HENRY RIDER HAGGARD AND JOHN LANGALIBALELE DUBE ON THE NATIVE AND LAND QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA AFTER THE PASSING OF THE NATIVES LAND ACT (1913)

Patricia Crouan-Véron[1]

Abstract

The interview which took place in Durban between Henry Rider Haggard and John Langalibalele Dube in 1914 was one of these precious moments which rarely happen. It took place at an important political and historical period and it made sense when dealing with the question of race and identity. The famous writer was touring South Africa as a member of the Royal Dominion Commission at the time the Natives Land Act which forbade natives to buy and rent land, was strongly discussed. In this paper, we will see that Haggard did not only use Zulu legends and history as a primary source in his romances, he also used his own experience and doubts to question the colonial experience and the native/settler interaction at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. We will, thus, consider why this encounter between the two men is symbolical and prophetic regarding the question of land restitution in South Africa.

Keywords: Race, identity, influence, land, fiction, vision

"*We black people are forced to eat the soil*"
(Haggard, 2001, p. 185)

1. Introduction

The interview between Henry Rider Haggard and John Langalibalele Dube which took place in April 1914 has never been mentioned by any of Haggard's biographers (Haggard L., 1951; Cohen, 1960; Ellis, 1978; Higgins, 1981; Etherington, 1984; Pocock, 1993; Manthorpe, 1996; Monsman, 2006; Katz, 2010) and Haggard himself did not mention it in his autobiography *The days of my life* published posthumously. As for Dube, because of apartheid, there are very few archives left concerning him[2] and up to now it has been impossible to find any comment on this interview by Dube himself. It was only in 2001, when Stephen Coan published the diary of Haggard's 1914

1. IMAGER/ EA 3958 and IUT Sénart-Fontainebleau, Université Paris Est-Créteil. Email : pcrouanveron@gmail.com

2. Hughes remarks that before she published her biography of Dube that "there was no proper biography of this key African nationalist figure" and she explains that "apartheid deprived many fine intellectuals of the resources required for serious scholarship" (see Hughes, 2001, pp. 445-458). See, also, https://impact.ref.ac.uk/casestudies/CaseStudy.aspx?Id=31857. Retrieved September, 5, 2019.

visit to South Africa[3] (Haggard, 2001[4]) that I discovered that these two charismatic figures coming from two very different backgrounds met each other at a crucial moment in the history of British imperialism and discussed the native and land questions four years after the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

We may wonder why the celebrated colonial writer, author of *King Solomon's mines*, *Allan Quatermain*, *She* and many other adventure stories set in South Africa decided to meet an ordained Congregational minister who had been appointed first president of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC)[5] in 1912.What was the reason of their meeting and the content of their talks?

In this paper, I intend to analyse why this encounter is both symbolical and prophetic when it comes to the native question and the question of land in South Africa. I will first consider the background and motivations of the two protagonists before focusing on the content of the interview and determine its impact at a political and personal level.

2. Background and Motivations

At first sight, the two men do not have much in common but both of them were sent to a foreign country at a young age and they were so influenced by this first experience[6] that, back home, they decided to use it to serve their own country.

Let us start with Haggard: he was sent to South Africa (Natal and Transvaal) in 1875 to accompany Sir Henry Bulwer and Sir Theophilus Shepstone as a minor functionary in the Colonial Service. Back home, he wrote *Cetshwayo and his white neighbours* in 1882. This non-fictional work deals with the Zulu king Cetshwayo. It is an essay on the political and social system of the Zulu as well as a defence of Theophilus Shepstone policies. It was reedited several times and thanks to it as well as thanks to several articles on Zulu customs, Haggard was considered as a sort of expert on the country. In 1899, he was contacted by Arthur Pearson, the owner of the *Daily Express*, to prepare a series of articles on "*The New South Africa*" after the second Boer War (1899-1902). But, at the end of the war, when it was revealed that thousands of Boer families (from 18 000 to 25 000 people) died in the concentration camps built by the British, the public was disgusted and wanted to forget about South Africa. Finally, Haggard negotiated with the *Daily Express* and convinced the editor to publish fifty articles on the state of rural England. Accompanied by Arthur Cochrane with whom he had run a

3. It was Haggard's third visit to South Africa: the first was 1875-1879 and the second 1880-1881.

4. This *Diary* was edited by Stephen Coan.

5. It was to become the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923.

6. Haggard was sent to South Africa in 1875 by his father who did not have high expectations concerning his future and Dube was sent to the United States in 1887 by his mother after his father, the Reverend James Dube, died. Hughes remarks that "since there were no facilities for further study in South Africa […] America was the natural destination for these early African students" (Hughes, 2011, p. 42).

farm while he was living near Newcastle in South Africa, he toured England and his articles were published in the newspaper between the following April and November. Then, he rewrote them to form two volumes entitled *Rural England, being an account of agricultural and social researches carried out in the years 1901 & 1902* (Haggard, 1902).

This experience did not put him away from South African issues. On the contrary, he specialised in agricultural issues[7] and his work most probably helped him feel concerned with the problems South Africa was facing at the beginning of the twentieth century. Other elements show that Haggard was truly interested in the land. He was a landowner, a farmer and a gardener and he was convinced that "a return to the land" could be the solution to many contemporary problems in England. He liked being involved in "different sorts of crusades" (Ellis, 1978, p. 170). For example, in 1905, he was asked by the Colonial Secretary, Alfred Lyttelton, to go to the United States to report on the labour colonies established by the Salvation Army. This Christian organisation helped poor people living in overcrowded and city slums to emigrate overseas and start a new life as farm workers[8]. After his visit, Haggard eventually published *The poor and the land: Being a report on the Salvation Army colonies in the United States and at Hadleigh, England, with scheme of national land settlement and an introduction* (1905). He also worked for the Royal Commission on coastal erosion from 1905 to 1910.

Let us now consider Dube's career. He was first educated at the American Board Mission at Amanzimtoti, south of Durban, before his mother sent him to Oberlin College in Ohio where he studied under the supervision of a couple of American missionaries, the Wilcoxes. The Dubes had become acquainted with the couple in the Inanda mission when John was a young boy and they had become close friends. Back home, and after being ordained pastor of the African Zulu Mission (AZM), Dube worked at Incwadi mission near Pietermaritzburg before founding his own school in 1901: the Zulu Christian Industrial School known as Ohlange Institute in Inanda. As shown in Keita's (2005) documentary, Rev. William Wilcox, who was a strong supporter of equality and social justice, had become a sort of mentor to him and Dube, in turn, tried to maintain equality and racial unity in his own school focusing his teaching on practical learning. Indeed, Ohlange Institute was composed of a mix of girls and boys. In her biography, Heather Hughes, whose husband David Brown worked as the head of the English department at Ohlange Institute in the 1970s, describes the school organisation in Dube's

7. However, some of his contemporaries reacted strongly to his proposals and the most conservative press declared that "they bordered on socialism" (see Ellis, 1978, p. 163).

8. "Haggard is used to embarking on different sorts of crusades and in doing so he is used to arranging meetings or interviews with important people. For example, when he was asked by the Colonial Secretary, Alfred Lyttelton, in 1905 to go to the USA as a commissioner to report on the labour colonies established by the Salvation Army to help poor people living in overcrowded and city slums to emigrate overseas and start a new life as farm workers, he immediately thought of organising an interview with the leader and founder of the Salvation Army, General William Booth (1829-1912) whom he met while he was writing his book on rural England" (Ellis, *op.cit.,* p. 170).

days as follows:

> Both day scholars and boarders paid for their tuition in labour. They cleared ground, grew vegetables, kept chickens, helped with building work and maintained the property [...]. Book learning at *Ohlange* was passionately encouraged: each teacher had responsibility for subjects like Arithmetic and English, and even Latin was available [...] pupils worked extremely hard. The day began early at 6 am in the fields and workshops and ended with evening lessons (Hughes, 2011, pp. 95-96).

When he created his school, Dube was also strongly inspired by the American educator and reformer Booker T. Washington (1856-1915) who founded Tuskegee Institute in Alabama (now Tuskegee University) and who was considered as "the most influential spokesman for black Americans between 1895 and 1915[9]". Like the American black leader, Dube thought that education was the first condition for the emancipation of black people. He said: "I believe in education both literary and agricultural, as a remedy and desire to bring the natives under better influences" (Haggard, 2001, p. 228) and he longed for "greater unity of African voices in Natal and beyond" (Hughes, 2011, p. 141). His vision was, indeed, very close to Booker Washington's pan-Africanism. He developed it as he travelled across the United States with his wife, Nokutela[10], in the 1890s to raise funds for Incwadi mission. He delivered speeches while Nokutela sang in churches and they participated in debates about the relations between black and white Americans. Hughes describes this period as follows:

> On the other side of the Atlantic, Dube had for some time been exploring the general question of Africans' social progress. Convinced that Christianity must be an essential accompaniment on the long journey towards modernity, he also wished to assert the role of talented indigenous leadership in showing the way. Everything so far in his adult life seemed directed towards this end: his attempts to prepare himself at Oberlin, his speaking tours, his work in the AZM (African Zulu Mission) and at Incwadi, his bid for the Inanda pastorate (Hugues, 2011, p. 68).

She remarks that the name of the school *"Ohlange"* is derived "from the term 'uhlanga' meaning the starting point of a new growth" and she explains:

> It's a profound name, "where all the nations come together" and Dube named it because he wanted all the peoples to come together there and build a new nation[11]". So the choice of *Ohlange* for the ground on which the Tuskegee of South Africa would rise

9. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved September 5 2019 from http://www.britannica.com. Dube was namely influenced by Booker Washington's autobiography, *Up from slavery*, which was published in 1901. See Hughes (*op.cit*., p.164).

10. They married in January1894.

11. Gwendolen Carter (Canadian-American political scientist, founder of African Studies in the USA), quoted by Hughes (*op.cit.*, p. 93).

> was in complete accord with the sense of pride, Pan-Africanism and autonomy that Dube had begun to articulate so confidently in the United States, and would have resonated too in the Qadi chief circle[12] where there were deep anxieties about land hunger (Hughes, 2011, p. 93).

Apart from their interest in social issues and land, both men had publishing activities. Dube launched *Ilanga laseNatali* (known as *Ilanga*[13]) in 1903 and he used it to establish his political reputation while Haggard was the co-editor of the weekly newspaper *The African Review* and the chairman of the Anglo African Writer's club. So, when Haggard visited South Africa as a member of the Dominions Royal Commission to "report on the health of the British Empire and recommend any measures thought necessary to improve it" (Coan, 1997, p. 45), it was quite logical that Haggard, who was used to "meeting great men" wanted to meet Dube who had become a leading figure in politics. As for Dube, he probably accepted the interview because he thought that Haggard would understand him and, maybe, would advocate the cause of black South Africans to the British government. In his introductory remarks, Coan asserts that Dube certainly knew that Haggard "was sympathetic to the plight of the natives, most particularly the Zulus of Natal" (Haggard, 2001, p. 1). Thus, we can consider that even if their background and motivations seemed to be very different, their interest in ethnicity and its close link to the land issue were two main elements which contributed to their meeting.

3. The Interview

On 30 April, 1914 Haggard wrote in his diary: "I was fortunate enough to have a long interview with the Rev. J. Dube of Phoenix, near Durban, the Zulu clergyman and leader [...] who came to see me on his way to Johannesburg and England" (Haggard, 2001, p. 227). Dube was ready to go and discuss the 1913 Native Land Act with the British authorities, after having tried to use all the constitutional actions to convince his government to withdraw the Act. His secretary, Solomon Plaatje (who afterward wrote *Native life of South Africa* in which he detailed all the problems connected to this Act) was to accompany him to ask for an audience with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Harcourt. Thanks to the publication of Haggard's diary, we can have a precise idea of the discussion which took place between the two

12. Dube was supported by the Qadi chief Mqhawe when he created *Ohlange*. Hughes (2011, p. 92) reports that "[…] old chief Mqhawe had offered them (he and Nokutela) £200 to purchase 200 acres of land locally. This base was to give Dube a sense of rootedness and continuity throughout his life, which was rare for his generation of leaders, most of whom were forced through economic circumstance to make their homes in big towns and cities far from their birthplaces and kin. […] This strong connection (to Inanda) centered his very existence, enabling him to participate as a notable and respected son in the day-to-day routines of both chiefdom and mission, and shaping his outlook on all the key issues of the day, from urban problems to land ownership" .

13. It was the first indigenous IsiZulu English newspaper.

men since the remarks Haggard makes in the entry[14] of his diary are followed by an extract from the letter he sent to Lord Gladstone (Governor-General of the Union of South Africa) and Coan gives a copy of the letter he addressed to Lord Harcourt in Appendix 1 (Haggard, 2001, p. 282).

In his diary, Haggard copiously quotes the clergyman who explains his role as the President of the South African Native National Congress and gives his "various points of objection to the Land Act" while referring to the native question. About his own role in the Congress, Dube said:

> I am an educator, that is my business. I have been thrust into a semi-political position by my people. Two years ago, I was elected President of the South African Native National Congress. Its aim is to unite the natives for political purposes, to consider proposed legislation affecting their interests and to make representations to those in authority. We want an organisation to speak for us as we have no representation in the Union Parliament (Haggard, 2001, p. 227).

Here, we can see that he denounces African exclusion from decision-making and insists on the need for Africans to find effective ways to defend and promote their interests at a political and economic level. The language he uses is clear and unequivocal. As Hughes puts it "he uses the language of racial awakening to inspire and unite" (Hughes, 2011, p. 162). There are many similar remarks in the interview. For example, he says: "[...] the whites are so far away from us. We have no means of communication with the authorities or public opinion except through the magistrates who have little time in which to attend to native grievances" (Haggard, 2001, p. 229) and he adds:

> I do not think there will be any wars. The white people should be kinder and more generous to natives. £200 000 per annum is raised from natives in Natal by direct taxation and only £ 15 000 per annum is spent on their education. We natives want a local system of education like in England, but modified to suit local needs (Haggard, 2001, p. 229).

His purpose is not to oppose the different "populations" but to find a common ground between them. He says:

> I would not bind down the natives to any particular sect of Christianity. I am a Congregationalist[15] but I do not insist upon all my pupils in my school becoming Congregationalists. I would make the natives pay a little in this way or that towards the cost of their education. Our people must be educated ... "they sit in

14. Haggard writes: "Here I give the *substance* of his (Dube's) remarks which I posted at once to the colonial secretary, Mr Harcourt" (Haggard, *op.cit*., p. 227).

15. It must be remembered that Congregationalism is a Christian movement that arose in England in the late 16th and 17th centuries. […] It emphasises the right and responsibility of each properly organised congregation to determine its own affairs, without having to submit these decisions to the judgement of any higher human authority […] Each individual church is regarded as independent and autonomous. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved September 14 from http://www.britannica.com.

darkness" (Haggard, 2001, p. 230).

Such a comment not only shows his pride in his race, but it also underlines his respect for social order and his "sense of meritocracy and aristocracy combined" (Hughes, 2011, p. xix).

Indeed, Dube always tried to avoid conflicts. He preferred to find support from different communities. For example, when he delivered his speeches or wrote pamphlets in his newspaper to promote the natives' interests, he tried not to go too far or to be too aggressive. In this respect, Hughes (2011, p. 165) writes: "The old race pride is there, as is his determination to assert his independence – but not to the dangerous extent of rupturing the bonds that tied him to the respectable world of sympathetic missionaries, settlers, colonial officials and benefactors". Among these people, the Qadi Chief Mqhawe and Marshall Campbell were prominent figures. Mqhawe had exercised his authority for fifty years on his lands in Zululand and he eventually financed some of Dube's trips to the United States (Hughes, 2011, p. 82) while Marshall Campbell who emigrated from England to Durban in 1850 and became a famous sugar producer, a politician, a social reformer and temperance advocate, was a strong supporter of Ohlange Institute. "He visited the school regularly and made cash donations. [...] He advised both Dube and Gandhi on matter of social progress" (Hughes, 2011, p. 112). For the journalists Eugene Paramoer and Sibusiso Tshabalala, Dube's attitude could be summed up in the phrase '*festina lente'* (hasten slowly) that he used in his letter to the SANNC after his nomination as founding president. He wrote:

> You have asked me to lead, and perchance you've asked me how I intend so. I will show you my frame of mind and ideal in two words -*festina lente*- hasten slowly. I recognise that the hour has come that we, the Native Races in South Africa, must be up and doing ... But I recognise too the necessity of moving cautiously, of making progress prudently (Paramoer & Tshabalala, n.d.).

This attitude has sometimes been criticised and Dube was deemed too moderate. The two journalists wrote: "In his petition against the Natives Land Act of 1913, Dube argued that they (the SANNC) were not against segregation, but its unfair application [...] The Congress believed that Dube had compromised on the principle of segregation" (Paramoer & Tshabalala, n.d.).

Regarding the Natives Land Act itself, Dube is very straightforward. He says:

> My points of objection to the Land Act of last year are: (1) I regard the refusal to allow us to buy land from Europeans as depriving natives of their rights, since previous to the Act they could buy anywhere except in the Orange Free State. You must remember that we natives today only hold as native reserves 10 million morgen (20 million acres) out of the 400 million morgen (800 million acres) in the Union. (2) That natives are not now

> allowed to lease or to farm on shares with Europeans. In fact they may not become rent-paying tenants or squat on farms except on condition that they labour for the farmer. The law lays down the duration of such labour but its provisions are frequently evaded by unscrupulous whites to the disadvantage of my people (Haggard, 2001, pp. 227-228).

Dube openly criticizes the present situation while making suggestions at the same time. He says:

> My proposition is that in every magisterial divisions there should be either a magistrate with more leisure, or some gentleman especially appointed to devote himself to native affairs, with whom we could consult on the matters affecting us and our welfare. I should like to see a council in Zululand such as exists in Transkei. Councils of this sort should have powers of criticism of all laws affecting natives and of spending a certain proportion of the money raised from them on matters of local importance such as roads, commonages, dipping-tanks, education, control of children ... (Haggard, 2001, p. 229).

In other words, he insists on the necessity of changing things and he gives very practical examples. His declaration strangely echoes what Haggard had mentioned in his diary a few days earlier (Thursday 23 April) while attending an *indaba* (a gathering) composed of fifty Zulu chiefs and some representatives of the British administration in Hlabisa. During the meeting, one chief declared: "We are always making complaints, without result. We black people are forced to eat the soil" (Haggard, 2001, p. 185). Haggard commented on this situation with these words: "This is typical of what is going on all over South Africa" (Haggard, 2001, p. 184). So, Dube had clearly no difficulty to convince his interviewer to advocate his cause. Haggard even mostly paraphrased Dube in his letters to Lord Gladstone and Lord Harcourt. For example, he echoes Dube's two "points of objection" as follows:

> Some two-thirds of their land are in the hands of white people: often they are rent-paying squatters on the territory which their fathers occupied. They have no head whatsoever, they "wander and wander". They are the people whom we have broken and not mended [...] Again I think that they should be given representative voice in their own affairs, such as exists in the Transkei and Basutoland[16] (Haggard, 2001, p. 231).

Haggard writes that he was much impressed by the clergyman. A few days before the interview (on Saturday 18 April), as he probably thought that the meeting with Dube would not take place, he mentioned that he would have liked to meet him. He wrote: "this native clergyman with a very progressive mind (...) I should much have liked to meet him" (Haggard, 2001, p. 179).

---

16. In his report to Lord Harcourt, he adds a note to explain his figures. See note 2 (Haggard, 2001, p. 310).

And afterwards he wrote: "I am bound to say that he impressed me most favourably while the case which he advanced seems to me one hard to answer. Thus, there is no doubt that this new Land Act inflicts great hardships on the native community [...]" (Haggard, 2001, p. 230).

We understand that Haggard's position was certainly not comfortable ("the case which he advanced seems to me hard to answer") as he was representing the British authorities while being sympathetic to the natives' cause. Actually, his views on imperialism had changed since the time he participated in the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 and justified the annexation as "a specific rescue mission" in *Cetshwayo and his white neighbours*. As an example, concerning the annexation of native lands he wrote:

> The only thing that can excuse the annexation of lands, belonging by nature and right to savage races, is the introduction of a just and merciful policy towards the original owners, the prevention of unnecessary bloodshed, and the assurance in return for their birth right of safety from foreign aggression, and of peace and security at home (Monsman, 2006, p. 24).

More than thirty years later, he no longer refers to "savage races" but he uses the word "natives" and makes a plea for Zulu people. It appears that his "personal idea of imperialism", a sort of "imperial humanitarianism" as defined by Monsman has changed a lot. As Coan puts it in his introduction to *Diary of an African journey,* the diary that Haggard wrote during the three months he spent in South Africa "gives an indication of how his opinions and beliefs had changed since those early days" (Haggard, 2001, p. 3). Referring to this trip in South Africa, Haggard wrote afterwards:

> I've been very grateful for this chance to have made this journey. To 99 out of 100 a native is just a native, a person from whom land may be filched upon one pretext or another, or labour and taxes extracted, and who, if he resists the process, or makes himself a nuisance, must be suppressed. 'Make haste boy, bring my horse -go hoe my corn- pay your taxes in malt or meal- or see, here are whips and rifles'. It is the dominant tone of the tune to which we white people have made them dance. Fortunately not all men think thus (Haggard, 1916 quoted in Ellis, 1978, p. 213).

He openly criticises the British imperialist system, denouncing its injustice ("a person from whom land may be filched upon one pretext or another") and violence ("if he resists the process ... must be suppressed"). He recognises his own responsibility in the process as he includes himself on the oppressors' side ("we white people"). He also shows self-derision ("we white people have made them dance") as the dance he is mentioning refers to the welcome ceremonies native people organised - or were asked to organise - for officials. The dance also refers to one of the first articles that he wrote about this type of ceremony (Haggard, 1877).

The collaboration and influence between the two men took another turn when Dube wrote *U-Jeqe, insila ka Tshaka* in 1930. The English edition, *Jeqe, the body servant of King Shaka*, was published in 1951. *Jeqe* was the first novel written in Zulu language and as Coan puts it: "There can be little doubt that Haggard was on Dube's mind when he wrote Jeqe as, at the time, Dube was also involved with F.L Ntuli in translating *Nada the lily* into isiZulu (published as *Umboro kaShaka*[17]) and provided a preface" (Coan, 2012).

Indeed, there are some similarities between *Jeqe* and *Nada the lily* (as well as with its sequels *Marie,* and *Finished* which are part of Haggard's Zulu trilogy, a trilogy only focused on Zulu people). Both writers tell the story of Chaka's rise to power and accession to the throne, Dingane's murder of Chaka and Mpanda's overthrow of Dingane. Their stories are told from a servant's point of view: Jeqe, son of Sikunyamna, of the Butelezi clan, the body-servant of King Shaka[18] and Umbopo or Mopo, son of Makedama, of the Langeni tribe in Haggard's trilogy.

In *Jeqe*, important figures echo Haggardian characters. It is the case of Umslopogaas, the great and brave warrior[19]. Like Shaka whose praise name is "The Axe, the devourer of axes", Umslopogaas always fights with his battle axe and eventually becomes chief of the People of the Axe in *Nada the lily*. At the end of his quest, Jeqe becomes the king's chief doctor. He has "a wondrous power" and "he is feared and respected by all" (Dube, 1951, p. 74) like Zikali, "the Mighty Magician, the Opener of Roads [...] he whose breath causes the trees to be torn out by the roots; he whom Dingaan fears and obeys" (Haggard, 1921, p. 291). Zikali also appears in *Child of storm* and *Finished*: the three books are considered as the epic of the vengeance of Zikali. Among the female characters, Haggard's heroine, She Who Must Be Obeyed, has most certainly inspired Dube's Queen: Sitela. Indeed, Sitela rescues Jeqe while She, the Queen of the Amahaggers saves Leo and Holly in *King Solomon's mines*. Sitela is referred to as "the ruler of the island of diviners, She to whom all secrets are disclosed" and her words "[have] to be obeyed" (Dube, 1951, p. 61). Sitela can also see things in a magic crystal while She can see pictures in the water[20] (Haggard, 1886, p. 152). We can even notice that the general atmosphere of Dube's novel is reminiscent of Haggard's adventure stories as his hero becomes an explorer in his own country; he fights for his life, experiences conspiracies or alliances between the different clans and discovers legends and prophecies.

The only real difference between *Jeqe* and Haggard's trilogy is the ending of their stories[21]. Haggard ends on the disintegration of the Zulu

17. In English: *The reign of Chaka.*

18. Shaka is Dube's spelling in *Jeqe.*

19. Umslopogaas first appeared in *Allan Quatermain* then in *Marie, Nada the lily* and *She and Allan.*

20. "That water is my glass, in it I see what passes if I will to summon up the pictures" (Haggard, 1886, p. 152).

21. However, Haggard's tale is much longer. Dube's novel should be described as a novella rather than a novel as it covers only 84 pages.

society[22] whereas Dube concludes on a much more Zulu tone; his morale is that "Even to this day the name of Jeqe is remembered in Swaziland and members of the Butelezi clan are still to be found in the land" (Dube, 1951, p. 84). Thus, it is clear that, as a Zulu himself, Dube insisted on depicting the diversity of his people[23] and he put the emphasis on their customs and their environment.

What about the two men's motivations? As surprising as it may seem, they had a common vision and they wanted to pay a tribute to the Zulu people and share it with their contemporaries. Haggard's intention is clearly stated in the preface of *Nada the lily*. He wrote:

> The writer of this romance has been encouraged to his task by a purpose somewhat beyond that of setting out a wild tale of savage life. [...] Then, the Zulu were still a nation, now that nation has been destroyed, and the chief aim of its white rulers is to root out the warlike spirit for which it was remarkable, and to replace it by a spirit of peaceful progress (Haggard, 1892, p. 2).

He openly declared his intention to write a different sort of fiction; a fiction with an ethnological and historical concern, not a "mere" adventure story. As for Dube, his choice must have been mainly political. Indeed, in their study on the appearance of the novel as a genre in the languages of Africa, Garnier and Ricard (2006, pp. 10-11) state that:

> It is impossible to write and publish a novel in a naive way when the genre itself does not exist in its literary environment. [...] Choosing to write a novel is highly political. It suggests a will to break from the existing oral productions and a deliberate choice to use the language outside its local context. [...] The book has its own destiny, it goes beyond the local sphere: it can be part of any libraries.[24]

It seems that Dube's example is no exception as we know that as a leading figure he wanted to "bring 'South Africa' into being" (Hughes, 2011, p. 260) and he had a real sense of modernity. As Hughes puts it: [Dube] was animated by a powerful vision of redemption and representation, his chosen means of realising it was to get on with the practicalities: hence the founding of a newspaper, a school, various cooperative schemes, business leagues and assumption of political leaderships" (Hughes, 2011, p. 261). We may add to this list that Dube's choice to write a novel must have been part of the same process. In terms of identity, *Jeqe* is a very symbolical novel, not only because it tells the story of the founding father of the Zulu nation but also because it is

22. See final sentence in *Finished*: "Such was the end of Zikali the wizard, Opener of Roads, the "Thing-that-should-never-have-been-born" and such was the vengeance that he worked upon the great house of Senzangacoma, bringing it to naught and with it the nation of the Zulus" (Haggard, 1917).

23. Dube mentions many clans: the Butelezi clan, the Qwabe clan, the Mkwazani clan, the Gumede clan, the Tonga tribe, etc.

24. My translation.

the first novel written in isiZulu as mentioned before.

4. Conclusion

Knowing that the two men had a lot in common, we may wonder if this interview participated in improving the situation of native people. Dube actually went to London with a delegation but they could not physically meet Lord Harcourt and they were not given any clear answer (Hughes, 2011, pp. 184-186). Unfortunately, the First World War broke out soon after, and all debates or negotiations about the subject were suspended in this context. However, thanks to Coan's work as the editor of Haggard's diary and thanks to his knowledge of Haggard and of the South African context at the turn of the twentieth century,[25] we can see that this encounter reveals a mutual respect between two patriots and philanthropists who were ahead of their time. As Coan puts it in his introduction:

> The Dube interview, Haggard's observations on racial tensions, migrant labour and the prevailing conditions in Zululand, together with those on South Africa's political future recorded during the course of the diary, serve often to cut the grain of popular and academic perceptions of *King Solomon's Mines*. The Haggard of 1914 was not the romancer of the 1880s and early 1890s - the period of his greatest creativity and the height of his fame as a writer of adventure stories (Haggard, 2001, p. 2).

Their collaboration could not take place at a political level (the Nationalist Party was founded in 1914 and the Union of South Africa only ended in 1961) but Haggard really tried to do his best to influence the Commission in order to make it take action in favour of the natives or at least to provide improvements regarding the Native Land Act. And yet, Haggard is full of contradictions: on the one hand, he believes in the importance of land and is always eager to work as a Commissioner (he encouraged any schemes of land settlement for immigrants or soldiers coming back from war in South Africa and the other Dominions) (Stiebel, 2009) but, on the other hand, he feels strongly attached to Natal considering himself "as an old Natalian" (Haggard, 2001, p. 322). Some critics say that his concern for native people is partial and only focused on Zulu people (he always considered them as a noble people and used this idea in his adventure stories and lost race tales) but I think that this encounter sheds a new light on Haggard. Although he was not allowed to deliver any public speech because of the outbreak of war, he took the opportunity of a luncheon at the African Club to declare: "The races must learn to live together and to strive together to an end of common good" (Haggard, 2001, p. 321) and he concluded his record of the interview on a very prophetic note regarding apartheid: "Seven million of black folk, I think this is about the number including the populations of the protectorates, cannot be permanently neglected (or is oppressed the word?) by one million and a quarter of whites. Compressed steam will escape somehow and somewhere"

25. See his introduction to the diary as well as the numerous notes.

(Haggard, 2001, p. 230).

We still have a lot of things to discover about this period either in works of fiction, in memories and notes but I consider this interview to be a key moment in the history of South Africa. On the positive side, it shows that two different men with very different backgrounds have tried to convey the same message. But on the negative side, it shows that in spite of the many attempts to solve the land question, it remained and still remains a burning issue.

Works Cited

Coan, S. (1997, May). "When I was concerned with great men and great events": Sir Henry Rider Haggard in Natal. *Natalia: Journal of the Natal Society*, 26, 17-58.

Coan, S. (2012). The meeting of two great minds. *The Witness,* February 20.

Coan, S. (n. d.). Preacher, teacher, writer. Retrieved September 5, 2019, from https://www.news24.com/Archives/Witness/Preacher-teacher-writer-20150430.

Cohen, M. (1960). *Rider Haggard: His life and works:* London: Hutchinson & Co.

Dube J. L. (1951). *Jeqe, the body-servant of King Shaka*. Lovedale Press.

Ellis, P. B. (1978). *H. Rider Haggard: A voice from the infinite*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Etherington, N. (1984). *Rider Haggard*. Boston: Twayne Publishers.

Garnier, X. & Ricard, A. (Ed.). (2006). Itinéraires et contacts de cultures, *l'effet Roman: Arrivée du Roman dans les langues* d'Afrique (Vol. 38). Paris: L'Harmattan.

Haggard, H. R. (1877). A Zulu war dance. *Gentlemen's Magazine,* July.

Haggard, H. R. (1885). *King Solomon's mines* (1967 Edition). New York: Airmont Publishing Co.

Haggard, H. R. (1886). *She: A history of adventure*. (1890 Edition). London: Longmans, Green & Co.

Haggard, H. R. (1887). *Allan Quatermain*. (1978 Edition.*)* North Hollywood, CA: Newcastle Books.

Haggard, H.R. (1892). *Nada the lily*. (1933 Edition). London: George G. Harrap & Co Ltd.

Haggard, H. R. (1902). *Rural England, being an account of agricultural and social researches carried out in the years 1901 & 1902*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Haggard, H. R. (1912) *Marie*. (1914 Edition). London: Cassel & Co.

Haggard, H. R. (1913). *Child of storm*. Retrieved May 10, 2020, from http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/1711

Haggard, H. R. (1916). A journey through Zululand. *Windsor Magazine*, December.

Haggard, H. R. (1917). *Finished* (1962 Edition). London: MacDonald.

Haggard, H. R. (1921). *She and Allan*. (1978 Edition). New York: Del Rey & Balantine, 1978.

Haggard, H. R. (2001). *Diary of an African journey: The return of H. Rider Haggard*. In S. Coan (Ed.). New York: New York University Press.

Haggard, L. (1951). *The cloak that I left*: *A biography of the author Henry Rider Haggard*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Higgins, D. S. (1981). *Rider Haggard: The great storyteller*. London: Cassell.

Hughes, H. (2001). Doubly elite: Exploring the life of John Langalibalele Dube. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27 (3), 445-458.

Hughes, H. (2011). *The first president: A life of John L. Dube, founding president of the ANC*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Katz, W. (2010). *Rider Haggard and the fiction of empire: A critical study of British imperial fiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keïta, C. (2005). *Oberlin-Inanada: The life and times of John Dube* (documentary film). Retrieved September 14, 2019, from https://thecarletonian.com/2013/02/22/prof-keita-does-justice-to-lost-figures-of-the-anti-apartheid-movement-with-new-film/

Manthorpe, V. (1996). *Children of empire: The Victorian Haggards*. London: Victor Gollancz.

Monsman, G. (2006). *H. Rider Haggard on the imperial frontier: The political and literary contexts of his African romances*. Greensboro, NC: ELT Press.

Paramoer E. & Tshabalala S. (n.d.). *John L. Dube: A complex bright sun of Africa*. Retrieved September 7, 2019 from http://www.thejournalist.org.za/pioneers/john-l-dube-complex-bright-sun.

Pocock, T. (1993). *Rider Haggard and the lost empire*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Stiebel, L. (2009). *Lives of Victorian literary figures VII: Henry Rider Haggard*, Vol. 2. London & New York: Routledge.