead, 4 January 1896 (Rive, Letters, p. 260).

[44] Schreiner to Betty Molteno, August 1896, (Rive, Letters, p. 288).

[45] Stachniewski, pp. 179-80.

[46] For a variety of accounts and speculations about Schreiner's relationship with Rhodes, see Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, pp. 208-212; First and Scott, pp. 198-205 and passim; Friedmann's introduction to Trooper Peter Halket, John van Zyl, "Rhodes and Olive Schreiner," Contrast, Cape Town, (August, 1969) pp. 86-90; Rodney Davenport, "Olive Schreiner and South African Politics," in van wyk Smith and Maclennan, pp. 93-107. Schoeman, in Only an Anguish to Live Here, remarks (p. 23, no reference supplied) that "Rhodes' confidant, Dr. L. S. Jameson, later claimed she made a 'downright' proposal to Rhodes, which if not true must at least have seemed credible at the time of telling." Barash, with even less detail or documentation, refers in passing to Schreiner's "attempt to seduce Rhodes" (introduction to An Olive Schreiner Reader, p. 14). Wilhelm (pp. 208-9) more prudently alludes on the one hand to the uncertain nature of Rhodes' "sexual identity, which is still a secret of Empire" and limits himself to observations about Schreiner's undeniable "obsess[ion]" with "the man and his career."

[47] See Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, pp. 209-210, and Schreiner to W. T. Stead, 12 July 1890, p. 175.

[48] First and Scott, p. 199.

[49] Schreiner to W. P. Schreiner, January 1892 (Rive, Letters, p. 199).

[50] First and Scott, p. 199.

[51] "The Salvation of a Ministry" appears in Cronwright-Schreiner's The Life, pp. 202-5.

[52] Rive, p. 188. Cronwright to Carpenter, 4 February 1894 (Carpenter MSS, Sheffield City Library Archives).

[53] The voyage (which began on 6 January, 1897) has its own accretions of mythology. Cronwright-Schreiner was convinced that Rhodes sent his valet to prowl Schreiner and her husband's cabin in search of the manuscript of Trooper Peter Halket (Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, p. 288). See also Rive, "A Biographical and Critical Study of Olive Schreiner (1855-1920)," p. 192.

[54] Schreiner to Betty Molteno, 30 September 1896 (Rive, Letters) p. 290.

[55] Buchanan-Gould, p. 176.

[56] Walker, p. 51, quoted in First and Scott, p. 204.

[57] The dedication to Trooper Peter Halket runs: "To a great good man, Sir George Grey... who is remembered among us to-day as representing the noblest attributes of an Imperial Rule." In fact, Schreiner could really "remember" no such thing: she had met the man when she was two years old and he had left South Africa when she was six. Schoeman notes that presumably she had heard encomiums of him from her parents, since Grey was "the initiator of a policy toward blacks that led to the founding of the industrial school at Healdtown" which her parents managed (Olive Schreiner, p. 470). However, Schoeman remarks, "Even in 1855... Grey, referring to the amaZulu, had remarked on their 'idle, vagabond, pastoral life', and it has been seen that he gratefully seized on the Cattle-killing to undermine the amaXhosa's traditional tribal life, and to force them into subservience to the whites, and to keep them there," (Olive Schreiner, p. 484).

[58] See First and Scott, pp. 229-30.

[59] Schreiner to Cronwright-Schreiner, quoted (without a precise date other than that it was posted from Beaufort West, shortly before Schreiner moved to Hanover, and must therefore have been written early in 1901) in Only an Anguish to Live Here, p. 152.
For its full poignancy, this extract should be read in company with that to Ellis of 30 September 1899 (Rive, Letters, p. 384) in which Schreiner declared her partiality for the English, and even quoted an "old Boer woman... [who] after half-an-hour running down the English for their pride and selfishness and cruelty, said: 'And yet, when you do get an Englishman good, he's the [?best] thing on earth."'

[60] The best account of the destruction of Schreiner's house in Johannesburg house appears in Karel Schoeman's Only an Anguish to Live Here: Olive Schreiner and the Boer War 1899 - 1902 (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1992). pp. 104-7. It is not entirely certain, based on Schreiner's accounts or anyone else's, if all the looting was performed by Uitlanders on their way out of Johannesburg or British soldiers on their way in. In May 1900 Schreiner had written "It will be a wonderful thing if the Boers defend Johannesburg and the British with their own guns blow it to pieces! If I can once stand on Hospital Hill by the ruins of my home and look down on a destroyed Johannesburg then they can take me away and bury me. I am ready to die" (Schoeman does not name the recipient of this letter).

[61] For further information see Schoeman's Only an Anguish to Live Here: Olive Schreiner and the Boer War 1899 - 1902 which gives, despite its title, a thorough account of Schreiner's life in South Africa from 1899 all the way to 1910.

[62] Edmund Garrett, "The Inevitable in South Africa," Contemporary Review, October 1899. quoted by Schoeman in Only an Anguish to Live Here, pp. 45-6.

[63] This excerpt, from a paper given by Cronwright-Schreiner in Cradock in 1892 (probably to the Cradock Farmer's Association) is excerpted in Schoeman, Only an Anguish to Live Here, p. 42.

[64] Will Stuart, quoted by Schoeman without date or source, Only an Anguish to Live Here, p. 41.

[65] Lyndall Gregg, Memories of Olive Schreiner, p. 21.

[66] Berkman, "The Healing Imagination," p. 100.

[67] Schreiner to Will Schreiner, December 1896 (Rive, Letters, pp. 299-300).

[68] Barash, Introduction to An Olive Schreiner Reader, p. 19.

[69] Norman Stone, Europe Transformed 1878-1919 (London: Fontana, 1983), p. 96.

[70] Stone, p. 96.

[71] Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, April 1897, p. 478.

[72] Friedmann, introduction to Trooper Peter Halket, p. 21. J. G. Lockhart and C. M. Woodhouse, Rhodes (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1963) p. 381. See also Pakenham, The Scramble for Africa (pp. 489-90, 502-3) on the still moot point of Chamberlain's alleged collusion with Rhodes.

[73] Pakenham, The Boer War, pp. 572-3.

[74] Schreiner to Carpenter, quoted (without date or source) in Schoeman, Only an Anguish to Live Here, p. 199.

[75] Schreiner to Betty Molteno, 1 March 1898 (Rive, Letters, p. 326).

[76] Pakenham, The Scramble for Africa, p. 579.

[77] H. M. Hyndman, Justice, 11 July 1901.

[78] First and Scott, p. 240. See also Schreiner to Molteno, quoted in Schoeman without precise date, p. 206.

[79] Rive, "A Biographical and Critical Study..."

[80] Buchanan-Gould, p. 158.

[81] Wilhelm, p. 210.

[82] Alan Paton, "Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland," in van wyk Smith and Maclennan, pp. 30-34. This remark occurs on p. 33.

[83] Gordimer, "The Prison-house of Colonialism:" Review of Ruth First and Ann Scott's Olive Schreiner, The Times Literary Supplement (15 August 1980) rpted. in Clayton, pp. 95-98. This observation occurs on p. 98.

SECTION I -- "Self-to-Self" Stories....

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[1] Schreiner to Mrs. Frances Smith, October 1909 (Cronwright-Schreiner, Letters, p. 291).

[2] Jean Marquard, "Olive Schreiner's 'Prelude': The Child as Artist," English Studies in South Africa 1979, p. 1-12. Gray, "The Trooper at the Hanging Tree," p. 202.

[3] Marquard, "Olive Schreiner's 'Prelude'," p. 1.

[4] Marquard, "Olive Schreiner's 'Prelude,'" p. 12.

[5] Schreiner's Klein Gannahoek journal (see First and Scott, p. 62). See also Schoeman, Olive Schreiner, pp. 387-9.

[6] See Cronwright-Schreiner, Introduction to From Man to Man, p. 10-11; Schoeman, Olive Schreiner, pp. 388-9.

[7] Schoeman, Olive Schreiner, pp. 387-9.

[8] Schreiner to Mrs. Frances Smith, October 1909 (Cronwright-Schreiner, Letters, p. 290-1).

[9] Schreiner to Ellis, 24 January 1888 (Rive, Letters, pp. 133-4).

[10] See, for a very long example, Schreiner to Pearson, 9 July 1886 (Rive, Letters, pp. 91-5).

[11] Schreiner to Pearson, 9 July 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 95).

[12] Schreiner to Pearson 11 November 1890 (Rive, Letters, p. 178).

[13] Schreiner to Ellis, 24 January 1888 (Rive, Letters, pp. 133-4).

[14] Schreiner to Ellis, 5 April 1889 (Rive, Letters, p. 154).

[15] Edmands, p. 40.

[16] Edmands, p. 40.

[17] Rebekah's thoughts are given here: "Because the stronger sex has so perpetually attempted to crush the physically smaller, the individuals who attempted to resist force by force being at once wiped out [sic], sex has acquired almost as a secondary sexual characteristic a subtleness and power of finesse to which it now flies almost as instinctively as a crab to the water when it sees danger approaching..." (From Man to Man, p. 219).
Compare this with Edward Carpenter's views on women:"Finesse, developed through scores of generations, combined with the skilful use of the glamor belonging to her sex, have given her an extraordinary faculty of carrying out her own purposes... without ever exposing her hand. Possibly the knowledge of this forms one reason why women distrust each other more than men distrust each other. Certainly one of the rarest of God's creatures is a truly undesigning female..." Carpenter, Love's Coming of Age, pp. 49-50. See also the Appendix, pp. 182-3, for Havelock Ellis' more behaviourist consideration of the point.

[18] Schoeman, Olive Schreiner, p. 406.

[19] Schoeman, Olive Schreiner, p. 405.

[20] See From Man to Man, p. 440.

[21] See From Man to Man, pp. 169-70 .

[22] See From Man to Man, p. 298, and Schreiner to Cronwright-Schreiner: "Oh, Cron... with that clear moral sense, with that direct sight of yours, lead your little Olive... where another soul is concerned such a terrible doubt come on me... Can I trust you to find the ideally right path and lead me in it?" (Cronwright-Schreiner, The Life, p. 259.

[23] Schreiner to Mrs. Frances Smith, October 1909 (Cronwright-Schreiner, Letters, p. 291).

[24] Boumelha, pp. 83-4

[25] See From Man to Man, p. 272, p. 291. p. 293.

[26] Lessing, p. viii.

[27] Schreiner to Pearson, 9 July 1886 (Rive, Letters, p. 91).

[28] First and Scott, pp. 172-3.

29 See also Schoeman, Olive Schreiner, pp. 387-9.

30 Hugh Walpole, "The Permanent Elements in Olive Schreiner's Fiction": Review of From Man to Man, New York Herald Tribune, 1 May 1927, rpt. Clayton, p. 91.

31 Gandhi was pleased to see how Schreiner got by without servants-- see Berkman, The Healing Imagination, p. 250.

32 See From Man to Man, pp. 129-31. "It was the first time she (Veronica) had ever stood alone in a man's bedroom. .... She walked up to the clothes behind the door and passed her hand softly over them; she took down a greatcoat and felt the velvet collar and the buttons; she rubbed her cheek gently against the shoulder of the coat. So a man's shoulder felt when you put your face against it...."

33 Schreiner's journal, April 28, 1907, quoted in Cronwright-Schreiner's composition chronology in From Man to Man, p. 27.

34 Walpole, "The Permanent Elements in Olive Schreiner's Fiction, p. 91.

35 Arnold Bennett, The Savour of Life (London: Caswell, 1928), p. 250. "A hundred pages might be cut out of the book, still leaving the story intact. When the two chief propagandists open their mouths they talk just like Olive Schreiner writes...."

36 "C. M.," "A Noble Fragment": A Review of From Man to Man, Manchester Guardian 15 Oct. 1926, rptd. Clayton, pp. 89-90.

37 Walpole, 91-2.

38 Jospephine Dodd, "Unfinished Business: Olive Schreiner's From Man to Man and the Politics of Gender." Unpublished paper, Dept. of Women's Studies, York University, Feb. 1988, p. 5.

39 Edmands, pp. 40-1.

40 Schreiner to Mrs. Frances Smith, October 1909 (Cronwright-Schreiner, p. 290).

SECTION VI -- Mother's Ruin

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1 Nina Auerbach, Romantic Imprisonment: Women and Other Glorified Outcasts (New York: Columbia U. P., 1985) p. 180. Also: "Even in feminist reevaluations of notable women, it is difficult to escape a retreat to the womb" (p. 172).

[2] Merryn Williams,Six Women Novelist (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Education, 1987), p. 14.

[3] First and Scott, p. 63.

[4] Schreiner to Ellis, 18 March 1889 (Rive, Letters, p. 151).

[5] Rebekah comes home to the farm in Chapter III following the birth of her third child during which "she almost died." This corresponds to the episode in Chapter VIII (p. 270) when Rebekah confronts her husband with his affair with Mrs. Drummond. She gives birth to Frank (their third son) shortly thereafter (p. 273) and then discovers his infidelity with "the stout girl of about fourteen or fifteen."

[6] Showalter, A Literature of Their Own, p. 202.

[7] Dodd, "Unfinished Business," p. 11.

[8] Barash, p. 337.

[9] Barash, p. 337.

[10] Schreiner to Pearson, 9 July 1886 (Rive, Letters, pp. 91-95).

[11] Blake, p. 210.

[12] Schreiner to Pearson, 9 July 1886 (Rive, Letters, pp. 91-95).

[13] Barash, p. 338.

[14] Egon Sharpe Pearson, Karl Pearson, An Appreciation of Some Aspects of His Life and Work (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938) p. 45.

[15] Fritjof Capra, The Turning Point: Science, Society and the Rising Culture (London: Collins-Flamingo-Fontana, 1982), p. 307. "... aspects of the planetary environment have led the chemist James Lovelock and the microbiologist Lynn Margulis to suggest that these phenomena can be understood only if the planet as a whole is regarded as a single living organism."

[16] Blake, p. 207.

[17] Edmands, p. 40.

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