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RACE AND GENDER DISCOURSE IN *THE SOUTH AFRICAN LADY'S PICTORIAL AND HOME JOURNAL* AND SELECTED BOOKS REVIEWED (1911-1919)

by

ISABELLA JACOBA VENTER

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Supervisor : Prof L. Kriel

Co-supervisor : Prof C. Sandwith

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Abstract

This study seeks to explore the relationship between gender and race within South Africa during the period between January 1911 and December 1919, when gender and race related rights were in flux. It focuses specifically on the social construct of gender amongst white English-speaking South African women and how the discourse on gender interrelated with the discourse on race and race relations in South Africa during this period. The relationship between gender and race is analysed by focusing on *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal,* a women's magazine published in South Africa (1910-1936). Additionally, texts external but related to the magazine, namely 35 of the books reviewed in the magazine, are analysed. Thereby the gender and race discourse identified and analysed in the reviewed books is linked to the discourse that circulated in the magazine to gain insight into how these had changed over the ten-year period. As a literary analysis the study views portrayals of gender and race not as a reflection of reality but rather as social constructs. These discourses are viewed as constructed in reaction to certain changing power relations within their socio-historical context. The aim is to identify trends and changes in the discourses of race and gender and to identify possible relationships between them.

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Table of Contents

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List of Figures

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List of Tables

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I. INTRODUCTION

It is impossible thoroughly to understand a period in history, without understanding its society's culture: its assumptions, debates, gossip and popular talking points – in short its discourses. It is in examining the popular discourse of a society that one begins to gain a more complete understanding of the social relations within that society and how they changed or were strengthened over time. In studies on South African history, much information is available on the politics, events and writings of important men and official societies of the early twentieth century. However, there remain many of the socio-cultural aspects of the time that have yet to be explored, and more to be learned of the lives of ordinary South Africans of the pre-apartheid era. This study will explore the discourse on race and gender present in popular reading materials available in South Africa between 1910 and 1920, in the form of a magazine and popular books. The aim is to gain a better understanding of the negotiation of gender and racial characteristics and ideals during this period as it was a particular time of change in terms of gender and race relations owing largely to the impact of the First World War, the international suffrage movements, labour disputes and changing landownership in South Africa.

In order to reach this objective, discourse analysis will be conducted on a popular monthly magazine published in South Africa as well as on a selection of books reviewed in the magazine. The women's magazine that was chosen is the, descriptively named, *South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* published between 1911 and 1936 in the then Union of South Africa. Along with the magazine issues published from January 1911 to December 1919, the study will also analyse 35 books that were reviewed in the magazine's monthly book review, entitled "My Lady's Books". The books that were chosen are either set in South Africa or were written by South African authors. A broad yet related body of reading will thus be traced over a relatively long period of time. This methodology, it will be argued, provides scope for greater insight into South African society following the Union Act than the more common pursuit of studying only a single periodical publication or isolated novels.

Furthermore, the study focuses on a group hitherto relatively understudied, namely white English-speaking South African women. This group formed the target audience of the magazine and reviewed books. As white women, the readers possessed a position of power as a result of their racial status but also struggled for power in a male-dominated society due to their gender. They are therefore well-placed as a focus group in a study on the interplay of gender and race in the texts. The two constructs had, at face value, a strangely inverted relation: while white women's rights were augmented in South Africa, the rights of black people were increasingly taken from them. But

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did the women realise this? Were they aware that as they gained more voice others were systematically silenced? And how did their view of gender apply to black people? And, did the discourse on race in the women's magazine mirror that which is found in male-dominated media? Until fairly recently the racial views of English-speaking South Africans have often been glossed over or simply assumed to be similar to British racial views. Additionally, comparatively little is known about the culture of South African women, especially English-speaking white women, as they are again assumed to be similar to either British or Afrikaans women. In this dissertation, I will argue that, as in Britain, the gender discourse in the magazine reflected the changing roles and rights of women, but I will also illustrate that these developed at a different pace in South Africa than in Britain. I will further argue that white women in South Africa at times used race discourse to augment or entrench their gender position. Furthermore, I will argue that the differences between South African and British women led to discrimination levelled at the colonial women that presented itself in the form of racialist discourse, which impacted on the ideas of racial contamination, and on the gendered roles of motherhood and racial upliftment.

The following section will briefly describe the methodology and scope of the study. This will be followed by some background information on the magazine and the books reviewed in it. Finally, a brief literature review will be provided on the studies hitherto available on the magazine and reviewed books as well as the academic work on English-speaking South Africans.

1. Methodological approach

The aim of the study is to show the negotiation of race and gender discourse over a period of time as refracted through the lens of popular reading of white English-speaking women. Whilst this is a historical investigation, the documents used (books and magazines) are not historical documents chronicling events. They are therefore to be approached as literary texts, which imply that they provide insight into the discursive topics of the time rather than being a measure of prevailing views. Thus, although they cannot be taken to be representative of the dominant views or events, they are still significant for a historical study as they articulate views that suggest subjects of concern to the particular society from which they emerge. As is explained in the first editorial of the journal *Literature and History*:

> Literature is not lined with deposits of historical fact, nor is it for the most part a straightforward reflection of society. It rather suppresses, congeals and refracts it, revealing itself in its internal contradictions and omissions not as external to, but as part of, a total social process.[1]

[1] Anonym, Editorial preface: a new journal for the Humanities, *Literature and History* 1(1), 1975, p. 1.

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Being cognisant that it is part of a social process, this study is a qualitative study that relies on the methodology of discourse analysis. In her introduction to *Gender and Discourse*, Ruth Wodak notes that discourse has come to have different meanings which result in discourse analysis also having divergent meanings.[2] She points out that discourse has been understood in various, often contradictory, ways as: samples of spoken dialogue rather than written texts; both spoken and written language; the situational context of language use; the interaction between the reader or writer and a text; the notion of genre (newspaper discourse, for example); and the totality of signs that carry meaning.[3] Wodak provides a useful definition of discourse in which she describes the use of language, whether in spoken or written text, as a form of social practice:

> Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution and social structure that frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social *status quo*, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it.[4]

This definition of discourse will be applied to this study, and two particular points are worth elucidating. Firstly, as discourse is socially constituted, the study will seek to situate any analysis within the broader socio-historical context. As it is a social practice, such a contextual element is fundamental to an understanding of the discourse for its original readers. Besides being cognisant of the socio-historical context, I will also pursue an analysis of the magazine alongside, and in relation to, the published books that were mentioned in the magazine but which are external to it. This means that the discourse analysis will range over a greater area within the reading landscape than just the magazine. By analysing books in relation to a magazine over a ten year period, it is also possible to address the second part of the aforementioned definition of discourse, which states that it contributes to or transforms the *status quo*, which means that discourse has to be measured over time to identify its possible impact.

To do so, all the issues of the monthly magazine, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal*, published between January 1911 and December 1919 were read with the exception of one missing issue (June 1911). I then chose particular articles for closer critical analysis based on any content pertaining to gender or race. Over 400 articles (including short stories) were chosen for closer critical analysis. While this is a subjective limitation, I have endeavoured to maintain a level of objectivity by not approaching the reading with an already formed theory of the trends that are expected from the period. Subsequently I turned to the monthly book review page published within

[2] R. Wodak (ed.), *Gender and discourse*, p. 4.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

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the magazine. This was then used, alongside articles on particular books, to compile a list of books reviewed in the magazine and presumably available to the readers. From these, 35 books with a particular South African focus were chosen. The books and articles were then subjected to discourse analysis, and specific themes that arose from this analysis were focused on for inclusion in this dissertation.

The books were analysed in relation to the magazine's review pages, entitled "My Lady's Books", in order to give it the correct socio-historical context. By relating the books to the magazine, the study brings the contextual element into sharper focus. This makes it possible to trace the evolution of the conversation on the topics of race and gender and to note the presence and absence of certain themes at certain points in time. This makes it an intertextual study, where intertextuality is understood to mean that texts are linked to other texts '... through explicit reference to a topic or main actor; through references to the same events; by allusions or evocations; by the transfer of main arguments from one text to the next, and so on.'[5] Thus, the *South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* (hereafter *SALPHJ*) serves the study by situating the books to be analysed in time. Together with the books, the magazine also forms part of an intertextual discursive source.

The scope of the study needed to be clearly defined and the number of texts to be consulted, including both magazine excerpts and reviewed books, thus had to be limited. Wodak points out that:

> ... in terms of the range of the concept of discourse, there is no objective beginning and no clearly defined end. *In principle* – because of intertextuality – every discourse is related to many others and can only be understood on the basis of others. The limitation of the research area and on a specific discourse therefore depends on a subjective decision by the researcher, on the formulation of the questions guiding the research.[6]

Though the magazine was published between 1911 and 1936, this study will only focus on the years between January 1911 and December 1919. This period has been chosen with a view of tracing changes facilitated by the First World War. As the magazine was considered a popular, ephemeral form, it is not surprising that very little effort has been put into preserving women's magazines published before the Second World War. No complete collection of the *SALPHJ* exists in South Africa, nor, to the author's knowledge, internationally. The most complete collection is to be found in the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town, but single issues and pages are missing – notably for this study there is no June 1911 issue in any public collection in South Africa and the review page for October 1918 is also missing.

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[5] R. Wodak and M. Reisigl, The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), *in* R. Wodak and M. Meyer (ed.), *Methods for critical discourse analysis*, p. 90.
[6] R. Wodak (ed.), *Gender and discourse*, p. 6.

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The book review section, "My Lady's Books" formed the main source for identifying the books for the study, but a few other articles also featured interviews with authors or made reference to specific authors. Where titles and characters were mentioned in such a way as to suggest that the editor and writers assumed a general familiarity with the alluded work amongst the readers, these were included in the list of books analysed as well. The study cannot give any indication of whether the readers of the magazine did read all or any of the books reviewed as circulation numbers are not tied into this study. It can also not deal with all the books reviewed because of the high volume. In the magazine's review pages alone, 182 books were discussed with intended readers between January 1911 and December 1919.[7] Thus, besides a few notes on trends in terms of authorship and genre, the study cannot critically analyse all the books reviewed. Therefore, the book analysis portion of the study is limited to books with a South African interest, meaning that it was either written by a South African or primarily set in South Africa. It should also be noted that several of the books, whilst published in South Africa, are no longer available in any South African libraries and, owing to the age and scarcity of the books, the international libraries that are in possession of them were not willing to lend them to the author. Given the restrictions of money and time as well as other practical constraints, the author was not able to visit these libraries, the majority of which are located in the United Kingdom. This necessitated the exclusion of a number of novels by South African authors, bringing the number of books analysed for this study down to 35. The following table provides a list of the books analysed for the study.

Table 1: Books Analysed

Date reviewed	**Title**	**Author**
Jan 1911	*Frampton's deception. A story of South African dorp life and other stories.*	Elizabeth Bickford
Jan 1911	*Veldsinger's Verse*	The Veldsingers' Club
Jan 1911*	*Heir of Brendiford*	Nelly Fincher
Jun 1911*	*Woman and Labour*	Olive Schreiner

[7] As mentioned earlier, this does not include the books reviewed in June 1911 and October 1918 which were unfortunately not in the collection at the NLSA.

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Date reviewed	**Title**	**Author**
Dec 1911	*The Makers of Mischief*	Stanley Portal Hyatt
Jan 1912	*I too Have Known*	Amy Jane Baker
Feb 1912*	*Via Rhodesia*	Charlotte Mansfield
Jun 1912	*The Land of Tomorrow*	William Westrup
Jun 1912	*The Women's Enfranchisement League*	
Nov 1912	*Corah's School Chums*	May Baldwin
Dec 1912	*The Debt*	William Westrup
Feb 1913	*Tales from the Kraal*	John E. Iverach
Jun 1913*	*Petticoat Commando*	Johanna Brandt
Jun 1913	*Concert Pitch*	Frank Danby
Aug 1913	*A Page in Man's History*	Penelope Ford
Aug 1913	*Women of South Africa*	T.H. Lewis (ed)
Oct 1913*	*Piet of Italy*	Dorothea Fairbridge
Dec 1914	*Outa Karel's Stories*	Sanni Metelerkamp
Apr 1915	*The Phases of Felicity*	Olga Racster and Jessica Grove
Jul 1915	*A Daughter of Sin*	Mary E. Martens
Sep 1915	*Golden Glory*	F. Horace Rose
Nov 1915	*The Lure of Islam*	C. Prowse

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Date reviewed	**Title**	**Author**
Nov 1915	*Gloria*	Charlotte Mansfield
Dec 1915	*Anne Greenfield: Onderwijzeres*	Marie Hartill
Jan 1916	*The Torch Bearer*	Dorothea Fairbridge
Aug 1916	*The Longest Way Round*	D. Broadway
Aug 1916	*The Bywonner*	E.F. Mills Young
Dec 1916	*Fate's High Chancery*	Leigh Thompson
Feb 1917*	*Haidee*	F. Horace Rose
Jun 1917	*Giddy Mrs. Goodyer*	Horace Tremlett
Apr 1918	*Native Education from an Economic Point of View*	Rev Noel Roberts
Sep 1918	*The Lion and the Adder*	Leigh Thompson
Dec 1918	*Round the Camp Fire in East Africa*	A. Vine Hall
Dec 1918	*The Devil's Due*	John Lomax
Feb 1919	*South African Native Fairy Tales*	E.L. McPherson

**Books referred to in magazine articles other than the book reviews.*

All dates that have an asterisk refer to books that were not reviewed in "My Lady's Books" but that were referred to in articles or dealt with in a separate article. As has been explained, the dates on which the books were reviewed are of importance as they help to trace the evolution of the discourse on any particular theme. This differentiates this study from the majority of studies on South African periodicals.

Central to this inquiry is the focus on *which books* the book reviews and articles on literature were suggested to English South African women, who were known to the magazine simply as "Our

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Readers". The study will approach "Our Readers" as an imagined community, to use the term popularised by Benedict Anderson. While there is no record available to show exactly what each English-speaking white South African woman read, the discourse analysis of their purported reading, with the understanding that they formed a theoretical group, promises to provide greater insight into gender and gendered views on race at the time. Anderson's theory will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2 along with the theories from each discipline that have been utilised in the analysis portion of this study.

The very nature of the primary sources requires this to be an interdisciplinary study. This study lies within a three-way intersection between History of Reading, Book History and Periodical Studies, each of which is an interdisciplinary field that often crosses into and relies upon the other.[8] Both Book History and Periodical Studies cover a range of topics from the study of the production of the text, its physical appearance, spread, and reader response to the text. The main difference between the two areas is that they focus on different types of texts: Book History on books and Periodicals Studies on any periodical matter, including magazines, journals and newspapers.[9] For the purpose of this study, I will focus mainly on the content of the books and the magazine rather than circulation and production patterns.

History of Reading focuses on what was available and read at a certain point in time by a certain circle or persons[10]. This study can be considered an example of the History of Reading because the magazine is used as a source to determine what books were available and what might have been read. While this is not the main focus of the study, it does provide some additional information on books that were popular at the time; books which have often been overlooked in bibliographies of South African authors and in academic work on popular novels. Additionally, the magazine has been subject to very little attention hitherto. Three articles have been found that referenced it in order to find information on sport, beauty pageants and an author[11], but an analysis of the magazine or a study with the magazine as the primary source has not yet been conducted.

In fact, only a few studies that focus on any South African periodicals aimed at female readers could be located, confirming that this remains an understudied field in South Africa. There are

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[8] For an overview of the three subject areas see: R. Chartier, The order of books, *in* S. Towheed, et al. (ed.), *The history of reading*; D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, *Introduction to book history*; S.R. Fischer, *A history of reading*.
[9] D. Finkelstein & A. McCleery, *The book history reader*, p. 81; D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, *Introduction to book history*; L. Brake, *Print in transition: studies in media and book history*.
[10] S.R. Fischer, *A history of reading*; D. Finkelstein & A. McCleery, *The book history reader*, pp. 7-9.
[11] A. Odendaal, "Neither cricketers nor ladies": towards a history of women and cricket in South Africa, 1860s–2000s, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28(1), 2011, pp. 115-136; L.M. Thomas, The modern girl and racial respectability in 1930s South Africa, *The Journal of African History* 47(3), 2006, pp. 461-490; J. Kearney, The Boer Rebellion in South African English fiction, *Journal of Literary Studies* 14(3-4), 1998, pp. 375-391.

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prominent historical studies on Afrikaans periodicals, such as *Die Brandwag* and *Die Huisgenoot.* One such a study is Isabel Hofmeyr's "Building a Nation from Words: Afrikaans language, literature and ethnic identity." Lou-Marie Kruger's dissertation fills a gap in intersectional studies in South Africa even though she never uses the term to describe her study.[12] Her dissertation investigates the relationship between gender and ethnicity by analysing the *volksmoeder* discourse in the Afrikaans magazine *Die Boerevrou.*[13] Because of the relative obscurity of the *SALPHJ* compared to these Afrikaner magazines, some information on its history and content will be related in the section that follows.

2. *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal*

The written word as a medium of communication gained potency in the West during the last decade of the nineteenth century with the concurrent rapid increase of literacy levels and the availability of cheaper forms of literature due to improved modes of production and distribution. The nineteenth century also saw the rise of cheaper reading matter in the form of periodicals, such as the newspaper and magazine, as advertisements were used to fund the production of literature in the place of expensive subscription fees.[14]

During the early twentieth century, at a time when the majority of women were still not provided with a higher education or considered equal participants in the public sphere, the more typical reading that was considered appropriate for women included mostly apolitical miscellany such as romantic novels, detective novels and women's magazines. Yet, increasingly women's movements, both feminist and anti-feminist, fostered a reading atmosphere where women engaged in the social and political topics of the day. In addition, even so-called non-political reading provided the opportunity to engage some of the hard topics of the day. One such a magazine was the *SALPHJ* (1910-1936). Initially, it aspired to be nothing more than light reading as it was to be 'a journal of fashion, fiction and fancies,' concerned with the doings of the fashionable ladies and gatherings in South Africa. Its editors aimed to provide the type of information that was popular and considered suitable for ladies at the time. Its main concern would be the identity of its readers: how to help them become a 'modern woman' or the 'ideal lady', modelled on British norms and fashions but also thoroughly South African.

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[12] L. Kruger, *Gender, community and identity: women and Afrikaner nationalism in the Volksmoeder discourse of Die Boerevrou (1919-1931)*, Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1991.
[13] Another study that examines discourse in *Die Boervrou* is M. Du Toit, The domesticity of Afrikaner nationalism: volksmoeders and the ACVV, 1904-1929, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29(1), 2003, pp. 155-176.
[14] M. Lyons, *A history of reading and writing in the western world*, p. 137.

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In 1909 the 'first popular magazine run in the interests of women'[15] to emerge in South Africa was *The Lady's Home Journal*. It was started by Mr C. Stokes under the editorship of Mrs Katherine Kemp. While editing this magazine, Kemp was invited to collaborate with Mr Holdernesse Gale in forming and starting a new magazine, *The South African Lady's Pictorial*. Shortly afterwards the *Pictorial* and the *Home Journal* amalgamated under *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal*. In 1916, Kemp was appointed editor in full charge – a position she held until her retirement on 31 August 1927.[16]

The magazine's initial aim was to provide women with information concerning 'women's interests', such as tips on cooking and sewing, information on the doings of popular society, and articles on what was fashionable and where to buy it. The target market was white English-speaking South African women from the upper middle class. This was not only stated clearly in an editorial in 1911 but was also clear from the type of interests dealt with in the magazine. The readers had to be of the upper middle class, wealthy enough to care about costly fashions from overseas (articles focused on what was worn by which upper-class lady at a fancy social gathering), and, at a more basic level, to be able to afford the six shillings monthly subscription (nine shillings from 1918) and have the leisure time to enjoy it. Besides being able to read the English language, these women had to have shown some interest in English culture as the magazine shared information both on what went on locally and on the events and fashions of England. The majority of them were therefore likely to be English-speaking South Africans.

The magazine rapidly grew to cover a large distribution area. In 1915 it laid claim to being the only South African monthly magazine with a national scope, boasting a readership that stretched from the Cape to the Congo and from South West Africa to Delagoa Bay.[17] The claim to such a wide readership was clearly not empty as is evidenced by the correspondence pieces from all the major centres of South Africa, with a strong regular contribution from Rhodesia (today Zimbabwe) and South West Africa (today Namibia). There were also reader contributions such as pictures of recently engaged couples and readers' children that streamed in from all over the Union of South Africa in such numbers that the editor often had to request the readers to be patient and specific about their pictures.

Much of the aim of the magazine can be deduced from its title. Besides the locality, the use of 'South African' already shows that there was an attempt to form an identity that was South African

[15] Anonym, Mrs. Katherine Kemp, editor "S.A. Lady's Pictorial", 1910-1927, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 28(205), September 1927, p. 5.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[17] Today Cape Town, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Namibia and Maputo.

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in nature instead of the metropolitan focus of the magazines published in London that were regularly shipped to various parts of the British Empire. While, as suggested above, the magazine was not published with just readers from the Union of South Africa in mind, the reference to the region (South Africa) helped to mark a clear distinction between the reading produced colonially or in the metropolis. The use of the term 'Lady' rather than 'woman' which was popular in other contemporary English magazine titles (see for example, *Women at Home* and *The Englishwoman's Review*) shows the need to establish a class-based ideal of womanhood, thus linking it to middle-class concerns with respectability and the mimicking of upper-class customs. That it was a 'Pictorial' magazine adds an interesting element to the study in that the pictures and illustrations often informed the meaning that the readers could garner from the text. Finally, the prominent role of the domestic sphere in women's lives and identities is indicated in 'Home'. However, as I go on to argue, the magazine often went against this ideal by discussing women in the public sphere, thus contesting the notion that respectable women could only be home makers.

As this study will show, the socio-political concerns of the magazine changed considerably during its lifespan. This can perhaps best be seen in its change of subtitle. In 1910 it announced itself as "A Journal of Fashion, Fiction and Fancies." Initially the editor claimed that it had a clearly non-political aim though a political slant still tended to slip in:

> In these pages we never introduce politics, but we have already had the pleasure of reproducing a striking portrait of Mrs. Botha, and this month's frontispiece undoubtedly has a topical and widespread interest at the present moment.[18]

As this quotation suggests, despite its disavowal of any political content, the magazine gave women a route into the world of politics by featuring and discussing the wives of political leaders. Arguably, this provided women with a socially acceptable way into politics. It meant that the magazine was less likely to alienate a set of readers through upholding a particular political view. However, it also means that the magazine may have acted as a subtle agent for change, for although it did not, for example, publish the arguments of the Women's Enfranchisement League, it did report on their 'At Home' functions, which means that the league was familiar to the readers by the time that "Bookmark" reviewed its pamphlet arguing for female suffrage.[19] The possibility that women might use the means already open to them to influence politics rather than acting in a socially radical manner was not peculiar to South Africa. Julia Bush notes a similar trend in Edwardian England where women influenced politics by supporting certain political parties through

[18] Anonym, Over the tea-cups, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2 (21), May 1912, p. 2. The frontispiece featured a portrait of Lady Smartt, wife of the leader of the Unionist Party.
[19] Anonym, Society's doings. From our correspondents in every province, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 5; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(22), June 1912, p. 3.

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social functions and by mixing with the right people at the function. For example, forming a social bond with Milner would help to strengthen the imperial campaigns of the Victoria League.[20]

The following few years saw political change in women's rights in England and other parts of the world, including South Africa, as well as women's increased participation in paid work and the public sphere. To keep up with the times the magazine's content developed a more political and socially critical approach. It eventually dropped the subtitle for several years and subsequently adopted a new subtitle in February 1931, "The Magazine for the Modern Woman". The new subtitle was a more accurate reflection of the magazine's pages: a more purposeful, confident tone to shape, inform, and portray the 'modern woman', still feminine and caring, but with the same rights as men. Limiting women to the home sphere was symbolically dropped when the magazine also discarded 'and Home' from its title to become known as *The South African Lady's Pictorial* (as it was known for its very first issue). In August 1936, after women had received the right to vote, the magazine changed names once more to become known simply as *The Pictorial.* This new gender neutral title portrayed the editor's belief in women's newly acquired equal standing with men, as did its subtitle, "South Africa's Leading Illustrated Magazine."

During the period that this study focuses on (1911-1919), the title and subtitle remained the same; however, it should be noted that it was less frequently affirmed that the magazine was non-political during the First World War. In addition, during the sole editorship of Katherine Kemp (1915-1927), the magazine openly discussed political points when it touched upon issues that were viewed as of particular concern to women (including the vote, child welfare, the age of consent, and the Contagious Diseases Act).[21]

As a serial form of publication, the magazine was well-positioned to keep up with changing gender ideals. It also took its place in a tradition of gender identity formation. Margaret Beetham notes that by the 1880s several set elements had become established in women's magazines that particularly served to enable gender identity formation as it provided an impetus for the reader to regularly check and revise her identity based on the ideal provided in the magazine. These elements included

[20] As seen in J. Bush, *Edwardian ladies and imperial power*.
[21] See, for example, Anonym, The Babies' Bureau, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(58), June 1915 p. 47; Anonym, A message for women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(63), November 1915, p. 48; Anonym, South African Alliance of Honour, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(71), July 1916, p. 48; Anonym, Editorial, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(65), January 1916, p. 2; Anonym, The senate and the suffrage, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(93), May 1918, p. 9.

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the fashion plate, romantic fiction, the illustrated life of a notable woman, the advice column and the letters page.[22] All of these elements were present in the *SALPHJ*.

It may be useful here to give a brief overview of the content that appeared as a standard in each issue of the *SALPHJ*. In each edition appeared a short story that was usually penned by a South African author. There were also specific feature pages ranging from topics such as women's place in the workforce, music and the need for local industries. At first glance, and especially in its early years, the *SALPHJ*'s content was concerned with information that was considered of particular interest to its readers but which tended to avoid subjects that the editor considered to be political. This did not prevent them from publishing interviews with noteworthy women, which included the wives of politicians or women who were advocates of specific social societies.

In addition to reporting on the clothing of the celebrities of the day, the magazine informed women about current fashions. This included a monthly article named "The Woman Well Dressed" that gave advice for all occasions. In order to obtain these clothes, there was also a page on what was available in the shops ("In the Windows") or how to make it themselves ("The Dressmaker at Home"). During this time period, most women still had to do their own needlework. Only the rich could afford to buy all their clothes and when one keeps in mind the poor transport and communication infrastructure at the time it is highly likely that even the wealthy had to be both handy with a needle and accomplished in the kitchen if she lived in a remote part of the country. More helpful tips were provided in "Stitches that Tell", always including a very popular free transfer pattern for needlework. There were also cooking tips and recipes in "Nice Dishes" and hints for home decorating in "Furnishing Notes". These pages were important informative pieces for what was still very much everyday work and not hobbies or crafts and could have motivated readers to subscribe to the magazine whether they agreed with the values portrayed in it or not.

The editorial, variously titled "Over the Teacups" or "From the Editor", drew the reader's attention to what was topical. Over time a slow change in the conscious aim of the magazine's editor and writers can be detected. Before the First World War, with their commitment to providing non-political information, the editorial mainly drew the readers' attention to competitions and pages to which readers could submit photographs for publication. Occasionally, the editorial also drew the reader's attention to a specific short story, needlework pattern or information on the Home Industries Union, which gives the impression that the aim in the first three years was to maintain readers' interest and promote home industries in South Africa.

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[22] M. Beetham, The reinvention of the English domestic woman: class and "race" in the 1890s' woman's magazine, *Women's Studies International Forum* 21(3), 1998, p. 223-233.

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During the war, the editorial often spoke of the horror of the war to promote women's duty to provide support in any way that they could. This was interspersed with hopeful notes that the war would end soon, and in addition to the standard notes on photographs on betrothals and children, the editor encouraged readers to send photos of men on active duty. By 1916 the editorial focused on child welfare by promoting the South African Alliance of Honour and its related articles published in the magazine. It also started to urge readers to send in questions for their advice column, which usually still focused on the proper way to raise girls, parenting of young babies and some on improving appearance. Following the armistice, the editorial focused on the Spanish influenza and how each should do their bit to rebuild after the war and to help their fellow man. The editorial clearly changed with the times and guided much of the focus of other articles, such as features.

More subtly, changes in gender roles were shared and so reinforced through monthly articles on girls' schools and the tertiary education of women. There were also information pieces about the career paths open to women and how they should approach it in "Working Girl". Other monthly pages included a sports page ("Ladies in the Field"), a page on social gatherings in each town ("Society's Doings") and a page informing the reader of the stage productions in each major town ("On the Stage"). These will be discussed in greater detail as part of the analysis of this study.

Finally, while South African in focus, the magazine still maintained clear links with England through a monthly letter from London named "Our Letter from Overseas." It typically gave information about the high society of England and gave information to keep the colonial sisters up to date about the main events and contemporary fashions in England, especially in London. Events typically reported on were the noteworthy marriages, but occasionally information was also provided on more general events. For example, "Our Letter from Overseas" informed the South African women of the women's movement in England and reported positively on the moment they received the vote and the subsequent political role of women. It also focused on women's work during the war when the title of the letter changed to "Our London Letter".

While "Our Letter from Overseas" and later "Our London Letter" provided regular information from Britain, there were other articles that irregularly provided information on the situation of women in foreign countries. Trends from other parts of the world, such as developments in America and Australia, were often used as examples when discussing South African women's situation. Additionally, visiting ladies from all over the world were interviewed thus providing some perspective on the differences between their countries and South Africa.

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3. "My Lady's Books"

Archie Dick notes that '[reading] always has historical and contextual dimensions. Reading practices, moreover, have to be situated concretely with respect to producers and providers of reading material, communities of readers, reading traditions, reading opportunities, and ways of reading.'[23] To give greater context to the books and magazine used in this study, some information on the reading landscape as reflected in the magazine and books is necessary.

As a source for determining the reading history of an imagined community, the magazine provides valuable information on what international books were available in southern Africa as well as on the books being published at the time by different local publishing houses. The book review page, "My Lady's Books", authored by "Bookmark", appeared in each issue of the *SALPHJ*. Written in letter form, it gave information about the latest books available in South Africa from the local publishers and booksellers. It contained summaries and criticisms on between two and seven books each month, indicated who the publishers were (Juta co. and Maskew Miller, for example) and, often, provided information about new additions to libraries, such as the Methuen's Shilling Series. Furthermore, in many magazine articles South African authors were interviewed, and in some cases their books would be advertised repeatedly. An example of this is Leigh Thompson and her work depicted in the image below.[24]

[23] A.L. Dick, "To make the people of South Africa proud of their membership of the great British empire": home reading unions in South Africa, 1900-1914, *Libraries & Culture* 40(1), 2005, p. 11.
[24] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(76), December 1916, p. 3; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(79), March 1917, p. 3.

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LEIGH THOMPSON.
Photo: Sydney Taylor.

Leigh Thompson (Mrs. Allen Thompson), the author of that excellent story — *Fate's High Chancery*, is well-known in Cape society. Since the beginning of the War she has devoted herself to Red Cross Work—with a band of women forming the Cape Times Red Cross Guild, of which Lady Park is President, and which has done such excellent service that Her Majesty Queen Mary has granted the Guild a certificate "in recognition of the Special War Work done for Queen Mary's Needlework Guild." At the same time Her Majesty sent badges for the Committee and workers. The Cape Times Red Cross Guild has during the past few weeks made and dispatched to the seat of war 649 articles.

A BOOK YOU SHOULD READ.
FATE'S HIGH CHANCERY
By Leigh Thompson
(The New South African Author).
It is a fascinating story of the experiences of a South African boy.
To-day (London) says—
"If you like good, clever fiction, buy 'Fate's High Chancery' . . . The best work by a new author that has been published for some years."
Price 3/6 Postage 6d.
JUTA & CO., Publishers, Adderley St., Cape Town

My Lady's Books.

THE RUBY CROSS, by Margaret Noble (Mrs. Walter Harris), is a book of tender poems dictated by the anguish of a mother's heart wrung with the pain that thousands of women are suffering to-day all over the world. The writer dedicates her little booklet to "God's Great Bodyguard of Mothers." *The Ruby Cross* is written specially for bereaved mothers, by one who has drunk deeply of the cup of sorrow. (J. C. Juta & Co.)

Fate's High Chancery is, we believe, the first work published by Leigh Thompson, and is much above the average story. It is distinctly a book to read. The writer shows an intimate knowledge of some of the little-known phases of native life. Her vivid pen pictures convey a feeling of reality, whether she is speaking of South Africa or the more homely life of a well-to-do English family. The story opens with the birth of the hero, and the death of his girl mother in a wagon during a long trek across the burning veld, far from help or comfort. The boy is cared for by his father and an old Hottentot nurse. The natives come to regard him as a superior being, and he is initiated into some of their weird and little-known customs. Presently the scene changes, and the half-savage child is sent to England to be loved and cared for by his maiden aunts, two charming though slightly sketched in portraits, and the delightful Mrs. Brown. Of his subsequent career and how he developed a wonderful gift, of the romance that folded him in a golden glory, of his friends and adventures, we cannot speak here; The writer must tell the story in her own words. (J. C. Juta & Co.)

Messrs. Darter Bros. send me an excellent little volume —*The Making of an Officer*, by "C.N." (Hodder & Stoughton). The Author gives outspoken and wholesome advice in a manly way to young men who are at the outset of their careers as commissioned officers. The book has nothing to say about tactics or military technology, but deals with the ethical side of the young officer's development. "There are other things besides tactics," he says, "and drill and marching behind the band," and these other things he instils with pointed instance and kindly purpose. While he does not expect every junior subaltern to be a Sir Galahad or to be qualified for holy orders, he strongly inculcates the duty of the officer to suppress his own inclinations in order to work in the interests of the men who are to be placed under his charge, and he emphasises what a high responsibility runs with this charge. The author has seen good officers made and young officers marred. He points out the pitfalls, and shows the path which, though difficult, leads to success. Although we are at war the young officer is trained far from the Front, but the training recommended tends to victory when the firing-line is reached. The book is full of shrewd observations, and could with great advantage be placed in the hands of any cadet or young soldier aspiring to promotion.

The Day of Wrath. By Louis Tracy. (W. & R. Chambers, Ltd.) This tale describes the marvellous adventures on the outbreak of war of a Captain "of the Buffs" and an English governess whom he has chivalrously undertaken to escort from Berlin through the danger zone when she appealed to him in her distress. She has to go to Brussels, so the line of route becomes one long danger zone. Arrested in the train and separated, they escape, assume disguises, and see the misery, devastation and cruelty caused by the Huns at Visé and elsewhere in Belgium. They pass through a terrible time with the family of a miller, at whose mill a German Major and some men are quartered. The ensuing rescue and gruesome tragedy of revenge are vividly described. It is a pity, however, the author has put the Belgian miller in a light for ferocity approaching, if possible, that of the Huns. The Germans are not above citing instances from works of fiction as actual fact. The Captain and his protegée eventually reach the Allies' lines after further hairbreadth escapes. The characters are clearly delineated. The reader will not readily put the book down until he has reached the last page.

Under the title *The Glory that is France* (Eveleigh Nash) Mr. Sidney Dark assembles a number of able essays dealing with the influence upon and the comparative position attained by France among the nations of the world. He contends that France is the "Mother of European freedom," that the French are essentially a nation of realists, and makes the assertion (which may be frankly questioned) that patriotism in England has been less acutely realized than in either Germany or France! He says the Germany created by Treitschke and others was "a crazy, wild beast, and crazy, wild beasts never count the cost." The spirit of France—the spirit of Victory—is expressed, he says truly, in the lines found scribbled by a *poilu* on the wall of a trench shelter:

Mon corps à la terre.
Mon âme à Dieu.
Mon cœur à la France.

The Secret Service Man, by George Dilnot (Eveleigh Nash), is a detective story of an absorbing type. The inventor of an improved seaplane, upon which the British Navy sets great value is beset by various intriguers for the possession of his plans at any cost. The foremost of these is a German spy posing as an Irishman. The plans are stolen and restolen. The meshes of the C.I.D. and of the Secret Service are spread far and wide to secure their recovery and the arrest of various culprits. The efforts of the Police are thwarted and complicated by the abduction by the spy of the inventor's fiancée. An attractively portrayed lady detective following her own devices succeeds in tracing the missing girl and apparently in accomplishing all that the Police Departments had been striving for. The situations are full of the typical thrills expected in this class of story and maintain intense interest to the last.

MRS. A. MAURICE HOLLOWAY.

Every penny spent in cultivating ground is a direct gain to the nation.

Figure 1: An insert on Leigh Thompson with an advertisement for her book *Fate's High Chancery* (right) with the original "My Lady's Books" in which it was first reviewed (left)

It should be noted that the magazine contained large numbers of photographs. Some were of the topic described in the article, while others were simply inserted to show the pictures of women who were well-known in society in general, as is shown in the image of the review page above. Female correspondents who wrote reports on sport or stage often included photographs of the event, and portraits of children or soldiers fighting in the war were included monthly. There are also the readers' own 'voices' to keep in mind as the reader contributions and letters reacted to issues raised in the magazine or in other popular media of the time.

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The issue of the identity of the magazine's article writers and book reviewers is often a conundrum. The reviewer was only known as "Bookmark" or by no name whatsoever and several features either had no name added to them or a *nom de plume* was used.[25] It is also not always clear whether the reviewer was male or female. For example, "Bookmark" used 'he' to refer to himself in the review in March 1916. But, "Bookmark" also used 'he' to refer to the magazine's reader[26] in a slip that shows that the use of the male pronoun may not indicate the gender of the reviewer but rather the power relations inherent in language.[27] Whilst no information is ever given on the identity of "Bookmark", the author of "My Lady's Books", it is reasonable to conclude that the position of reviewer changed a number of times between January 1911 and December 1919 since at least four different writing styles are evident. Prior to 1915, the reviews are written in personal epistolary style whilst it becomes increasingly impersonal from 1916 and often includes short lists of books suggested for reading along with the reviews.

From time to time, "Bookmark" notes that the books reviewed by him/her have been sent by booksellers – notably Maskew Miller and Juta. It is therefore possible that some books were reviewed and others not because of commercial factors, as the publishers would likely send books to be reviewed in a magazine in order to gain publicity for the books. This would seem to be true of "Bookmark"; however, there are instances where "Bookmark" indicates that a friend, relative or one of the readers sent work to be reviewed. It is therefore not a simple case of the book reviewer acting as a commercial agent for large publishing houses. "Bookmark" also reviewed books from smaller local publishers, such as Durban's P. Davis & Sons, and at times various other texts, such as pamphlets and instructional manuals.[28] As evident from the large range in genres reviewed, "Bookmark" had a fairly loose interpretation of the kind of books that would be fit for a 'lady'.

However, "Bookmark" could influence the readers by giving negative reviews on books that he or she either thought to be of little merit or that were not appropriate for the readers. There are clearly instances where a book received a negative review because the values portrayed in it were different from what was accepted at the time. A good example is *A Daughter of Sin* by the South African author Mary Martens, which was reviewed in 1915. The novel received a scathing review because it portrayed interracial romantic relationships. In his article on home reading unions in South Africa,

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[25] Laurel Brake has noted that anonymity was a key feature of periodicals during this period and helped to promote the corporate identity of the magazine rather than the individual author. L. Brake, *Print in transition: studies in media and book history*, p. 4.
[26] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(76), December 1916, p. 3.
[27] M. Crawford and R. Chaffin, The reader's construction of meaning: cognitive research on gender and comprehension, *in* E.A. Flynn and P.P. Schweickart (ed.), *Gender and reading: Essays on readers, texts, and contexts*, pp. 10-17.
[28] See for example the review of the booklet by The Women's Enfranchisement League of Cape Town (June 1912) and the review of an instruction on physical education and games (April 1913). From August 1912 to February 1913 music pieces were also listed in the review pages, but were never reviewed and as they fall outside of the scope of this study they are not included in the book count.

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Archie Dick also notes these combined forces in determining which books were reviewed: 'Guiding or regulating reading can be explained more convincingly by the interplay between economic factors and other prevailing circumstances relating to gender, race, and culture. In this wider explanation, reading regulation practices may or may not coincide with capitalism.'[29] The books chosen for review reflected the concern of the magazine to redefine the boundaries of what the ideal (modern) woman was, whether she wrote or what she read, and the place of South Africans in relation to Britain.

Anthony Chennels points out that female authors in Southern Africa experienced a double colonisation as writers. They were reminded time and again that they were inferior to male authors and also to British, Canadian, and Australian authors of both genders.[30] In the magazine, women writers were celebrated through feature articles on individual female authors, including Charlotte Mansfield, Johanna Brandt, Miss Phillimore, Cynthia Stockley, Leigh Thompson and C.M. Prowse.[31] Yet, in the book review pages, there seems to have been a prejudicial view of the type of books that women wrote, with the overwhelming belief that women tended to pen romantic novels, and more than a little on what women would want to read. The early twentieth century was a time when an abundance of female authors published their works in English.[32] However, the majority of books reviewed for this period were male authored (63% between 1911 and December 1913). The ratio did start to even out during 1913 which was also the year in which increased numbers of books that were published in South Africa were reviewed. In these three years, the magazine appears to be negotiating a tension between establishing its readers as modern and thus very different from Victorian readers while, at the same time, reaffirming certain gendered reading practices already established in the preceding century. On more than one occasion, "Bookmark" mentions a change in women's reading tastes as in the review of *The New Machiavelli*:

> The days have long gone by when the only books which interested my lady were vapid romances of languishing heroines, as told by a few lady novelists. Men's books, or rather books written by men, make their appeal to women, even when they grapple with great problems as well as unfold stirring stories.[33]

The fact that "Bookmark" substitutes the phrase 'men's books' with 'books written by men' shows that the magazine chose to distance itself from prescriptive gendered reading, as well as

[29] A.L. Dick, "To make the people of South Africa proud of their membership of the great British empire": home reading unions in South Africa, 1900-1914, *Libraries & Culture* 40(1), 2005, pp. 1-24.
[30] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, pp. 71-88.
[31] Anonym, Charlotte Mansfield. An interesting study, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(18), February 1912, p. 52; Anonym, The Petticoat Commando, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(34), June 1913, p. 58; Anonym, Some distinguished visitors, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(34), June 1913, p. 63; Anonym, The writer of "Poppy", *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(45), May 1914, p. 54; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(65), January 1916, p. 3; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(79), March 1917, p. 3.
[32] K. Flint, *The woman reader, 1837-1914*.
[33] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(8), March 1911, p. 3.

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acknowledging female authorship. Yet, while it was accepted that women would find an interest in books with a non-romantic focus, it was still assumed that women would *prefer* to read love stories. This point is borne out by a review of a novel that focused on party politics in Britain, *The Turnstile* by A.E.W. Mason. Here the reviewer felt it necessary to point out that it is not entirely a man's story as there is a good love story woven into the plot.[34] Thus, it is clear that it was somewhat expected for women to *enjoy* a romantic element in fiction, although it was no longer her only interest. As the quotation also suggests, the reader was expected to be more critical of the type of romances she reads (not 'vapid romances of languishing heroines') and that she should extend her range beyond the genre of romance in order to avoid having a stunted or distorted world view.

In a short story in the February 1911 issue of the magazine, "A Studio Idyll: A complete story" by Alice and Claude Askew, the lower class girl who idealistically falls for a man above her station is shown to be given to fancies like romance because she is fond of reading romantic novelettes.[35] Reading only romantic novels is shown to encourage fanciful thinking in women rather than addressing their real world with logic and practical knowledge. To return to the review on *New Machiavelli*, "Bookmark" notes that 'We may not agree with all the theories which he expounds, or makes his characters expound – but he makes us think; and the novelist who does that is not only interesting but helping his readers.'[36] The modern women had to be capable of debate and of critically thinking about a situation in an informed manner. In her work on the *Girls' Own Paper,* a British magazine, Smith connects this concern that women extend their reading beyond romantic fiction with the ideology of imperialism. She argues that it became expected during this period for women to read texts that would prepare them to be better wives and mothers in order to further the English race.[37] It should be noted that the tone of the reviews in the *SALPHJ* accepts that reading more practical books is already a typical taste of the upper-class woman. Thus although reading romances is depicted as something old fashioned that should be ridiculed, there is no prescriptive tone that tells women they have to read fewer easy reading romantic novelettes. Yet, the woman's magazine is a form that prescribes, or that helps a woman become the ideal version of herself, and the ideal lady of the magazine is provided with a combination of fiction and practical books.

As suggested earlier, women writers from all English-speaking countries were celebrated in the *SALPHJ*, but in particular the magazine encouraged South African women to write. Before the war, "Bookmark" lamented on more than one occasion that there were not more South African writers:

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[34] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(27), November 1912, p. 2.
[35] A. Askew and C. Askew, A studio idyll, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(7), February 1911, p. 13.
[36] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(8), March 1911, p. 3.
[37] M.J. Smith, *Imperial Girls, Empire in British girls' literature and culture, 1880-1915*, pp. 3-6.

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'It must be confessed that, whatever may be the true explanation, South Africa has not yet afforded any indication of the possession of a great reserve of latent literary talent.'[38] The writer would then point out that there were very few good writers and time and again reminded the reader of the few good writers that South Africa had produced. Foremost in this list was always Olive Schreiner with authors such as Dorothea Fairbridge, Francis Cary Slater, and John Runcie added to the list.[39] Noticeably, in amongst all the criticism, there was high praise for the two female writers who did succeed in producing good literature. Olive Schreiner was treated as a celebrity writer while Dorothea Fairbridge was praised as the only writer to make use of the country's rich past to write successful historical novels.

Some reasons for the dearth of South African writers were provided in the magazine. For example, "Bookmark" pointed out that the shortage of South African writers when compared to other colonies, such as Australia, could be due to the bilingual nature of South Africa,[40] but this was not an oft made point since Canada (if one only takes account of the white races) was also bilingual and was busy producing adventure and detective novels that received rave reviews from "Bookmark".[41] At times "Bookmark" used colonial authorship as a reason to suggest a book to readers and made the point that South African readers would appreciate a book set in other colonies all the more because they could identify with it more than with the life depicted in novels set in England:

> …it will appeal to you, for, in spite of the differences between the sister Dominions, there is so much that is akin in the essentials of Canadian and South African life – the vast distances, the lonely, law-forgetting frontiers, and the problem of the two tongues.[42]

In the introduction to *Veldsinger's Verse* (1911), a compilation of South African poetry reviewed in "My Lady's Books",[43] Olive Schreiner points out that one needs to keep in mind that the white population in South Africa at the time was little bigger than the population of some northern English towns.[44] In the magazine, this was seen as little excuse as South Africa was producing great artworks despite the same drawback: 'The South African woman is coming to the front in the world of Art, but we seldom hear of her in the field of literature, even in fiction.'[45]

That South African authors' inferiority should be stressed in the magazine is somewhat surprising as the magazine itself provided room to alter this view. The short stories published in the magazine were by female South African writers; not all were love stories (not that love stories need be

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[38] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(32), April 1913, p. 3.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[40] *Ibid.*; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(37), September 1913, p. 3.
[41] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(38), October 1913, p. 3; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(13), September 1911, p. 3.
[42] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(13), September 1911, p. 3.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[44] The Veldsingers' club, *Veldsinger's verse.*, p. xi.
[45] K, Woman in South Africa, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(37), September 1913, p. 48.

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deemed inferior, but deviation might have shown a break from the accepted woman's fare), some had extremely tragic endings (again different from the typical happy ending love story), were written with a purpose or written from a man's point of view.[46]

The writers for the magazine, both "Bookmark" and other contributors to the magazine, seem to have tried to encourage South African writers by pointing out their failings during the first two years. If historical fiction was lacking it would be pointed out;[47] if children's books were running in short supply, this would be pointed out;[48] and if the stories submitted for publication in the magazine itself were substandard, this too would be remarked upon.[49] Readers were subjected to regular reproaches for not being the writers of genius that South Africa needed, much like a headmaster would scold a schoolyard for the lack of school pride. This approach changed during the First World War when positive reinforcement rather than criticism would be used to try and increase the number of published female writers. Several of the novels reviewed during this time were praised for creating 'local colour' in their works (a point to which I will return later). The criticism of South Africa's lack of literary genius did emphasise the need for 'truly South African' work. Not only was the lack thereof regretted but any success in creating stories that were local in character was applauded. So "Bookmark" noted that in Mr William Westrup's *The Land of To-morrow* (1912) 'the plot is a little thick' but declared the story saved because 'the interest is well maintained and the local colour and characterisation are good.'[50]

Writers were therefore expected to write stories that were recognisably South African in their description of South African scenery, use of local language, or through using other races as 'colour'. In their ongoing concern to promote local writers, reviewers became increasingly critical – especially of female writers – who gave their stories a local feel but failed to do so with taste and artistic ability. Mrs T.M. Wakeford's *A South African Heiress* (1913) received a very negative review for excessive use of local descriptions, words, and information to such an extent that it ruined the story for "Bookmark".[51] This review appears all the more scathing when, in the next

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[46] Examples include Anonym, Clumsy, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(97), September 1918, p. 36; J.F. Alexander, The sacrifice, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(82), June 1917, pp. 32, 35-36; J.M. Barry, A lady's shoe, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(70), June 1916, pp. 49-53; Ignava, A structure of sand, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(44), April 1914, pp. 21-22; D. Lefebvre, Betty's letter, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(56), April 1915, pp. 21-22; D. Lefebvre, Carlo, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(58), June 1915, pp. 21-22; K. Wiley, Fatima, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(49), September 1914, pp. 21-22

[47] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(32), April 1913, p. 3.

[48] Anonym, Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(34), June 1913, p. 62.

[49] Anonym, Declined with thanks. A reply to correspondents, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(30), February 1913, p. 21.

[50] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(22), June 1912, p. 3.

[51] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(35), July 1913, p. 3.

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month's "My Lady's Books" "Bookmark" praises Penelope Ford's *A Page in Man's History* (1913), especially for her deft creation of a thoroughly local story.[52] This was despite the fact that only a third of the novel is set in South Africa.[53]

However, the point was stressed that many South African writers did not need to feel that their fiction was inferior to that produced in Britain and the other Dominions as they were capable of creating local stories that were thoroughly South African without losing any of its interest. It was also pointed out that creating a good piece of fiction that really portrayed the complex nature of South Africa was no mean feat:

> Another work of South African fiction is Miss E. Bickford's "Frampton's Deception" (Darter Bros. And Co.), which has the merit of a sincere desire on the part of its author to paint local pictures in their true colours – an art which is as difficult in the use of words as in the handling of pigments to any but the native-born.[54]

Another writer who shared the view that South African writers should write about their country was Fairbridge in her novel *Piet of Italy* (1913):

> "Do you see how difficult it is for a stranger to understand this country? The man who comes out by the mail, spends a week at the Mount Nelson, goes up to Johannesburg and the Victoria Falls, and returns home by the East Coast route, knows as much about South Africa when he returns to England as I do about Honolulu. But he nearly always writes a book about it all the same."[55]

Inaccurate information on South Africa in novels by foreign writers would also be pointed out: So, J.D. Arnold's "Requittal" was criticised for containing descriptions of the scenery that clearly indicated that the author had never been to South Africa.[56]

While female writers were often criticised more severely in fiction, non-fiction provided a means for women to reveal their views on 'serious' matters in the world such as politics, the woman question or the colour question. The magazine's insistence that women wanted to write, and preferred to read, love stories or melodramas is in contrast to the books reviewed and the ones featured in the articles on female writers. Many of the authors covered in these features wrote on education and health;[57] Lady Phillips wrote about world politics in *A Friendly Germany: Why not?*;[58] and travel writers, such as Mrs Maturin and Charlotte Mansfield either published in the magazine or discussed their published works in interviews published in the magazine.

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[52] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(36), August 1913, p. 3.
[53] P. Ford, *A page in man's history.*
[54] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 3.
[55] D. Fairbridge, *Piet of Italy*, p. 65.
[56] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(20), April 1912, p. 3.
[57] Anonym, An interesting personality. Mrs. Colby, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(9), April 1911, p. 30; Anonym, One of our visitors. Miss Soulsby, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(14), October 1911, p. 52.
[58] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(35), July 1913, p. 3.

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The *SALPHJ* provided a medium for women to become published authors by submitting articles and short stories. In the magazine itself, the majority of the short stories and articles appear to have been written by female authors, but the practice of anonymity and publishing under a pseudonym makes it a real possibility that men also penned a number of the works. While anonymity makes it difficult to determine at this stage whether some of the regular writers for the magazine were men, some were claimed to have been written by women as indicated by the subtitles: "Our Letter from Overseas. From a lady Correspondent". Female correspondents were also responsible for the society pages: "Society's Doings. From our correspondents in every province". This only becomes clear in 1916 when the female correspondents are named. In addition, the magazine invited its readers to take part in creating some of the monthly features of the magazine. During its first year the *SALPHJ* encouraged women to write brief reports on sporting events (along with snap shots) as long as they were topical (sent as soon after the even as possible). The reason for this was that 'It is manifestly impossible for us to send representatives to all the matches....'[59] During the war, the readers were also invited to send in poetry to "Our Poet's Corner". Several of the authors who wrote short stories or poems for the magazine went on to publish books and collections of poetry that were reviewed in the magazine.

The list of books which I have highlighted in this study (see table 1) has received varying amounts of attention by academics. For a number, no studies could be found. This is in keeping with an observation made by David Cornwell in 1995 that the forty-odd year gap in the novel tradition between *The Story of an African Farm* (1883) and *Turbott Wolfe* (1925) had long been something of a blank in the national literary history. This despite the fact that this can arguably be seen as the period of the emergence or 'rise' of the South African novel in English.[60] A possible reason for this dearth of studies could be traced to the difficulty in locating the novels as very few are still in print. Another reason could be the large number of novels published at the time. J.A. Kearney notes the existence of thousands of novels written in English in South Africa or by a South African author between 1899 and 1938. Kearney makes mention of four of the authors featuring in my study: William Westrup, Amy Baker, F. Mills Young, and Leigh Thompson but, except for Thompson's *The Lion and Adder*, he looks at other works by the authors than the ones reviewed in the magazine. Kearney's study is a valuable addition to the growing work on early South African novels in English, and also provides information on some of the authors. His entry on Thompson, however, reads: 'No information has come to light' despite his use of the *SALPHJ* to obtain information about another author:

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[59] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 3.
[60] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p.127.

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> Two photographs in *The South African Ladies' Pictorial* are the closest I have come to tracking down information about Lilian Smit. In one of these she is shown with a companion at an Irma Stern exhibition in Cape Town. In the second she is in evening dress, gazing at a vase of roses, and the caption refers to her as mayoress of Bloemfontein.[61]

Currently, a small number of bibliographical works exist on English female South African writers, notably Valerie Letcher's "A bibliography of white Southern African women writers 1800-1940". However, none of these refer to the short stories or serials in the *SALPHJ*.[62] Letcher's bibliography lists 15 of the 35 books used in this study and while she focuses only on female authors her list does not include works by Charlotte Mansfield (an author often interviewed and pictured in the magazine and with two works reviewed in "My Lady's Books"), Penelope Ford, Mary Hartill (author of short stories as well as a novel) or Leigh Thompson. Additionally, there is no mention of works such as Leigh Thompson's *Fate's High Chancery*, which received high praise in the magazine and was often advertised in it, and its author celebrated as an active part of Cape Town society. The author also enjoyed relative success in publishing her short and serial works in the magazine.

No studies could be found on four of the authors and their works, namely *Round the Camp Fire* by Arthur Vine Hall; *Anne Greenfield: Onderwijzeres* by Marie Hartill; *A Page in Man's History* by Penelope Ford (the reviewer, "Bookmark", believed it was Miss Sinclair Stevenson – no proof found of this[63]); and *Tales from the Kraal* by John E. Iverach. Several books featured in the magazine have only been mentioned in bibliographies and have received scant attention otherwise. This includes Elizabeth Bickford's *Frampton's Deception,*[64] Amy Jane Baker's *I too Have Known*[65] and *The Longest Way Round* by D. Broadway.[66]

The work of the following authors is dealt with in academic studies, though none of the works that form part of this study was found mentioned anywhere: Frank Danby (written as Frank Danly in Letcher's bibliography) with another name added as Julia Frankau,[67] with no mention of *Concert Pitch*. *Women of South Africa* edited by T.H. Lewis is never dealt with on its own except as a reference book for information and a picture for the biographical work on Madame Ethel le Marchant by Martin Ryan.[68] *The Phases of Felicity* by Olga Racster and Jessica Grove is mentioned by Letcher but the other studies found on the authors dealt with their biographical work on Dr

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[61] J. Kearney, *Representing dissension: riot, rebellion and resistance in the South African English novel*, p. 299. Note the misspelling in the title of the magazine: this could be a reason why so little information is generally available on the magazine.
[62] V. Letcher, A bibliography of white Southern African women writers 1800-1940, *English in Africa* 31(2), 2004, pp. 121-171.
[63] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(36), August 1913, p. 3.
[64] M.B. Hobson, *A select bibliography of South African short stories in English, 1870-1950*; V. Letcher, A bibliography of white Southern African women writers 1800-1940, *English in Africa* 31(2), 2004, pp. 121-171.
[65] V. Letcher, A bibliography of white Southern African women writers 1800-1940, *English in Africa* 31(2), 2004, pp. 121-171.
[66] *Ibid.*; D.J. Weinstock, The two Boer Wars and the Jameson Raid: a checklist of novels in English, *Research in African Literatures* 1972, pp. 60-67.
[67] N. Valman, Little Jew boys made good: immigration, the South African War, and Anglo-Jewish fiction, *in* E. Bar-Yosef and N. Valman (ed.), *"The Jew" in late-Victorian and Edwardian culture.*
[68] M. Ryan, Madame Ethel le Marchant (1866–1964) — 'n legende in haar leeftyd …, *Ars Nova* 24(1), 1992, pp. 50-59.

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James Barry.[69] Several studies discuss Horace Tremlett's *Fanny the Fibber*[70] and *With the Tin Gods*[71] but none mentions *Giddy Mrs. Goodyer*. A further indication of how unknown the work is today is the fact that the only copies that exist of *Giddy Mrs Goodyer* (as well as *The Longest Way Round*) are in the United Kingdom and the only copy held at the Bodleian Library still had pages that needed to be cut apart. Finally, no work has been done on the long poem, *The Devil's Due* by John Lomax, published in book form and reviewed in the magazine in 1918. In fact, little has been done on his wartime poetry except in Gerhard Genis' doctoral thesis on South African Great War Poetry.[72] In general, very little has been done on the poetry published in South Africa during the First World War. This is especially surprising when considering that poetry became a major form of literary expression during the war as also evidenced by the fact that each issue of the *SALPHJ* was scattered with poetry sent in by its readers and reproduced from elsewhere. The one anthology of poetry published in 1911 that forms part of this study, *The Veldsinger's Verse,* has been analysed for several studies.[73]

While a large number of works exist on Dorothea Fairbridge,[74] very little was found on her reviewed novel *Piet of Italy* except a mention in Letcher's bibliography and work by Peter Merrington.[75] The same can be said of E.F. Mills Young,[76] whose *Bywonner* does not appear in any

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[69] H. Bauer, *Women and cross dressing 1800-1939*; L. Birch, James Barry's corporeal archive: an hermaphrodite at the Cape, *Alternation* 5(2), 1998, pp. 58-71; C. Birkle, "So go home young ladies": women and medicine in nineteenth-century Canada, *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien* 34(1), 2014, pp. 126-159; A. Savage, The lord and the lady, *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 91(5), 1998, p. 279; K.M. Smith, Dr. James Barry: military man--or woman?, *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 126(7), 1982, p. 854.

[70] L. Rainey, From the fallen woman to the fallen typist, 1908–1922, *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920* 52(3), 2009, pp. 273-297; J. Wild, "A merciful, heaven-sent release"?: the clerk and the First World War, *in* (ed.), *The rise of the office clerk in literary culture, 1880–1939*.

[71] W. Fagg, *et al.*, The restoration of a bronze bowman from Jebba, Nigeria, *The British Museum Quarterly* 1964, pp. 51-56; D. Killam, Fictional sources for African studies, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3(2), 1965, pp. 377-402; H. Callaway, *Gender, culture and empire: European women in colonial Nigeria*; D. Fraser, The Tsoede bronzes and Owo Yoruba art, *African Arts* 1975, pp. 30-91; M. Sayım, *Women as victims of colonization in selected texts*, Doğuş Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2006.

[72] G. Genis, *South African Great War poetry 1914-1918: a literary-historiographical analysis*, University of South Africa, 2014.

[73] P.R. Anderson, *In the country of the heart: love poems from South Africa*; J. Cronin, Academic freedom, censorship, and repression in South Africa, *Crime and Social Justice* 24, 1985, pp. 44-60; A. Foley, A sense of place in contemporary white South African English poetry, *English in Africa* 19(2), 1992, pp. 35-53; A. Foley, Anthologising South African poetry: historical trends and future directions, *Scrutiny2* 21(2), 2016, pp. 71-84; S. Gray, The myth of Adamastor in South African literature, *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 1977, pp. 1-23; S. Vance, Olive Schreiner, *British Reform Writers, 1832-1914* 190, 1998, p. 266; S. Watson, *"Bitten-off things protruding": the limitations of South African English poetry post-1948*, University of Cape Town, 1993.

[74] A.L. Dick, Building a nation of readers? Women's organizations and the politics of reading in South Africa, 1900-1914, *Historia* 49(2), 2004, pp. 23-44; A.L. Dick, *The development of South African libraries in the 19th and 20th centuries: cultural and political influences*; P. Merrington, Heritage, pageantry and archivism: creed systems and tropes of public history in imperial South Africa, circa 1910, *Kronos* 1998, pp. 129-151; P.J. Merrington, *Heritage, letters, and public history: Dorothea Fairbridge and loyal unionist cultural initiatives in South Africa, circa 1890-1930'*, University of Cape Town, 2002; E. Van Heyningen and P. Merrett, "The healing touch": the Guild of Loyal Women of South Africa 1900–1912, *South African Historical Journal* 47(1), 2002, pp. 24-50; E. Van Heyningen, The voices of women in the South African War, *South African Historical Journal* 41(1), 1999, pp. 22-43; A.L. Dick, "To make the people of South Africa proud of their membership of the great British empire": home reading unions in South Africa, 1900-1914, *Libraries & Culture* 40(1), 2005, pp. 1-24; E. Boehmer, *et al.*, Introduction: new representations out of neglected spaces: changing paradigms in South African writing, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21(4), 1995, pp. 557-560; M. Legassick and S. Dubow, Science and "South Africanism": white "self-identity" or white class and race domination?, *Kronos: Journal of Cape History* 33(1), 2007, pp. 245-258.

[75] P. Merrington, A staggered orientalism: the Cape-to-Cairo imaginary, *Poetics Today* 22(2), 2001, pp. 323-364; P.J. Merrington, *Heritage, letters, and public history: Dorothea Fairbridge and loyal unionist cultural initiatives in South Africa, circa 1890-1930'*,

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academic works. Stanley Portal Hyatt's *The Makers of Mischief* have not been studied, though a number of his other works have been analysed, notably by Anthony Chennels.[77] The two novels by William Westrup reviewed in the magazine, namely *The Debt* and *Land of Tomorrow*, have not been studied though some of his other works have.[78]

A few authors had more than one work reviewed though often only one has been studied. An example is Charlotte Mansfield whose *Via Rhodesia*[79] is often analysed but no mention is found of her novel *Gloria.* F. Horace Rose's novel *Haidee* features in several studies[80] but his novel *Golden Glory* is never mentioned, despite the fact that it won the prize for the best novel in the Dominions in 1915. Only one source has been found that deals with the literature competition of the Dominions (though without any mention of the South African winner).[81] Very little has been published on Leigh Thompson's *The Lion and the Adder.*[82] The lack of information on the author is made more evident by the fact that both Kearney and Fedorowich assume that she is a man, and no work has yet been done on her first novel *Fate's High Chancery,* which received positive reviews both in the *SALPHJ* and in *The Cape Times* and London's *To-Day.*

Elwin Jenkins has written about a large number of the authors due to his focus on children's stories in South African literature. This includes *Corah's School Chums* by May Baldwin, *Outa Karel's*

University of Cape Town, 2002; V. Letcher, A bibliography of white Southern African women writers 1800-1940, *English in Africa* 31(2), 2004, pp. 121-171.

[76] K. Fedorowich, Sleeping with the Lion? The loyal Afrikaner and the South African Rebellion of 1914–15, *South African Historical Journal* 49(1), 2003, pp. 71-95; I. Glenn, Legislating women, *Journal of Literary Studies* 12(1-2), 1996, pp. 145-170; J. Kearney, The Boer Rebellion in South African English fiction, *Journal of Literary Studies* 14(3-4), 1998, pp. 375-391.

[77] A. Chennells, "Where to touch them?": representing the Ndebele in Rhodesian fiction, *Historia* 52(1), 2007, pp. 69-97; D. Killam, Fictional sources for African studies, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3(2), 1965, pp. 377-402; R.H. MacDonald, *The language of empire: myths and metaphors of popular imperialism, 1880-1918.*

[78] I. Hofmeyr, The mining novel in South African literature: 1870-1920, *English in Africa* 1978, pp. 1-16; I. Hofmeyr, *Mining, social change and literature: an analysis of South African literature with particular reference to the mining novel, 1870-1920,* 2015; E.R. Seary, *South African short stories*.

[79] C. Baker, The Chinde Concession, 1891-1923, *The Society of Malawi Journal* 33(1), 1980, pp. 6-18; C. Baker, Nyasaland 1905-1909: the journeys of Mary Hall, Olivia Colville and Charlotte Mansfield, *The Society of Malawi Journal* 35(1), 1982, pp. 11-29; C. Baker, John Stuart Kerr Wells, 1873-1937, *The Society of Malawi Journal* 49(1), 1996, pp. 46-55; M. Bell and C. McEwan, The admission of women Fellows to the Royal Geographical Society, 1892-1914; the controversy and the outcome, *Geographical Journal* 1996, pp. 295-312; G. Clarsen, Machines as the measure of women: colonial irony in a Cape to Cairo automobile journey, 1930, *The Journal of Transport History* 29(1), 2008, pp. 44-63; R. Hodder-Williams, *White farmers in Rhodesia, 1890–1965: a history of the Marandellas District*; J. McGregor, The Victoria Falls 1900-1940: landscape, tourism and the geographical imagination, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 2003, pp. 717-737; N. Parsons, Nation-building movies made in South Africa (1916–18): IW Schlesinger, Harold Shaw, and the lingering ambiguities of South African Union, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 39(3), 2013, pp. 641-659.

[80] H. Orel, Coda: the Great War, and after, *in* (ed.), *The Historical Novel from Scott to Sabatini*; M.S. Snyman, *The small-town novel in South African English literature (1910–1948)*, University of Pretoria, 2009; D.J. Weinstock, The two Boer Wars and the Jameson Raid: a checklist of novels in English, *Research in African Literatures* 1972, pp. 60-67.

[81] G. Woodcock, *Twentieth century fiction*.

[82] K. Fedorowich, Sleeping with the Lion? The loyal Afrikaner and the South African Rebellion of 1914–15, *South African Historical Journal* 49(1), 2003, pp. 71-95; J. Kearney, The Boer Rebellion in South African English fiction, *Journal of Literary Studies* 14(3-4), 1998, pp. 375-391; M.S. Snyman, *The small-town novel in South African English literature (1910–1948)*, University of Pretoria, 2009.

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Stories by Sanni Metelerkamp and *South African Native Fairy Tales* by E.L. McPherson.[83] While he analysed the children's book by Nelly Fincher (pseudonym for Mrs Williams Wells), *The Chronicles of Peach Grove Farm,* he did not analyse her work *The Heir of Brendiford* which is covered in this study though it was not reviewed. The reason for its inclusion in the present study is the fact that the book was recommended in an article on the 'black peril' as educational material. This novel, along with many others dealing with 'black peril', has been studied by, among others, David Cornwell and Lucy Graham, but no work has appeared on the novel *A Daughter of Sin* by Mary E. Martens, which also deals with the 'black peril'. White anxieties on Cape Malay influences have been studied using C. Prowse's *The Lure of Islam.*[84]

As one of the major feminist works, *Woman and Labour* by Olive Schreiner has been studied extensively. This is less the case with the one pamphlet on South African Suffrage, entitled *The Women's Enfranchisement League* that has been studied by Cherryl Walker for her historical study on the suffrage movement in South Africa.[85] Other works which appeared in the magazine, like the war diary of Johanna Brandt (pseud. M. Romondt), *Petticoat Commando*, as well as the article on "Native Education from an Economic Point of View" by Rev Noel Roberts have also received attention mainly in relation to historical studies.[86]

4. Historical contextualization of the study

a. The Union of South Africa (1910 – 1920)

In the years between the forming of the Union of South Africa and the end of the First World War, the country experienced growth in infrastructure, urbanisation, industrialisation and education as

[83] E. Jenkins, How ostriches ruled the roost in early Children's books set in South Africa, *English in Africa* 1999, pp. 17-32; E. Jenkins, Reading outside the lines: peritext and authenticity in South African children's books, *The Lion and the Unicorn* 25(1), 2001, pp. 115-127; E. Jenkins, Adult agendas in publishing South African folktales for children, *Children's Literature in Education* 33(4), 2002, pp. 269-284; E. Jenkins, *National character in South African English children's literature*; E. Jenkins, The chronicles of Peach Grove Farm: an exceptional early South African children's book by Nellie Fincher, *English in Africa* 36(2), 2009, pp. 31-43; E. Jenkins, San tales again: acknowledgement and appropriation, *English Academy Review* 27(1), 2010, pp. 24-35; E. Jenkins, Readers and writers in colonial Natal: correspondence, *English in Africa* 40(2), 2013, pp. 153-154.

[84] V. Malherbe, Christian-Muslim marriage and cohabitation: an aspect of identity and family formation in nineteenth-century Cape Town, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36(1), 2008, pp. 5-24; R.C.-H. Shell; S.M. Zwemer, A survey of Islam in South Africa, *International Review of Mission* 14(4), 1925, pp. 560-571.

[85] C. Lockett, Feminism(s) and writing in English in South Africa, *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa* 2(1), 1990, pp. 1-21; C. Walker, *Women and resistance in South Africa*; C. Walker, Conceptualising motherhood in twentieth century South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21(3), 1995, pp. 417-437.

[86] H. Dampier, Women's testimonies of the concentration camps of the South African war: 1899-1902 and after, 2005; L. Stanley and H. Dampier, Simulacrum diaries: time, the "moment of writing," and the diaries of Johanna Brandt-Van Warmelo, *Life Writing* 3(2), 2006, pp. 25-52; L. Stanley and H. Dampier, Cultural entrepreneurs, proto-nationalism and women's testimony writings: from the South African war to 1940, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33(3), 2007, pp. 501-519; H.J. Terreblanche, *Ideologies affecting upper and middle class Afrikaner women in Johannesburg, 1948, 1949 and 1958,* 1997; R. van der Merwe and J. Grobler, Dagboeke as oorlogsdokumentasie: Johanna van Warmelo se dagboek en haar belewing van die Anglo-Boereoorlog, *Literator* 20(3), 1999, pp. 69-86; E. Van Heyningen, The concentration camps of the South African (Anglo-Boer) War, 1900–1902, *History Compass* 7(1), 2009, pp. 22-43. The work of Rev. Noel Roberts is used by S. Dubow, The idea of race in early 20th century South Africa: some preliminary thoughts, *African Studies Institute,* 1989; P. Rich, Race, science, and the legitimization of white supremacy in South Africa, 1902-1940, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 23(4), 1990, pp. 665-686.

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well as improvement in international standing, but was still marked by racial and regional disunity inherited from the previous century. In 1910, the four provinces of the British colony were officially joined to create the Union of South Africa. From a British perspective, this was done with the hopes that the four colonies would work together on issues of transport, customs, taxation and 'native affairs'. It was also motivated by the fear that Britain would otherwise have had to deal with interminable disputes between the colonies.[87] In order not to alienate the Afrikaner-dominated Transvaal or Orange Free State, each province was granted self-government. This ensured some semblance of cooperation, but it also further cemented regional differences in the country and thwarted black hopes for political equality as it ensured that the racist enfranchisement laws of the provinces were maintained.

The political power in the country was held by white males despite the country's overwhelming black majority. In the 1911 census it was found that of the nearly six million South Africans just over two-thirds were of 'pure' African descent and only a fifth of the population was of 'pure' European descent.[88] The majority of the whites at the time viewed blacks either as workers on white land or as migrant workers coming to urban areas to earn enough money to pay the hut tax demanded in the native reserves. In the cities, there were either migrant workers (mostly men) or semi-permanent residents who lived in shacks in the backyards of employers. These urban residents typically earned an income as domestic workers (both male and female), as unskilled labourers in white industries or by selling beer or sex. The majority of the coloured population lived in Cape Town as artisans and labourers, and in Natal lived the majority of the Indian population, working mostly as small time entrepreneurs or on white owned sugar plantations.[89] At the time, education was not standardised for Africans and the educated elite typically received their education at mission schools. As the minority in a racist society, these educated and skilled blacks were often overlooked or viewed with unease by white South Africans. It was also this group that drove organised political resistance against their exclusion from political, legal and social institutions.[90] In his study, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge*, Saul Dubow notes that historians have typically ignored the assumptions of racial groups in South Africa in favour of the interactions between them. Yet in his study, he has found that for most of the twentieth century, members of the white elite viewed politics as white politics, and 'South Africans' were seen as white. While blacks were at times seen

[87] J. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state*.
[88] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*. According to Ross, the rest of the population comprised of Coloured (just under a tenth of the population) and Asians (a fortieth of the population).
[89] *Ibid.*
[90] *Ibid.*

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as either a periodic threat or as labourers, they were not regarded as citizens competing for power until 1976.[91] Dubow argues that:

> [this] assumption, however complacent and misguided, is of central importance to an understanding of white hegemony. That blacks and whites interacted in daily life is not in question, nor is the fact that structural interdependence was a feature of San existence from the beginnings of white settlement. But this does not detract from the reality that, in the realm of perceptions and social existence, whites and blacks inhabited separate universes. That these boundaries were largely self-policed imparted a sense of permanence and normality to white ascendancy.[92]

As it is concerned with the discourse of the time, this study deals with these assumptions and will go into the nature of such exclusions in greater detail. However, since no formal or informal group resistance to white rule was ever reported on in the *SALPHJ* between January 1911 and December 1919, it is useful to take note of the main trends in black political engagement during this period.

During the South African War, many black people supported the British war effort in the hope of securing better rights under British rule than they had received under the Afrikaners in the two republics. With self-government granted to each of the provinces in 1910, those hopes for greater political representation were dashed as the *status quo* in each province would be maintained. In 1909, only white men had the vote in the Transvaal and Free State. In Natal, there was a qualified vote for black men in theory, but the criteria were so strict that only a few prominent black men managed to get on the voters' roll. The most liberal province, the Cape, applied strict property and economic rules to the franchise which ensured that the majority of voters remained white men and only 2.25 percent of the voters' roll was made up of black and 13 percent of coloured men.[93] In an effort to prevent further loss of the vote the newly formed South African Native National Congress (SANNC) sent a delegation to Britain to petition to parliament against passing the South Africa Act, which was to establish Union and maintain the provinces' right to determine franchise regulations. They feared that the more liberal Cape Province would go the way of the former republics and that even the qualified vote would be taken away from them. These efforts were in vain and black people received little from the promises of the British after the war. The promise of equal rights for civilised men of all colours was ignored in order to appease the Afrikaners and reach an amicable settlement between them and Britain. The British realised that they could not hope to rule South Africa in peace without Afrikaner assent.[94] London did not react to the fears expressed by the SANNC, and the result was a steady rise in legislative discrimination along racial lines in South Africa. This marked the beginning of increased racial discrimination on a national level, best

[91] S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000*.
[92] *Ibid.*, p.10.
[93] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa.*
[94] J. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state.*

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illustrated by the 1913 Land Act, which determined that black people could not buy or rent land in white areas but only in the seven per cent of the country set aside for them. This, along with the tax regiment, forced more black men into the migrant labour system, which had a far reaching impact on traditional societal and familial structures.[95]

Despite these events, the black political elite still held out hope that membership of the British Empire would afford them greater equality, and during the First World War the SANNC aided the government in convincing black men to volunteer to join the war effort on the side of Britain.[96] White South African racist fears asserted themselves again, and the black men were sent in unarmed as noncombatants. In public discourse, aside from an early debate about whether black men should carry firearms even in the war, their contribution to the war effort remained largely ignored.[97] Again at the Versailles meeting, called to debate the terms of the war settlement, the SANNC sent a delegation to ask for recognition of their wartime sacrifices and to request that Britain ensure their better treatment back in the Union. Their requests were heard but once more ignored.

While the two white races (English and Afrikaner) were the political leaders of the Union of South Africa, their shared position of power was often marred by racial animosity between the two groups. The war between the British Empire and the two Boer republics (1899-1902) was commonly referred to as the Anglo-Boer War, giving an indication of the binary nature with which the war was understood at the time, with only the Afrikaners and the British as antagonists.[98] The years following it were marked by concerted attempts from the British victors, under Sir Alfred Milner's leadership, to anglicise the Afrikaners and increase English settlement in the country. This English chauvinism was largely dropped in favour of a more inclusive nationality. However, while conciliation with Afrikaners became the dominant English view, a number of British, who had settled in South Africa after the war and taken on governmental positions, felt betrayed when they were replaced by Afrikaners after the 1907 elections which heralded in self-government for the

[95] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa.*
[96] A.M. Grundlingh, *Fighting their own war : South African blacks and the First World War*.
[97] In the *South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* this debate is never touched upon, and the only reference to the involvement of black people in the war effort are isolated reports on efforts to raise money in support of the native corps. For a more detailed account of African involvement in the First World War and the reaction to it, see A.M. Grundlingh, *War and society : participation and remembrance. South African black and coloured troops in the First World War, 1914-1918*.
[98] The war has been given different names through the years by different groups. Besides Anglo-Boer War it has also been known as the "Three Years' War" and the "Tweede Vryheidsoorlog" (Second War of Independence). In the rest of this study it will be referred to as the "South African War" to indicate that the war had an impact on other South Africans other than just the Boers and the British.

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former Boer Republics. These English men and women believed that the British government did not appreciate their wartime sacrifice.[99]

On the other hand, there was a rise in a new Afrikaner nationalism with Afrikaner grievances galvanised around the loss of life among the women and children that were sent to the concentration camps during the war, the loss of property and ownership of the land and the perceived attack on their culture through Milner's Anglicisation campaign.[100] However, a number of more moderate Afrikaners, typically wealthy farmers, also voiced a desire for conciliation between the two white races. Politically this led to the victory of the South African Party (SAP) a year after Union. Under the leadership of one time Boer general, Louis Botha, the party stressed good relations between Afrikaners and British, and some semblance of conciliation was achieved, but recurring surges in racial hatred between Afrikaner and British proved the unity in the Union was only superficial.[101]

During the First World War, the Union of South Africa as part of the British Empire was called upon to join the war efforts on the side of Britain against Germany, the Boers' one-time ally. The SAP decision to fight on the British side in the First World War revealed the remaining discontent among a large section of Afrikaners. After Britain requested that South African forces invade German South West Africa in order to secure the coastline and protect shipping lanes around Africa, approximately twelve thousand militant republicans came out in open rebellion. Whilst the 1914 Rebellion was quickly routed by the Union forces, it became a further cause for schism between increasingly nationalistic Afrikaners and the more moderate Afrikaners who wanted reconciliation with the English.[102]

b. White English-speaking South Africans

As the target market of the *SALPHJ* consisted primarily of white English-speaking women in South Africa (whether British or Boer in descent), it is worth taking a look at what is known about this group. There are a number of noteworthy studies on English South Africans as a group, but for the better part of the twentieth century the group has received scant attention in historical studies. This is in keeping with Michelle Smith's observation that one resulting trend from postcolonial studies has been the general dearth of studies, especially social and cultural studies, of the dominant groups

[99] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*; E. Van Heyningen, The concentration camps of the South African (Anglo-Boer) War, 1900–1902, *History Compass* 7(1), 2009, pp. 22-43; J. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state.*
[100] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*; E. Van Heyningen, The concentration camps of the South African (Anglo-Boer) War, 1900–1902, *History Compass* 7(1), 2009, pp. 22-43.
[101] J. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state.*
[102] R. Ross, *A concise history of South Africa*; J. Kearney, The Boer Rebellion in South African English fiction, *Journal of Literary Studies* 14(3-4), 1998, pp. 375-391.

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of history.[103] A number of academics have noted that this has certainly been true of English-speaking South Africans. Dubow argues that this is because white Anglophone South Africans cannot be treated as topics that inspire compassion or heroism as the group was tainted with power in the first half of the twentieth century and enfeebled in the second.[104] In the current political climate in South African academic institutions, with its focus on postcolonial politics and critical race theory, studies on the erstwhile colonial rulers are still out of fashion. However, as Saul Dubow notes, studies on European culture do not ignore kings and lords simply because they were the suppressors of their societies, and it is equally important, if one hopes to achieve any complete view of South African history, to study white English-speaking South Africans. Fortunately, a number of noteworthy studies have been published on the subject, and it has experienced increased attention following 2000.[105]

English-speaking South Africans were by no means a homogenous group. In his article, "An Unknown People" John Lambert tries to tease out characteristics common to English-speaking South Africans. However, he also acknowledges that in addition to differences due to the individualistic culture of Britain, there were also discernible regional and class differences amongst them that were shaped by local conditions. This resulted in considerable differences between the British of Cape Town with their Cape liberal traditions, of the Eastern Cape with their 1820 Settler traditions, of Natal with their aggressively British and separatist provincial traditions and of the Orange Free State with their attachment to their model republic. All these had little in common with the mining magnates of Johannesburg who in turn occupied a world very different from that of British miners and other industrial workers.[106]

Within these groups there were also differences based on whether a person was born in Britain or in South Africa. To account for this, the few studies on English South Africans either focus on a small sub-group or regional studies.[107] Such regional differences will be kept in mind as a means of accounting for whatever differences of opinions emerge; however, the impact of regional contexts

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[103] M.J. Smith, *Imperial Girls, Empire in British girls' literature and culture, 1880-1915.*
[104] S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000*, pp.11-12.
[105] V. Bickford-Smith, Writing about Englishness, South Africa's forgotten nationalism, *in* G. MacPhee and P. Poddar (ed.), *Empire and after : Englishness in postcolonial perspective,* p. 58; L. Grundlingh, "In the crisis, who would tamper with the existing order?" The political and public reaction of English-speaking South Africans to the 1914 Rebellion, *Historia* 59(2), 2014, pp. 152-170.
[106] J. Lambert, "An unknown people": reconstructing British South African identity, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37(4), 2009, p. 602.
[107] See, for example, V. Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic pride and racial prejudice in Victorian Cape Town*; V. Bickford-Smith, *et al.*, *Cape Town in the twentieth century: an illustrated social history*. Jonathan Hyslop and John Mackenzie have looked at South African Scottishness in J. Hyslop, Cape Town Highlanders, Transvaal Scottish: Military 'Scottishness' and social power in nineteenth and twentieth century South Africa, *South African Historical Journal* 47(1), 2002, pp. 96-114; J.M. MacKenzie and N.R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: ethnicity, identity, gender and race, 1772-1914.* Charles van Onselen has also done an interesting study on lower middle class and working class whites on the Rand by C. Van Onselen, *Studies in the social and economic history of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914*.

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cannot be given more prominence in this study as these often remain unspecified in the opinion pages.

Additionally, John Lambert points to the effects of intermarriage between Afrikaner and English and acculturation that created differences among families as did urban or rural living.[108] He notes that it would be foolish to deny that there were certain factors that went some way to hold English-speaking South Africans together:

> ... private schooling, war service and remembrance, their domination of business and the professions; and their concentration in towns. However, even in times of crisis, such as 1914-18 or 1939-45, it is far from clear that English-speakers were a completely cohesive community, as a preliminary glance at the newspaper press will testify. More work needs to be done on the social and cultural history of English-speaking South Africa before this discussion can be developed much further.[109]

Further studies on periodicals are certainly necessary better to understand these subgroups within the broader South African English-speaking community, but the magazine studied for this dissertation had a more inclusive readership. As one of the few women's magazines available in the country (and one that claimed to be the only magazine available on a national scale during the years in purview), the *SALPHJ* was also read by other groups who spoke English. This is evident from the submissions and articles written by Afrikaans and Jewish women. The readers certainly had to understand English, but they were often referred to as 'Our Readers' or 'South African Women', and never as 'English' or 'British' South Africans. Therefore, while the focus of this study is on the discourse of white English-speaking South Africans, it is important to keep in mind that South African Englishness was a composite form of identity, including groups such as loyal Afrikaners, rather than being exclusively English. This is supported by the work of Christopher Saunders and Saul Dubow who have noted that South African Britishness is also a composite identity.[110] They have also noted that a shared South Africanism was formed as part of the conciliation that occurred in the decade that followed Union.[111]

During the First World War, the magazine clearly professed loyalty to the British Empire, yet even this was not a straightforward unifier for the group. In his discussion of loyalism in South Africa, Andrew Thompson notes that one should not equate loyalism with Anglo-Saxon Imperialism. Because, though the loyalist tradition is typically associated with pro-British English-speaking

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[108] J. Lambert, "An unknown people": reconstructing British South African identity, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37(4), 2009, p. 602.
[109] A. Thompson, The languages of loyalism in Southern Africa, c. 1870-1939, *The English Historical Review* 118(477), 2003, p. 647.
[110] S. Dubow, How British was the British World? The case of South Africa, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37(1), 2009, pp. 1-27; C. Saunders, Britishness in South Africa, *Humanities Research* 8(1), 2006, pp. 61-69.
[111] S. Dubow, How British was the British World? The case of South Africa, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37(1), 2009, pp. 1-27; C. Saunders, Britishness in South Africa, *Humanities Research* 8(1), 2006, pp. 61-69; S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000.*

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South Africans, African and Afrikaans groups also expressed loyalty to the Empire. In light of this fact, the study will briefly discuss the discourse on Afrikaans-English relations to examine how racialism and conciliation between the two ethnic groups were discussed in terms of race.[112]

Saul Dubow takes this further and divides English South Africans into colonialists and imperialists. While both remained loyalists, the former showed greater identification with, and loyalty to, South Africa as their country while the latter insisted on the primacy of the Empire and that South Africa was simply a dependent part of it.[113] 'Colonialists' should not be confused with 'Colonials' as the latter term was popularly used during the period (1910-1920) to refer to a person born in South Africa as a distinction from a person who immigrated from Britain. This understanding of the term will be used in this analysis as Colonials became subject to racial discrimination from British-born (hereafter British) persons. Other studies that focused on the racial views of English-speaking South Africans centred on specific trends in the discourse rather than a broad overview of the racial discourses discussed by Dubow. A good example is the discourse surrounding 'black peril', which has been studied by David Cornwell, Timothy Keegan and Lucy Valerie Graham. Although these scholars have identified different connections between the discourse on 'black peril' and other trends among English South Africans at the time, they share an understanding of 'black peril' scares as something found in the English press and centring around a fear of black men raping white women.[114] Another similarity is that they use an intertextual approach to look at the development of the discourse in several novels as well as periodicals. This is similar to my approach when working with the *SALPHJ* and the novels reviewed in it. However, while the texts looked at in the previously mentioned studies were aimed at different target groups, my focus is on texts which have a common readership.

Studies specifically on English-speaking white South African women during this period are relatively scarce. Yet, while it is true that there has been a general neglect of the group, the one area in which studies have still consistently appeared (largely thanks to studies in English literature) are studies on English South African authors, books, and, more recently, periodicals. Besides the authors already listed in the earlier section on studies on the books reviewed in the magazine, some notable examples include Liz Stanley's work on Olive Schreiner, works on Dorothea Fairbridge's literature, and Michael Wade's work on Sarah Gertrude Millin's novels. Anthony Chennells' work

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[112] A. Thompson, The languages of loyalism in Southern Africa, c. 1870-1939, *The English Historical Review* 118(477), 2003, pp. 617-650.
[113] S. Dubow, Race, civilisation and culture: the elaboration of segregationist discourse in the inter-war years, *in* S. Marks and S. Trapido (ed.), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa*; S. Dubow, The idea of race in early 20th century South Africa: some preliminary thoughts, *African Studies Institute*, 1989; S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000.*
[114] L.V. Graham, *State of peril: race and rape in South African literature*.

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on Rhodesian female authors provides some insight into the racial discourse that accompanied British discrimination levelled at colonial women.[115]

A few other notable studies have focused on women's societies during this period. Archie Dick has examined the ideological underpinnings of the English reading societies in South Africa.[116] Furthermore, Cherryl Walker's study on the South African women's campaign for suffrage has placed some focus on the group as the Women's Enfranchisement League was mainly dominated by English-speaking South African women.[117] Elizabeth van Heyningen and Elizabeth Reidi have studied the Guild of Loyal Women and the Victoria League – two societies that are from time to time the subject of articles in the *SALPHJ*.[118] These studies provide greater insight into the gender discourse prevalent in notions of imperialism, and also how the different views regarding Britain coexisted and were interacted with by the white English-speaking South African women. It is to this still-growing body of work on white English-speaking South African women that this study will seek to add.

5. Conclusion

As indicated above, the *SALPHJ* as well as the many books reviewed in its pages represent a significant historical source which has received very little scholarly attention to date. Through the analysis of these sources, the present study has the potential to give insights into the history of white English-speaking women in pre-Apartheid South Africa. Also, and in particular, because the selected books and related extracts from the periodical will be employed simultaneously as primary sources in an intertextual study covering a number of years, it will be possible to scrutinise and explain *changes* in the discourse on race and gender. It is especially in this regard that the study purports to make a contribution.

Greater detail on the methodological and theoretical assumptions of the study will be provided in Chapter 2. The four chapters that follow will provide an analysis of the selected texts. Chapter 3

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[115] P. Merrington, Pageantry and primitivism: Dorothea Fairbridge and the "aesthetics of union", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21(4), 1995, pp. 643-656; L. Stanley, Olive Schreiner,"A Returned South African", her letters, her essays, her fiction, her politics, her life: the epistolarium revisited, *Olive Schreiner & Company: Schreiner's Letters and 'Drinking In the External World* 2011, pp. 19-44; L. Stanley, *Imperialism, labour and the new woman: Olive Schreiner's social theory*; A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, pp. 71-88; A. Chennells, "Where to touch them?": representing the Ndebele in Rhodesian fiction, *Historia* 52(1), 2007, pp. 69-97; M. Wade, Myth, truth and the South African reality in the fiction of Sarah Gertrude Millin, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 1(1), 1974, pp. 91-108.

[116] A.L. Dick, "To make the people of South Africa proud of their membership of the great British empire": home reading unions in South Africa, 1900-1914, *Libraries & Culture* 40(1), 2005, pp. 1-24; A.L. Dick, Building a nation of readers? Women's organizations and the politics of reading in South Africa, 1900-1914, *Historia* 49(2), 2004, pp. 23-44; A. Dick, *The hidden history of South Africa's book and reading cultures*.

[117] C. Walker, Conceptualising motherhood in twentieth century South Africa, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21(3), 1995, pp. 417-437; C. Walker, *Women and resistance in South Africa.*

[118] E.L. Riedi, *Imperialist women in Edwardian Britain: the Victoria League, 1899-1914*, University of St Andrews, 1998; E. Van Heyningen and P. Merrett, 'The Healing Touch': The Guild of Loyal Women of South Africa 1900–1912, *South African Historical Journal* 47(1), 2002, pp. 24-50.

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will deal with white women's changing positions in terms of social conduct and gendered restrictions as portrayed in the selected magazine extracts and books. The labour relations between men and women and black and white will be discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 will return to the racial relationships between the white races in South Africa and Britain to show the changing racial insecurities of the readers. Chapter 6 will deal with the discourse on black men as a sexual threat to white women, a phenomenon commonly referred to as the 'black peril'.

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II. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1. Introduction

Media History, Book History and Periodical Studies are all relatively recent fields of study in history, yet they already have a rich body of theory to draw from. Much of this is due to the interdisciplinary nature of book and media history, but it may also be related to the richness of the source material. Books and periodicals have an important place in society, and therefore can be used to great effect to garner information about a period. According to Fischer:

> ... the chief means of communication with the world beyond one's town before the First World War remained the periodical: the newspaper or magazine. Reading these brought the world into one's home, and their continuing importance for, and effect on, the era cannot be stressed too strongly.[119]

In examining these important sources, a few theories are available. The theories related to textual analysis employed in this study will be briefly examined after which the theory on identity groups and power will be explained.

2. Book History and Media History Theories

Whether a book or a magazine, the interpretation of any text is a complex process. It does not involve only the overtly stated opinions as the author is not the only agent creating meaning in the text.[120] Certainly, the role of the author in creating the meaning must be acknowledged and the overt meaning taken as part of the interpretation. However, the reader also plays a role in creating meaning within a text, at times seemingly independent from what the author intended. As Chartier points out '... reading, by definition, is rebellious and vagabond....'[121] In my reading of the *South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* (*SALPHJ*) as well as the various texts promoted and reviewed in the magazine, I will give attention not only to the overtly stated opinions regarding gender and race that are articulated in the text, but also the meaning conveyed in the text regarding gender and race that can be analysed using theories commonly employed in Book History studies, notably the theories of reader-response, intertextuality and McGann's theory of the meaning through form.[122]

Firstly, reader-response theory will be discussed. This theory gained considerable ground from the 1960s to 1980s. It emphasises the reader's role in creating the meaning in the text as opposed to the

[119] S.R. Fischer, *A history of reading*, p. 295.
[120] R. Barthes, The death of the author, *in* D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery (ed.), *The book history reader*, pp. 221-225.
[121] R. Chartier, The order of books, *in* Towheed, Crone and Halsey (ed.), *The history of reading*, p. 36.
[122] J.J. McGann, *The textual condition*.

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more traditional view of the meaning being created by the author alone.[123] Leaders in the field include: Stanley Fish, Wolfgang Iser, Roland Barthes, Mikhail Bakhtin, Michel de Certeau and Hans Robert Jauss.[124]

According to Jauss in "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory", a literary text does not exist in an informational vacuum. It is therefore important to consider the 'horizon of expectations' of the hypothetical reader, in conjunction with the text's rhetorical strategies, in order to understand the ways in which the text might work on a particular reader in a particular time. These rhetorical strategies include overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics or implicit allusions. They stir familiar emotions and expectations of the text which can then be met, changed, re-orientated or even ironically fulfilled according to rules of genre or type. These rules were developed in the historical moment of the text's appearance and arise from a previous understanding of the genre, the form and themes of already familiar works, and the contrast between poetic and practical language.[125] This theory will be useful for my study especially as specific genres, such as the gothic novel and the epistolary form, are well known and at times subverted in the *SALPHJ*.

An example of how the reader's 'horizon of expectations' can be influenced, is by the employment of a common genre in the magazine. Many of the book reviews in the *SALPHJ* use the genre of the letter in the writing of book reviews. According to Kathryn Shevelow, the voice used in epistolary writing is authoritative and stems from the eighteenth century advice books written in the style of a letter from father to daughter. According to her, the audience automatically identifies with the recipient of the 'letter.' In the magazine the recipient is usually a less fashionable or less informed female friend. The relation is not equal, but the genre has changed sufficiently to allow for some room to question the authoritative voice, unlike in the eighteenth century advice books.[126]

The use of genre as an analytical tool is further supported by genre studies such as the one by John Calweti, who points out that when it comes to formulaic genres, such as romantic novels or detective stories, the stock characteristics of the hero, heroine and villain reveal the values prevalent in the society in which these books are generated.[127] The reiteration of certain types of stock characters can therefore indicate the current dominant ideology that is being reinforced. However, specific expectations from a genre or formula can also be exploited by introducing new or unconventional portraits of the hero, heroine or villain in order to reflect changing social attitudes.

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[123] D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, *Introduction to book history*, p. 81.
[124] R. Chartier, The order of books, *in* Towheed, Crone and Halsey (ed.), *The history of reading*, p. 67.
[125] H.R. Jauss, Literary history as a challenge to literary theory *in* R. Crone, et al. (ed.), *The history of reading*, p. 71.
[126] K. Shevelow, Fathers and daughters: women as readers of the Tatler *in* P.P. Schweickart and E.A. Flynn (ed.), *Gender and reading: Essays on readers, texts, and contexts*, pp. 107-124.
[127] J.G. Cawelti, *Adventure, mystery, and romance: formula stories as art and popular culture*.

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This will typically be the case if one can, firstly, identify a pattern in the characteristics of one of the character types, such as a physically strong hero. A single story in which the author creates a hero that is small or marked by wit rather than strength could show that the author wants to critique his or her society's ideas about the ideal man. By introducing changes to stock characteristics, the writer creates a space in which to critique dominant ideologies. However, if one can again identify several stories in which the witty 'pen pusher' is the hero, it will be an indication of a changed ideal for the society.

Besides genres, the reader's 'horizon of expectations' may also have been informed by other periodicals, various pieces in the magazine, and other books. Therefore another theory that will be used is intertextuality. This is the main reason why, when analysing the magazine content and vice versa, one needs to pay attention to the date when the books are suggested to the readers. This is because, as Roland Barthes points out in his article "From Work to Text", no text stands in isolation; it relies on the other texts available for much of its meaning.[128] The term, intertextuality, was first coined by Julia Kristeva in 1966, during a time when the role of the author or authorial intent came under sharp criticism from French literary philosophers such as Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. For Kristeva, the text could take on divergent meanings independent from the meaning the author originally intended as the reader will ascribe meaning to the text as it relates to other texts. To put it differently, the signifier creates meaning independent from the signified. The signifier produces this meaning through a dialogic process with other related signifiers.

The theory has come under some criticism, especially from the field of literary criticism from which it originated. In the field of literary criticism, according to William Irwin, intertextuality has come to mean little more than a stylish way to refer to allusion and influence.[129] Its use in literary criticism has thus drifted from its original definition, which is text-prominent, to one that is author-prominent as allusion and influence denote authorial intent and influence. This is separate from the text-prominent approach that is still most common in discourse analysis. Thus, for conventional literary critics to employ intertextuality there needs to be a reasonable indication that the author makes reference to another text in his or her work. However, in discourse analysis intertextuality is employed with the idea that the reader may interpret the author's work differently because of a text that the reader connects to the work, whether the author is aware of that text or not. As an example, in examining the discourse on 'black peril', I will look at a sample of texts by various authors

[128] R. Barthes, From work to text, *in* V.B. Leitch and W.E. Cain (ed.), *The Norton anthology of theory and criticism*, pp. 1326-7.
[129] W. Irwin, Against intertextuality, *Philosophy and Literature* 28(2), 2004, pp. 227-242.

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during a period. In that sample, several authors may discuss the 'black peril' without having read each other's work or having been influenced by the same work of another author. Yet, the frequency with which the term appears and the different views that are articulated provide insight into the meaning that the reader may have garnered from the texts which may or may not align with the meaning intended by a single author within the sample.

However, discourse analysis requires one to be aware of the author's intention and the cultural context in which the text is either produced or consumed. This is what Mageb Aladwani Alzahrani refers to as cultural intertextuality, a term which he argues is dependent on contextualizing theories, which are often used outside literary criticism to explore identities and power in the text.

> Contextualizing theories seek to establish links between individual texts on one hand and the historical-cultural context and systems of power on the other; they are inclined to employ strategies of ideological critique in order to explore the historical, social, cultural and political bases of literature.[130]

Contextualization enables one not only to situate discourse in its greater social context, but also to acknowledge that a text may be loaded with suggested meanings, which the writer assumes the readers will pick up on if they had read another popular piece or an earlier article. Despite the many questions that have been raised about authorial intent, traditional textual analysis continues to play an important role. David Finkelstein, for example, agrees that the reader can impress his/her individuality on the text, but holds that two readers can derive the same meaning from a text, even though they may be unaware of each other's interpretations. Because meaning is still bound to the actual words of the text, and because the reader belongs to what Stanley Fish calls 'interpretive communities', one should still keep the author's intended meaning in mind,[131] especially when dealing with contemporaneous authors who moved in the same socio-historical context. This will be especially true for the books suggested in "My Lady's Books," as they are generally reviewed shortly after their publication and often written by South African authors. A number of the authors of the reviewed books, notably Leigh Thompson and Mary Hartill, also wrote short stories and serials that were published in the magazine.

Intertextuality is especially important for the time period as the connections between print media and novels were much stronger than they are today. This is mainly due to serialisation and the fact that authors of the Edwardian period still viewed periodicals as an extension of their sphere.[132] In studying the relationship between serial and novel, Mark Turner questions some of the ways that fiction can be read both as an integral part of the magazine and as only one element of the single

[130] M.A. Alzahrani, From the Death of the Author to the Death of Intertextuality: The Birth of Cultural Intertextuality, *The International* 9(10), 2012, p. 195.
[131] D. Finkelstein and A. McCleery, *The book history reader*, p. 101.
[132] L. Brake, *Print in transition: studies in media and book history.*

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magazine issue rubbing up against all of the other contributions. Looking at how Trollope used serialisation to his advantage within the Victorian book market, Turner notes how serialisation comes to interrelate with other texts through intertextuality: 'Serialization, in which only a small part of a larger text is put into play alongside all sorts of different texts, provides the opportunity to see how debates and discourses within a periodical reverberate in the wider cultural world outside the mag.'[133]

Even without the additional intertextual element added to this study in the form of the reviewed books, any study of a magazine will have to contend with different, often opposing views, on any given topic owing to its polyphonic nature. Beetham notes that '[t]he magazine as a form is characterised by a variety of voices and by the coexistence on the page of heterogeneous, even contradictory, positions.'[134] She notes that by inviting readers to be published correspondents in the magazine, the magazine offered them a place and some power to participate in negotiating the meaning of their social identity in public print.[135] Taken over time, the various views published in a polyphonic text give the impression of a continuing dialogue.

In addition to the text, there are bibliographical codes, such as type face, placing, and the illustrations included with a text, that could inform the interpretation of the text. In *The Textual Condition*, Jerome McGann places emphasis on the meaning derived from the form of the text. Literary works typically secure their effects by other means than the purely linguistic. Every literary work operates through the deployment of a double helix of perceptual codes: the linguistic codes and the bibliographical codes.[136] In the case of illustrated texts, such as will be dealt with in this dissertation, '... the physique of the "document" has been forced to play an aesthetic function, has been made part of the "literary" work ... in these kinds of literary works the distinction between physical medium and conceptual message breaks down completely.'[137] Well-known examples of these include illustrated texts such as Blake's poems or medieval manuscripts where the physical attributes of the text often influenced the meaning conveyed by the actual words.[138] In other words, besides the intention of the author the intention of the editor needs to be added as the particular placing of articles and photographs would have had an influence on the meaning conveyed to the reader. Because the magazine is *pictorial* the presence of and the meanings suggested by, the specific type and photographs is important. In terms of discourse analysis, the photographs form

[133] M.W. Turner, *Trollope and the magazines: gendered issues in mid-Victorian Britain*, p. 7.
[134] M. Beetham, The reinvention of the English domestic woman: class and "race" in the 1890s' woman's magazine, *Women's Studies International Forum* 21(3), 1998, p. 225.
[135] *Ibid.*, p. 225.
[136] J.J. McGann, *The textual condition.*
[137] J.J. McGann, The socialization of texts, *in* D. Finkelstein and A. McCleerly (ed.), *The book history reader*, p. 43.
[138] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

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part of the dialogical moment. This study will not delve into the technical aspects of the photographs, such as lighting, but will look at the subjects and placement of photographs relative to the text as this will inform the interpretation of the text.

"Our Readers" would have approached the *SALPHJ* with a different set of expectations than when reading a book. This is because the form of a magazine provides more freedom in reading, unlike a novel, which is supposed to be read from beginning to end. Magazines concerned with fashion, such as the *SALPHJ*, are typically read less critically; yet, it could be argued that such magazines could be more successful in influencing its readers precisely because they engender such an uncritical reading. Although trivialized at the time, the woman's magazine has come to be appreciated as a social institution with the ability to shape a woman's view of herself, her role in society and her view of society.[139] As an instructional tool it told women what to think and do – and read. Of course there was a sensitive tension between what readers, who were after all buying their magazine, wanted their magazine to tell them and the extent to which they would allow their magazine to shift their views.

In her article "The Attractiveness of Magazines as 'Open' and 'Closed' Texts: Values of Women's Magazines and Their Readers", Merja Mahrt argues that, in the case of contemporary magazines, women may choose a specific magazine to reinforce their own set of values, what she terms 'closed' texts. She goes on to say that other magazines are 'open' texts that enable the reader to project her own values onto the contents. The choice of magazine to read may depend on whether it reflects the reader's socioeconomic status or provides an ideal worth pursuing.[140] Because the *SALPHJ* claimed not to have any political motive, it can be termed an 'open' text that allowed for some projection onto the contents. However, it also clearly offered an ideal worth pursuing as it provided information on the fashions and doings of the upper-class ladies of society. The magazine's format along with its serial nature, makes it possible for a feminine ideal to be constructed and reconstructed in the magazine. Margaret Beetham notes that 'In addressing "women", these magazines simultaneously assumed femininity as the grounds of identity, and assumed that readers still needed to achieve true femininity. The serial nature of the form was well adapted to the endless task of constructing an identity that was never completely secure, always in

[139] M. Beetham, *A magazine of her own: domesticity and desire in the woman's magazine, 1800-1914*; M Ferguson, *Forever feminine: women's magazines and the cult of femininity.*
[140] M. Mahrt, The attractiveness of magazines as "open" and "closed" texts: values of women's magazines and their readers, *Mass Communication and Society* 15(6), 2012, pp. 852-874.

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process.'[141] The same concern with femininity and ideal femininity is reflected in the *SALPHJ*, and in the books that are suggested by the reviewer "Bookmark".

With all the focus on how information is shared, it is important to keep in mind the fact that it was shared at all, which reveals the type of topics that the readers would allow. The readers as part of a larger target market played an important role in influencing the content that was published in the magazine. Subscription numbers were important, so the editor could not afford to allow overly controversial topics to be published in the magazine. As a polyphonic text there was disagreement and room for argument on many topics within the magazine. This was notably the case with topics such as women's wage work. Yet, while there was room to differ on this contentious issue, there were still topics – and opinions regarding specific topics – that were taboo. In this way the magazine strongly resembles a tea party at a respectable house. The guests are all allowed to differ and take part in the conversation; however, if a guest insists on bringing up a topic that is deemed totally distasteful by the others that guest will not be invited again. What is not allowed is never actually discussed but, rather, assumed. In the same way what was permissible to print in the *SALPHJ* was, for the most part, assumed or discussed only outside of the boundaries of the magazine's pages. In a few instances the editorial policy is revealed in the magazine, such as when an author notes that discussing Socialism is considered taboo by the editor.[142] However, such indications are few and it would seem that overt indications of subjects to be avoided were only discussed with the regular writers of the magazine.

If discourse is understood as social practice, then the presence or absence of certain topics reveal certain conceptions of reality of the group. It can be argued that the kinds of topics that are privileged above others in the discourse reveal certain conceptions of power as certain realities are chosen to be articulated over others.[143] Meaning, within a discursive moment, is not fixed but relational within an ideological system of presence and absence. In other words, meaning resides negatively within the system of differences that make up the signifying system.

> From a critical perspective the structure of this system of differences is not arbitrary, but rather reflects a struggle between different interest groups to create a meaning system in which certain views of the world are privileged over others. The dominant social group (or coalition of groups) is therefore that which is best able to create an ideological meaning system which serves its own interests.[144]

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[141] M. Beetham, The reinvention of the English domestic woman: class and "race" in the 1890s' woman's magazine, *Women's Studies International Forum* 21(3), 1998, p. 224.
[142] "Laura Pendennis", Feminine facts and fallacies, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(43), March 1914, p. 48.
[143] See D.K. Mumby and C. Stohl, Power and discourse in organization studies: absence and the dialectic of control, *Discourse & Society* 2(3), 1991, pp. 313-332. In this study, the authors show how discourse in an organisation functions to stabilise and fix power relations in a particular way but still retains some transformative possibilities.
[144] *Ibid.*, pp. 317-318.

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Absence and presence play an important role in the reading as it not only reveals the reality accepted by white women in South Africa, which it will be argued, shows a relative power relation to other races in the country, but also the relative lack of power of the women in relation to white men. Members of muted groups (whether muted because of their race, gender or status as colonised) are disadvantaged in articulating their experience as the language they must use is derived from the dominant group. Thus, as a traditionally muted group, white women had to learn to use the dominant idiom in order to articulate their own experience. Mary Crawford and Roger Chaffin use the theory of muted groups to note the loss of meaning for women writers functioning within a male-dominated literary tradition as compared to female writers functioning within female schemata.[145] Therefore, absence and presence within the discourse will be of importance to this analysis as "Our Readers" formed part both of the dominant and the subordinate group.

3. Identity and power

a. Group identity

In his influential study, *Imagined Communities,* Benedict Anderson shows how nationalism, or nation-ness, was largely created by print culture. According to his theory the daily newspaper carried the same message to thousands on a day-by-day basis. Together these common readers, though they never met each other, took part in the same reading ritual. This bound them together in an 'imagined community' which, in Anderson's study, meant a community on a national scale, bound by a newly constructed nationalism; as he argues, this concept would fuel wars and incite sacrifice on an unprecedented scale in the early twentieth century. According to this argument, European Nationalism, a fairly young though potent concept owes its existence, at least in part, to the mass readership of periodicals and cheap books. It is imagined because it is a construct, but, importantly, it is an assumed, taken-for-granted construct.[146]

While Anderson focused on the creation of nationalism through the reading of a daily newspaper in England, we can extend his arguments to the reading of periodicals such as the monthly magazine explored in this dissertation. Like the newspaper, the monthly magazine also formed its readers into a community and would have influenced the beliefs, assumptions and identity of its readers. Just as the newspaper gave its readership a sense of shared community, so did the *SALPHJ* serve as a text which bound its readers into an 'imagined community'. While, recently, Anderson's theory has

[145] M. Crawford and R. Chaffin, The reader's construction of meaning: cognitive research on gender and comprehension, *in* Flynn and Schweickart (ed.), *Gender and reading: Essays on readers, texts, and contexts*, pp. 3-30.
[146] B.R.O.G. Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Recently, Anderson's theory has been subject to criticism, an example is L.L. Cohen and J.A. Stein, *Early African American print culture*. Yet, he still has many adherents in media history, and his theory works with the current group of readers focused on in this study.

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been subject to criticism, he still has many adherents in media history. Both Shevelow and Beetham have noted the importance of the serial form, combined with the emphasis on readers' contributions, as a means of enabling the women's magazine to identify and address its readers as an imagined community.[147] It was 'imagined' because even though Miss X was aware that there were other women who also read the same monthly magazine she would never meet Mrs Y face to face. But, while the daily newspaper in England gave its imagined community a sense of nationalism, colonial papers served to create a community with common interests in the home away from Home.[148] The editorial team knew and referred to this community of women as "Our Readers". This will also be the name used to refer to the imagined community in this study.

Therefore this concept of the 'imagined community' will be used as a theoretical base to define the group that will be studied. Using this theory it will be assumed that the *SALPHJ* bound its readers together as a community of white, English-speaking women – a minority group in a multi-lingual, racially diverse and male-dominated society. As in Anderson's study, the word 'community' is used in the sense that they would read the same information every month and be aware that many others would be reading it too. An example from the *SALPHJ* is the monthly pages "Wedding Bells: Bridals and Betrothals in South Africa" and "The Coming Generation" that were filled to the brim each month with photographs to show off to the rest of the readers what matches were made for 'good South African girls' and the 'darling young ones' of the readers. These pages reinforced the idea of the imagined community as it showed a concern to share and boast to other members of the community even if they were not known to each other personally.

As the discourse on gender and race as articulated in the *SALPHJ* is of primary interest in this project, it is inevitable that the project will include an examination of the power relations supported and resisted by this discourse. Power is never a simple domination-subordination dichotomy. It is not simply a coercive force but a structured and relational function of a society or organisation. This is best argued by Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault. Gramsci argues that while, in everyday use, the term power has come to mean 'domination' (i.e. as the imposition of a set of beliefs and practices on one group by another), 'hegemony' suggests a much more complex relationship between social groups that involves a dialectical relation between group forces which results in the seemingly spontaneous consent of subordinate groups to the worldview of the ruling group. 'In this sense, hegemony embodies a "collective will" which is subject to an ongoing process of

[147] K. Shevelow, Fathers and daughters: women as readers of the Tatler *in* Schweickart and Flynn (ed.), *Gender and reading: Essays on readers, texts, and contexts*, p. 38; M. Beetham, *A magazine of her own: domesticity and desire in the woman's magazine, 1800-1914.*
[148] B.R.O.G. Anderson, *Imagined communities : reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*; S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000.*

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disarticulation and rearticulation by various systems of signification in a social formation.'[149] This means that hegemony is never fixed but always subject to negotiation through competing meaning formations. In light of this Dennis Mumby and Cynthia Stohl define a dominant ideology as something which is able to bring together different social groups in dominant and subordinate positions at a particular historical point in time:[150]

> A particular hegemonic social formation is thus articulated through various discursive practices which function ideologically to "fix" meaning in a particular way. Individual subjectivity, or identity, is constructed through its enmeshment in social and communicative practices. This process demonstrates the extent to which ideology is not simply ideational (i.e. embodied in individual ideas and beliefs), but is rather grounded materially in day-to-day discursive processes. From this perspective, then, power is conceived not as simple coercion, but rather as the process through which consensual social relations are articulated within the context of certain meaning systems.[151]

Social power is not unified, coherent or centralised. In this study, Foucault's concept of power will be used. In *Discipline and Punish* he argues that power is dispersed constellations of unequal relationships, discursively constituted in social 'fields of force'.[152] Essential to this is the concept of agency as socially mitigated choices.

Agency is a useful concept when discussing social power relations during a certain period as it does not limit one either to a resistance and dominance dichotomy or a victimisation/acceptance dichotomy,[153] but to a person's capability, within certain limitations, to act, feel, reflect and intend. Agency has been variously defined across different fields (including sociology, feminist studies, anthropology and philosophy) and remains a contested term.[154] It is therefore important to offer a precise definition of the term as it will be used here. Broadly defined, agency refers to an individual or group's *capacity* to act.[155] The action itself may be resisting, acquiescing, capitalising or reinforcing in nature, but it is essentially the individual's *scope for action* that is of interest.[156]

Agency, furthermore, entails the freedom to choose how to act given the choices presented within ones' social and historical context. It therefore does not equate with complete freewill – a definition

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[149] D.K. Mumby and C. Stohl, Power and discourse in organization studies: absence and the dialectic of control, *Discourse & Society* 2(3), 1991, p. 315.
[150] *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316.
[151] *Ibid.*, p. 316.
[152] M. Foucault, *Discipline & punish: the birth of the prison*.
[153] L. McNay, Agency, anticipation and indeterminacy in feminist theory, *Feminist Theory* 4(2), 2003, pp. 140-141; L.M. Ahearn, Language and agency, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 2001, p. 115. Laura Ahern notes that feminists have either focused on the pervasiveness of male dominance and constraining power of gender structures which downplays resisting capacities, or have overemphasised women's resistance to dominance.
[154] For a review of the more prominent theories on agency in various fields, see L.M. Ahearn, Language and agency, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 2001, pp. 109-137. In the article Ahern describes and critiques the theories from an anthropology perspective, of which only a small number will be mentioned here.
[155] J.C. Williams, From difference to dominance to domesticity: care as work, gender as tradition, *Chicago Kent Law Review* 76(1441), 2001, pp. 1441-1493; L. McNay, Agency, anticipation and indeterminacy in feminist theory, *Feminist Theory* 4(2), 2003, pp. 139-148; L.M. Ahearn, Language and agency, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 2001, pp. 109-137.
[156] M.F. Malmström, Gender, agency, and embodiment theories in relation to space, *Egypte/monde arabe* 9, 2012, p. 21.

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of agency often used in philosophy, notably by action theorists[157] – as it is mediated by the person's socio-cultural context. Action theorists see rational thought and intention as important aspects of agency, but they place no limit on the choices that the individual can identify.[158] This is problematized by theorists in sociology and feminist studies. As is shown in a more contemporary study by Joan Williams, a person may believe that she is exercising freewill when choosing option A rather than B, but the structuring effect of her socio-cultural context makes her unaware that there is an option C – an option which someone from another time or culture could easily believe to be the most rational of the choices.[159] Bourdieu points out that a person's actions can be reasonable without being entirely rational if one keeps in mind the social limitations within which the person makes those choices:

> [I]f one fails to recognize any form of action other than rational action ... it is impossible to understand the logic of all the actions that are reasonable without being the product of a reasoned design, still less of rational calculation; informed by a kind of objective finality without being consciously organized in relation to an explicitly constituted end; intelligible and coherent without springing from an intention of coherence and a deliberate decision; adjusted to the future without being the product of a project or a plan.[160]

Thus, a woman who believes her only choice in an unhappy marriage is to either make the best of it or live separately but still married can be seen as entirely reasonable if divorce is not common or accepted in her culture despite the fact that divorce can be a completely rational option. It is this availability of choice that is seen as agency. For Bourdieu agency can be seen as similar to the generative processes in society that produce practices and representation. These, he argues, are always conditioned by 'structuring structures'. He terms these structuring structures the *habitus.*[161] *Habitus* bounds all agency:

> The *habitus* generates an infinite but bounded number of possible actions, thoughts, and perceptions, each one of which is imbued with the culturally constructed meanings and values embodied by the *habitus*. These actions, thoughts, and perceptions in turn then recreate and/or challenge the culturally constructed meanings and values.[162]

It is thus a recursive process with actions being structured by *habitus* and *habitus* being transformed by the actions, thoughts and perceptions. This recursive quality is shared with other practice theorists as in Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration.[163] A key point to the theory of structuration is that '… people's actions are shaped (in both constraining and enabling ways) by the very social structures that those actions then serve to reinforce or reconfigure.'[164] Some criticism

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[157] L.M. Ahearn, Language and agency, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 2001, p. 114.
[158] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[159] J.C. Williams, From difference to dominance to domesticity: care as work, gender as tradition, *Chicago Kent Law Review* 76(1441), 2001, p. 1472.
[160] *Ibid.*, p. 1472.
[161] L.M. Ahearn, Language and agency, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 2001, p. 118.
[162] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[163] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[164] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

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has been levelled at practice theorists like Giddens and Bourdieu for not being able to explain adequately how transformation is possible under the dictation of *habitus.* They offer theories with significant explanatory power with regard to the persistence of deeply embedded relations of inequality, yet they give insufficient attention to the question of how any *habitus* or structure can produce actions that fundamentally change it.[165] This is of particular interest when dealing with times of rapid social change as is dealt with in this study.

Some theories of agency attempt to explain how transformation can take place whilst taking structure into account. Marshall Sahlins, for example, holds that contact between cultures can act as a catalyst for change though he still does not adequately explain how this works in situations with limited cultural contact.[166] With this in mind, it should be noted that the written word enabled the proliferation of cultural capital across a much wider area in a shorter time and that in South Africa there was constant contact between cultures, specifically between that of Afrikaners, Colonials and the British. This may give an indication of how agency could have been affected in South Africa at the time, although Sahlin's theory still presents a theoretical shortcoming for concepts such as *habitus,* agency and transformation when we remind ourselves that change also occurs in societies with relatively little intercultural contact.

In *High Religion: A Cultural and Political History of Sherpa Buddhism,* Sherry Ortner manages to sidestep the dualistic theories of Bourdieu, Giddens and Sahlins by identifying and explicating terms such as practice, structure, actor and history. All four are needed for an understanding of agency.[167] For Ortner, practice entails: 'the recognition of asymmetry and domination in particular historical and cultural settings, along with an awareness of the cultural schemas and constraints within which individuals act.'[168] Unlike Bourdieu and Sahlins, Ortner places more emphasis on the existence of inherent structural contradictions. Such contradictions undermine the certain reproduction of the hegemonic social order: 'The reality of any hegemony, in the extended political and cultural sense, is that, while by definition it is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive.'[169] Because of the tensions and contradictions inherent in the *habitus,* actors are neither free agents nor completely socially determined products. Instead, Ortner suggests that they are 'loosely structured'.[170]

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[165] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[166] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[167] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.
[168] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.
[169] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.
[170] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

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The importance of history in understanding the transformative quality of agency has also been argued for by the feminist scholar Lois McNay. She notes that a dialogical understanding of the temporal aspects of subject formation will enable one to overcome the determinism typical of feminist subject formation.[171] Thus, a temporal aspect should always be kept in mind. The historical context becomes especially significant when considering the changes brought about during the First World War. I suggest that the way to understand social transformation and how the agency changes over time is through the metaphor of a river. Gradual changes can be expected in its course and width over time. However, individual events, such as floods, can completely change the course of a river with almost immediate effect for the rest of its run. Similarly, transformation happens gradually for most of history, but there are moments in history when events, such as wars, force great transformations in a society. This fact was noted in the *SALPHJ* just after women gained the vote in Britain:

> ... public opinion would have remained stagnant and indifferent to the claims of women but for the war. It was the great struggle for freedom, the life-and-death conflict of western civilisation and ideals against Prussian militarism and *[K]ultur*, that as much assisted women in Great Britain to break the shackles that bound them for so many centuries.... The sword not only destroyed the menace to the world's freedom, but in Great Britain it has shattered age-long prejudices of class and sex, and lifted out of the depths of helplessness and dependence millions of women who were hitherto compelled to rely on the favours of man-made law.[172]

The First World War brought about such a transformation in society that changes were more readily accepted, yet some differences or deviant actions did not translate into social changes. I suggest that a degree of consensus is a requirement for transformation. If a number of people take on a new course of action, it is transformation. If a lonely individual does so, it is eccentricity. It can either be ignored or noted as a whimsical oddity, or it can be labelled deviant and the individual forcibly removed from, or corrected by, society. A noteworthy eccentricity may later lead more to act in a similar manner and thus effect change, but not on its own. Therefore, in arguing for the increased agency of "Our Readers", notable examples of clearly distinguishable trends in the reading will be presented rather than examples of noteworthy actions, opinions or characters that found no echo within the rest of the reading.

Laura Ahern explores social transformation through the lens of linguistic anthropology, arguing that social change can be likened to the changes that occur in language:

> Such loose structuring can occur linguistically as well as socioculturally. Speakers of a given language are constrained to some degree by the grammatical structures of their particular language, but they are still capable of producing an infinite number of

[171] L. McNay, Agency, anticipation and indeterminacy in feminist theory, *Feminist Theory* 4(2), 2003, pp. 139-148.
[172] I. Goodman, Women in the House of Commons, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(106), June 1919, p. 14.

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> grammatically well-formed utterances within those constraints. More-over, languages, like cultures, change over time through drift and contact despite their supposedly self-reproducing structures.[173]

It should be noted that changes in a language still hold to the conventions, if not rules, of the language. Thus, one is unlikely to add a word with a hard guttural 'g' to the English language. Transformation supposes that all capacity for action is not contained by *habitus*, but it can be said to generally happen in relation to it. Even deviant action can be said to be a reaction to the socio-cultural structures rather than an action outside of it.

A clearer explanation of transformation is provided by the dialogic approach of linguistic anthropologists who are interested in agency:

> [Dialogue], which etymologically refers to talk (logos) that goes back and forth (dia), can involve any or all of the following: straightforward verbal exchange, a social field across which multiple voices and multiple cultural logics contend, or a text that is multivocal and egalitarian rather than univocal and authoritarian. In all cases, however, the traditional relationship between structure and action, in which action is treated as a reflection of a prior structure, is rejected in favor of one in which structure emerges through situated action. Words or texts are socially situated by, not created by, individuals.[174]

Thus, transformation of the sociocultural context within a specific time period is possible through the actions that it has an influence on.

Cross-cultural contact may act as a catalyst for change in certain circumstances, but can also lead to an insecurity that leads to a need to hold the power-structures in place. The manipulation of the discourses in order for the dominant group to retain power can be seen as an indication of the idea of 'moral economy'. David Cornwell notes that '[what] drives moral economies is the desire on the part of a particular group to possess a sense of identity which is felt, in a given and primordial way, to be right and therefore authoritative. What is sought in social and political behaviour is conservation both of the group and of the legitimacy of its sense of identity.'[175] Often when groups encounter others different from themselves, they feel that their sense of identity is threatened. The group will typically react and defend itself by appeal, in the ethical terms of moral economy, to a discourse that is capable of identifying the other group as different and inferior to itself.[176] This othering reaction to a sense of identity insecurity is important to the argument I am making in this study as what appears to be insecurities among "Our Readers" was often followed by increased emphasis on difference and the inferiority of other racial groups. I will argue that it is because the readers form part of a group that simultaneously experiences privilege and disadvantage owing to

[173] L.M. Ahearn, Language and agency, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 2001, p. 120.
[174] *Ibid.*, p.128.
[175] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p. 47.
[176] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

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the interrelations of several forms of identification such as race, gender and class that insecurities, and such reactions to them, exist.

In tracing the arguments around gender as an analytical term for history, Joan Scott notes that the most politically inclusive scholars of woman's studies regularly invoked all three categories, class, race and gender, as crucial to the writing of a new history. She argues that this came to signify, '...first, a scholar's commitment to a history that included stories of the oppressed and an analysis of the meaning and nature of their oppression and, second, scholarly understanding that inequalities of power are organized along at least three axes.'[177] To this end, the theory of intersectionality will be examined as a viable analytical tool for this study.

b. Intersectionality

Developed in the early 1990s, intersectionality is an analytical tool that rejects the separability of identity categories, such as gender, age, race, ethnicity, class and sexuality as it argues that in heterogeneous groups these categories are mutually constituted and cannot be added together.[178] 'Intersectionality research therefore places special emphasis on the simultaneity of oppression and stresses the need to move beyond simple, additive models – for instance, adding a dichotomous variable such as race or gender.'[179] Identity categories, such as race and gender cannot be defined in terms of strict dichotomies (black/white or male/female). Because race is 'gendered' and gender is 'racialised' it creates distinct opportunities and forms of oppression for all race-sex groups in various contexts.[180]

I apply these ideas in this project by exploring the various forms of gendered racism articulated in the magazine by various of the *SALPHJ's* contributors. Not only did these women writers rationalise their racism differently from men, but they also employed different tactics of racism in relation to men and women of different races. For example, in the magazine black women are shown to have a natural instinct for mothering or caring for a child, yet she is shown to be an inferior mother because of her race. Simply by mothering, she will do harm. In the magazine, black men are viewed as simultaneously effeminate and a masculine threat. They are treated as effeminate when they are employed to do the work women would do in England (cleaning houses), when their clothing is discussed and when they are shown to be fickle and physically weaker than white

[177] J.W. Scott, Gender: a useful category of historical analysis, *The American Historical Review* 91(5), 1986, pp. 1053-1075.
[178] E.M. Simien, Doing intersectionality research: From conceptual issues to practical examples, *Politics & Gender* 3(2), 2007, pp. 264-271.
[179] *Ibid.*, p. 265.
[180] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

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men.[181] They are also perceived as a masculine threat because they are capable of rape and warfare. Commentary which references the notion of 'black peril' also attributes to them the generalised masculine discrimination of being slaves to their sexual passions.[182]

Lucy Valerie Graham notes that the most obvious criticism that can be levelled at intersectionality is that it views gender, race and class as radically distinct.[183] However, as will be seen in this study, an understanding that identity groups are radically distinct would imply that they are simply additive forms of power relations, yet they are most often, as the earlier definition of intersectionality argues, simultaneous and interrelated. Part of the interrelated nature of the identity groups revolves around the fact that constructs, such as gender, race and class, are constantly redefined by society. Since there are different definitions of the three terms and the understanding of each changes, they are defined in this chapter and their various definitions as evidenced by the magazine and related books are also recorded.

i. Gender

In her 1986 article, Joan Scott already noted that 'gender' has erroneously been used as a synonym for 'women' rather than a theoretical category that includes but is not limited to women. Today, in popular discourse the same mistake or assumption is still often made. But gender has a much broader classification. While still admitting biological differences, the term 'gender' makes it possible to move away from biologically determined terms, such as 'sex' or 'sexual difference'. 'Gender' stresses the relational aspect of normative definitions of femininity and masculinity. In this way it not only focuses on women but on the relationship between men and women and the role of both in formulating and transforming definitions of gender identity and behaviour.[184] 'Gender' provides the language with which to discuss the cultural construct imposed on a sexed body without becoming bogged down by explicitly biological explanations, such as women's capacity to give birth and men's superior physical strength as a common denominator for women's subjection while simultaneously not pretending that biological differences do not exist.[185]

Scott warns gender historians to be wary of studies that indicate universal or fixed characteristics of either men or women, and points out that the purpose of new historical investigation '... is to disrupt

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[181] G.P. Rodolf, A coward. A South African story, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(11), July 1911, pp. 48-49; M.F. Maturin, The heart of the wilds, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(9), April 1911, pp. 11-13; M.F. Maturin, Our camp in the wilds, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(10), May 1911, pp. 18-19; E.L. McPherson, The black peril, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 29.
[182] E.L. McPherson, The black peril, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 29.
[183] L.V. Graham, *State of peril: race and rape in South African literature.*
[184] J.W. Scott, Gender: a useful category of historical analysis, *The American Historical Review* 91(5), 1986, pp. 1053-1075.
[185] E. Fox-Genovese, Placing women's history in history, *New Left Review* 133, 1982, pp. 5-29; J.W. Scott, Gender: a useful category of historical analysis, *The American Historical Review* 91(5), 1986, pp. 1053-1075.

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the notion of fixity, to discover the nature of the debate or repression that leads to the appearance of timeless permanence in binary gender representations.'[186] She suggests that an element of this should be to look at symbolic representations of gender that are evoked by a society as well as the normative interpretations of the meanings of such symbols.[187] Social signification can be analysed by looking at symbols used in a society to evoke culturally specific, though often contradictory, meanings. An example would be the symbol of the sword in the First World War. Although it is an anachronistic symbol at this time, its use in discourse could signify chivalry and the protection of women by men, the traditional oppression of and violence against women or be a reference to Britannia or Joan of Arc, both female figures that are connected to the national war effort and the militant suffragist movement. The last two examples, of women as war-faring or as politicised citizens of a state, work against the normative definition of women as nurturing. But these normative definitions could be opposed, and it is important to keep in mind that there is a need for what Laura Ahern terms 'a nuanced understanding of the multiplicity of motivations behind all human actions.'[188] To this end, it is essential to remember that gender should not be analysed as a fixed binary opposition between men and women.

A nuanced understanding of gender is also important in this study as it deals with power relations. In her definition of gender, Scott defines gender as 'a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes,' which she interrelates with gender's ability to signify relationships of power.[189] This signification is present in political and social institutions, and often relies on common views of male superiority and female subordination. Although it is important to keep these gender signifiers in mind, one cannot analyse the relationship between men and women as a simple power relation. Even as subordinate players, women play an active part that goes beyond the victimisation/acceptance dichotomy. They practice a complex and often ambiguous agency in which they 'accept, accommodate, ignore, resist, or protest – sometimes all at the same time'.[190]

As pointed out, the definition of gender takes the focus from only women to an understanding that it is a relational term that includes men and women. In dealing with the socialised differences between the sexes, it is easy to simplify this into an analysis of a fixed male/female binary. To avoid such a simplification, one can employ Jacques Derrida's definition of deconstruction, which means analysing in context 'the way any binary opposition operates, reversing and displacing its

[186] J.W. Scott, Gender: a useful category of historical analysis, *The American Historical Review* 91(5), 1986, p. 1068.
[187] *Ibid.*, pp. 1053-1075.
[188] L.M. Ahearn, Language and agency, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 2001, p. 116.
[189] J.W. Scott, Gender: a useful category of historical analysis, *The American Historical Review* 91(5), 1986, p. 1067.
[190] L.M. Ahearn, Language and agency, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 2001, p. 116.

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hierarchical construction, rather than accepting it as read or self-evident or in the nature of things.'[191]

ii. Race

The concepts of race, ethnicity and tribalism are socio-culturally specific. They change over time depending on global and local trends.[192] It is therefore useful to clarify what is understood by these terms currently as they are employed in this study as well as how they were understood during the period under discussing in this dissertation.

In order to apply discourse analysis to race, it is essential to understand what was understood as race and how racial differences were conceptualised in the early twentieth century. Discrimination against segments of society has been present throughout history, much of it based on notions of heredity – such as noble bloodlines – yet, owing to greater interracial contact with the improvements in seafaring, increased exploration and the expansion of overseas empires the differences and hierarchies among races were given concrete, theoretical form in Europe, a process that reached its height during the nineteenth century.[193]

The theories on race espoused in Victorian Britain are today regarded as pseudo-scientific forms. A popular topic in academic circles, the cause and nature of racial differences were debated in the fields of natural sciences and later anthropology. From these debates a number of theories on racial difference and hierarchy emerged, which were often hotly contested and inevitably changed over time. This section will briefly explain the major theories as from around 1870.[194] Though not subscribed to uncritically, most theories were in part incorporated into the colonial discourse on race.

Firstly, it is important to note that 'race' did not denote a black/white binary. Race carried a meaning closer to the contemporary understanding of ethnicity, whereby people are divided according to hereditary morphological features, such as skin colour and facial features, language and culture. Krebs notes that in South Africa at the time there was a mixed view of races that was not based solely on physical appearance. Depending on the political argument of the day, one can

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[191] J.W. Scott, Gender: a useful category of historical analysis, *The American Historical Review* 91(5), 1986, p. 1066.
[192] See for example Dubow's suggestions on the impact of theoretical trends as well as geopolitical events on the term ethnicity in the 1980s. S. Dubow, The idea of race in early 20th century South Africa: some preliminary thoughts, *African Studies Institute*, 1989
[193] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, pp. 6-21.
[194] Lorimer argues that scientific racism, as it is recognised in the first few decades of the twentieth century, experienced its most significant developments after the 1870s following the publication of Darwin's *Descent of Man* and the formation of the Anthropological Institute in 1871. D. Lorimer, Theoretical racism in late-Victorian anthropology, 1870-1900, *Victorian Studies* 31(3), 1988, p. 406. For a more complete discussion of the development of racism in Europe, see D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995.

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discern race-as-ethnicity, race-as-nationality, and race-as-colour.[195] In his study on scientific racism in Victorian Britain, Douglas Lorimer also notes that race and culture were often confused and linked.[196] Because skin colour did not form the sole determinant for race, several white races as well as several black races were identified at the time.[197] The British viewed themselves, as did most other European cultures, as a distinctive race, called the Anglo Saxons or simply Saxons, that had originated from a common white European or Teutonic stock, but identified themselves as a separate race with particular physical and psychological characteristics.

In the magazine, race is an ongoing preoccupation with racial differences often included in discussions and characterisations. During the first four years of the magazine's publication (1911-1914) there was an accepted hierarchy of races, ranging from most to least civilized. Thus, at the top of the hierarchy appeared the white races. While it was accepted that there were clear differences between the white races – for example all Irish people were considered to be witty and full of good humour[198] – the magazine did not rank them during this time. This would change during the First World War, when the Germans were repeatedly considered to be the most uncivilised white race. After the German invasion of Belgium, for example, German soldiers were repeatedly sensationalised in short stories and reports as rapists and child murderers.[199] The Dutch, the other white race in South Africa that became known as the Afrikaners, were noticeably not portrayed to be on a lower level during this stage within the articles, reviews or short stories that appeared in the magazine. This was most probably because of a desire to unify the two white races after the Anglo Boer War.[200] In the magazine the hierarchy is implicit and it is revealed over several years' issues. John Lambert and Julia Bush give a clearer explanation of the hierarchical view that was held by the British in general. It held the Anglo Saxons as the pinnacle with the other Teutonic races following it and thereafter came the Celts. In the magazine the different positions of the white races on this hierarchy was blurred and the notion of the white, English male being superior to the white, English female was problematized. Finally, the Orientals, blacks, and aboriginal races (Khoi

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[195] P.M. Krebs, Olive Schreiner's racialization of South Africa, *Victorian Studies* 40(3), 1997, pp. 427-444.
[196] D. Lorimer, From Natural Science to Social Science: Race and the Language of Race Relations in Late Victorian and Edwardian Discourse. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 155, 2009, pp. 185-186.
[197] This more detailed understanding of race means that the understanding of racialism then is similar to what is understood as tribalism in popular contemporary discourse.
[198] See for example N.M. Chastel de Boinville, A wild rose. A complete story, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(24), August 1912, p. 21.
[199] D.S. Spero, The grip of yesterday VI, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(70), June 1916, p. 47; Anonym, Women's attitude after the war, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(73), September 1916, p. 21; T. Alexander, Better late than never, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(75), November 1916, p. 17; W.V. Campbell, Old Jacobus Hugo, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(87), November 1917, pp. 52-53.
[200] S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000*; T. Keegan, Gender, degeneration and sexual danger: imagining race and class in South Africa, ca.1912, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(3), 2001, pp. 459-477.

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and San) were placed on successively lower tiers of the hierarchy.[201] The lower orders were considered the least civilised.

When reading the magazine, one also notices that the term 'racism' is conspicuously absent and substituted with 'racialism'. The term 'racialism' will be used in this section as this was the term employed in the magazine to mean: 'Belief in the superiority of a particular race leading to prejudice and antagonism towards people of other races, esp. those in close proximity who may be felt as a threat to one's cultural and racial integrity or economic well-being.'[202] In contrast 'racism' was understood as: 'The theory that distinctive human characteristics and abilities are determined by race.'[203] According to David Cornwell 'racialism' was the term most commonly used in English South African literature during the first half of the twentieth century.[204] However, in recent years the terms have been understood differently, and it may be useful to look at the definitions given by Kwame Appiah who offers a very different understanding of these terms. In his philosophical work, *In My Father's House,* Appiah suggests that 'racialism' refers to the nineteenth century notion that heritable qualities can be used to divide humanity into certain races each with set characteristics (physical and psychological) that are specific to it. He goes on to define 'extrinsic racism' as the same division of races and identification of heritable characteristics in each with the addition that extrinsic racists place a moral distinction on these characteristics. In the magazine, racial hatred between the two white races (English and Afrikaans) is often deplored and referred to as 'racialism'. This makes it clear that in South Africa during the early twentieth century 'racialism' was understood to mean the same as Appiah's definition of 'racism'.[205]

It should be noted that the problem of racialism was identified as present only between the white races. Even though the magazine clearly treats blacks in a racialist way, the writers at the time did not identify it as such. This may be because the writers and editors found treating black people as inferior so natural that it did not occur to them that it was a moral issue. The absence of the word 'racialism' in discussions on black-white relations is an indicator of an accepted power relation that is so dominant that its binary term (racialism between black and white) is completely absent. The alternative term, 'the native problem', points to the fact that in the dominant white discourse Africans represented a problem to be dealt with or solved rather than an equal partnership that

[201] J. Lambert, "An unknown people": reconstructing British South African identity, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37(4), 2009, p. 606; J. Bush, *Edwardian ladies and imperial power*, p. 68.
[202] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930,* Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, pp. 5-6.
[203] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[204] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
[205] K.A. Appiah, *In my father's house: Africa in the philosophy of culture*, p.13. Appiah also notes that the term 'racialism' has meant different things during different times and for different dialects.

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needed to be negotiated. Unlike in the case of 'the Woman Question' there are no black writers in the magazine who could subvert the term through self-appropriation.

The acceptance of a racial hierarchy was differently conceptualised and defined in the dominant discourse of the period. Some accepted current white domination but made room for black-white equality as an eventual possibility; others held on to a racial hierarchy with Anglo Saxon dominance as a constant truth. Appiah identifies such an uncritical acceptance of racial hierarchy as 'intrinsic racism' (or 'intrinsic racialism' to use the term more accurate to early twentieth century South Africa).[206] The different justifications and understandings of race differences and racialism were still complex, intertwined and in the process of being worked out following the Union Act and again questioned during the First World War; thus they will now be further extrapolated.

The Comaroffs have divided the different forms of racialism into three competing models of colonial rule: 'State colonialism' was a system concerned primarily with bureaucratic administration and with the regulation of native land and labour; 'civilizing colonialism' was typical of missionary stations and the Cape liberal tradition that aimed to civilise and educate Africans in order '... to "cultivate" the African "desert" and its inhabitants by planting the seeds of bourgeois individualism and the nuclear family, of private property and commerce, of rational minds and healthily clad bodies, of the practical arts of refined living and devotion to God';[207] finally, 'settler colonialism' was created by frontier and inter-group conflict, typically patterned on the course of Boer relations with African polities: war or alliance followed by subordination and domination.[208]

State colonialism and civilising colonialism both believed in the civilising mission. By the end of the nineteenth century this was a moribund ideal clung to by a minority. In the magazine only two clear instances of civilising colonialism are present, in two articles on mission schools. What is evident in both is that among the details of how Africans were being 'civilised' were brief instances assuring the reader of black inferiority and pliability for the labour pool.[209] Cornwell notes that for the readers:

> ... notions of absolute and irrevocable difference were somewhat undermined by the facility and rapidity with which Africans assimilated European dress, manners and

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[206] *Ibid.*
[207] J.L. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Ethnography and the historical imagination*, p. 200.
[208] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995; S. Dubow, Race, civilisation and culture: the elaboration of segregationist discourse in the inter-war years, *in* Marks and Trapido (ed.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*, pp.71-87; J.L. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Ethnography and the historical imagination.*
[209] Anonym, A visit to Mariannhill, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(16), December 1911, pp. 21-23; Anonym, A visit to Lovedale, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(31), March 1913, pp. 36, 38-39.

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> accomplishments. It was therefore an article of faith among most whites that blacks were natural mimics, adept at imitating the forms of European culture without ever acquiring the substance.[210]

Chennells explains Homi Bhabha's view on how the colonised mimicked Western modes of behaviour, which is called an 'ironic compromise':

> The irony derives from colonialism's attempt to perpetuate two states both of which are desirable but both of which contradict one another. The colonized must be perpetually subordinate and yet at the same time imperialism justifies its activities by offering the colonized the chance to exchange savage stasis or oriental decadence ... for progress. On one level the colonizer demands that the colonized reproduces the higher way which colonialism has offered; on another level the colonized must always remain "a subject of difference that is almost the same but not quite."[211]

The ability of the colonised to assume a mask led to fears of racial hierarchal inversion as it flamed the belief that blacks were inherently 'uncivilised' and could be dangerous if the veneer of civilisation could be assumed or shrugged off at a moment's notice. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

State colonialism also enjoyed moments of resuscitation especially in relation to the call for state controlled education of blacks, particularly for the agricultural development of the country.[212] Discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, one could argue that these moments were used to accommodate both ideologies of the civilising mission and again establish that this would never be a threat to white dominance by incorporating metaphors of family and evolution – elements of Social Darwinism – into it. For Cornwell, state colonialism failed in part because of the strains of a society undergoing rapid industrialisation and demographic change, with the migration of Africans into the cities and the sudden proliferation of a 'poor white' underclass. This increased the fear of losing control over the 'natives' which, Cornwell argues, boosted the authority of the discourse of 'settler colonialism' which, always frankly racialist, now had the support of the new race science and its popular ideology of Social Darwinism.[213]

In stressing inherent differences, racism provided the justification for the racialism of settler colonialism. However, where racial differentiation was reliant on 'folk-wisdom' during the nineteenth century, after the South African War 'scientific racism' emerged as a colonial ideology – adapted from long-held Victorian views as a means to rationalise racialist stances that translated

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[210] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p. 90.
[211] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, p. 73.
[212] See, for example, A.V. Hall, *Round the camp fire in East Africa*; N. Roberts, *Native education from an economic point of view*.
[213] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995.

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into the denial of political rights to so-called biologically inferior races.[214] In addition, it served to condone the social discrimination displayed by groups within the dominant white races.

From the late nineteenth century, anthropologists wrote and presented findings that they felt allowed them to pinpoint inherent characteristics in particular races. These characteristics, noted in the various published studies, may have differed slightly, but they all agreed on the superiority of the white races, and British anthropologists believed in the superiority of the Saxon race without fail.[215] During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century scientific studies – relying mostly on ideas of Social Darwinism and anthropological studies of racial physiology and culture – were used to justify this hierarchical view. In pseudo-scientific language different races' culture, habits, knowledge and appearance were used to gauge their level of civilisation. This was used as a measure of the degree to which a culture had 'evolved'. Combined with this evolutionary understanding of civilisation was Spencer's ideas of the survival of the fittest that held recent European military victories to be proof of the white races' natural superiority over the conquered races.[216] In evolutionary terms they had evolved while other races had remained stagnant. With Darwin's theories, expounded in *Descent of Man* (1871), that argued that humans and apes had evolved from a common ancestor, the races at the other extreme of the hierarchy were most often thought of in animalistic terms. The prevalence of this view is most evident in the magazine and reviewed books where what was considered the South African aboriginal races, the Khoi and San (referred to collectively in the magazine and reviewed books as 'Hottentots') were described or referred to as 'monkeys' or 'baboons' even by authors who were comparatively liberal.[217]

The application of pseudo-evolutionary theory meant that it was believed that heredity and environment could enable a race to evolve at a more accelerated pace than another. Evolution would suggest that the species was improving or progressing, but an economic depression in England in the 1880s and the events of the South African War meant that people lost confidence in the idea of the inevitability of human progress.[218] It became currency to believe that not only could some races

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[214] *Ibid.*; S. Marks and S. Trapido (ed.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa.*
[215] D. Lorimer, Theoretical racism in late-Victorian anthropology, 1870-1900, *Victorian Studies* 31(3), 1988, pp. 405-430; D. Lorimer, From natural science to social science: race and the language of race relations in late Victorian and Edwardian discourse. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 155, 2009, pp. 185-186.
[216] S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000*; D. Lorimer, From natural science to social science: race and the language of race relations in late Victorian and Edwardian discourse. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 155, 2009, pp. 185-186.
[217] In one book reviewed in "My Lady's Books", *The breath of the Karroo,* the view of the San as being a different species rather than a different race is portrayed as justification for the genocide of the San in the eighteenth century. However, the reviewer very quickly distances the work as a tragedy of a bygone era. It would then seem that this was not considered representative of the current views of the readers.
[218] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930,* Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995; S. Dubow, The idea of race in early 20th century South Africa: some preliminary thoughts, *African Studies Institute,* 1989; D. Lorimer, From

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be more evolved, but that it was possible for those same races to degenerate if left in a particular environment or if there were practices of 'miscegenation'. Thus, an environment that has only produced 'uncivilised' races, such as Africa, would cause even civilised races to degenerate. Furthermore, any mixing of the races through intercourse was believed to create a progeny that was naturally degenerate and only had all of the worst characteristics of the two parental races. The last view held particular currency in South Africa during the early twentieth century; in Britain it gave rise to the Eugenics movement which also believed that the race could be improved or socially engineered by mixing the best bloodlines.

Through anthropology, racism was coated in scientific language and was debated in scientific forums. Yet, real critical scientific work on the different races, including questions on whether the white races were really more superior and whether the term 'race' was ever really of any use, were not entertained in popular discourse.

> Victorian racism reveals two persistent continuities from at least the 1850s: the belief in the natural inequality of human beings, and a readiness to generalize freely about the character of racial and ethnic groups. Neither of these patterns of thought were derived from systematic science, but were habits of mind shaped by the larger social and cultural environment. Much of the Victorian discussion of race took place in a haphazard fashion, mixing the observations of travellers with common prejudices. This was the commonplace discourse not only of everyday conversation and of the daily press, but also of scientific gatherings and publications....[219]

In colonial context this was also the case but rather than carefully discussed scientific theories on races, racial differences were discussed in terms of the practical application of policy with haphazard reference to already current scientific ideas or anecdotes of shared experience as support. Dubow notes that the lived relations of paternalism which bound black and white together in South Africa presented white supremacy as part of the natural order of things to such an extent that it obviated the need for the elaboration of explicit theories of racial superiority as evidenced in Britain or America. In general, racist assumptions were so prevalent in common-sense thinking in early twentieth century South Africa that there is a comparative absence of rhetoric on Social Darwinism and Eugenics.[220] What did become prevalent, possibly because it so easily fitted in with paternalism, was the metaphor of family, which was often applied to scientific racism in order to explain or rationalise the existence of a hierarchy. As will be shown in the analysis that follows, the idea that races held different positions in the 'human family' was particularly popular towards the end of the First World War, with the discourse changing from identifying the British as natural

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natural science to social science: race and the language of race relations in late Victorian and Edwardian discourse. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 155, 2009, pp. 185-186.

[219] D. Lorimer, Theoretical racism in late-Victorian anthropology, 1870-1900, *Victorian Studies* 31(3), 1988, p. 428.

[220] S. Dubow, Race, civilisation and culture: the elaboration of segregationist discourse in the inter-war years, *in* Marks and Trapido (ed.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*, pp. 75-77.

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aristocrats to the British nation being the 'big brother' who is responsible for helping the weaker younger siblings.

A final point to note is that during the early twentieth century race was often equated with class. Here, class does not carry the strictly Marxist meaning linked to production and income, but also refers to aspects of culture and respectability. In English literature, class was understood as 'a social category as much to do with manners, taste and morals as with money and power.'[221] Michelle Smith notes that the economic depression in late Victorian Britain caused fears that fuelled eugenic campaigns for racial improvement as it was found that the poorest classes lived in squalor and 'uncivilised' conditions, which implies that Britain managed to breed 'savages' within its own borders. This resulted in class differences being expressed using the same ideologies and terms as used for race differences:

> [T]he iconography of domestic degeneracy was widely used to mediate the manifold contradictions in imperial hierarchy—not only with respect to the Irish but also to the other "white negroes": Jews, prostitutes, the working class, domestic workers and so on, where skin color as a marker of power was imprecise and inadequate.[222]

Just as 'races' were constructed as having inherent traits that justified the rule of one (who was intelligent, strong, and hard-working) over another (who was stupid, weak, and lazy), so too could the English poor be considered as possessing 'biological flaws'.[223]

4. Conclusion

In order to analyse the discourse of race and gender as it is elaborated across various sites, both in the magazine and in the books it reviewed, the study relies on reader-response theories, intertextuality and theories on the bibliographic codes of a text. These theories can be used to analyse changes in power relations, whether through changes in agency or reliance on the moral economy of the group. Power relations are not considered to be dichotomous but rather to consist of multiple social constructs that intersect, such as gender, race and class. The following four chapters will provide an analysis of the discourse to trace changes in these relations. Chapter three will analyse the magazine and related books to determine how the discourse on gender changed during the period. Social aspects, such as art, sport and travel, will be focused on, with work and education forming the focus of the following chapter.

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[221] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p. vii.
[222] M. Smith, Adventurous girls of the British Empire: the pre-war novels of Bessie Marchant, *The Lion and the Unicorn* 33(1), 2009, p. 14.
[223] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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III. WHITE GENDER RELATIONS IN THE COLONIAL ARENA

1. Introduction

Prior to the 1920s, many of the articles in the *South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* (*SALPHJ*) concerned themselves with what it meant to be a 'modern woman'. As a form of literature that provides information on how to become the ideal woman, the magazine negotiated what was expected of a modern woman, who would differ sufficiently from Victorian expectations, but remain a respectable member of her class – a 'lady'. As will be discussed in this chapter, comparison between Victorian values and modern values and between British women and South African women were ubiquitous; references to 'whence we came' became the binary with which to negotiate what a modern woman should be. This implies that many of the theories on gender were transplanted from Britain. However, a construct like gender is culturally, geographically and historically specific. Therefore, as they were transplanted from one region to another, ideas surrounding modern womanhood would have morphed.[224] The concept of the 'modern woman' in South Africa differed from that of Britain in part because while many of the ideas surrounding the female role were imported from 'Home' in monthly publications and books, the application of these ideas in a country in which women were faced with different challenges and opportunities called for the renegotiation of these ideas. These renegotiated ideas were in turn circulated in popular local literature.

As will be shown in the following chapters, more opportunities were open to women in South Africa in terms of employment and education, yet the female role in South Africa differed in several other respects as well. Unlike feminist magazines, such as *The Englishwoman's Review*, the *SALPHJ's* insistence that it was non-political makes it necessary to look into aspects articulated within the text which, though not considered political by their authors, were particularly influential in reframing the definition of ideal womanhood. These include the discourse on gender as articulated in socio-cultural spheres such as art, sport, travel and social interaction.

2. Celebrating individual achievement

As the *SALPHJ*'s subtitle claimed it to be "A Journal of Fashion, Fiction and Fancies", and as 'Home' in the title suggests, one would expect the magazine to concern itself with gossip, fashion and topics related to the domestic sphere. Yet, much of its reporting, biographical sketches and, in particular, interviews are reminiscent of the concerns of the women's movement of the mid-nineteenth century in Britain. In her book *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain*

[224] D. Cherry, *Beyond the frame: feminism and visual culture, Britain 1850-1900*.

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1850-1900, Deborah Cherry claims that the feminism of the mid- to late Victorian period relied on a claim to liberal individualism: a concept that went against the traditional view of women being dependent and self-less.[225] She supports her claim with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's assertion that 'The battle for female individualism was played out within the larger theatre of the establishment of meritocratic individualism.'[226] During the mid-Victorian era the increasingly assertive middle class attributed social value to individual achievement. An idea fostered in an era of social mobility, the concept held that a man's social standing – and worth – was dependent upon his work or ability rather than the family that he was born into. In particular, the concept appealed to the middle class who sought to enter the ranks of the upper classes; it also provided a scapegoat for the social problems related to the poor. Mainly middle to upper-class mid-Victorian feminists also sought to show their worth – independent of their male relations – through individual women's achievements in areas outside the domestic sphere. Cherry provides as evidence of this meritocratic individualism an increased presence of profiles of female artists in magazines, handbooks, and catalogues between 1850 and 1900.[227] Writing about women's journalism in Britain between 1895 and 1918, Anne Varty also notes that women's journalism during this period was marked by the use of first person accounts, interviews and biographical profiling. Therefore, one can conclude that the genre in general promoted individualism for women at the time.[228]

Similarly, though possibly with less overt feminist intent, the *SALPHJ* celebrated women's individual achievements through profiles and interviews of female artists, stage personalities, educationalists and authors as well as occasional biographical sketches of socially and politically active women. These biographical sketches were typically accompanied by a portrait photograph of the woman. Alongside the information about the woman's noteworthy accomplishment in the particular area, information about her family, charitable work and society membership would be included. Occasionally, her views on an area of importance to women would also be included. The focus on the individual achievement of South African women was extended beyond the pages of the magazine in books that celebrated women's charitable works,[229] and a social directory which the editor helped to compile: *Women in South Africa*, reviewed in 1913.[230] The leather-bound volume contained about three hundred portraits of well-known white women in South Africa. Each 'portrait' consisted of a photograph and a biographical sketch delineating the woman's education,

[225] *Ibid.*, p. 1630; E. Fox-Genovese, Placing women's history in history, *New Left Review* 133, 1982, pp. 15-21.
[226] G.C. Spivak, Three women's texts and a critique of imperialism, *Critical Inquiry* 12(1), 1985, p. 246.
[227] D. Cherry, *Beyond the frame: feminism and visual culture, Britain 1850-1900*.
[228] A. Varty, *Eve's Century. A sourcebook of writings on women and journalism, 1895-1918*.
[229] See, for example, E.L. McPherson, *Charities of the peninsula* reviewed in 1913, "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(35), July 1913, p. 3.
[230] T.H. Lewis (ed.), *Women of South Africa*; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(36), August 1913, p. 3.

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career, political or charitable causes, skills and immediate family, much like those printed in the magazine.

Biographical sketches on the social accomplishments of individual women in art, sport and music were tied to their political station. The two spheres cannot be separated from one another as the discourse on gender abilities relied to a great extent on individual abilities. This is illustrated in one of the novels reviewed in the magazine, *Fate's High Chancery.*[231] After the hero, John, has played a piano piece exceptionally well, Mr Chelmsford tells him:

> "Well my boy … pianoforte playing used to be considered women's work when I was a lad, but, by Gad! sir, we men can show them something yet, though they do claim the vote—he ! he ! he ! My dear, can't beat the men at everything just yet."[232]

The reference to women's claim to the vote refers to their claim to equality with men. That Mr Chelmsford uses a single man's accomplishment to show the superiority of his gender is important as the same is done by women in the women's magazines. For example, a woman who qualified as a lawyer is credited in the article with having '… the pluck to open up another avenue for woman's energy.'[233] It should become clear, therefore, that individualism – as celebrated in the magazine and *Women of South Africa* – derived value not so much from what it meant for a particular person as from what it meant for the larger group. Certainly, the individual valued her accomplishments being published, but the convention of publishing individual achievements enabled white female readers to acknowledge their collective worth and ability. This point can be extended by looking at the case of the *SALPHJ* where there is a steady focus on women's achievements in areas that had been dominated by men. This includes art, stage, sport, travel and higher education. The focus took the form of interviews rather than generalised discussions, which helped to accentuate individual accomplishments rather than the accomplishments of male relations or of women as an abstract group.

The fact that women rather than men were interviewed or placed in prominent photographs is evidence of a perception in the magazine of an ongoing power imbalance. The magazine's editor herself would argue in 1930 that since women had by then achieved equality with men, the magazine would henceforth be more likely to include articles on men. This shows that before they obtained the vote, women felt they needed a vehicle to empower and give themselves a voice in an overwhelmingly male-dominated society. Reporting on men, in instances where one would expect it, is absent from the magazine. For example, as women were concerned about their children's

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[231] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(76), December 1916, p. 3.
[232] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery.*, p. 143.
[233] Anonym, Miss Madeline Wookey. South Africa's first lady lawyer, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(24), August 1912, p. 3.

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education, it is remarkable that male schools, especially high schools, were never covered. A similar trend is evident in the coverage of stage productions: while pictures of companies (professional and amateur) often included the entire cast in costume, the interviews were for the most part with the female actresses, musicians,[234] singers and managers of famous companies.[235] This placed the focus on female accomplishments. Therefore, it can be assumed that the relative absence of men in such areas can be taken as an indication that women were steadily working towards improving their own social standing in relation to men.

The following section will deal with art as an example of the magazine's focus on the achievements of individual women. It will then discuss depictions of art and artists in the books reviewed and short stories published in the magazine to give a more nuanced indication of the popular view of women's position in art.

a. Female artists and their work

In the magazine, art was a popular topic in the pre-war years following the opening of the Johannesburg Art Gallery in 1911 and the loan of the Dutch Masters. The magazine featured many female artists in interest pieces that were usually accompanied by a photograph of the artist as well as a picture of one of her art pieces. Examples of South African female artists interviewed in the magazine include Hilda Lennard, Dorothy Hemmings, Constance Penstone, Bertha Everard and Beatrice Reid.[236] The articles on artists generally discussed the artist's education, especially if she attended the London School of Art, and works by the artist that had been acquired by well-known galleries. This was in keeping with the tradition to include biographical sketches of noteworthy women, and it also helped to foster meritocratic individualism for the artists. The magazine also promoted the work of female artists by reproducing paintings such as "A River Scene near Bonnefoi House" by Bertha Everard, "'Dawn' from the garden of Government House, Cape Town" by Constance Penstone and "The Water Carrier: Perak" by Beatrice Reid.[237] In the article that

[234] See for example Anonym, A gifted pianiste. Mrs Otto Elias (Miss Ethel Wardle), *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(43), March 1914, p. 50; Anonym, Una Dawson, violiniste, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(69), May 1916, p. 38.
[235] See, for example, Anonym, Miss Kate Opperman *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(12), August 1911, p. 49; Anonym, A queen of song, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(26), October 1912, p. 2; Anonym, Madame Dora Lindley, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(41), January 1914, p. 53; Anonym, Miss Madge Fabian, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(48), August 1914, p. 58.
[236] Anonym, A South African woman artist. Miss Hilda Lennard, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(10), March 1911, p. 37; Anonym, A Transvaal woman artist. Mrs. Everard and her work, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 4; Anonym, An interesting exhibition: Mrs. Reid's paintings, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(66), February 1916, p. 44; Anonym, A Johannesburg artist. A brief interview with Miss Dorothy Hemmings, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(7), February 1911, p. 29; Anonym, Song and show, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(61), September 1915, p. 39.
[237] Anonym, A Transvaal woman artist. Mrs. Everard and her work, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 4; Anonym, An interesting exhibition: Mrs. Reid's paintings, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal*

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covered the opening of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, the magazine noticeably only mentioned the female artists whose work was displayed and none of the male artists. During the early twentieth century, art was still dominated by men. It is clear that the magazine had an agenda to show that women could be successful artists as well. This agenda continued well after the Johannesburg gallery was no longer topical.

As explained in Chapter 2, any absence within discourse is indicative of a power relation wherein the absent group is often subjected to discrimination or is granted a lower status. However, in the magazine the absence of male artists is not an indication that they are on a lower level, but rather that there was a clear agenda to improve the position of women in relation to men, which manifested in articles continually focusing on female accomplishments and by and large leaving male accomplishments out (with the exception of Anton van Wouw in 1914[238]). Through the interviews with accomplished female artists and art competition winners as well as pictures of the paintings in the magazine, the *SALPHJ* helped to challenge the notion that men were superior artists. This shows an effort to change the status quo, which reflects the fact that, at the time, men were still in a superior position.

It should be noted that fewer biographical sketches of this sort appeared during the early years of the First World War. Also the form in which art was reported on no longer emphasised individual achievements as had the biographical sketches from the pre-war years. Instead, the focus moved to art exhibitions, many held to collect money for war comforts or charities,[239] and to advertisements or marketing sketches of artists who specialised in portraits.[240] The focus of these was on the reproduction of photographs as portraits and especially of the young men fighting overseas. Throughout 1917, advertisements for artists that specialised in portraiture were repeatedly included in the back of the magazine in small framed notices. Art exhibitions during the war were reported on in the social notes pages of the magazine,[241] but they became so popular that these reports became a regular monthly feature in 1917, called “Studio News and Notes”,[242] later known as

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6(66), February 1916, p. 44; Anonym, "Dawn" from the garden of Government House, Cape Town, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(24), August 1912, p. 3.

[238] Anonym, Anton van Wouw. Sculptor and artist, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(46), June 1914, p. 56.

[239] See for example Anonym, Song and show, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(61), September 1915, p. 39; Anonym, Johannesburg Art Gallery, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(69), May 1916, p. 32; Anonym, Mrs Penstone's Christmas Exhibition, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(88), December 1917, p. 52; Anonym, Miss Florence Zerffi, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(88), December 1917, p. 52.

[240] A pre-war exception is that of Miss Mary McKechie, who specialised in reproducing portraits from life or photographs, and whose work had been noted by connoisseurs at the Johannesburg Exhibition. Anonym, A South African miniaturist. Miss Mary McKechnie, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(43), March 1914, p. 55.

[241] Notices on art exhibitions were included in the “Social Notes” pages during the war. An example includes Anonym, Social notes, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(69), May 1916, p. 3.

[242] See for example, Anonym, Studio news and notes, *The South Afircan Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(88), December 1917, p. 14.

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"Studio Notes and the Sketch Club", which described exhibitions as social functions and outings similar to the monthly reports on stage productions in "Stage and Show".[243]

Whether through biographical sketches, advertisements or reports on exhibitions, the magazine's focus helped to affirm that women could be successful career artists during a time when art was still a male-dominated field. During the early twentieth century, the notion that women should do craft as a creative outlet rather than art was still current. Although the magazine focused on crafts in its needlework patterns and competitions and reports on the Home Industries Union, it did not do so at the expense of reporting on women artists, and therefore the discourse helped to prove that women were not only capable artists worth writing about but also successful artists that could hold exhibitions on a regular basis. However, female artists still laboured under an unequal power relation as can be argued from the content represented within the works of art.

b. Women as art subjects

Whilst the relative absence of male artists in the magazine is indicative of the power imbalance that was being challenged, the absence of men as the subject of paintings is an indication of the ongoing inequality. Extending my earlier point, the assumption that absence indicates a power relation in which the absent party is in a lower position of power is problematic in cases where the absent group is the active element rather than the passive presence in the discursive moment. In syntax this would be understood as the subject (man) and object (woman) of a sentence. In a passive sentence, with the subject removed, the object will still be a passive element on which the action is performed. For example, the man watches the woman; the woman is being watched. In both cases 'woman' is in a lower position of power. Examples of these can be found in both literature and painting. In art, the discursive moment would include the artist as the subject and the subject of the painting or sculpture as the object. In the short stories and reviewed books, whenever an artistic moment is described, women are more frequently the object of the male gaze. Examples of this can be found in a short story published in the magazine and in several novels.

In the short story, "A Studio Idyll" published in the February 1911 issue of the *SALPHJ*, the girl who is the model for the male artist clearly presents an object of desire because of her likeness to his lost love:

> Arthur adjusted his easel, took his palette, and began to paint. He told her that she might chatter as much as she pleased. He liked her to do this, though he never paid much heed to what she said. He appeared to prefer his own thoughts – and sometimes he was very

[243] See for example, Anonym, Studio notes and the sketch club, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 92(8), April 1918, p. 15.

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> abstracted indeed. But he always looked at her with that same lover-like gaze which made her imagine all manner of things, till she became dreamy and silent too.[244]

It is revealed later on in the story that the male artist's 'lover-like gaze' directed towards the model is due to the subject matter of the painting, which is the woman who had broken their engagement. Here the man is the creator and the woman the object whom he has captured. His desire to own her or pay homage to her, much like a chivalric knight, changes her from an active person to a passive object of desire. Even though Rosie, an actual instead of an ideal person is used as a model, she is not valued for her own personhood, but simply because she resembles the artist's desire. Even her views are seen as idle chatter that he can ignore. When she takes a look at the portrait that she had been sitting for, she starts to realise some of this:

> But she was not sure that it was really a good likeness – that was the queer part of it. She could not quite see herself in the girl in the picture. There was the wealth of black hair, certainly, and the black, lustrous eyes, yet even in these there was a subtle difference which Rosie was quite unable to analyse.
> "You make me look like a lady playing at being a flower-girl," Rosie said, feeling instinctively that there was a refinement about the features which she herself did not actually possess.[245]

Importantly, Rosie could not make out 'herself', thus her individuality has been removed to make her nothing but a passive player in a man's fantasy. After having met the woman that the artist had actually been painting, Rosie realises how little worth she holds as a model:

> Rosie felt the difference in station – who had usurped her place. For here was the true original of the picture which Arthur Netherby had been painting. She herself had been nothing more than a model – a mere figure – of assistance to the artist because of a certain accidental resemblance, mainly about the hair and eyes; but no more to him than that – no more! When he had spoken soft words to her it was of this other woman he was thinking – the woman he loved – and not a single pretty phrase had been meant for Rosie herself.[246]

At this stage, in 1911, the authors of the short story are not overly critical of women as models and art objects, since the lady being painted is delighted and is reconciled with the artist, and Rosie, the model, also ends up happily married.

Similarly, in a book reviewed in 1913, *Piet of Italy* by Dorothea Fairbridge, no critique is provided for the fact that, in several instances in the novel, male artists capture women as the subjects of their art.[247] In the novel, however, a further power relation is added to the subject-object distance when an Englishman paints a group of Malay women without their knowledge and, importantly, without their consent:

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[244] A. Askew and C. Askew, A studio idyll, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(7), February 1911, p. 14.
[245] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[246] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[247] D. Fairbridge, *Piet of Italy.*

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> At the foot of the steps an Englishman in a grey flannel suit was sitting with a sketch-block on his knees, washing in a vigorous and chaotic impression of a group of Malay women unpacking baskets and twittering like sparrows as they worked.
> The old Imaum's face darkened as his eyes fell on the picture and Magmoet shook his head disapprovingly.
> The artist looked up with the air of a schoolboy caught in the act of appropriating an apple. He smiled guiltily.
> "I know what you are going to say, Magmoet, but the colour was irresistible. No one could have withstood the temptation.
> "Baas Neville knows that many of my people do not like to have their pictures made," said Hadje gently, in his slow English.
> "Yes, I know, and very tiresome it is of them to keep up the prejudice...."[248]

The women here are reduced to aesthetically pleasing objects without a say as to whether they want to be painted. The possibility of their denied consent is even communicated through men and not themselves. Here intersectionality also plays a role as the artist, while feeling guilty, can make light of the religious objections to his actions because of his race.[249] Thus it is not only through gender but also race that they are removed from the artist who grants himself licence to gaze.

In the novel reviewed in 1917, *Fate's High Chancery,* the author, Leigh Thompson, is more critical of the position of the female model than the authors of "A Studio Idyll". Thompson shows the complexity of being a woman and model in a male-dominated art world. Like Rosie, the model of this story, René, is very well aware that she is valued only as an object, a stand-in for another character:

> "Oh bother the studios," said she, irritably. "I am no better than the wooden old lay figure, and the unholy old thing's got the pull over me, for it can't get tired or cross."[250]

That she describes herself as no better than an object here is later shown to be a symptom of how the male artists have all treated her. This becomes clear when René explains to John that he has saved her:

> "It is only that you always treated me as if I were your sister, or one of your own born-ladies. Sometimes a man has made me feel I was only so many bones, so much red hair or smooth skin – a glorified old lay figure. You treated me as if I had a soul. Models, I know, aren't of much account anyway; but you made me wish to be someone – it meant such a lot."[251]

René here shows that being the object of every painting makes one a physical thing rather than a person with a soul. Her reference to the soul is also striking in the novel, as the soul of the artist is a theme running throughout it. In three of the reviewed stories, men are connected with 'the soul of the artist' while women are only ever shown to be skilled in an art form. In *Fate's High Chancery*,

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[248] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[249] Cherry notes the same power relation when white female artists paint Africans in Algeria (see D. Cherry, *Beyond the frame: feminism and visual culture, Britain 1850-1900*, pp. 66-73.).
[250] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery*, p. 121.
[251] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

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John is a great artist as a pianist;[252] and in *Concert Pitch* Miglotti, a composer, has the soul of an artist while the women who perform his pieces are simply skilled.[253] The only story in which a woman is connected to the artistic soul is in the short story "The Soul of a Violin", in which, as the title indicates, it is the violin that is personified with the soul rather than the female violinist.[254]

Similarly, Piet, in *Piet of Italy*, possesses the 'soul of an artist' which Nissa, separated by her race and gender, cannot understand.[255] In the novel, the main character, Piet, shows his betrothed, Nissa, a figure of a woman that he made out of clay:

> From the shoulders to the bare feet her drapery fell in rigid folds, crudely but powerfully suggestive of the archaic period of Greek art. Restraint showed in every line, the hands hung straight down at her side – not loosely, but with strong tenacity of purpose. But the chin was uplifted, the eyes fixed on some far distant horizon, and the pose of the lovely head was instinct with vitality, and tense with nobility of purpose.
> A light that Nissa had never seen before shone in Piet's eyes, as he looked at the rough figure in his hands.
> "She is South Africa," he said softly. "She sees what is yet to come."[256]

Nissa cannot understand the art and is frightened by Piet's passion. The author puts this down to her race: '... the wide gulf which had suddenly yawned between her half-savage childish mind and the soul of the artist....'[257] Nissa is a Malay girl, and Piet a white boy. The author, Dorothea Fairbridge, notes at another point in the novel that Malay children's brains develop at the same pace as white children but then stagnate. This is what is referred to when she points to Nissa's 'half-savage childish mind'. For Fairbridge, it is Nissa's race that makes her incapable of comprehending the artist's work and his soul. However, it is also noticeable that in each reference to an artist's soul in the magazine and books reviewed, women (of any race) are never referred to.

The absence of a subject within the discourse can equally indicate either a disinterest in what is perceived as a less important subject, or it can indicate an insecurity on the part of the writer or illustrator. That there is a power relation present when men paint women is also apparent in the fact that when the female artists (those featured in the reviewed books as well as the magazine articles) choose their subject, they predominantly choose landscapes. While the magazine can be said to have promoted meritocratic individualism through its profiles of artists, it did not do so to the same extent as the feminist artists described in Cherry's work.[258] Though frequently displayed and discussed, the work of the artists featured in the *SALPHJ* was not 'provocative' and created to take

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[252] *Ibid.*
[253] F. Danby, *Concert Pitch.*
[254] Ila, The soul of a violin, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(28), December 1912, pp. 21-22.
[255] D. Fairbridge, *Piet of Italy.*
[256] *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
[257] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[258] D. Cherry, *Beyond the frame: feminism and visual culture, Britain 1850-1900.*

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part in the conversation on women's rights. According to Cherry, female artists in Britain managed to criticise the social position of women through their painting, but because the female artists in the magazine avoided painting social scenes in favour for landscapes, they did not critique the position of women through their art.[259]

The overwhelming focus on landscapes as subject matter rather than social scenes is indicative either of a still prevalent male-dominated area of expertise or of the South Africanism prevalent in the early twentieth century. This South Africanism was portrayed in the 'lure of the veld' and a focus in art on South African nature scenes. A similar trend can be identified in South African literature of the time that celebrated South African scenery, especially the wide open spaces and vibrant sunsets.[260]

In order to be captured as the object of the gaze, the person must also be subject to an often unequal power relation. It is only during the First World War that a female artist is represented as painting another white woman. This is evident in *Phases of Felicity* by Olga Racster and Jessica Grove, first reviewed in 1917. In this novel the female artist, Ashley Graham, is shown to paint only landscapes and her friend, Felicity. And, importantly, nowhere is a white man the subject of the painting.[261] In the magazine the possibility of a woman painting a man is shown in the advertisements for artists specialising in painting portraits from old photographs. The only other instances, found in both the *SALPHJ* and the reviewed books, in which a female artist paints another person, and importantly paints both men and women, occurs when the subject is from another race. Thus it again shows the power distance present between the subject and the artist. The first example is Beatrice Reid's reproduced painting of a Malay water carrier (1916), and the second is in a book reviewed in 1919: *South African Native Fairytales.*[262] In this book, Helen Jacobs was the illustrator of the main characters from four stories (see figures 2 and 3 below).

[259] D. Cherry, *Beyond the frame: feminism and visual culture, Britain 1850-1900.*
[260] The Veldsingers' Club, *Veldsinger's verse*; E. Bickford, *Frampton's deception. A story of South African dorp life and other stories*; P. Ford, *A page in man's history*; W. Westrup, *The land of to-morrow*; W. Westrup, *The debt.*
[261] O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity.*
[262] Anonym, An interesting exhibition: Mrs. Reid's paintings, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(66), February 1916, p. 44; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(102), February 1919, p. 3; E.L. McPherson, *South African native fairy-tales.*

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Figure 2: ***Native Fairy Tales*** **illustrations of female characters (From: E.L. McPherson,** ***South African Native Fairy-Tales.*** **London, Harrap, 1919.)**

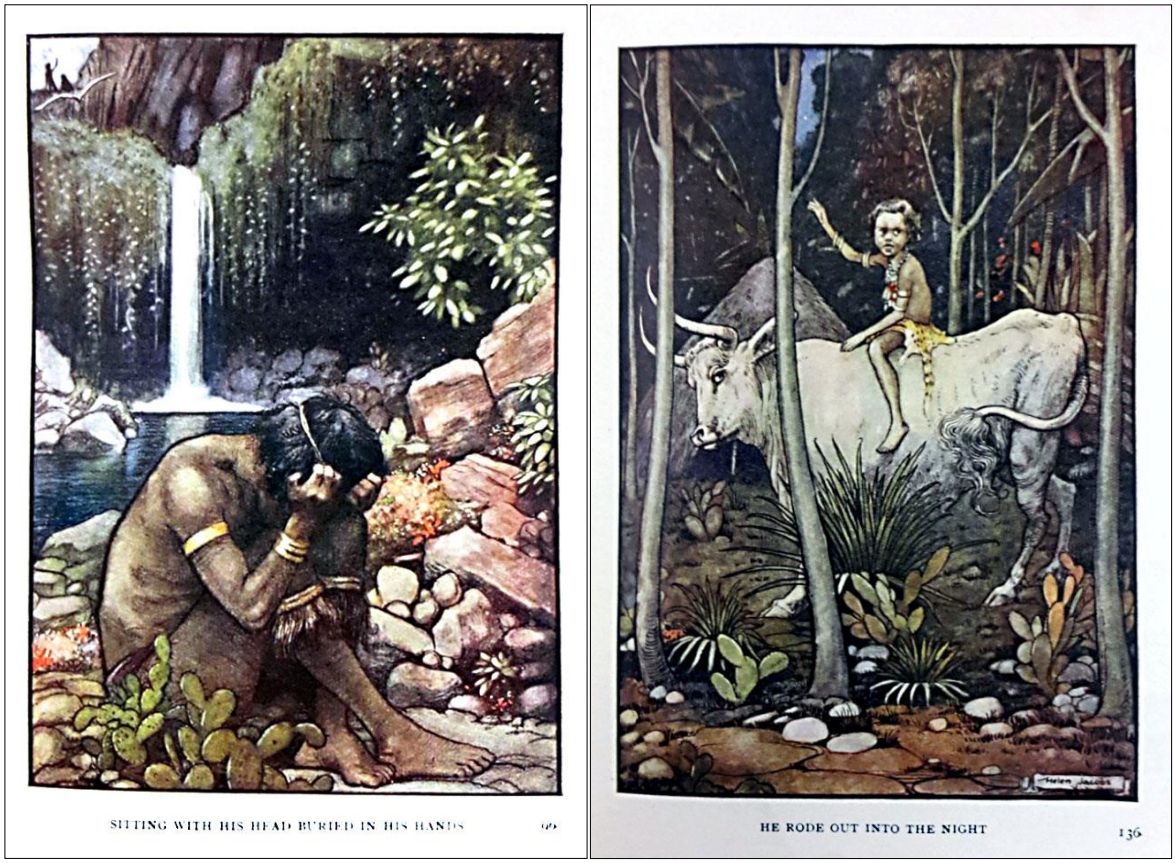

Figure 3: ***Native Fairy Tales*** **illustrations of male characters (From: E.L. McPherson,** ***South African Native Fairy-Tales.*** **London, Harrap, 1919.)**

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The female artist has painted men but, because of their race, they are again in a lower social position as is the case with men who paint women. Additionally, the black figures are not portraits of actual people but fictionalised characters from folklore.[263] The female figures are noticeably dressed in white robes reminiscent of Classic Grecian style while the headdress of the second image in figure 2 and the hair of the male figure in the first image in figure 3 remind one more of depictions of Native Americans than the Basotho that they were supposed to represent. I would argue that this supports the notion of the 'noble savage', as the stories are set in folklore and the heroines, in particular, are marked by their morally superior characters.

Such idealisation and personification of females by male artists is also marked in *Piet of Italy* and *Fate's High Chancery.* In *Piet of Italy,* Piet's sculpture is a personification of South Africa. Female personifications for abstract ideals, such as liberty, justice and even Britannia, were common at the time, but served again to remove the real female person as an interest in art. This point is made more clearly by the art model, René, in *Fate's High Chancery,* who is most often depicted as an ideal character, such as Venus or Eve: 'She sighed. "Shall I never do anything else, I wonder? Must I go on sitting till I see my face on canvas as a witch or gipsy hag, instead of Eve or Venus."'[264] As an idealised figure the woman's individuality is removed. Importantly, women as objects of art are either ridiculed and outcast witches or hags, or they are objects of desire in the form of Eve or Venus, both naked and sexualised figures in art. In these idealised depictions, women are no longer individuals but representations of the dutiful older sister, the lover in the happiest moment, the embodiment of South Africa, and a goddess or biblical figure. This shows that women were passive representations of what men believed to be the ideal.

Within the contributions to the magazine as well as the reviewed books, art was therefore still an area in which the discourse on gender could be disputed. Female artists' position was promoted by repeated coverage in the magazine. However, in both this coverage and the reviewed books, they were also still shown to be inferior to male artists as they formed the, often idealised, object of the male gaze, rather than the artist *per se*, who could paint men and women. They were not connected with the soul of the artist either. Such uncomplicated gains towards gender equality were present in many areas in the magazine.

3. Increased scope of movement and choice

The qualities exemplified in the individual biographies were articulated more fully in the magazine when discussing the characteristics of the 'modern woman' as an abstract group. Terms that

[263] E.L. McPherson, *South African native fairy-tales.*
[264] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery,* p. 117.

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frequently appear in the magazine as descriptions of the 'modern woman' or the 'modern girl' include 'energetic', 'intellectual' or 'intelligent', and 'independent'. Such descriptions are in reaction to long-held gender beliefs, such as women's mental and physical frailty. These gender biases had been turned to during the Victorian period to argue for the exclusion of women, particularly middle and upper class women, from certain activities and careers outside of the home. In the magazine, the discourse on women's societal position revolved a great deal around the woman as an active agent in her own life and a contributing member of society. An example of this can be found in the introduction of the social directory, *Women in South Africa*:

> A few years ago the production of a volume dealing solely from cover to cover with biographical matter concerning women would have been deemed an unnecessary labour, and one in which small interest would be evinced. Nowadays, however, with *the ever-increasing scope afforded the energies of womenkind,* woman is taking her full share in the affairs of nations (own emphasis added).[265]

This view of women as enjoying increased 'scope' for her energies shows that the focus on individual women's achievements was self-consciously connected to an increase in the areas in which white women could achieve. Such an increased scope or capacity for action would mean that women achieved greater agency.

The magazine played a role in changing its readers' agency. As a form of discourse the magazine and the books reviewed in it served to negotiate social change. They could provide texts that reinforced the *habitus* or they could provide representations that challenged it and, if these were repeated often enough, it could provide the illusion of social consensus to readers geographically far removed from the actual action or trend. In particular, the magazine managed to reinforce change in agency through socio-cultural topics because of its initial avoidance of political topics. The next section will show how the discourse on sport and travel in the magazine and reviewed books related to increased freedom of movement for women, both physically and socially, implying an increased capacity to choose where to go, what to do and how and with whom a woman could spend her time. This freedom could change women's choices of work as well as the perceived control that their familial relations could hold over them. The magazine made the readers complicit in negotiating changes in agency by urging them to send in contributions on topical subjects.

a. Physical health and physical freedom

The sports reporting in the magazine was conducted not so much by appointed correspondents as by 'local respondents' who sent in the results of games and snapshots of the female teams. This was also the case for reports on social events and stage productions. In the first issue of the magazine a

[265] T.H. Lewis (ed.), *Women of South Africa*, preface.

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short piece, titled "Ladies in the Field", informed the readers that they were welcome to report on sport:

> Now that the summer is with us, may we again remind the secretaries of Tennis, Swimming and other athletic clubs, that we are glad to receive brief reports of events in which ladies have taken part? Those paragraphs which are accompanied by snap shots of the game described, or portraits of the lady-winners, are peculiarly welcome, as such illustration adds to the interest of the reports. It is manifestly impossible for us to send representatives to all the matches, even when we are advised of the date which they will be played – which is not always the case – but we shall be grateful to readers who will be good enough to put us in possession of details of events calculated to interest ladies who take part in our seasonable games. But the reports which reach us must be topical, and to ensure this it is essential that they shall be posted to us without delay.[266]

That the appeal was successful is evident by the fact that each successive issue contained a report on women's sporting events which covered various areas across South Africa. The magazine reported on the results of team and individual sports, including golf, tennis, field hockey and cricket clubs as well as horse riding and sharpshooting competitions.[267]

In effect, through both its art and sporting features the magazine gave women a medium through which to 'voice' their abilities and share them with others in an otherwise male-dominated media landscape. This enabled the imagined community to effect change to the gender consensus or *habitus* as their reports could provide a means to inform and reinforce changes in other parts of South Africa. Additionally, it also helped to show women's achievements in areas that were traditionally male-dominated (art, stage, sport, travel) by reporting results, activities and individual achievements. Whilst women did manage to enter several male dominated areas, the fact that it was not commonly reported on effectively silenced women in these areas. In his study on women's cricket in South Africa, Andre Odendaal comments that women's sport was invisible or commented on as comical or entertaining in the media of the time.

> However, as historians have noted, there was very limited space before the First World War for women to confront their exclusion from cricket and from sport generally. Those who actually played had to do so "out of sight", in a separate world where their participation was not experienced as a direct challenge to male control of sporting space and the masculine imperial ideology cricket had become drenched in. Even in the practice nets, women had to be out of sight when the men arrived after work to play, as the women members at the Wanderers discovered in 1911.[268]

Being relegated to areas out of sight was a physical reality that also manifested in print media as women's games were rarely reported on in other periodicals. It took several decades before

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[266] Anonym, Ladies in the field, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 3.
[267] See for example, *ibid.*; Anonym, Ladies in the field, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(9), April 1911, p. 30; Anonym, The golf widow: a story for the married and the marriageable, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(23), July 1912, pp. 21-22; Anonym, Our letter from overseas, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(57), May 1915, p. 56; Anonym, My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(14), October 1911, p. 3.
[268] A. Odendaal, "Neither cricketers nor ladies": towards a history of women and cricket in South Africa, 1860s–2000s, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28(1), 2011, p. 121.

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women's sport, in particular women's cricket, was reported on in mainstream media, but the fact that it was reported on solely in a medium aimed at women should not be undervalued. Reporting on women's sport showcased women's achievements and capabilities and held as much value as the portraits and biographies of artists. Not only were the results of local sporting events reported on, but the winners and teams were also often pictured. This served to bolster the popularity of sports for women. It also gave some media coverage to sports teams that would never be granted any in a male-oriented periodical. Noting individual sportswomen's accomplishments can be seen as an element of liberal individualism in which the achievements of particular individuals were highlighted. However, the weekly report "Ladies in the Field" helped to establish it as a dialogic trend for all 'Our Readers' as their contributions placed their local sporting events alongside others from across the country and helped to create a 'dialogue' on sports. This served to increase women's agency in physical endeavours and promoted freedom of movement. This becomes clearer when one looks at the development of women's sport from the preceding century.

As with art, there were several restrictive Victorian views of what women could do in terms of physical activity that the magazine helped to overcome by showing the popularity and health benefits of sport. During the mid-Victorian period women were regarded as naturally weaker and lacking in energy, and the naturally frail woman was turned into a 'virtuous stereotype'.[269] Only men and boys could do sport, and in fact the good effects of sport on developing boys' character were praised. Through sport, public schools produced the type of man that would serve the Empire: full of energy, concerned with the greater good, willing to follow orders, and with an appreciation for the need of self-sacrifice.[270]

In 1881, Madame Bergman Österberg first argued for the inclusion of health and fitness programmes for women on the basis that this would similarly equip them to be the kind of mothers who would be able to raise strong sons for the Empire.[271] By the time the *SALPHJ* was in circulation, physical education was seen as an essential part of a good girls' school and was mentioned or photographed for each school featured in the magazine. This was such a prevalent feature at girls' schools that it could be included in the books reviewed – such as *Corah's School Chums* and *Anne Greenfield, Onderwijzeres* – to depict typical school scenes.[272] In April 1913,

[269] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[270] *Ibid.*
[271] M.J. Smith, *Imperial Girls, Empire in British girls' literature and culture, 1880-1915.*, pp. 70-71.
[272] M. Baldwin, *Corah's school chums*; M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres.*

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"Bookmark" also gave notice of a book on outdoor games and their rules written by Miss Stevens, a physical culture mistress at the Girl's High School Oudtshoorn.[273]

After physical education had been deemed acceptable, it became a question of what type of sport was appropriate for women to partake in and to what degree. Aspects such as the level to which it was physically taxing could have played a role in determining whether it was suitable sport for adult, middle to upper class women, but there were also other ideological connotations to certain types of sport as is clear with croquet and cricket. Less competitive or physically taxing sports, such as croquet, were readily accepted. Croquet was the most conservative sport reported on in the magazine. It resembled a social gathering rather than sport and still offered an opportunity to dress fashionably in a physically more restrictive dress which would be impractical for any other sport. An article in the *SALPHJ* described croquet in a way that made it clear that it was suited to the more traditional Victorian roles of women:

> Croquet is an excellent game for developing the finer qualities of character. In croquet the player always has to play with a view to the ultimate success of her partner and very often a tempting shot, to her own benefit, is resolutely resisted in order to forward the partner's game.[274]

Less exerting than other sports, croquet was already popular during Victorian times, and the self-sacrificing tone of the article gives it more of an air of the gender relations of the preceding century when women were considered more moral and self-sacrificing than men.[275] Such Victorian gender values, requiring women to sacrifice their own ambitions for their male relations or partners, were waning in popularity in the magazine and the reviewed literature. Only two of the reviewed novels, Penelope Ford's *A Page in a Man's History* and Frank Danby's *Concert Pitch* (both reviewed 1913) still contained heroines who sacrificed their dreams and even well-being, dutifully and silently, in order to further the careers of their male relations.[276] This type of selfless and self-sacrificing gender description generally waned in favour of heroines with a greater sense of self-worth who took a more active role in achieving their goals yet still managed to have happy marriages. As with Victorian-type heroines, croquet quickly waned in popularity in the magazine's coverage, and golf replaced it in the sports pages with tennis becoming the new partner game.[277]

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[273] M. Baldwin, *Corah's school chums*; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(32), April 1913, p. 3; M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres.*
[274] Anonym, Croquet at Newlands, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(3), January 1911, p. 29.
[275] J.C. Williams, From difference to dominance to domesticity: care as work, gender as tradition, *Chicago Kent Law Review* 76(1441), 2001, p. 1444.
[276] F. Danby, *Concert Pitch*; P. Ford, *A page in man's history.*
[277] Anonym, The golf widow: a story for the married and the marriageable, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(23), July 1912, pp. 21-22; A.J. Baker, *I too have known*; M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres*; M. Stoward, Out-Heroding Herod, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(47), July 1914, pp. 21-23, 25; P. de Riet, Love and war I, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(108), August 1919, p. 17.

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Other team sports, such as hockey, could still have carried some ideological value, such as those taught through team sport to boys in public schools in the nineteenth century. These included notions of fair play and working towards the greater good. However, such 'life lessons' that a sport could teach the players are not so clearly spelled out as is the case with the above quote on croquet.

Cricket was enshrined with ideological meaning such as gentlemanliness, and was thus a sport which was even more difficult for women to enter, even well into the twentieth century.[278] Yet, going on the evidence of the magazine, it appeared to have been one of the most popular sports of the readers, with results often reported. This is in significant contrast to the mainstream media. For example, in the magazine, the game between a man's team and woman's team is treated without derision with the results simply stated.[279] However, according to Odendaal when women played against men they were more commonly treated as an oddity for entertainment that the male players did not have to take too seriously (with some suggestions that they should play left-handed against the ladies).[280]

Whether it reported on croquet, golf, cricket, swimming or athletics, the monthly sports report bolstered the idea of the modern woman as physically fit and strong rather than languishing and frail. The fact that it reported on 'ladies' doing sport, as indicated in the title, meant that the image of a well-respected societal women playing sport and being physically active was regularly promoted in the discourse. The increased physical abilities of women from the upper classes meant that they could take part in activities that were considered the special work of men because of their physical strength. These activities often spilled over to wage labour and farm work, which increased women's agency in terms of the labour market.

From the first issue of the magazine in 1911, a key description of the modern girl or woman was that she was physically healthy and even tomboyish; however, the magazine and associated literature portrayed this as an ideal in South Africa long before it portrayed an active lifestyle as an ideal in England. As will be argued, the discourse on gender revealed the existence of different assumptions regarding women in South Africa and women in England: women in the colonies were allowed greater freedom in terms of physical activities. Upper-class sport in Britain, such as hunting, shooting and horse riding, were more accessible to middle class women in South Africa not only as sport but also as necessities. The distances between farmsteads still made horse riding or

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[278] A. Odendaal, "Neither cricketers nor ladies": towards a history of women and cricket in South Africa, 1860s–2000s, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28(1), 2011, pp. 115-136.
[279] Anonym, Ladies in the field, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(9), April 1911, p. 30.
[280] *Ibid.*, p. 30; A. Odendaal, "Neither cricketers nor ladies": towards a history of women and cricket in South Africa, 1860s–2000s, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28(1), 2011, pp. 119-120.

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at least driving the cart a desirable ability, while shooting was seen as an ideal skill for a woman to have in order to protect herself – specifically against black men. Women also had to be physically strong to help on the farms. Thus, within the popular discourse in the magazine and reviewed books, women in South Africa were allowed more freedom when it came to being physically active.

An example of this difference is found in Penelope Ford's *A Page in a Man's History*, reviewed in the magazine in 1913, where the heroine is allowed to be active and tomboyish in South Africa but not when she returns to England. The novel is split in two with the first half of the plot taking place on a farm in South Africa and the second in England. While spending a year in South Africa, Peggy Templemere, the heroine, is allowed to go horse riding, shooting, swimming and even to wear men's clothes for greater comfort; however, once back in England the healthy brown skin that she has gained from spending time outdoors is cause for concern as it has taken away her beauty. Among England's upper-class society, she has to conform to more traditional views of ladylike behaviour, which generally excludes any of the physically demanding activities she was exposed to on the South African farm.[281] In this novel, greater agency is provided for women in South Africa compared to Britain. Not all the South African women in the novel are as active as Peggy, but they experience less social censorship if they do choose to be. Thus they have a greater scope of choice in their actions (agency) compared to the British women in the novel.

While the magazine and reviewed books give indications that a greater degree of freedom was afforded to women in South Africa compared to Britain before the First World War, women who were physically active, with a strong body capable of many useful activities became increasingly idealised in Britain during the First World War. In articles and short stories in the magazine, the war was argued to have changed women's position as they had to perform physically demanding tasks that men had performed up to that point, such as factory work, which middle and upper class women were now taking on shoulder to shoulder with working class women.[282] The new ideal heroine in the short stories and serials portrayed characteristics such as being strong and capable of hard work rather than only the qualities of being well-bred, beautiful and socially graceful.[283] In the articles, this was also pointed to as an ideal in both Britain and South Africa and remained so throughout the war with short-lived criticism of the trend during 1915-1916.

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[281] P. Ford, *A page in man's history.*
[282] Anonym, A message for women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(63), November 1915, p. 48.
[283] See, for example, A. Chisholm, Eve's passport, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(86), October 1917, pp. 19, 45; P. de Riet, Love and war I, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(108), August 1919, p. 17; Dorothea, Irene McNair, journalist, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(68), April 1916, p. 19; H.E.G., The prerogative, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(66), February 1916, p. 50; D.S. Spero, The grip of yesterday, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(67), March 1916, pp. 44, 46.

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Greater physical strength connected to sport increased women's capacity to do work previously thought to be men's work. In addition, as depicted in the magazine and reviewed books, increased physical independence was also tied to increased agency in terms of freedom of movement. When the magazine was first published, British society was still suspicious of a lady travelling on her own, which was again tied to Victorian norms. During the nineteenth century women's mode of transportation was severely restricted, and she could typically walk or had to be escorted by a man if she intended to ride a horse or in a carriage. The invention of the bicycle in the late nineteenth century thus caused an amount of sensation as it enabled a woman to travel considerable distances unchaperoned. Several authorities deemed it ill-advised for women to cycle, and renowned doctors even went so far as to note that cycling would have an adverse effect on the development of the young woman's pelvis and reproductive organs. A similar argument applied to horse riding which meant that women had to ride side saddle and could not take part in races. Arguably, the real reason for this fear of girls cycling was connected with the fear of allowing young ladies too much freedom to travel unchaperoned. However, by the end of the nineteenth century it became increasingly common for women to cycle.[284] So much so, that for the magazine's readers it could not have been an odd thing to see a girl travelling by bicycle as is made clear in the article "Some Past and Present Types of Womanhood" by L. Austin Robinson:

> Within the present generation the types of womanhood have followed each other thick and fast. The bored and apathetic young woman of the late eighties happily gave way to the muscular and athletic girl of the "Tom-boy" type, who mounted a bicycle and challenged her brother's friends to a ten-mile "sprint." This type persists in a modified form to-day, and it compares favourably in many ways with those which have preceded it; it is less self-assertive than at its beginnings because the athletic girl is now taken for granted, and there is no need for her to act on the defensive.[285]

In the article, Robinson traces the successive generations of women from Austen's characters who were dutiful mothers and wives who listened to their husbands and rarely travelled, through successive generations each more independent than the next. The importance of freedom of movement (of greater agency in determining where one spends one's time) is clear from the fact that the bicycle and motorcar are mentioned in the article as modes of transport that identify a specific generation. "Our Letter from Overseas" also notes the change in that although Queen Victoria was apparently set against it, the Royal family now cycles. The writer mentions that in recent years things have changed and '... almost all forms of sport and athletic exercise are *de rigeur* for women.'[286] In stories set in South Africa, the bicycle is shown to be a common enough means of

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[284] K.E. McCrone, Play up! Play up! And play the game! Sport at the late Victorian girls' public school, *The Journal of British Studies* 23(02), 1984, pp. 106-134.
[285] L.A. Robinson, Some past and present types of womanhood, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(64), December 1915, p. 50.
[286] Anonym, Our letter from overseas, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(13), September 1911, p. 24.

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transportation for women to travel relatively long distances in and between towns.[287] However, it is horse riding that seems to afford South African heroines the most agency.

Horse races were a popular topic to be reported on in the magazine, both as a social event (who attended and what did they wore) and as a sporting event in which women partook. Female contestants and winners were reported on and often photographed. This was not out of the ordinary for the time as upper-class women were given horse riding lessons and rode along with the hunt on large estates in England. However, the fiction in the magazine and reviewed books ties horse riding more with the increased freedom of respectable but not necessarily rich women.

Before the war, horses were typically used as a means for the heroine of a story to run away from her disapproving family to join the man that she loves. A common trope from romances of the Victorian period – the girl choosing a man that her parents disapprove of – became all too familiar in stories set in South Africa before the war: that of the heroine saddling up her horse in the dead of night to escape her family and meet up with her lover or to escape an undesirable match. This familiar storyline, found in both short stories in the magazine and in a number of reviewed books, connected freedom of movement and the freedom to choose social engagements or relations.

Such freedom to choose would have meant parents would exercise less control over daughters. The fear which this level of social freedom inspired is evident in the fact that the majority of these stories ended with the heroine's plans being shown as utter folly. In the short story published in the magazine, "A Farmer's Daughter",[288] and in the novel *I Too Have Known*,[289] the heroines realise their mistakes and are saved in the nick of time. The only story in which the heroine is shown to make a wise decision in choosing against her parents' wishes and running away is in the short story "The Fairy Tale" by Eileen Magennis. The story ends with Kitty happily married to Mac and her parents accepting the union. Significantly, the positive ending is part of a story that is very clearly linked to women's increased agency in choosing their spouses when Kitty promises herself that she will be 'master of her fate and the captain of her soul' and run away.[290] The line is quoted from "Invictus", the well-known Victorian poem by the English poet William Ernest Henley. The poem shows how, no matter the obstacles in your life, the choice on how to act still remains yours. Similarly, Kitty chooses to meet up with Mac despite the obstacles. Kitty does not simply resign herself to her fate in an unwanted marriage, but is able to be an active agent because she can

[287] M. Baldwin, *Corah's school chums*; Brandt, *The petticoat commando; the adventures of women in the Boer Secret Service*; M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres.*
[288] N.M. Chastel de Boinville, A farmer's daughter, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(32), April 1913, pp. 21-23.
[289] A.J. Baker, *I too have known.*
[290] E. Magennis, The fairy tale, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, pp. 21-22.

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physically escape the arranged marriage on horseback. The increased ability to travel is therefore connected to an increased choice in marriage. Thus, the gender discourse in these stories shows that women could take greater agency in determining whether they would marry and with whom.

In the majority of the short stories and novels reviewed in the magazine the heroine is shown to assume agency in choosing her husband, whether against her family's wishes or not. The reviewed novel, *Phases of Felicity*, provides a complete overview of a girl's choice not to marry her rich fiancée nor to live off her relations, but to move to South Africa to make her own way. The novel's heroine, Felicity, shows agency in travelling alone to far-off places in South Africa and in her choice to look after herself financially by taking on wage work rather than immediately allowing the man she falls in love with to 'take care of her'.[291]

In only three of the novels reviewed in the magazine the heroine ends up regretting a choice that is counter to her parents' advice. These include *Concert Pitch* (1913) and *The Lure of Islam* (1915). Notably the last story to use the 'horse ride in the middle of night' trope, Horace F. Rose's *Haidee*, published and reviewed during the war (1917), was the only one to show that there is no turning back for the girl who has saddled up her horse to run away with an exciting lover, as this heroine then finds herself alone and pregnant shortly afterwards.[292] In the serial "Love and War" (published in the magazine from August 1919 to March 1920), Molly, who is given complete freedom to choose her husband, nearly lands in trouble by marrying a man who turns out to be a German spy, but hearkens to the advice of her father and breaks off the engagement in time. She ends up choosing the man her father had approved of all along, a colonial farmer who fought bravely for England – a morally superior choice in the dualistic racial view caused by the war.[293] Whether in a novel or the magazine, the stories could employ the choice of the heroine in various ways – either to show her defiantly making her way to happiness or to create some regretful circumstance because she chose to go against her parents. Such diversity of possible outcomes can be expected in media as polyphonic as the magazine and fiction. Yet it is important to note, again, that the women at least exercised the agency to choose their spouses.

In the analysed fiction that had been published during the war, horse riding became a practical and socially approved way for heroines to take greater charge in their own lives and the lives of their families. In *Gloria,* the heroine of the same name can help her brother get medical treatment and

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[291] O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity.*
[292] F.H. Rose, *Haidee.*
[293] P. de Riet, Love and war I, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(108), August 1919, p. 17; P. De Riet, Love and war VIII, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(114), February 1920, p. 19.

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take care of her father because she can drive the cart 'like all colonial girls.'[294] In the serial "Love and War" their skills in horse riding make it possible for the colonial girls to shape their futures, with Jenny riding over to her neighbour's farm on her own in order to woo him, and Molly Glanville taking over the management of the large estate after the men have gone off to war.[295] In *The Longest Way Round* the heroine rides over on her horse to make a fateful business-like marriage proposal to take control of her own life. The importance of this moment is indicated as this is the scene chosen as the cover image of the book (see Figure 4 below).[296]

Figure 4: Front cover of *The Longest Way Round* (From: D. Broadway, *The Longest Way Round.* London. George Allen and Unwin, 1916.)

[294] C. Mansfield, *Gloria: a girl of the South African veld.*
[295] P. De Riet, Love and war IV, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(111), November 1919, p. 19; P. De Riet, Love and war VIII, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(114), February 1920, p. 19; P. De Riet, Love and war IX, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(115), March 1920, p. 17.
[296] D. Broadway, *The longest way round.*

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The image shows a woman, by all outward appearances a respectable lady, riding in the dry Karoo but determined in her poise and gaze. In contrast to early traditions, the female horse riding figure was no longer depicted as particularly adventurous or mannish. This supports the discourse in the rest of the magazine, which shows that horse riding and motoring were considered to be everyday activities for white women in South Africa. They are shown to be part of acceptable gender behaviours and not the mark of particularly wilful or defiant women.

The 'motoring woman' was already identified as a 'type' of woman in the magazine feature, "Then and Now" in 1915, and motoring became so popular during the war years that a new monthly was added in 1917 called "The Lady Motorist". It provided women with general stories centred on motor trips and information on how to fix or service motors. The editor, Katherine Kemp, called special attention to this new feature in the editorial of the February 1917 issue of the magazine:

> A new departure, which we feel sure will interest large number of our readers, will appear in our next issue. A page will be devoted to Motoring Notes – with an eye specially directed to the requirements of the woman motorist – of whom there is an increasing number in our large towns. Country motorists are invited to correspond with the department.[297]

Despite the fact that the motoring notes remained a monthly feature until long after December 1919 (which is the concluding date for the current study), female motorists featured neither in the short stories published nor in the novels reviewed in the magazine. However, it was noted in biographical sketches if women enjoyed motoring[298] and some impression is given from the letters from England published in the magazine that South African women were considered good motorists.

Being capable horsewomen and motorists became generally more associated with women from the colonies than women in Britain. As an example, in "Our London Letter" (1918) the author explains to the readers that they should not try to go to England to help unless they are unusually skilled as there are already a large number of women in England who can perform the work and extras only put a strain on wartime resources.[299] The author notes that there are certain skills which would make it ideal for a woman to obtain a government permit and go to England immediately. This includes all trained medical staff and women with university degrees in chemistry who can work in the laboratories of the munitions factories. To this list of higher qualified skills, she adds skills in motoring and horsemanship, which are readily expected to be found among South African women:

> Really expert motorists with a good knowledge of running repairs are wanted. If a woman can drive a car over the South African roads, I imagine she would find very little difficulty in tackling the muddiest road Flanders has to offer ... Good horsewomen, who can groom, drive and possess some veterinary knowledge, are needed. Practically all the General Post

[297] K. Kemp, Over the tea-cups, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(78), February 1917, p. 2.
[298] See, for example, Anonym, Women hunters of big game: Mrs. A.M. Holloway, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(64), December 1915, p. 35.
[299] Anonym, Our London letter, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(91), March 1918, p. 24.

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> Office stable work in London is done by women and there is still a need for grooms. ... the mail-carts are driven in London by women. ... When the Post Office horses fall ill, they are sent to a convalescent home in the country run by a South African woman, who is a veterinary surgeon and is helped by a staff of women. Nearly all Colonial girls are accustomed to horses and many of them are very useful with them. The English girl who can even ride is in the minority, and if she rides, she is probably unable to tighten a girth without a man's help. So here is a real chance for Colonial girls.[300]

The letter shows that it was considered a general truth that South African girls were physically stronger than British girls and were generally more likely to be able to work with horses. Life on South African farms had afforded the women more freedom to acquire skills with horses.

Another point in the discourse that supports the idea of South African women enjoying greater freedom of movement, even well before the war, is that of the adventurous and pioneering spirit associated with living in Africa with all its opportunities for hunting, amateur anthropology and new settlements. This becomes evident in the magazine interviews with, or descriptions by, local female travel writers. Several articles dealt at length with the experiences of Mrs Maturin while on a hunting excursion north of the Zambezi.[301] Charlotte Mansfield, author of a travel book and several novels, was also portrayed as an interesting personality in the magazine as she travelled without any white companions through large parts of Rhodesia, a journey which she wrote about in her book *Via Rhodesia.*[302]

Again, different gender norms were articulated for women in South Africa in comparison to women in England, but the same freedom for adventurous women to travel became acceptable for British women in England because the war required it of them. During the war adventurous women included English women who travelled to active zones in Europe as is evident from the books reviewed in the magazine, such as *A Woman's Experiences in the Great War,* and magazine articles, such as "A Woman's Adventure in France".[303] These women were most often nurses who had to work in Europe. Despite the overwhelming focus on the war in the magazine and reviewed books after 1914, there were still a few women hunters and mountaineers who occasionally made print. One interview in particular shows the range of adventurous women's capabilities, that of Mrs A.M. Holloway:

> Mrs. Holloway's pretty home is full of hunting trophies; all shown in the picture fell to her gun, including beautiful zebra ... One of the best known riders of the Rand Hunt, Mrs.

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[300] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[301] M.F. Maturin, Jane, the culprit, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(12), August 1911, pp. 47-49; M.F. Maturin, Our camp in the wilds, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(10), May 1911, pp. 18-19.
[302] Anonym, Charlotte Mansfield. An interesting study, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(18), February 1912, p. 52; C. Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia: a journey through Southern Africa.*
[303] See, for example, the review of *A Woman's Experiences in the Great War* by Mrs. Creed in "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(66), February 1916, pp. 8-9 and Anonym, A woman's adventure in France, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(63), November 1915, p. 21.

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> Holloway was also a winner of two 1st, one 2nd, and one 3rd prizes in jumping competitions at the recent Rand Agricultural Show. Our illustrations show this dauntless equestrienne equally at home on camel, ox, or almost any steed. She is, besides, a capable motorist, and holds the London Country Council Certificate. She accompanied her husband to London with the Coronation Contingent a year or two ago, and with a passion for travel is anticipating in the near future a long tour in India, China and Japan.[304]

The above extract may give the impression of a rather exceptional woman, but even before the War, Mrs Holloway would have been presented as an ideal to the readers. She was still capable of traditional female roles, such as keeping a beautiful home. Similarly, in the interview with the travel writer, Charlotte Mansfield, her home, husband and her pretty looks and figure were specially mentioned.[305] This indicates that while it used to be considered detrimental to a lady's looks if she was an outdoor enthusiast, this was no longer seen as something that made her unbecoming or manly. In a magazine that was full of fashion advice and information on craft and how to beautify one's home, it is clearly shown that the ideal woman was still linked to her beauty and her ability to make her surroundings beautiful. These gender norms were important, as it was common for attacks at women who broke accepted gender boundaries in Britain, such as the suffragettes, to be levelled at the individual's appearance and abilities as a wife and mother. Such attacks are not found in the magazine, but the repeated emphasis that women who took part in sport or travel were not unbecoming, shows that there was an awareness that the acceptability of this activity for women had to be affirmed.

The discourse on women's greater agency in terms of travel in South Africa can also be identified in the repeated focus on pioneering women. This most commonly took the form of interviews with older women who told of their travels to the Rand and the dangers and deprivations that they had to survive along the way. They also told of the conditions at their new homes, such as the Rand before there were many houses, and how they managed to set up homes in these conditions. This connects their adventurous spirit to notions of town- and nation-building. These interviews were published in two monthly articles in the magazine, named "Lady Pioneers"[306] and "Daughter of South Africa."[307] These articles showed that being able to travel and take on the adventures that came along with it were the characteristics associated with women who proved themselves as the type of wives and

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[304] Anonym, Women hunters of big game: Mrs. A.M. Holloway, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(64), December 1915, p. 35.
[305] Anonym, Charlotte Mansfield. An interesting study, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(18), February 1912, p. 52.
[306] See for example Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand. Mrs. David Rintoul, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(12), August 1911, p. 17; Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand: Lady Dunbar, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(10), May 1911, p. 20; Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand. Mrs. Charles Marx, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(19), March 1912, p. 22.
[307] See for example, Anonym, A daughter of South Africa. Mrs. George A. Roth, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(30), February 1913, p. 35; Anonym, A daughter of South Africa. Mrs. John George Melville, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(36), August 1913, p. 50; Anonym, A daughter of South Africa. Mrs. H.C. Bailie, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(31), March 1913, p. 13.

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mothers capable of helping to build South Africa. These biographical sketches of noteworthy societal ladies were accompanied by pictures and all focused on the lady's experiences in moving to and living in Johannesburg when it was still a mine camp. Offering the readers a bit of oral history on the early days in South Africa before it was easy to travel from the coast to the interior, these articles provided monthly reminders of the type of women – adventurous, independent, innovative and physically strong – who were needed to help form their cities and country. Before the advent of the war, these biographical sketches showed the adventurous spirit of women:

> We who live in these piping days of peace and comfort can hardly realise what the women of this country went through in the days before railways sped to all parts of the land, connecting up town, village and dorp as they now do.[308]

Many of these pioneer ladies did not travel to the Rand alone. Nevertheless, accounts of their travels reinforced the idea that women were capable of making their own decisions and getting through tough situations. Indeed they had been accompanied by men, but so had women hunters and mountaineers. All these women had one thing in common: their actions were not considered typical female behaviour at the time. Men were connected with hunting trips, travel into inhospitable regions and camping, or living in camp conditions; these women thus showed what was possible, and that women have, despite the dominant discourse of the day, been as active and adventurous as men for decades already, since the majority of the pioneer ladies had moved to Johannesburg in the 1880s. These were gender ideals of special importance to a young nation or colony as the notions of propriety that had kept upper class women in Britain from travelling alone would have impeded nation-building and thus were no longer held up as an ideal.

This point was made well before 1914 but, during the war, women's contribution to the pioneering days was increasingly celebrated in fiction. An example is the serial published in the magazine, "The Settler. A Romance of the British Settlement of 1820" by Ernest Glanville, in which strong female characters act in ways associated with male characters, such as being commanding and decisive during times of danger or taking part in a border war when their men could not. The date of publication of the serial, 1917-1918, is important as it was published during a time when the magazine was replete with stories of war and women's contribution to it. For example, the instalment in the serial where a young woman, Ruth, chooses to stay to fight in a war against the

[308] Anonym, Mrs. Arthur H. Reid of "Manna Mead" Kenilworth, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(42), February 1914, p. 50.

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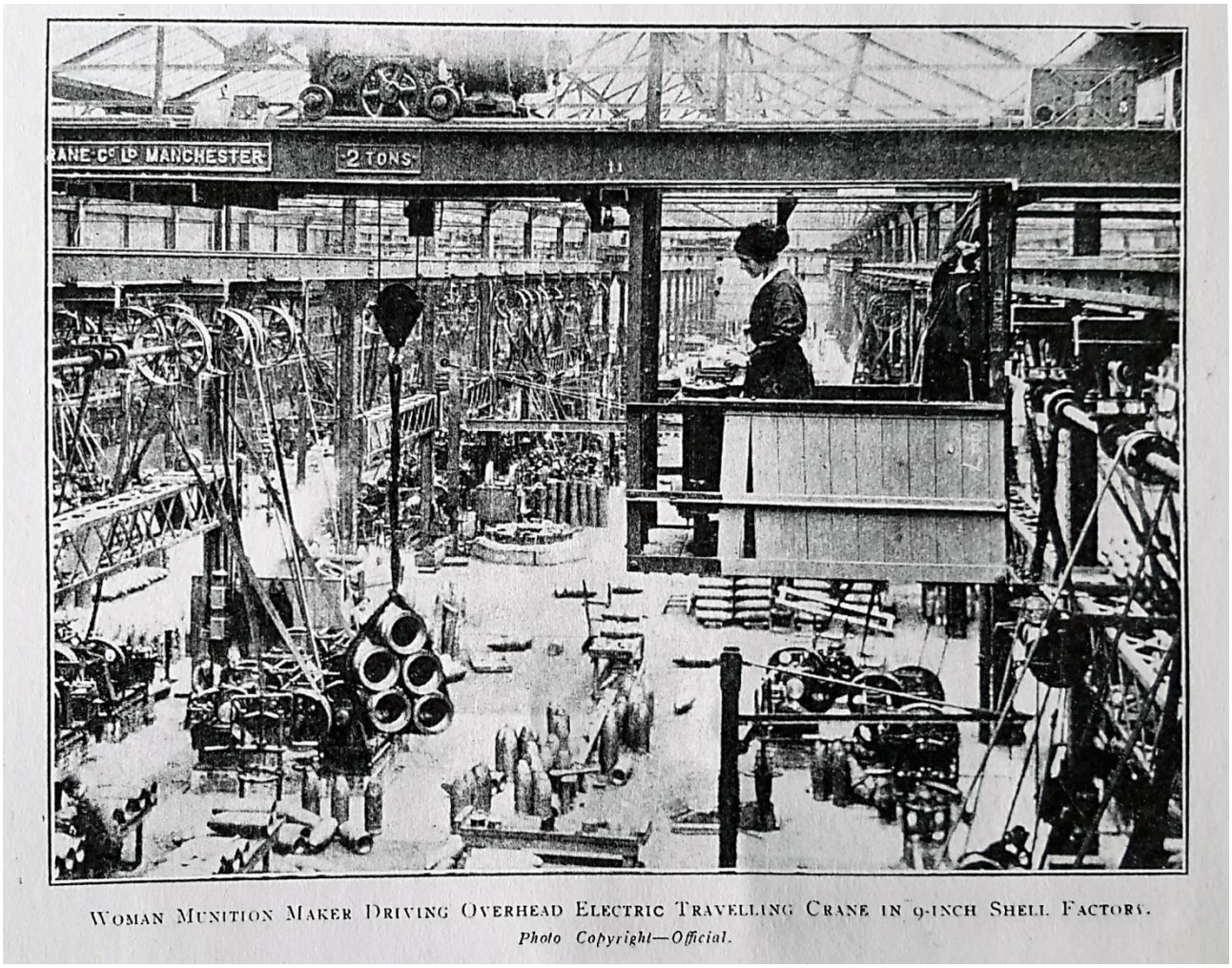
Xhosa is accompanied by a photograph of a young munitions worker on the same page (Figure 5), emphasising women's contribution to the current war effort and showing that this was not new.[309]



WOMAN MUNITION MAKER DRIVING OVERHEAD ELECTRIC TRAVELLING CRANE IN 9-INCH SHELL FACTORY.
Photo Copyright—Official.

Figure 5: Photograph of a female munitions worker published next to the serial "The Settler" (from: *SALPHJ* November 1917, p. 17.)

In the serial, the characters often identify women's heroism and decisive action during danger as a masculine trait. For example, when Margaret Jane hears Seth's account of the impending danger to her family, she immediately makes a decision and gives her husband an order to stay and help Seth. As she drives away in the wagon, her husband tells Seth:

> "There's a woman for you, Seth; acks [sic] in a case of trouble like a man."
> "Better, Jim, better; and didn't even stop to argy [sic] whether there was danger or not, and if there was what sort."[310]

This shows that Margaret Jane's husband is so sure of his wife's abilities that he does not fret or stop her, and he does not feel threatened by her orders.[311] Two of the women play a pivotal role in

[309] Anonym, Woman munition maker driving overhead electric travelling crane in 9-inch shell factory, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(87), November 1917, p. 17; E. Glanville, The settler. A romance of the British settlement of 1820. Chapter 10., *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(87), November 1917, pp. 15, 17, 19.
[310] E. Glanville, The settler. A romance of the British settlement of 1820. Chapter 8, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(85), September 1917, p. 17.

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the final instalment when saving the hero of the story by firing on the black assailants.[312] The qualities of physical and mental toughness are therefore regarded as necessities for women in a dangerous pioneer country. The inclusion of such characters at a time when women were often depicted as taking the positions previously held by men because of the war lends support to the idea that gender norms had to change for the benefit of the national effort. Stories on pioneer women and wartime work could therefore help to support the new definition of a 'modern woman', with her physical strength and independence, as it portrayed this gender norm as socially beneficial.

While the discourse on gender between 1911 and 1919 generally shows women to be active, strong and independent, some aspects of the changing female identity were still being contemplated during this time. Therefore, it is not surprising that between 1915 and 1916 there was a popular trend in the magazine to compare modern women to Victorian women out of concern for the modern girl's comparative lack of a sense of duty and grace. The differences were identified in women's athleticism, fashion, relationships with men, causes and work.[313] A good example is provided in the following extract from the article by L. Austin Robinson, published in the magazine in 1915:

> But the modern athlete has some losses to place on her account. She has gained health, vigour and independence both in mind and body, but she lacks the characteristic "grace" which, even twenty years ago was the stamp of a well-bred English woman. ... Yet when all is said in favour of modern strenuousness and the present day variety of woman's interests, there still remains the sense of loss of a type of woman who "graced" the Victorian era with her charming personality. We do not doubt that woman's [sic] characters are as sterling in the 20th century as in the 19th. Their outlook on life is in many ways truer. Yet with it all, some subtle influence, charm, call it what you will, has passed from modern womanhood. It is possible that with the full possession of knowledge of good and evil, which the modern woman has claimed as her right, her eyes are too often fixed upon the lower, and are not raised often enough to the higher endeavour; she does not look at the noble deeds that rise out of the past ages and stand as bulwarks round the present to inspire and encourage. We would not have women blind to the evils, the oppressions and greed of gain which darken our modern life, but we grudge her the loss of one of her most distinctive attributes. For grace is an affair not of the body, but of the spirit. It has its foundation in unselfishness, in consideration for others, in the desire for self-sacrifice in the service of others.[314]

Importantly, this does not show that the athletic woman was no longer an ideal, but it does show that there was a sense that women needed to navigate the meaning of their increased agency in terms of older moral and behavioural characteristics of the ideal feminine type. In identifying grace as '... an affair not of the body, but of the spirit ...', Robinson gives the impression that the physical

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[311] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[312] E. Glanville, The settler. A romance of the British settlement of 1820. Chapter 12, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(89), January 1918, pp. 17, 26.
[313] See, for example, Anonym, Then and now, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(58), June 1915, p. 57; L.A. Robinson, Some past and present types of womanhood, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(64), December 1915, p. 50; Anonym, Idle thoughts of a bachelor maid, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(74), October 1916, p. 54; R.S. Alexander, The girl of to-morrow, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(68), April 1916, p. 40.
[314] L.A. Robinson, Some past and present types of womanhood, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(64), December 1915, p. 50.

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strenuousness exercised by women in sport and labour is not a problem. Yet, she also connects the sporting woman with a loss of complexion and the public speaker with a loss of a pretty voice. There was during this time, therefore, a more self-conscious concern about what it meant to be a 'modern woman'. "Bookmark" best describes this concern in a review of C.M. Matheson's *The Generation Between* in January 1916:

> When Thomasine Latimer disclaimed herself and the women who thought and felt as she did, as being somewhat betwixt and between her mother's generation and that which was to follow, she very fittingly described the phase through which women have passed. When modern movements brought the Victorian women into competition with men, they made a rather chaotic existence for those who were not sure of the part they could or would take in the struggle.[315]

This description as the generation 'betwixt and between' well encapsulates many of the concerns voiced in 1915 and 1916 regarding the old well-defined womanhood of the Victorian Age and modern womanhood, with all the uncertainty that that entailed. It is therefore important when dealing with gender relations, and in particular how gender relations change over a period, not to oversimplify the power relations at play nor women's experience of those relations. Women should be viewed as a heterogeneous group whose experiences vary depending on their age, class, ethnicity and location.[316] Furthermore, people are complex and deal with their worlds accordingly. For example, a woman may be for greater sexual freedom but against female suffrage. If a simplistic view of power relations and resistance were taken, only one of those choices would classify as resistance, but this does not mean that the person would be in favour of the *status quo*.[317] As the *SALPHJ* is a polyphonic text, it provides opinions over a wide spectrum of gender power relations. This is why agency is such a useful concept for looking into the changes in the *scope* of women's actions, intentions and ideas, far more so than a mere study of the arguments on gender-related topics. This should again be kept in mind when examining the changing limitations on women's social movement in the discourse.

b. Women and greater social movement

What is suggested in the various stories, articles and other features of the magazine as well as the novels reviewed is that, whether by bicycle, horse or motorcar, women achieved greater freedom of movement between 1910 and 1920. In terms of women travelling alone when using public transport, there is also a notable difference between customs for upper class women in South Africa compared to those of Britain. This is demonstrated in a novel entitled *Concert Pitch,* which shows

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[315] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(65), January 1916, p. 3.
[316] Saul Dubow has noted that South Africa experienced regionalism to a noteworthy degree. S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000.*, pp. 159, 200.
[317] E.E. Fox-Genovese, Placing women's history in history, *New Left Review* 133, 1982, pp. 5-29; M.F. Malmström, Gender, agency, and embodiment theories in relation to space, *Egypte/monde arabe* 9, 2012, pp. 21-35.

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how an upper-class girl needs to be escorted by her brother when on her way to her home in England from her school in France. This is despite the fact the brother had to first travel to France to fetch her and the fact that he is several years her junior.[318] The British author of girl school adventures, May Baldwin, also noted the difference between the British views on women travelling alone compared to South African views when, in her novel, Mr Inman tells his wife that he needs to escort the two school girls from Cape Town to their farm destination in the Karoo:

> "I suppose I must take you to the farm myself; though how I am to find the time I don't know. ... It means a week's holiday practically," sighed Mr. Inman. "But I couldn't let them travel alone, nor you, my dear; though no doubt, ladies do so here," he added to his wife.[319]

Clearly here, neither the school girls nor the grown woman is expected to travel alone from the British point of view provided by the character, and the family notes the general self-reliance and independence of girls in South Africa with some wonder when they talk to a few girls at the train station:

> "English girls are independent enough, but I think the girls here are more self-reliant. One of them told me she gets out at the same junction as our girls, and goes on by branch-line several hours' distance all by herself, and then has a long drive."[320]

Their teacher, Miss Bishop, explains that this is because the 'the distances are so great here.'[321] for the South African readers, such differences in views on travel was further established by the interview with the author, May Baldwin, who explained that she came to South Africa expressly to determine how it differed from England in order to write her book.[322]

A number of short stories in the magazine feature middleclass women as the typical characters who would travel from Britain on their own and then cover great distances in South Africa to meet up with their fiancées.[323] In several of the novels, including *I Too Have Known* (1912), *Phases of Felicity* (1915), *Anne Greenfield, Onderwijzeres* (1915), *Daughter of Sin* (1915) and *The Longest Way Round* (1916) women who decide to start afresh in South Africa, typically by taking work as teachers, travel great distances unaccompanied in order to get to the particular school district. In this way, the novels give insight into the dissonance between metropolitan and colonial gender attitudes.

The fact that the novels and short stories feature so many unaccompanied female travellers does not imply that this was seen as un-problematic. It is clear from several novels in which women who travel alone are cast as being in danger of obtaining a bad reputation or of being raped. The loss of a

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[318] F. Danby, *Concert Pitch.*
[319] M. Baldwin, *Corah's school chums.*, pp. 133-134.
[320] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[321] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[322] Anonym, The South African schoolgirl, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(19), March 1912, p. 50.
[323] See, for example, Anonym, The girl in the stoep room: the story of a postponed wedding, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(26), October 1912, pp. 21-23; N.M. Chastel de Boinville, A timely interference. A story of South Africa, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(21), May 1912, pp. 21-23.

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good reputation had serious consequences for an unmarried woman as this could impact on her opportunities for matrimony and how society treated her. In *Anne Greenfield, Onderwijzeres,* Miss Cariston is shunned by the community because of a rumour created by the doctor, who had found her unconscious in the veld, that she had gone out to spend the night with him. The result is that she is viewed as a woman who has sex with married men, and when she falls ill she has to send for Anne as none of the women in the *dorp* will help her even when she is on her deathbed. In contrast, the married doctor who started the rumour goes relatively unscathed despite the fact that the rumour also suggested that he was cheating on his wife.[324]

The double standards applied to men and women in terms of their sexual activity outside of wedlock and reputation is further illustrated in *The Debt* by William Westrup (reviewed in 1912). In this novel, Feinbaum takes advantage of young women who, trusting that he has good intentions, allow themselves to be alone with him in places such as his office. He can then take advantage of them by threatening to tell the world that they willingly came to him to have sex. He cons Frances into going into his office by telling her that he has a letter from her father and then holds her captive:

> "You little fool, do you realise your position? Of your own will you come here this afternoon – come to see me at my office. Of your own will you come inside – of your own will, mark you. And you know my reputation, don't you? What do you think everybody will think? I'll give them cause to think, too, but they'll only say what could you expect. If girls will run after me I can't help it, and I'm no saint."[325]

Feinbaum can threaten Frances here because of the double standard for males and females. A woman's good reputation was so valuable that being able to ruin it placed him in a position of considerable power over Frances. He also physically assaults her without fear of retribution, and it is shown later in the novel that although he had raped young women before, none of them was ever willing to come forward from fear that he would place the blame on them.

The kind of victim-blaming represented in this novel was possible because of the view of gender differences inherited from the previous century. According to this view, women were naturally morally superior, which went along with the idea that women had lower sex drives and only indulged in 'pure' thoughts and behaviours until they were married. A woman who had sex before marriage was therefore guilty of a much greater sin than a man since she also sinned against her nature. Men, on the other hand, were believed to have a naturally higher sex drive and were often portrayed as morally weaker, leading to the argument that men could not be held accountable if a

[324] M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres.*
[325] W. Westrup, *The debt*, p. 151.

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woman in any way presented a temptation for them to partake in sexual acts.[326] Thus, although Feinbaum has a 'reputation' he still continues to work in a good position in a firm and even has a marriage prospect lined up. Frances' chances of a good marriage, on the other hand, would be diminished if he managed to spread a suggestive rumour about their time spent alone in his office. The negative implications for such a compromised woman become even more apparent when taking into account the economic disparity between the sexes at the time. Unmarried women were either dependent on their family or had to find work in a labour market that was still skewed in the favour of male employees and positions.

The reaction to such a reality would either be to curb women's solitary travels and interactions with men, or to show that the issue of double standards and reputation was problematic. Several of the authors of the reviewed books included in this study followed the second approach, addressing the issue by showing through their writing how easily men, as well as other women, could manipulate these standards for their own gain.[327] In the process they asserted that a bad reputation was not necessarily an indication of wrong behaviour on the side of the woman, and that there ought to be less judgement connected to the person a woman spent her time with. Other stories with villains similar to Feinbaum, such as *The Land of Tomorrow* and *Fate's High Chancery,* also have male characters (typically the heroes) that hold impossible, ideal views of women and their natural purity. This helped to show how the one was dependent on the other. In the novels it is the impossible moral standards of 'the good man', combined with the acceptance that no unmarried woman should allow herself to be alone with a man who is not a relative, that enables the villain to manipulate the women by threatening their reputations.

Another South African author who shows the complexity of this view of the sexual and moral natures of the genders is Leigh Thompson in the English setting of her novel *Fate's High Chancery.* In it, a main character, Rosamund, light-heartedly connects freedom of movement and the choice of companion without fear of a sullied reputation with political rights:

> "Oh!" she said again, "that is the worst of being a girl. I'd love tea – pots of tea. If I were only a married woman I could have tea with the Sultan of Turkey and no one would bother about it; but a young person must eat in solemn grandeur, or with a male relative, or go without. But just you wait till I get the vote, then I will have tea as often as I like, with whom I like – five, ten, fifteen teas, as many as I can, so there!"[328]

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[326] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, pp. 74-75.
[327] E. Bickford, *Frampton's deception. A story of South African dorp life and other stories*; O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity*; M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres*; M.E. Martens, *A daughter of sin. A simple story*; L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery*; W. Westrup, *The land of to-morrow*; W. Westrup, *The debt.*
[328] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery*, p. 75.

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Here, Rosamund uses something as serious as the vote to argue for having tea with a man she has just met, but this does not detract from her point that a woman can only have her own choices and opinions validated if she is married. However, Rosamund, a young lady, is herself guilty of appointing guilt by reputation: when she tells Dick about her tea with John, whom she pretended was her colonial cousin. She explains teasingly how very bad it made her feel:

> "… I felt so wicked when I got home, it was so exciting – now, when I read about bold, bad hussies, and artists' models and chorus girls, I feel I understand all about them. I would love to be one of them just for a week."[329]

That artists' models and chorus girls are connected to 'bad hussies' who go off with strange men alone, shows that for Rosamund they are all guilty of sexual immorality by being associated with a freer social world. While Rosamund here shows a lack of understanding of working women's situation and their vulnerability, Thompson uses dramatic irony to place the focus on the lower classes and their plight through the art model René. The reader is aware here that John has befriended an art model who is very seriously affected by this convention in that her reputation is touched when she goes alone into a man's room – even if it is only to model or to help him through illness.

René's character becomes a contrasting picture to Rosamund's. She is poor, shows little regard for her reputation and helps the downtrodden even at the expense of her own wellbeing whereas Rosamund is spoilt, takes very good care of her reputation but not her friend when he is injured. René's lack of regard for her reputation also empowers her to deal differently with a situation similar to the one in *The Debt:*

> "Ignorance is not innocence. I have been a model all my life; but it's not to say I was bad, as that beast thought, and he tried to do me down. You see, Leander wanted a model for the hands and feet. I got to hear of it, went to call on him; but he was out, so I waited – then Reading came. He was then a friend of his. As we were in the room alone together I suppose he thought my name was Mud. Well," she went on, with her tolerant boyish smile, "you know what men are; but I am not that sort – but he caught hold of me when I was thinking of something else, and was not looking. Fortunately, I had my hat on, so I out with a long pin and ran it through his hand. He didn't half swear – oh no, not he – ." She gave an inimitable Puck-like wink and both men clenched their hands and mentally cursed their kind. It was as though a child had confided to them a bitter wrong.[330]

Unlike Frances' fearful reaction to Feinbaum's threat to ruin her reputation, René chooses to defend herself, which she considers as more important than concerning herself with Reading's attack on her reputation.

Additionally, here and later in the novel, René does not have to rely on a man's protection against Reading but can look after herself. René stands up in the face of rape and removes the stigma by

[329] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[330] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

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dealing with it openly. She calls Reading a snake and takes none of the blame for being alone with him, even though he keeps up the rumour that she has sex with the artists that she poses for. That the (righteous) men in the novel feel that her story is comparable to that of a child, shows a power relation connected to chivalry. The trope of chivalry and the rhetoric surrounding it was very popular in literature during the war. Unlike medieval chivalry which had a complex code that entailed protection, courtly love, loyalty to a lord, and military prowess,[331] chivalry in the early 1900s simply came to mean that a man should stand up and fight for the weak. After the sinking of the Titanic in 1912 chivalry came under fire in the press in England with some suffragettes arguing that it should help them to gain the vote as it would appeal to men to give them the means to affect legislation and ensure the protection of women and children. Other suffragettes were more critical and pointed out that the overreliance on the chivalry trope reinforced the idea that women were still too weak and vulnerable to look after themselves and effectively relegated them to the same legal status as children.[332] This meant that the notion of chivalry was employed to maintain normative gender roles. That men felt they had to protect a woman even when she did not need it, furthered the idea of women as weak and in need of men's protection. This would also mean that men could still easily move about in social circles without worry, but that women were expected to be accompanied.

In England, the First World War brought about greater movement for young women and more of them in the larger cities mixed freely with young men, notably soldiers on leave. This in part caused some anxiety concerning the spread of diseases and unwanted pregnancies.[333] The war effort had made it clear that the English working-class population was generally in poor health either through malnutrition or poor housing. This led to greater attention being placed on young girls becoming pregnant because it was seen as an important factor in determining the future health of the race.[334] This anxiety was particularly evident in 1916, the year that Katherine Kemp became full editor of the *SALPHJ*. During this year, several articles from English papers were republished in the *SALPHJ*. This gave the impression that some of the issues of the day, particularly of girls moving about with more freedom and less supervision, were equally problematic everywhere in the British Empire. While this pointed to a strong move away from the moribund rhetoric of the moral

[331] R. Knoetze, *Romance recreated: the evolution of a new social ideal in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, Dissertation, University of Pretoria, 2014.
[332] L. Delap, "Thus does man prove his fitness to be the master of things": shipwrecks, chivalry and masculinities in nineteenth-and twentieth-century Britain, *Cultural and Social History* 3(1), 2006, pp. 45-74.
[333] Anonym, A message for women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(63), November 1915, p. 48; Anonym, Moral education. A call to every woman, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(71), July 1916, p. 17.
[334] Anonym, Over the Tea-Cups, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(80), April 1917, p. 2; Anonym, Our letter from overseas, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(57), May 1915, p. 56.

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superiority and near 'sexlessness' of women, it also addressed the fact that parents had to change the way they educated their children, particularly girls, about sex.

A number of articles showed both the anxiety about and the call for better sex education for children. In "Moral Education. A Call to Every Woman" the author identifies the key to a stronger race in educating girls regarding sex and childrearing.[335] A similar call was made in South Africa through the South African Alliance of Honour. Under the auspices of the magazine, the organisation held public lectures (open only to women) on how to educate children regarding sex. It also held baby competitions and distributed information on charities that helped to treat malnutrition and inform young mothers on how to look after their children better. A subscription fee would also secure the reader with pamphlets on the subject with advice from 'Matron', an author who also gave advice on childrearing in the magazine.[336] The activities of the South African Alliance of Honour were reported on monthly, and its aims reiterated in each issue. This succinctly tied sex education to the increased freedom enjoyed by young women:

> In the world as it is to-day, with its ever-multiplying temptations, the greater liberty and freedom allowed to growing girls and boys abounds with opportunities for evil that never came to their parents. To counteract these influences we must be ready at the very first opportunity with which the child presents us to impart such simple teaching as the sacredness of every part of his God-given body.[337]

A similar link is made in "Moral Education" when the author quotes from a public lecture given on the subject by Dr C.T. Anderson:

> Next we come to the flapper stage, at present the most dangerous and difficult time of all, simply for the reason that free and independent action on the part of the girls is so universal, that many mothers who know better, and who would like to control their girls, are quite helpless. The result is, as we can all testify, that the streets, beach and pier, and worse still, the out-of-way places in the city and neighbourhood, are wellnigh crowded at all hours with unchaperoned girls of every rank in society, hunting for trouble. The trouble comes often enough in the shape of men who ought to know better, but more often of youngsters who themselves ought to be under the lock and key of parental supervision, and cannot be blamed too much for taking advantage of opportunities that should never have been theirs.[338]

Thus it was presumed that freedom which caused no serious harm to high-principled, self-controlled girls of 'good character', became license in the case of their 'weaker', 'less balanced' sisters.[339]

The 'out-of-way' places referred to by Anderson are described in *Fate's High Chancery* when the hero first enters a club in London:

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[335] Anonym, Moral education. A call to every woman, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(71), July 1916, p. 17.
[336] See, for example, Anonym, South African Alliance of Honour: the parents' duty, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(69), May 1916, p. 16; Anonym, South African Alliance of Honour, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(71), July 1916, p. 48. The magazine continued to report on the South African Alliance of Honour into the 1920's.
[337] Anonym, South African Alliance of Honour: the parents' duty, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(69), May 1916, p. 16.
[338] Anonym, Moral education. A call to every woman, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(71), July 1916, p. 17.
[339] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

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> He saw men and women dancing all round him. Some writhed, some glided, a few shouted, a few stamped; the room was an ever-changing scene of wriggling, posturing humanity. There were women with dead white faces and crimson mouths, eyes blackened to look like the burnt holes in a sheet. They lay languidly in the arms of men, drooping and fragile. So finely frail were some that they looked like tall lilies that wanton life had picked and put into red ink instead of pure water, while some of the men that held them might have been satyrs. A man with a face like one of these, livid with dissipation, exhaustion on his pale brow, and eyes shining with hot lust, passed with another wisp of a girl almost lying in his arms. Her eyes were half shut, she appeared nearly mesmerized as they gyrated together in an exotic dance.[340]

Here the women are almost passive. The fact that they are described as flowers placed in red ink rather than water, gives the impression that environment was believed to have a greater impact on how women turned out. Note that later in the novel the impact of class differences on women is focused on much more than class differences between men. Thus women are regarded as less in control of their fate than men. Yet, the novel's heroine, René, again puts emphasis on the fact that women still have some agency in their lives. She argues that Reading is only partially guilty of making the girl what she is. René does not remove the girl as an agent of her own fate entirely: '"That Reading is a beast! Oh, how I hate him! How dare he speak of that poor girl when he's made her – or helped to, at any rate – what she is."'[341]

I would argue that Thompson uses characters that are easily identifiable as discernible types to show the flaws in several ways of thinking about women's free movements and sexuality. Reading is identified as a sensualist who holds the view that women are simply there to be used and their presence in clubs are an indication of this:

> "Wine, women and song – who would be without 'em? Ah! What's the good of pretence among men? I am a sensualist and voluptuary, once a connoisseur of them, and you will never see 'em in any other light."[342]

Here he identifies women as items to be used or consumed by men. He calls himself a connoisseur of women. As one can also be a connoisseur of art, this ties women to the object position in art. The fact that the author of the novel, a woman, portrays Reading as a man who thinks nothing of a woman's intellect, confirms that she identifies him as the villain. It also depicts the dangerous type of man that Dr Anderson, the author of the article on 'moral education', feared unprepared girls could run into. However, unlike the author of this article who believed that young men when placed in such situations could not help but take advantage of women, Thompson argued through her novel that this was still up to the moral upbringing of the men – a point that was less touched upon in articles that focused on the moral upbringing of young people. In the novel, John does not take

[340] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery.*, pp. 103-104.
[341] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[342] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

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advantage of either the girls in the club or of René, who actually likes him and spends a large amount of time alone in his company.

However, Thompson also uses John's idealism to show that women should not be judged based on their reputation and appearance so much more harshly than men. Reading openly mocks John for having such idealistic notions about women:

> You idealists think a beautiful face symbolic of a beautiful mind, and a white skin the expression of a spotless soul, so you look at both with admiring compunction. René has a skin like snow, but what helps her as much as beauty is her bally ignorance and an instinct which tells her just when it is advisable to come out of the rain."[343]

Reading shows the flaws in John's outlook. The fact is that he is right. John will go on appearances with Rosamund who later proves to have none of the high feeling that he attributes to her simply based on her appearance. René, on the other hand, is judged too harshly by the sensualist, who is later set right by the very capable modern woman who can look after herself and keep her honour.

Besides education, other attempts at curbing young women's unchaperoned interaction with men in London included the formation of the Women Police. Created with the objective of searching the munitions workers for contraband, the Women Police were praised for helping to keep girls safe and out of trouble.[344] The move was criticised in a South African article in the magazine, entitled "Ellen – on the Woman Patrol" in which Ellen, a middle aged cook, points out that girls have always managed to escape their chaperones, including her mother, and that not all chaperones are equally trustworthy, thereby making the argument again for parents rather to have open and frank discussions with their children to ensure that they do not engage in inappropriate behaviour.[345] Ellen's views were echoed in *Phases of Felicity* when Felicity is nearly raped because her chaperone is too distracted by another man. If not for Felicity's own good judgement she would have been in trouble, and it is because of the chaperone's gossip that Felicity later has to deal with lies that give her a bad reputation.[346]

Still the convention remained in South Africa for women of all classes to move about unchaperoned although this came with its own dangers. Part of the reasoning used to argue that this was acceptable behaviour for women was the fact that the modern girl's judgement was seen as a defining feature of the new generation.[347] In the serial "The Grip of Yesterday" by Spero the heroine, Madge, freely makes friends with the men she works with and travels home from the

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[343] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[344] Anonym, Topical talks, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(75), November 1916, p. 52.
[345] F.R.McL, Ellen - on the Woman Patrol, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(75), November 1916, p. 44.
[346] O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity.*
[347] Anonym, Then and now, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(58), June 1915, p. 57.

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theatre in the evening '... alone, as usual, unchaperoned, like so many of the rising generation of to-day, who are perfectly capable of "taking care of themselves"....'[348] The inverted commas here indicate how often the phrase was used. It also connotes irony, as Madge is later kidnapped on one of her lone walks. In an advice column in the magazine (1919), recognition of the new generation's better judgement was connected to her increased freedom to travel unchaperoned. To the question: 'Should young girls stay alone at pleasure resorts in two's or three's?' the following answer was printed:

> As a rule well brought up girls – earning their own living – can be trusted anywhere alone, and it is an insult to think that *because* they are girls they are untrustworthy and not able to take care of themselves. They have to do it every day of their lives in their work, why should they fail to keep their self-respect when on holiday. The girl of to-day holding a responsible position does not "pick up" undesirable acquaintances, and yet enters into and enjoys healthy fun – MRS. K.[349]

This shows that the fears associated with young women travelling on their own were published amidst notions that these fears were unfounded. Women could enjoy greater agency in terms of social interaction and travelling, but the argument for restrictions on solo travel had not been quite defeated.

One would expect that there would be greater emphasis on being chaperoned in South Africa with the oft-voiced fears of black men attacking white women. However, women in South Africa were not told not to travel on their own to avoid being raped by black men but, rather, that they could avoid being attacked by black men by exhibiting the correct behaviour at home (a point to which I will return in Chapter 6) and by carrying a firearm. In several of the books, notably *Via Rhodesia*, and articles it was advocated that women should learn how to shoot and to carry revolvers. The popularity of carrying firearms is further indicated in the review on an instructional book on *Automatic Pistol Shooting*. The review reads: 'In these days of Women's Defence Associations and Girl Guides – to say nothing of Revolver Clubs for Ladies – Mr. Walter Winan's little book on Automatic Pistol Shooting will no doubt be welcomed by many of my readers.... the book is crammed with information and the most lucid and practical instruction.'[350] This very clearly placed women in the position to protect themselves thus contributing to their agency in terms of travel as they could move about the country unaccompanied. A point raised by one of the "Lady Pioneers", Mrs Rintoul, who advocated for women to learn to fire a revolver as she believed it would teach

[348] D.S. Spero, The grip of yesterday, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(67), March 1916, p. 44.
[349] Anonym, General enquiries, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(102), February 1919, p. 38.
[350] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(58), June 1915, p. 3.

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them '… to be careful and to be independent.'[351] This was illustrated in a few of the reviewed books, notably *Via Rhodesia, I too have Known* and *Anne Greenfield, Onderwijzeres.*[352]

In *Anne Greenfield: Onderwijzeres* (1915), Anne has to cycle to a nearby town at night in order to look after a sick teacher because there is no post cart available to her. Her friend, Clio, raises the concern of safety:

> "Do you think you'll be fit after a hard day's work on a day like this to ride twenty-seven miles—at night—on a bicycle? Why, man, it's not right, it's not proper, it's not safe."
> In South Africa the Black Peril is in the forefront of everyone's mind, an ever present danger.
> "Dear Clio," said Anne gently, "I don't forget all that, and though I do not wish it generally known, I have a very useful revolver, which I shall take with me in case of accidents...."[353]

In the magazine, women were often urged to join revolver clubs and learn to shoot in order to protect themselves. This again shows that women in South Africa were given the means by which to safeguard their freedom of movement in contrast to women in Britain.

4. Conclusion

The magazine and reviewed books reveal that the role of women was still negotiated during this time. Women's social activities have been shown to have carried importance in this negotiation as meritocratic individualism, present in the biographical sketches in the magazine, challenged women's subordinate position as exemplified by the selflessness expected as a gender norm in the Victorian period. Women could be artists but, as is clear from their choice in subject and how women were themselves portrayed in the art, they laboured under an unequal power relation. The roles and identities of women as depicted in the discourse in the magazine and reviewed novels changed considerably during the decade under purview, but more specifically in Britain as a result of the First World War. In particular, changes in women's agency were more marked in Britain during the war and became more in line with the agency enjoyed by South African women from 1911. Though women were still subject to discrimination in terms of their portrayal, reputation and social freedom, these were criticised in the magazine as well as in the reviewed fiction. That South African women were able to travel and be physically more active than their British counterparts before the war had implications for their work opportunities. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[351] Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand. Mrs. David Rintoul, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(12), August 1911, p. 17.
[352] C. Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia: a journey through Southern Africa*; A.J. Baker, *I too have known*; M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres.*
[353] M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres,* p. 5.

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IV. WOMEN AND LABOUR

1. Introduction

Between 1910 and 1920, a major characteristic of the changing gender norms in Britain and South Africa was women's push into the public sphere. This generally took the form of increasing demands for greater scope in education, wage work and influence in public opinion and politics. The magazine and reviewed books show that there remained tension between women's traditional role of home-maker and mother versus the 'modern woman' who entered the public sphere and was increasingly independent. Many of the magazine articles and reviewed books supported women's increased agency in wage work and education. However, as it is a polyphonic text, it is no surprise that the opposite view is also present in the magazine. The most marked reactions to this increased claim to independence in the magazine were voiced in terms of wage work and education, with several contributors to the magazine noting at different times why they were opposed to women's wage work and education. Amongst all the areas in which women demanded entrance or greater freedom, the South African feminist author, Olive Schreiner, identified one as key: 'Give us labour and the training which fits for labour! We demand this, not for ourselves alone, but for the race.'[354] In her book, *Woman and Labour,* Schreiner uses an argument of eugenics, one which was also widespread if implicit in the magazine, to argue for the better education and equal work opportunities for women. Again, although the magazine aimed to provide non-political content, it often focussed on both education and work opportunities for women.

2. Women's work in the domestic and public sphere

Within the magazine, the benefits of 'women's work' were often noted; however, the term 'women's work' in the magazine does not only refer to wage work. Women's work was literally taken to mean the work that women could do, whether at home, for charity or in wage work. An example of how this was used is evident in Mrs Henry Adler's reflections on the social work being done in the community:

> I am happy to think there are some of my sex now eagerly taking up any good work, adding to it and widening the sphere of healthy, moral influence of woman's work, which will always remain the foundation of that better element which makes a community respected.[355]

The magazine reported on various types of women's work: from its reports on charity events organised by women; women's work parties to make comforts for soldiers during the First World War; its promotion of the Home Industries Union; advice on dressmaking, cooking and

[354] O. Schreiner, *Woman and labour*, p. 33.
[355] Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand. Mrs. Henry Adler, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(31), March 1913, p. 38.

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childrearing; and, as will be discussed in greater detail in this chapter, wage work. Therefore, I would argue that women's work in the magazine often crossed over from the domestic to the public sphere.

Although I will argue in this chapter that there were different arguments made for and against wage work, one should not make the mistake of taking this as proof that there was a clear split between the maternal domestic woman and the so-called New Woman as the only two ideals. In general, a composite identity of the two extremes is a more accurate description of the 'modern woman' found in the magazine. This differed somewhat from the British periodicals for women and girls published at the *fin de siècle* in which there were clearer cultural contestations between the mid-Victorian gender norms, that focussed on domesticity and motherhood, and the figure of the New Woman, a creation of popular culture that was usually educated, financially independent and associated with rational dress, suffrage and physical activity. The New Woman, as depicted in fiction, was often also not married nor a mother. Yet Michelle Smith notes that actual women who identified as New Women during the early twentieth century regularly married and had children.[356] But whether she scoffed at marriage and motherhood or balanced it with her new role, the New Woman was identifiable through her increased entry into the public sphere and her considerable socio-political clout.

The women interviewed and reported on in the *SALPHJ* were typically those who had an impact on the social or political life of their community whether they were professional women or not. According to Julia Bush, women wielded political power and influence before the suffrage, through involvement in societies, having their writing published and organising social events.[357] For example, in organising garden parties for political parties, such as the South African Party, women could influence party policy through gaining an audience with the members and through their monetary contributions. The South African Women's Enfranchisement League, for example, was still reported on in the *SALPHJ* in the pre-war years, despite the magazine's avowed non-political stance, because their functions, such as At Homes, plays, public debates and fundraisers, were reported on in the magazine as social news.[358] This made the League visible and acted as a marketing element despite the fact that its aims were never clearly discussed in the magazine.

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[356] M.J. Smith, *Imperial Girls, Empire in British girls' literature and culture, 1880-1915.*, pp. 2, 16, 137-138.
[357] J. Bush, *Edwardian ladies and imperial power*.
[358] Anonym, Society's doings. From our correspondents in every province, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 5; Anonym, Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of S.A., *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(41), January 1914, p. 53; Anonym, Social notes., *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(50), October 1914, p. 7.

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3. Education and wage work

In the years leading up to the First World War, there was a marked focus in the magazine on education for women. This took many forms, including the reinforcement of the ideology of meritocratic individualism. Educationalists, such as lecturers[359] and headmistresses,[360] were often interviewed in articles and their activities and achievements were recorded in short biographical sketches. These articles typically focused on their contribution to education in South Africa, as well as their personal education and social involvement. The focus on exceptional women in education coincided with a general focus on education as a career or a point of interest. For instance, a pictorial article on women who had achieved a tertiary level qualification[361] was published amidst articles on girls' schools that focused on readying their pupils for university studies. In addition, articles on visiting lecturers often included the higher qualifications of the individual woman.[362] Similarly, articles on educationalists were topical considering that a major career option for heroines in the published short stories and reviewed books involved education.[363]

Focussing on tertiary education for women was not as revolutionary as it had been in England a few years prior to the publication of the magazine when women experienced concerted opposition to them entering institutions of higher learning. In contrast, women had been admitted to South African universities from the moment that they opened, in part because tertiary institutions in South Africa were much younger than their British equivalents. The general focus on women's higher qualifications shows that tertiary education for women was socially acceptable, thereby challenging the norm that young men could look forward to higher education while young ladies had to get married or take on a vocation that required little training above secondary school level. The ability to challenge this norm is indicative of the readers' relative economic power as women from lower classes did not possess the money necessary to enter a tertiary institute. Bourdieu notes that the ability to increase agency is greater for groups in a stronger position of power,[364] which the readers occupied due to their economic position and race. Additionally, any of these more upper class

[359] Anonym, An interesting personality. Mrs. Colby, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(9), April 1911, p. 30; Anonym, One of our visitors. Miss Soulsby, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(14), October 1911, p. 52; Anonym, A woman pioneer in the field of literature, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(15), November 1911, p. 18.
[360] Anonym, Grey-Institute Preparatory, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(25), September 1912, p. 23; Anonym, The Eunice High School, Bloemfontein, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(33), May 1913, p. 36; Anonym, Miss Dawes, the principal of the Grey Institute Preparatory School, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(42), February 1914, p. 58.
[361] Anonym, Degree day at the Cape University, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(8), March 1911, p. 48.
[362] Anonym, An interesting personality. Mrs. Colby, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(9), April 1911, p. 30; Anonym, One of our visitors. Miss Soulsby, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(14), October 1911, p. 52; Anonym, A woman pioneer in the field of literature, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(15), November 1911, p. 18.
[363] M. Baldwin, *Corah's school chums*; A.J. Baker, *I too have known*; D. Broadway, *The longest way round*; O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity*; M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres*; M.E. Martens, *A daughter of sin. A simple story.*
[364] L.M. Ahearn, Language and agency, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 2001, pp. 109-137.

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readers could afford to send their girls away to school rather than accept the nearest and cheapest option. It is therefore understandable that the magazine provided information on the different girls' schools and what they had to offer.

Before the war, nearly every monthly issue of the magazine contained an article on a girls' school.[365] Typically half a page in length and accompanied by photographs of the students busy at their studies or sport, the articles gave information on the principal, courses, recreational activities and educational focus of each school. Secondary schools were often advertised as ideal for any girl as they provided training that could prepare her either for a tertiary education or home life. Here is an example:

> ... it is the desire of the school authorities to give to girls such an education as may fit them not only fully to appreciate the higher learning of a university, to earn their own living, or to make good home daughters, but to quicken their interests in the living history of the world, its arts, its industries and its philanthropies, and, in the end, to give to others as it has been given to them.[366]

This focus on preparing girls to become well-rounded and useful citizens was an oft-repeated sentiment.[367] As suggested by the quote above, much of the educational focus during this period revolved around educating a girl in a gender specific manner to enable her to be the most useful type of woman: capable of studying or earning an income but also very aware of her future duty to society and as a mother. The focus on girls' schools rather than co-educational schools or boys' schools probably stems from the Edwardian belief that character training for boys and girls should be provided by an adult of the same sex. Thus it was believed that women could not provide adolescent boys with adequate training on 'manliness', but were essential to equip girls with the necessary instruction on caring and raising children in addition to their other academic pursuits.[368] Girls and boys were educated in separate spheres during the developmental stage because the educational focus, before the war in particular, was so holistic in approach that it aimed to provide specific gendered values and skills rather than to ready girls for a specific vocation. Yet, it should be noted that, of the many novels reviewed in the magazine that contained a South African school setting, only *Corah's School Chums* is set in an all girls' school. The rest are typically about

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[365] See for example, Anonym, Ellerslie Sea Point Girl's Public School, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 26; Anonym, St Andrew's, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(7), February 1911, pp. 15, 27; Anonym, Grey-Institute Preparatory, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(25), September 1912, p. 23; Anonym, St Michael's Home, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 42; Anonym, "D.S.G." The Diocesan School for Girls, Grahamstown, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(19), March 1912, p. 50; Anonym, The Good Hope Seminary, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(20), April 1912, p. 34; Anonym, The Eunice High School, Bloemfontein, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(33), May 1913, p. 36.

[366] Anonym, St Michael's Home, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 42.

[367] See for example Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 49. In it the author argues that women should get a scientific education as it would make her an overall more useful citizen.

[368] M.J. Smith, *Imperial Girls, Empire in British girls' literature and culture, 1880-1915*, p. 147.

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teachers who teach in the farm or *dorp* schools, which are usually small and for both boys and girls.[369]

In the magazine, this very general focus on readying a girl for whatever path she chooses in life was the main tenor of the years preceding the war. Despite Schreiner's assertion in 1911 that women demanded training to fit them for specific labour, there were only two articles that discussed in more detail what type of training and aptitude were necessary to enter specific vocations before the war. These also provided some detail on the hours worked and remuneration expected. The first was "The Post Office as a Career for South African Girls" published in October 1911 and the second "Commercial Life for Women" published in January 1913.[370] The article on the post office as a career, in particular, gives a good impression on how work and the training of young ladies were viewed in the magazine, and possibly more widely, before the war:

> With the advance of science the work of the household becomes less and less irksome and fewer hands are needed to provide for the comfort of the inmates. It thus happens that the modern girl when she has finished her school education looks about to see in what way she can profitably spend her time ... her health is usually excellent, her intellect keen, and she is eager to take her place in the world; the routine of home does not appeal strongly to her, she knows it all – or thinks she does. ... It may be that she must take up her share in the burden of the household expenses, or that may not be necessary – but at any rate she is imbued with the healthy modern tendency, and longs for what she dreams will be "independence," and most modern parents seeing the justice of her claim allow her to take some regular employment.[371]

From the above quote it becomes clear that women's wage work was most typically considered as a way for a girl to escape from the confines of home life, show her independence and 'profitably spend her time' rather than a necessity. Tellingly, articles that discussed working women during this time most often referred to them as 'the modern girl' or 'working girls'. The use of 'girl' indicates that it was expected that these women were unmarried. Michelle Smith argues that the definition of 'girl' in relation to empire made working outside of the home more acceptable. She notes that the 'girl' reader of publications such as the *Girl's Own Paper* was neither a child nor even an adolescent, but could be aged anywhere from ten years old to her mid-twenties and could even be extended if she remained unmarried.[372] This is typical of the use of the term in the magazine where it is only used for unmarried young women without any indication of age. The elevation of the age

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[369] M. Baldwin, *Corah's school chums*; A.J. Baker, *I too have known*; D. Broadway, *The longest way round*; O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity*; M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres.*
[370] Anonym, The post office as a career for South African girls, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(14), October 1911, pp. 14-15; Anonym, Commercial life for women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(29), January 1913, p. 33.
[371] Anonym, The post office as a career for South African girls, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(14), October 1911, p. 14.
[372] M.J. Smith, *Imperial Girls, Empire in British girls' literature and culture, 1880-1915.*

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of marriage and work outside the home were two characteristics associated with the so-called 'new girl', who enjoyed a period of relative independence between the parental and marital home.[373]

Girlhood was still connected to greater freedom in comparison to what was seen as acceptable for married women as the ascription of immaturity and liminality gave her permission to behave in ways that might not have been considered appropriate for a married woman.[374] This is why the 'working girl' or 'modern girl' would have been more easily accepted than a working wife or mother. In "Women Workers on the Rand", an article which appeared in 1911, the author does list the type of work that 'women' do but specifically points out that those married women who are part of the workforce are working mostly out of necessity. This need to point to married women's presence in the workforce amidst a list of careers shows that this is viewed as the exception rather than the norm. The author also points out that the poor bachelor girl in South Africa 'is still much envied by her English sisters, for here every Jill can have a Jack – or the choice of a dozen – whereas in the Old Country there are not Jacks enough to go round',[375] indicating the belief in marriage as an ideal way to obtain an economically stable situation rather than for a bachelor girl to achieve security through her own work. It is therefore understandable why so little specific information was made available on the type of training necessary for specific jobs open to women prior to the First World War as women were not expected to be the breadwinners.

As the war drew on, its impact on women's situation became clearer. By 1916, the magazine contained large numbers of portrait photos in the "Honour Roll" of men who had died in battle as well as requests for help with men who had returned from the war but were injured to the point where they could no longer return to their former employment; death and maiming had left women the breadwinners of the home, often quite unprepared for entering adequately paid positions. This affected the focus on education in the magazine. During the war, there were no more articles on specific schools, and such an interest only resumed after the war in an article on St George's High School, Johannesburg.[376] However, the focus on education did not wane during the war but was communicated through articles that discussed more specifically what type of education was necessary for girls to be able to enter specific employment.

Increasingly the war influenced women's ideas on the acceptability of education and work even if married. This is because of the very real fear of what would happen to them and their children if

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[373] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[374] *Ibid.*
[375] Anonym, Women workers on the Rand, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(7), February 1911, p. 41.
[376] Anonym, St. George's High School, Johannesburg, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(112), December 1919, p. 21.

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their husbands were to die on campaign. An example of this change can be found in two short stories on professional nurses: one from 1912 and the other from 1917. “The Girl in the Stoep Room: A Story of a Postponed Wedding” is a story about Maggie Scott, a trained nurse, who does not join her fiancée in South Africa for two years in order to complete her training in Glasgow. However, she gives up professional nursing soon after qualifying as such when she marries Jim.[377] In contrast, the romantic short story, “The Prerogative”, provides a character, the South African nurse, Elsie, who refuses to get married because she values her independence too much, and it is only because Hamilton Vaughan promises that she will still have complete freedom to decide her destiny that she is willing to marry him.[378] Both heroines are treated sympathetically, indicating that as readily as it was accepted for a woman to give up a professional career for marriage before the First World War, the War made it acceptable to work while married. The fact that the war was hardly mentioned in “The Prerogative” shows that married working women had become a sufficient enough trend to be included in situations without any necessity of war being indicated.

The increased expectation and opportunities for women to take over or supplement the home income raised criticism about the superficial education generally given to girls. It took a war for the call, identified a few years earlier by Olive Schreiner, to be taken seriously: labour and the training to fit the labour. Ruth S. Alexander took this head on in an article entitled “Hanging Sword” by calling for average women to get a scientific education. She argued that a scientific education would give women confidence and hope regardless of uncertain times, which would also be of benefit to their family. For Alexander, the Damoclean sword was what she termed the ‘Average Woman’s Education’ which caused worry or irritation to even the most well-bred and ‘accomplished’ wives. She noted that the average woman’s education was fine in fair weather situations as:

> [it] produces a type of womanhood, graceful, gracious, sympathetic, able to employ herself in a variety of useful and becoming ways, and to display an intelligent interest in matters of the moment, domestic, political, social, literary, or artistic. It does not, one feels, do much to foster initiative, to develop clearness and accuracy of thought, or to encourage self-reliance....[379]

In times of upheaval, such as the loss of a husband, this education – still advertised before the war – left the woman or girl without a marketable skill or knowledge.

> Now this is an era of curiously rapid change in the position of women; and in this, no less than in other respects, there is already visible and undoubted improvement. The scientific pursuit of knowledge, even for its own sake, is no longer considered unwomanly, and the fact of a girl’s possessing a definite vocation is no longer considered a handicap to matrimony. This is a great step forward; but the menace of the hanging sword must needs

[377] Anonym, The girl in the stoep room: the story of a postponed wedding, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(26), October 1912, pp. 21-23.
[378] H.E.G., The prerogative, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(66), February 1916, p. 50.
[379] R.S. Alexander, The hanging sword, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(70), June 1916, p. 19.

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> continue to dominate the lives of hundreds of thousands of women until the next is accomplished. The next step is the effecting of so drastic a reconstruction of public opinion that it will be considered as unpardonable for a girl to marry before being properly grounded in a profession or vocation as it now is for a man to do so. Whether she chooses to continue to practice it after marriage, failing any absolute material necessity therefor, is another question....[380]

Alexander further argued for the better education of women by pointing out that it would be of benefit to her in running her household. The main sentiment of the article was echoed in the same issue when an advertisement, written in short story style, made the same point about the changed expectations of girls' education. The advertisement on insurance policies for girls from Norwich Union was presented in the form of the story of a woman who visits a young mother to tell her of the policy. The saleswoman explains that like her brother a girl cannot always rely on her parents, or husband, and will probably enter the workforce alongside her brother. The policy is shown to be even more important to give the mother peace of mind in light of the fact that they have not heard from her husband on campaign in German South West Africa.[381]

This concern that girls could no longer hope to rely on a husband to take care of them brought about a more critical view of the education system in South Africa and, specifically, on what was included in the syllabus.[382] The magazine also started a monthly article to provide the readers with practical information about different careers and what type of education was required for each.[383] In particular, the series entitled "Careers for Girls", launched in January 1916, gave more detailed information on what a woman could expect in a certain career and covered careers in office work as a general secretary, domestic science, nursing and medicine. In "Vocational Training. An Avoidance of 'Blind-Alley' Occupations" the author suggests that seniors in elementary schools should be informed of the options available to them. This was written after it was found that a large percentage of homeless people in South Africa had occupations that were unskilled:

> Here in South Africa, where the labour market is not considered to be overcrowded, we are very apt to let our boys and girls drift into various occupations, rather than giving them definite technical training for the paths of life they will be called upon to tread.... No child should be allowed to leave school and enter upon a wildly bewildering world without some preconceived idea of the conditions and surroundings which he or she will be called upon to

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[380] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[381] Anonym, A certain inheritance, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(70), June 1916, p. 13.
[382] Anonym, Making for success. Fundamentals in education, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(66), February 1916, p. 40; Anonym, Making for success. Fundamentals in education II, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(67), March, p. 40.
[383] Anonym, Careers for girls II: secretarial training, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(66), February 1916, p. 48; Anonym, Careers for girls, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(71), July 1916, p. 53; Anonym, Agricultural farm for women at Potchefstroom, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(67), March 1916, p. 48; Anonym, Careers for girls III: domestic science, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(67), March 1916, p. 19; M.E. Fuller, Teaching as a career, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(69), May 1916, p. 54; L.A. Robinson, Careers for girls IV: nursing, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(68), April 1916, p. 48; L.A. Robinson, Careers for girls. medicine, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(65), January 1916, p. 46.

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> compete in. As a rule, girls especially are allowed to go forth into the modern industrial hive without any thorough initial preparation; they soon become completely demoralised and disheartened, and any special gifts which nature has bestowed upon them are swamped and utterly lost.[384]

The article's argument for better preparing young people for specific vocations suited to them was combined with informative articles on careers and increased calls for women who were qualified to work as doctors, nurses, veterinarians or chemists to take up positions left open by men fighting on the front.[385] In general the focus changed from low-skilled work for women to adequately trained women workers. This is exemplified by a common character in the stories and novels produced before the war namely, the ill-defined 'office girl' which can be contrasted with the female characters in later novels who have well-defined careers. It is also evident in advertisements, such as the one for Miss Belfort's Commercial School, Bloemfontein, which trained both men and women and was led by Miss Belfort, 'the first woman in South Africa to get the degree of certified accountant'.[386] While there were several careers noted for women in the magazine and reviewed books, four stood out in frequency and importance, namely writer, teacher, nurse or farmer. Women authors and journalists are briefly discussed in Chapter one; the last three will be examined in a little more detail below.

a. Teaching

Teaching was viewed as a career that held more opportunities for women in South Africa than in England.[387] Whilst teaching was an acceptable career for women at the time, several of the books reviewed in the magazine show that teaching was chosen not so much because the heroine had a passion for teaching (the exception being *I Too Have Known*[388]) but more often because she did not have the means to study, or enter either a vocation that she preferred or a social situation that she would deem more suitable. In *Anne Greenfield, Onderwijzeres* (1915), Anne, though a very innovative teacher, takes on a teaching job in South Africa only until a better social position in England presents itself.[389] Letty Urquhart in *The Longest Way Round* sees no other financial option for herself in England, where she would rather continue her studies and thus she takes on a teaching position in South Africa.[390] Felicity, in *Phases of Felicity*, decides to refuse a lucrative marriage proposal in England in order to live by her own means, the manner in which to support herself

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[384] Anonym, Vocational training. An avoidance of "blind-alley" occupations, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(70), June 1916, p. 44.
[385] Anonym, Our letter from overseas, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(60), August 1915, p. 57.
[386] Anonym, Miss Belfort's Commercial School, Bloemfontein, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(105), May 1919, p. 19.
[387] Anonym, Women workers on the Rand, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(7), February 1911, p. 41; O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity.*
[388] A.J. Baker, *I too have known.*
[389] M. Hartill, *Anne Greenfield, onderwijzeres.*
[390] D. Broadway, *The longest way round*.

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immediately presents itself in the form of a letter from her friend ensuring her of the better opportunities for women in South Africa. Felicity subsequently boards a ship for South Africa where she soon finds work as a music teacher.[391] In the magazine articles and short stories in the magazine, women whose own artistic careers did not turn out as they had planned, often turn to a career as a teacher of music, art, dance or singing.

b. Nursing

Due to its nurturing aspect, nursing had been seen as appropriate for women since the mid-nineteenth century. Its association with maternal nurturing and self-sacrifice did not radically challenge Victorian views of femininity and thus nursing was a non-threatening occupation for women that allowed for individual assertion.[392] Whilst nursing was a career option before the First World War,[393] it was during the war in particular that individual nurses were treated as particularly noteworthy through articles, photographs and reviews of books describing their experiences in the war.[394] In fiction, the heroines of the story were frequently nurses, especially in romance, adventure and the newly popular spy genres. As has been noted, the heroines of more formulaic genres provide an indication of the ideal women of the society in which they were written.[395] In these genres, the typical heroine changed from the young lady who did not work and simply wanted to find the perfect husband (most prevalent before the war) to the working girl, increasingly independent and capable both of looking after herself and of finding a husband despite her independence.

Nurses worked particularly well as a vocation for heroines not only because the majority of the fiction published between 1915 and 1919 dealt with the war but also because nursing added an adventurous element without detracting from the heroine's sense of duty and nurturing nature. For example, in the serial by D.S. Spero, "The Grip of Yesterday" published in 1916, Madge becomes a nurse out of a sense of duty to 'do her bit', which enables her to go to German Southwest Africa where she is taken prisoner by Germans and plays a key role in the escape of the other British prisoners and herself.[396] These strong-willed and adventurous female characters exemplified the message proliferated in the magazine articles and reviewed non-fiction where nurses were also

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[391] O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity.*
[392] M.J. Smith, *Imperial Girls, Empire in British girls' literature and culture, 1880-1915.*
[393] Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African Women., *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(23), July 1912, p. 67; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(44), April 1914, p. 3; Anonym, The girl in the stoep room: the story of a postponed wedding, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(26), October 1912, pp. 21-23.
[394] See, for example, *Hospital Sketches* by Frances Lyndall reviewed in "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(112), December 1919, p. 51.
[395] J.G. Cawelti, *Adventure, mystery, and romance: formula stories as art and popular culture.*
[396] D.S. Spero, The grip of yesterday IX, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(73), September 1916, p. 53; D.S. Spero, The grip of yesterday X, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(74), October 1916, pp. 46, 48.

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treated as the heroines of the war. From 1917 nurses who worked in the Voluntary Aid Detachment were featured in the monthly "V.A.D.s on Active Service", which was similar to the monthly "Our Boys on Active Service". Both were accompanied by photographs and short information about the individuals and their service. Yet the comparison was an unequal one, with the "V.A.D." articles often broken up over several pages and nested between other items while "Our Boys" appeared with photos and text, made up of biographical information and war poetry, on a single page dedicated to the specific subject. This gives the impression that while the nurses were heroines in their own right, they were not as important as the fighting men.

In 1919, there are two instances in the magazine where nurses were depicted as the heroines of the war. The first appeared in the January 1919 issue, where the editor chose to group together a photograph of four nurses, an extract from E.V. Lucas' *The Nurse* and the poem "Sister". Because these three elements were grouped together rather than scattered in between other articles, they started to reflect the attitude of hero-worship conventionally associated with soldiers.[397] The most striking indication that nurses were the overlooked heroes of the war appeared in an article reprinted from the *Cape Times* in the July 1919 issue of the magazine, entitled "The Last Honours". It described Edith Cavell's burial and argued that the event was an acknowledgement of the nurse's heroic role in war:

> The women of the world have done justice to Edith Cavell, if the men have not, and the day of her burial was the greatest Women's Day since the burial of Florence Nightingale, certainly greater than that of the august obsequies of Queen Victoria, for Queen Victoria's conception of her sex and its claims was far behind the times.[398]

The comparison of Edith Cavell to another famous nurse, Florence Nightingale, made the argument that women's roles, specifically as nurses in war zones, were undervalued by men and deserved greater attention from women. While the magazine itself rarely provided nurses with the same honour that they would to men fighting in the war, the fact that the article was republished in the *SALPHJ* indicates that the magazine had started to acknowledge the role of nurses.

A similar change can be seen in how the magazine reported on female medical doctors. A career in medicine became increasingly accessible to women during the war, not only in nursing but also as medical doctors. In Britain, although it was an avenue which had been open to women since the 1880s, female doctors were more easily accepted during the war as they could fill in for male doctors who had to go to the front. This was reported on in the magazine in the articles "Our Letter

[397] Anonym, Extract from *The Nurse*, E. V. Lucas, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(101), January 1919, p. 30; E.H.R. Woods, Sister, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(101), January 1919, p. 30.
[398] Anonym, The last honours, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(107), July 1919, p. 14.

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from Overseas" of April 1915 and August 1915.[399] This also affected public opinion in South Africa. In general, the position of female doctors remained relatively under-reported in the magazine. For instance, in "Women Workers on the Rand" published in 1911, it was noted that there were female doctors on the Rand, but the article did not elaborate on it, nor was any mention made of this as a career until medicine was discussed as one of the "Careers for Girls".[400] And yet it was the position of doctor that was held up when the magazine announced the achievement of a particular victory towards equality of the sexes. The telling title "Sex-Equality in Professional Life" was chosen for the article announcing that a position for medical doctor was opened to applications from both sexes.[401]

c. Farming

In South Africa, women enjoyed greater opportunities in wage work, yet none was more regularly advocated in the magazine than farming. In this area, women in South Africa were also allowed greater involvement than women in Britain. Before the war, farming was regularly discussed in the monthly "From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African Women". It frequently featured the different areas of agriculture that were considered particularly suitable for women. The types of farming situations were also included in the articles, such as collective farming or farming holiday camps, that women had taken to particularly in Australia and America, but also in South Africa. These articles provided suggestions on areas that women could enter into rather than detailed advice on how women should go about it, but the repetitive quality of the argument made it particularly persuasive and these articles often approached farming for women from several angles ranging from flower growing for the local market to agriculture on a large scale.[402]

The magazine shared a focus on the agricultural development of the country with Charlotte Mansfield's travel book, *Via Rhodesia* published in 1911. In a chapter entitled "Agriculture", Mansfield argues that farming was a particularly good way for women to take part in empire building. She provides very specific information on what would be necessary to start farming in Rhodesia and pays particular attention to the trade or farming possibilities including climate and costs in each region. Arguing that there were too many unemployed women in England, she

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[399] Anonym, Our letter from overseas, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(56), April 1915, p. 46; Anonym, Our letter from overseas, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(60), August 1915, p. 57.
[400] Anonym, Women workers on the Rand, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(7), February 1911, p. 41; L.A. Robinson, Careers for girls. medicine, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(65), January 1916, p. 46.
[401] Anonym, Topical talk. Sex-equality in professional life, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(74), October 1916, p. 36.
[402] See, for example, Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African Women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(22), June 1912, p. 63; Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African Women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(23), July 1912, p. 67; Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 49.

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suggests that they should move to Rhodesia where there were more opportunities. She gives estimates of the capital layout for poultry farming, an agricultural pursuit that was considered particularly suited for women along with dairy farming, bee keeping and horticulture.[403] During the First World War it also became necessary for women to be able to take over the general farm management in all areas pertaining to agriculture in the absence of so many men.

In an article that appeared in January 1912 Miss Johnstone Scott identified the three main benefits of agricultural training for women: it provided women with a suitable means to gain their own livelihood; farmers were best aided by wives who thoroughly understood the farm work; and, as an outdoor pursuit, farming was good for the health. These reasons were identified in "From the Cape to the Congo" under the subtitle: "The Farmer Girl".[404] Again, the use of 'girl' invokes associations with independence and greater freedom to earn money before marriage; yet the rest of the articles on farming in the magazine show that the use of 'girl' here differs from its use in British girls' periodicals and adventure novels. According to Smith, it was accepted in the imperial discourse on girls' function regarding farming that they could look after the farm, but only in lieu of the male relation who owned the farm or to look after the family home.[405] In South African stories (and as the article by Scott makes clear) however, the women were often the owners and were encouraged to take on farming for their own income.[406] Additionally, since Scott's article itself discusses the value of agricultural training for farmer's wives, the use of 'girl' in the title may refer to the training phase rather than implying that women could only be farmers until they were married. This is an important divergence from other careers discussed before the war. Farming had been seen as an ideal career, even for married women, long before the war. This may also be why, along with their physical strength, South African women were seen as more suited to agriculture than British women during the First World War: agricultural training had been open to them long before the war and they lived in a country where the farmer's wife could take a hand in the farming.[407] In the short

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[403] C. Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia: a journey through Southern Africa*; Anonym, Women workers on the Rand, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(7), February 1911, p. 41; Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African Women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(23), July 1912, p. 67; Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 49; Anonym, Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(42), February 1914, p. 58; Anonym, Agricultural farm for women at Potchefstroom, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(67), March 1916, p. 48; Anonym, A woman's settlement, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(69), May 1916, p. 16; Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African Women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(22), June 1912, p. 63

[404] Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 49.

[405] M.J. Smith, *Imperial Girls, Empire in British girls' literature and culture, 1880-1915.*

[406] See, for example, P. Jefferies, The man Sonny knew, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(42), February 1914, pp. 21-23; O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity.*

[407] P. de Riet, Love and war I, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(108), August 1919, p. 17; Anonym, A woman's settlement, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(69), May 1916, p. 16; E.H., Two of us, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(57), May 1915, pp. 21-23; L.A. Robinson, Farming as a career for girls, *The South*

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stories published in the magazine during the war, colonial girls are shown to be able to take over the management of the farm when the men go off to fight in the war, as is shown in Piet de Riet's "Love and War".[408]

4. Challenges to women as wage earners

The previous section explained the increased opportunities open to women in terms of labour and education as refracted through the magazine and popular novels of the period. However, as these sources also indicate, women who wanted to earn a wage were still faced with considerable challenges. The following section will identify three arguments which were presented in the magazine and reviewed novels that were against women working unless it was as a result of an absolute financial imperative.

a. Women in competition with white men

In 1912, it was already noted in the magazine that women should be able to obtain employment without competing with men for the same positions. Such work suggested for the 'gentler sex' included cooking lessons, party planning, gardening, massage and manicuring as well as interior decorating.[409] However, while there was concern over women competing with men from 1912, and thus concern regarding women's impact on men's security in their position of relative economic power, in the magazine itself, the argument against women entering the labour market and competing with men was pitched most frequently from 1913 to 1914. Several of the magazine's contributors noted that as women entered more fields, there was increased competition between women and men for the same positions. In particular, in articles on "Topics of Interest", debates arose concerning which career choices were more suitable for women in order for them to not compete with men.[410] These arguments coincided with increased reporting on industrial unrest both in Britain and in South Africa.[411] This unrest indicated the job insecurity experienced by the workers, particularly by white men in South Africa, which is the most likely reason for the arguments to maintain the *status quo* regarding labour.

African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal 6(70), June 1916, p. 62; Anonym, Agricultural farm for women at Potchefstroom, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(67), March 1916, p. 48.

[408] P. De Riet, Love and war VIII, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(114), February 1920, p. 19; P. De Riet, Love and war IX, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(115), March 1920, p. 17.

[409] Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(25), September 1912, p. 59.

[410] See, for example, Anonym, Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(34), June 1913, p. 62; K, Woman in South Africa, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(37), September 1913, p. 48; Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 49; Anonym, Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(40), December 1913, p. 64.

[411] While more generally left to the mainstream newspapers, the strikes were also discussed in the magazine in Anonym, Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(42), February 1914, p. 58; Anonym, Our letter from overseas, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(42), February 1914, p. 46.

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Despite increased opportunities for women to enter the labour market on a level footing with men, the general ideal was still for the man to be the breadwinner of the household. In the magazine there are several examples specifically pointing out that the 'male rotter', whether rich or poor, was a type to be avoided and that the active working man was the ideal.[412] According to Joan Williams, writing about the influence of tradition on concepts of gender-appropriate work and childcare, changes such as urbanisation, industrialisation and capitalism affected gender roles by entrenching ideas of the man as the breadwinner and the woman as the bearer and educator of children. Williams emphasises the importance of breadwinner/mother discourse in industrialised society during the nineteenth and twentieth century, and the pressure that it placed on men.[413] This gives a good indication why white men would feel threatened by women's entrance into the labour market, as it opened up the possibility of the woman usurping the man as the breadwinner of the household. During this time, the hard-working and successful man was still considered crucial to a masculine identity, an assumption which is also evident of the portrayal of male fictional heroes in the short stories published in the magazine; in some cases, this ideal was not incompatible with the idea of the working woman and, in others, women became responsible to allow men to uphold this masculine ideal by leaving room for them in the workforce.

One particular advocate for separate women's work was an author who wrote under the pseudonym "Laura Pendennis". A self-proclaimed mid-Victorian, "Laura Pendennis" wrote two articles that attacked the notion of women working unless absolutely necessitated by financial constraints. While these are the only two articles by her under the name "Laura Pendennis", there is an argument to be made for her being the same author who penned "Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all," a monthly article that was often authored by "K" but for the most part remained anonymous. In March 1914, "Laura Pendennis" reacted to letters sent to the magazine which responded to her article in the previous issue: 'I have been taken to task by several indignant correspondents because I had the temerity, in my last month's article, to suggest that the price of labour, like that of every other commodity, is governed by the elementary law of supply and demand.'[414] This law of supply and demand referred to an argument briefly touched on in "The Twentieth Century Girl" by "Laura Pendennis" and elaborated on in "Women in South Africa.

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[412] See, for example, the short story by H. Farquhar, Wanted, a king, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(27), November 1912, pp. 18, 21-22. Also see Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand. Mrs. Bettington, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(27), November 1912, p. 56.
[413] J.C. Williams, From difference to dominance to domesticity: care as work, gender as tradition, *Chicago Kent Law Review* 76(1441), 2001, p. 1472.
[414] "Laura Pendennis", Feminine facts and fallacies, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(43), March 1914, p. 48.

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Topics of Interest to All".[415] Whether or not the two articles were written by the same author, the fact is that they conveyed the same idea: that women entered the labour market at the cost of men. This was especially the case in a country such as South Africa where there were either black servants to take up the household work for girls to earn an income outside the home or where black men competed with white men for jobs. In "Women in South Africa", the argument was summarised as follows:

> The restlessness of modern womanhood must sooner or later affect some of the claims put forward by man to-day. Here, in South Africa, man is demanding the right to receive a wage which, by an unwritten law rather than by necessity, has come to be considered the minimum on which he can live decently. But the determining factor in the payment of that wage, to the artisan class at any rate, may before very long be the rate paid to the coloured man. In other forms of work woman has entered the arena to a considerable extent, and the economic independence claimed by her will sooner or later make itself felt.[416]

The minimum wage in South Africa took on a racial dimension as the claim was for a 'civilised wage'. The word 'civilised' indicated that this was for white men, who were considered more 'civilised' than black people, and the minimum wage was to be set in order for white families to live 'decently', implying that they had to live in a manner conforming to the notions of culture and civilisation to differentiate themselves from blacks.[417] If white men felt that they were in danger to receiving an equal wage to black men, they would by extension no longer be able to feel that they were more civilised. Therefore, their moral economy would be threatened which would lead them to act in a discriminating way towards anyone outside of their white male group. According to Timothy Keegan, this racial insecurity translated into gender insecurity on the part of the white men, an argument which was voiced by female writers in the magazine. The usurpation of men by women who insisted on working and 'revolting against their limitations' was further emphasised by a play published in the same issue, entitled "The Reversal. A Romantic Episode of A.D. 2040" by an anonymous author. The play offers a satirical account of a world in which gender roles have completely been reversed, with women being the breadwinners and being the ones to propose to men, who in turn are mainly concerned about their appearance and do not work at all.[418] As with the argument made by "Laura Pendennis", the play perpetuated the debate on women's impact if they

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[415] Anonym, Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(42), February 1914, p. 58; "Laura Pendennis", The twentieth century girl, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(42), February 1914, p. 55.
[416] Anonym, Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(42), February 1914, p. 58.
[417] According to Alexander, this living wage did not mean merely existing: 'To struggle to live – that, through the most supreme difficulty and suffering may be infinitely worthwhile; to struggle to exist, that is, just not to die, can assuredly not be worth the effort. A *civilized* community should, then, be prepared to offer to every *civilized* human being within that community not merely an existence, but a living' [own emphasis added]. R.S. Alexander, A living wage, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(65), January 1916, p. 15.
[418] Anonym, The reversal. A romantic episode of A.D. 2040, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(43), March 1914, pp. 54-55.

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were to take on wage work in terms of a dichotomous heteronormativity. In the play this is comically extended to notions of gender behaviour pertaining to fashion and romance.

In "Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all" it was noted that it would not be too long before the rate paid to the black or coloured man would affect the rate paid to the white artisan, which meant that the actions of women were of economic importance:

> We cannot, without misgiving, look forward to the day when female labour, as well as coloured labour, will compete with man in all those fields of work in South Africa to which both sexes seem competent to enter. It is difficult to believe that the result can be other than a general lowering of remuneration. The woman's movement is a revolt against her limitations, and a claim to live her own life. In her determination to insist on her recognition as a definite factor in modern life, she may conceivably enter a congested labour market, bringing another element into an already disturbed industrialism.[419]

Here "Laura Pendennis" articulates a conservative view of women's role rather than an argument about her natural capabilities, which served to highlight the labour competition between black and white as a gender issue of particular concern to female readers. The argument about whether women should work or not placed the emphasis on job competition between black and white; yet the argument would turn in favour of women at the cost of black labourers. As touched on previously, "Laura Pendennis" strongly defended her view in reaction to 'indignant correspondents' in an article in the next month's issue entitled "Feminine Facts and Fallacies".[420] These 'indignant correspondents' believed that an average minimum wage should be set for men and women and that there was room for women to enter the work force, a view supported by Schreiner in *Woman and Labour* which "Laura Pendennis" pointed to and differed with in particular. That women should be allowed to work was evidently the more popular, or perhaps vociferously supported, viewpoint as "Laura Pendennis" no longer contributed to the magazine (at least not under that name) after this last irate article. Also, suggestions for work that would ensure that women would not compete with men, were no longer mentioned until some concern was raised again in 1915.

During the First World War white women often filled positions left open by the men fighting in the war. With noticeable frequency between 1915 and 1916 the argument was made, not that women should not work but, that women should be willing to give up their jobs once the men had returned from war. It was argued that standing aside and giving up her position was the duty of every woman who could afford to do so.[421] This coincided with the articles discussed in the previous chapter that urged the readers not to lose the grace and self-sacrifice (sense of duty) of the Victorian era in their attempt to become more fit, able and independent. In other words, there were still those who,

[419] Anonym, Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(42), February 1914, p. 58.
[420] "Laura Pendennis", Feminine facts and fallacies, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(43), March 1914, p. 48.
[421] Anonym, Women's attitude after the war, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(73), September 1916, p. 21.

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although they could see the practical need for women's greater independence in terms of wage work, still wanted to protect the traditional paternalistic order. The first article to criticise this argument quoted from a piece by H.G. Wells, published in a periodical, *London Evening News*. The celebrity author pointed out that women workers were here to stay and that this was good as there would be more bachelor girls because of the high death rate among young Englishmen at the front.[422] This marked a turning point in the argument and, as mentioned before, the idea of a working married woman became more acceptable. No other articles published later in or after the war noted that men who struggled to find work in South Africa were placed in that situation because of women filling their positions.

However, what remained in place was the idea that no woman could be happy if unmarried[423] or childless.[424] From 1915 into the 1920s so much of the focus was on the health and education of babies and children that motherhood was portrayed as the fulfilment of any woman's life.[425] In several articles and short stories those who chose a career over motherhood were severely criticised or shown to be deluded about exactly how unfulfilled they were.[426] An example of this is an article by Miriam G. Walsh in which she argues that no woman can be fulfilled if she is not a mother:

> And are there women in the world to-day so blind, so foolish as to refuse to become mothers, to bring little children into the world? Alas! There are many such. In ever-increasing numbers the women of South Africa are deliberately remaining childless. What a wealth of joy such women miss! No one could ever bring home to them the realization of the emptiness of their hearts.[427]

The emphasis on the sacredness of motherhood is amplified by the picture of Mary and the baby Jesus by Botticelli placed at the centre of the article (see Figure 6 below).[428]

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[422] Anonym, Topical talks, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(75), November 1916, p. 52.
[423] H.E.G., The prerogative, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(66), February 1916, p. 50.
[424] Ignava, A structure of sand, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(44), April 1914, pp. 21-22.
[425] See, for example, Anonym, The Babies' Bureau, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(58), June 1915 p. 47; Anonym, Moral education. A call to every woman., *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(71), July 1916, p. 17; Anonym, South African Alliance of Honour: the parents' duty, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(69), May 1916, p. 16; Anonym, South African Alliance of Honour, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(71), July 1916, p. 48.
[426] M. Neish, My cousin Helen, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(99), November 1918, p. 30.
[427] M.G. Walsh, The sacredness of motherhood, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(76), December 1916, p. 19.
[428] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

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The Sacredness of Motherhood.

By Miriam G. Walsh.

ON the first Christmas Day, nearly two thousand years ago, God for ever consecrated motherhood. He ordained in His divine wisdom that the Christ should come to earth as a little child, not at the head of a vast host of angels, or with all the pomp and ceremony the Jews had so long expected. A babe was born in Bethlehem in the lowliest and humblest circumstances. That this babe should come into the world, a woman suffered agony of body and travail of the soul. Though God could have chosen other ways, He sent His Son as a little babe; He used a woman's body as the means of entrance to the world. He put His seal for all time on motherhood, sanctifying it and blessing it. The immaculate Conception will ever remain a mystery, but the birth of our Lord was an event fraught with deep and holy significance to women.

The anniversary of that day is just as much the annual holy day of motherhood as it is the birthday of the Christ! We are reminded on Christmas Day that even the Divine Jesus owed much to her whom He called mother. Because of the reverence and respect He always showed to women, because of His pitying gentleness even to those whom He knew as sinners, the attitude of the world to-day towards women in general is far different from what it was ere Christ trod the earth. He knew a mother's love. For thirty years He dwelt with Mary, a joy and a blessing in her home. And then for three sad years she saw Him buffetted and repulsed; she endured bitter grief because of His ill-treatment; and the last sad picture is that of the poor mother at the foot of the cruel Cross whereon hangs her dearly-loved and first-born Son.

The motherhood of Mary was typical of motherhood in all ages and climes. She suffered, she rejoiced; she did not understand much that came to pass in her precious Son's life, but she loved Him to the end, and, because of her undying love, was called at last to be with Him for ever. The mysterious sacredness of motherhood was deeply realized by her. We know she must have looked upon it as woman's highest and holiest privilege, and even when her boy became a man and went to fulfil His supreme destiny, her mother-love grew but the stronger as His sufferings increased; it burnt as a sacred flame, consuming her weaknesses and purging her soul of selfishness. To have her son for ever by her side would have been her choice, but she knew He had work to do; she knew she had borne and reared Him for some great purpose, and she sadly, but lovingly, relinquished her mother's claims upon Him.

How infinitely tender were Christ's words to her on the Cross as she stood torn with grief and anguish at His feet: "Woman, behold thy son!" as He thus commended her to the loving care of Saint John. "Son, behold thy mother!" How sadly these two turned away at the bitter end, hand-in-hand, treading back the weary path to Jerusalem, ever and anon turning back to look at the three black crosses on the Hill of Calvary, outlined against the breaking dawn! Was that the culmination, the end of Mary's motherhood? Was that terrible death the blow that separated her dear one from His mother? Ah, no! the Cross was but the beginning. Mary knew that He whom she had been privileged to bear, to tend and care for, to love and cherish, to guide and guard, she knew that He would live for ever in the hearts and minds of men, and that because she had so faithfully fulfilled all the many duties of a mother, hard though they had been, she should share also in His glory and His triumph.

Botticelli's Beautiful Masterpiece—The Holy Virgin and Child.

Motherhood is truly a sacred and a holy privilege. No picture has been more prized down all the ages than that of the Madonna and Child, and even now we find no more pleasing sight than that of a mother with her babes. And are there women in the world to-day so blind, so foolish as to refuse to become mothers, to bring little children into the world? Alas! there are many such. In ever-increasing numbers the women of South Africa are deliberately remaining childless. What a wealth of joy such women miss! No one could ever bring home to them the realization of the emptiness of their hearts.

Children bring solemn responsibilities. To rear them faithfully demands never-ceasing sacrifice on the part of mother and father. Long before they come into the world these sacrifices begin. But what a happiness and joy fills that mother's heart who looks round upon her little ones this Christmas Day and thanks God that He saw fit to send her also a little child! "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given!" Only a mother can really know the meaning of those words, can truly understand the deep significance of Christmas Day. As she thinks of the birth of the Christ-child in the lowly manger, of the humbleness of His parents, their lack of riches and wordly honour, and then remembers to what heights their Son attained, she views the coming years with greater faith and hopefulness. Even as God blessed Mary, so does He bless and help all those who take the burden of motherhood joyfully upon their shoulders, who look upon the advent of a little child with gratitude and joyful expectation, who can say with real truth and fervour: "My crown of life is here."

Figure 6: "The Sacredness of Motherhood" (from *SALPHJ*, December 1916, p. 19.)

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Thus we observe some consensus on women's position in the magazine and in the books reviewed: women could be independent and enter a career, but this ought never to be at the cost of the primary biological function so necessary for her race, namely reproduction. Motherhood therefore took on an almost sacred unassailable position in the novels, which shows why even the most independent female characters 'naturally' craved motherhood and, by extension of the morals of the time, matrimony or at least a romantic relationship. Examples of these in the reviewed novels include René from *Fate's High Chancery,* Letty Uruqhuart from *The Longest Way Round* and Felicity from *Phases of Felicity.*[429] What these stories suggest is that despite their attempts to be independent, women continued to understand their position, and to find meaning in their lives, in relation to men. The male characters, by contrast, could easily establish a sense of identity outside of their relationships with women.

b. Women and black labourers

If gender competition was seen as acceptable, racial competition was not. It became general consensus in the magazine and several of the reviewed books that blacks should not compete with whites for the same positions. Concern for their own economic status and rights as women ensured that any idea to uplift blacks to the same plane as whites was totally abandoned.

Black labourers were either viewed as a threat to white jobs or as a group who needed to be educated in order to progress on separate lines. The first view, already present in Laura Pendennis' argument, was shared by Charlotte Mansfield, who called overtly for skilled labour to be kept for whites only:

> At the stations, or bomas, throughout the parts of Rhodesia sparsely populated by whites, natives are taught and employed by the officials of the [Chartered] Company as typists at salaries which, though small from a white man's point of view, are large for natives. Would it not be advisable in a country where more white population is required, to reserve every kind of work of a nature capable of being done by white men or women for white men or women? These small salaries would be a boon to the wife or daughter of a small farmer, and would at any rate keep from starving the white man on the look-out for something better. It would, in fact, in the long run pay the Chartered Company to increase the salaries, or at any rate provide housing room free of charge to enable white men to fill these minor positions, and at the same time keep the native at his natural work, which is manual labour.[430]

Here the assumption of the type of work to which black men are naturally suited is mentioned, which becomes, increasingly, a manner in which black men are removed as competition for white labourers. Mansfield was particularly critical of mission schools that, in her view, prepared blacks for jobs above their station and brought moral corruption to a race that could be considered

[429] D. Broadway, *The longest way round*; O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity*; L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery.*
[430] C. Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia: a journey through Southern Africa*, p. 151.

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'nature's gentlemen' – indicating that they were naturally moral and became corrupted through the 'civilising' efforts of whites.

The second view on the position of black labourers entailed education. Two articles on mission schools appeared in the magazine, showing a few moments where the moribund idea of the Empire as a civilizing force still appealed to a literary form dependent on topical fare. These were "A Visit to Lovedale" (1913) and "A Visit to Mariannhill" (1911).[431] While the mission station articles are amongst those that made the loudest calls for the upliftment of blacks to the level of the whites, they did not go so far as to advocate complete equality. Both articles supported the idea of providing blacks with an education, which is similar to the magazine's emphasis on girls' schools and how women's education compared to the education given to men. The writer of the Lovedale article emphasises the type of skills taught to the black students and some of the careers of past students. At face value, this seems to indicate that the white men and women were there to pull the black men and women up on the civilisation scale by teaching them the same skills and customs as they would to white children. However, as Homi Bhabha notes, the colonisers were faced with a two way problem: while they professed to want the colonised to act as they did, they also did not want them on the same level as themselves for fear of losing their power status.[432] In the same way, the black students in the mission station articles were seen as the same as the white students, but not quite. This becomes especially clear if one compares the articles on the mission stations with the articles on (white) girls' schools.

In many ways the article on Lovedale mimics articles on white girls' schools in that it explains the hours of education and mentions the choir, library, and the cricket and football field. But then, instead of mentioning the sports as the activities that follow class, as is usually the case in the white girls' schools, there follows an explanation of woodwork, needlework and out of door manual labour, which the writer seems to stress to correct the 'mistaken idea prevailing amongst many that the native pupils at Lovedale are pampered and thus spoilt for after-life.'[433] 'Spoilt' here refers to black men and women seeing themselves as equals to whites leading to an unwillingness to accept either servility or the positions of manual labour seen as appropriate to them.

In the article on Mariannhill there is also a marked interest in both the practical skills taught to the black students and what type of work this was meant to prepare them for. Again, so-called useful work that was taught to African students, such as lace making, basket weaving, and leatherwork

[431] Anonym, A visit to Mariannhill, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(16), December 1911, pp. 21-23; Anonym, A visit to Lovedale, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(31), March 1913, pp. 36, 38, 39.
[432] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, p. 73.
[433] Anonym, A visit to Lovedale, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(31), March 1913, p. 36.

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rather than academic subjects, was emphasised. Additionally, the article along with its accompanying photographs served to emphasise that blacks were trained for practical labour. Compared to the photographs of white girls' schools where pupils were either in class or busy with sport, black students were in class or busy working in the fields, at needlework, or being taught a practical skill. They were also described as '… contented-looking natives at work in the gardens and on the farms …[that] spoke of … the many-sided, world-wide British Empire, tolerant of every creed and caring for men and women of every race and colour.'[434] Tolerance but not equality was what was promoted. As in Homi Bhabha's argument, the white workers on the mission stations were there to allow the blacks to mimic the colonisers, but only in order to prepare them for a type of work that did not place them in direct competition with whites and which confirmed their inferiority.

It is in the articles on farming in particular when it becomes clear that there was marked concern regarding the impact and role of black labourers. In the same "From the Cape to the Congo" article in which "The Farm Girl" was featured, another topic that was discussed was "The Dignity of Labour" in which it was suggested that farmers' daughters and wives should do more on farms, as in Australia where the dairying was the responsibility of women. The writer argues that the reason why this was not already the case is because in South Africa, unlike Australia and America, there was an abundance of cheap black labour. She argues that although this was a reality in South Africa, there needed to be a clear demarcation between the races on the farms:

> Of course we cannot, at any rate at present, get rid of the Kafir altogether, but it is not difficult to restrict him to certain kinds of labour. This or that is only "Kafir's work" when it is done by Kafirs. Let the woman on the farm insist on a clear division of labour; that the native is never under any circumstances to touch work that she decides is to be hers, and the trouble will cease to exist. Black and white can labour together without loss of dignity to the latter if the sphere of each is clearly defined and rigidly adhered to.[435]

There are two points of interest here. The first is that it was a repeated concern that the availability of cheap black labour would have a negative moral effect on women as they would have less useful work to do. The second is that there was a desire to establish separate spheres for the races even in situations where they were to work side by side (to 'get rid of' suggests that the author thought the ideal would be complete separate development). This is an example of intersectionality where white women's roles were affected by their gender and race. In the above example, white women would be barred from certain labour because convention dictated that it was the work of a subjugated race while, as the wife of the farmer, she could also be barred from other areas of labour on the farm

[434] Anonym, A visit to Mariannhill, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(16), December 1911, p. 21.
[435] Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 49.

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because of her gender. Concern about the impact of this loss of labour on women's character is echoed in Schreiner's *Woman and Labour*. Here, she suggests that the impact of a subjugated nation's labour is a primary reason why the women of a civilisation, or society, are the first to be affected when the race becomes enervated as it has ceased to evolve:

> Firstly, it is in the sphere of domestic labour that slave or hired labour most easily and insidiously penetrates. The force of blows or hireling gold can far more easily supply labourers as the preparers of food and clothing, and even as the rearers of children, than it can supply labourers fitted to be entrusted with the toils of war and government, which have in the past been the especial sphere of male toil.[436]

Thus, she argues, the presence of hired labour could have a negative impact on the women of a race as they would no longer perform necessary tasks and their reliance on others for this purpose would make them parasitic and weak. Schreiner's argument would be familiar to the readers as they were the colonisers who had an abundance of cheap black labour to perform work around the house. Just as one example of this, black servants were often discussed in the magazine as women would discuss their wages and general lack of discipline compared to white servants.[437] The two went hand in hand as the main reason why black servants were used despite the writers considering them inferior to white servants was because their wages were so low.

While Schreiner and a few other authors argued that black labour would remove useful labour from the hands of white women, the majority of the articles were simply of the opinion that since black workers were not as trustworthy and thorough as white servants, the women of the house would still end up with work. This view is also expressed by a character in a short story published in the magazine: 'Having been away on a week's visit to friends, she found plenty to do in a Colonial household, staffed with black servants only....'[438] A greater concern voiced in the magazine was that black men should not compete with white women for positions. This is therefore why there were suggestions to clearly demarcate work on farms. Although, as noted earlier, in cases where women are shown to run the farm, such as Molly Glanville in "Love and War" and Ashley Graham in *The Phases of Felicity*, there is less need for work to be demarcated as the woman is in charge.[439] The demarcation is therefore present only when women have to take a subordinate role to white men on the farm.

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[436] O. Schreiner, *Woman and labour*., p. 102.
[437] Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand. Mrs. David Rintoul, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(12), August 1911, p. 17; C. Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia: a journey through Southern Africa*; Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand. Mrs. Leslie, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(29), January 1913, p. 13; Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African Women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(22), June 1912, p. 63.
[438] M. Stoward, The road party man. A South African tragedy, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(25), September 1912, p. 23.
[439] P. De Riet, Love and war VIII, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(114), February 1920, p. 19; O. Racster and J. Grove, *The phases of Felicity*.

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However, the fear of black competition also created an argument against women entering the labour market on an equal footing with men. As was argued by "Laura Pendennis", there was the view that if white women and black men entered the same workforce as white men, the general result would be a lower income for the white men. This particular argument was no longer present in the magazine during the war, and instead most arguments removed the possibility of white women and black men competing for the same work. Though this was not overtly stated in these articles, this point becomes clearer in other articles in the magazine during the years just before and during the First World War.

> The native will have education whether we wish it or not. Surely it would be a wise policy to assist him to become a decent citizen of the State by widening the avenue of agricultural employment. At present in the effort to obtain work the native is brought into continual conflict with the white man, but if the country was properly developed there would be plenty of room for both. …We ought to train the native in all arts appertaining to agriculture, for which he is naturally suited, rather than ask him to learn handicrafts for which, in the present stage of the development of his own race, he has little use amongst his own people, and must therefore invade the realm of the white man.[440]

The acknowledged motivation to remove blacks as competition for white workers quickly changed into a professed concern for blacks to develop at a tempo that would be beneficial to them and the nation. The writers who did argue for the educational upliftment of blacks after 1913 did so from an economic standpoint by arguing that it would improve the welfare of the state as a whole. During the First World War, Germany's long military perseverance was linked to their industries being so strong. The argument on the side of the magazine changed gradually from the idea of keeping blacks in certain types of work in order to protect white male and female workers to a greater emphasis on allowing blacks into specific industries suited to their nature, helping them to develop those industries along commercial lines in order to strengthen the country. A prime example of this argument is made by Rev. Noel Roberts in "Native Education, from an Economic Point of View", a pamphlet article reviewed in "My Lady's Books" in April 1918.[441]

The idea that the black man still needed to progress to the same level as whites was replaced with a notion that they were intrinsically different, so each race should do a form of labour to which they were naturally suited. Ironically, this meant that black labour was discussed in the same way as women's labour before the war in that there were constant concerns about and suggestions for the type of work black men could do to avoid competing with white men and women. Notably,

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[440] Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African Women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(22), June 1912, p. 63.
[441] N. Roberts, *Native education from an economic point of view*; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(92), April 1918, p. 3. Other articles that discuss the topic include, for example, Anonym, Topics of interest. S.A. National Union Notes, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(66), February 1916, p. 56; Anonym, The National Union's stocktaking, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(78), February 1917, p. 37.

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agriculture was suggested as an ideal type of work for black men. This came in the wake of the 1913 Land Act, which was never reported on in the magazine. Therefore, although they wanted black men to develop agriculture on 'commercial lines' this increasingly meant that black men had to work on white commercial farms as their rights to land ownership were being curtailed.

Thus, whether blacks had to be kept from certain positions or educated for others, the overall aim seems to have been to maintain them in a servile or separate sphere. In the one instance where a suggestion was made for the "Hospital Training for Native Girls" following an outbreak of Spanish influenza, it is clear that the suggestion was only made to prevent white girls from coming into close contact with, and nursing, black men.[442] Therefore the idea that black men and women could assimilate into white society, as upheld by missionary and Cape liberal ideologies, was abandoned in favour of separate development.

c. Black characters, presence and separate development

As competition with black men was seen as a reason why women should not work, and a call for separate spheres was proposed as the solution to keep women in the labour force without negatively affecting white men's positions, it is useful to note briefly how the representation of black men and women in the magazine as well as in the short stories and reviewed novels helped to support the idea of blacks as suited to a sphere of manual labour.

In part, in the magazine, blacks were depersonalised in order to establish them as part of a sphere separate from the white women. In the articles on blacks that did not discuss native education or work, blacks were still depersonalised and more typically used as a means of highlighting white achievements. There are three articles in the magazine that deal with black accomplishments in much the same way as with white female accomplishments, though without any individuals being honoured.[443] The article "A Regatta in Barotseland", described a sporting event in which only black competitors took part.[444] This differed from sport articles on white women in that the names of the winners were not mentioned. Not naming the black men or women in the articles served to depersonalise them even when they did feature.

This emphasis on the role of whites and the ongoing refusal to place the focus on black accomplishments or even to give them room as individual personalities was further enforced by the accompanying photographs. As a pictorial magazine it is important to take note of the way in which

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[442] Anonym, Hospital training for native girls, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(105), May 1919, p. 34.
[443] These articles include Anonym, A visit to Mariannhill, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(16), December 1911, pp. 21-23; Anonym, A visit to Lovedale, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(31), March 1913, pp. 36, 38, 39; M.M.E. Ingram, A regatta in Barotseland, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(22), June 1912, p. 34.
[444] M.M.E. Ingram, A regatta in Barotseland, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(22), June 1912, p. 34.

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the visual elements could influence the meaning in the text. Not only the photographs but also their accompanying captions give an idea of what the editor or writer considered important information in the article and what was there only to add 'local colour'. As discussed earlier, the mission station articles emulated most articles on girls' schools in which it had become standard to have photos of white pupils without the girls' names being provided. However, photographs of teachers in these articles usually have the names of the teachers in the photograph caption. In the case of the Lovedale article, not only the students but also black female teachers were left nameless. In a photograph with fourteen teachers in it, noticeably, the seven white teachers were named; the seven black teachers standing behind them were identified only as "Native Pupil Teachers".[445] Similarly, all other photos of black men and women went without any acknowledgement of the individuals in the pictures.

This 'depersonalisation' of blacks was a common feature in the magazine as in other English South African and Rhodesian literature of the time.[446] Interestingly, this is in stark contrast to some of the Afrikaans periodicals of the time. For example, in *Die Huisgenoot* old black men and women were often interviewed to celebrate their age and show what events they had lived through.[447] If one applies Jauss' theory of rhetorical strategies to this question then the fact that there were no pictures of blacks in this magazine while there were pictures of them in the Afrikaans magazine *Die Huisgenoot* of the same time frame and genre is telling.[448] Blacks were marginalised within the pages of the magazine. Dubow makes reference to this phenomenon when he shows how British South Africans would exclude blacks from their social spheres, while still using liberal language when talking about them in South Africa.[449] The articles that did focus on blacks discussed issues of segregation more and more with less focus on individuals and specific communities. In this way the magazine started to reflect the trend in literature that both Cornwell and Chennells have pointed to,

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[445] Anonym, A visit to Lovedale, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(31), March 1913, pp. 36, 38, 39.
[446] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, p. 86; D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p. 1.
[447] See examples in M. Du Toit, Blank verbeeld, or the incredible whiteness of being: amateur photography and Afrikaner nationalist historical narrative. *Kronos* 27, 2001, pp. 102-109, as well as J.M.M., Mamahintjijba, *Die Huisgenoot* (54), October 1920, p. 263; J. Reyneke, Linsjwe van Mosjoedie, *Die Huisgenoot* (144), December 1924, pp. 18-19.
[448] This is not to say that the discourse in *Die Huisgenoot* was not racist. In her article, "Blank verbeeld, or the incredible whiteness of being: amateur photography and Afrikaner nationalist historical narrative", Marijke du Toit notes that the textual and visual representations of blacks in the Afrikaans magazine served to establish the subjects as either a historical enemy or as landless, loyal servants. However, she notes that the photographs of black men and women published in *Die Huisgenoot* between 1916 and 1926 served to incorporate blacks into a shared history, which I would argue is in contrast to the *SALPHJ* that tended to depersonalise and distance blacks from the white readers. M. Du Toit, Blank verbeeld, or the incredible whiteness of being: amateur photography and Afrikaner nationalist historical narrative. *Kronos* 27, 2001. 77-113.
[449] S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000*, p. 10.

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either by placing them as undeveloped characters at the periphery of the story or by being blatantly racist towards them.[450]

For the most part the role of black characters in the magazine's short stories appears to be simply to add to what can very aptly be called the 'local colouring'. In this way, the band of natives singing 'their nonsense rhyme'[451] would help the writer to create a 'truly' South African description as much as mentioning the call of a fish eagle heard while the characters were drinking tea. As 'local colouring' was an important quality in any story by a South African writer, 'blacks', 'natives', 'servants', or 'kafirs' often appear in the stories but most often without names or personalities. Cornwell sees this as a typical characteristic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century English South African novel, which 'either treats Africans and other people of colour as part of a scenic backdrop against which a human drama featuring white characters unfolds; or it speaks about them in an explicitly and systematically racist way.'[452]

As black characters were so often depersonalised or used for 'local colour' it may be of use here to reflect on the frequency and role in which black characters with well-developed personalities did appear in the fiction (both in the short stories and in the reviewed novels). The following numbers clearly support the identified trend of steering clear of well-developed black characters in English literature of the time: Of the 28 reviewed works of fiction studied in this dissertation, thirteen contained well-developed black characters; of the six serials in the magazine three featured, or were about, well-developed black characters; and of the 129 short stories, thirteen contained well-developed black characters.[453] Eight of these short stories were later published in one of the reviewed books, *South African Native Fairy Tales.* When looking into the depiction of black characters in this fiction, three trends become evident. In the first instance, black characters are relegated to stories from the era before European contact was established, or to the realm of fairy tales. In the second instance, black characters' individual presence is only acknowledged when they are loyal workers. And in the third instance, black men are viewed as a physical threat. The last point will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

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[450] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, p. 71-88; D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p. 1.
[451] M.F. Maturin, Pheenie - a lady. A story of the Rhodesian hills, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(8), March 1911, p. 37.
[452] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p. 1. This trend is also noted in Rhodesian novels by Anthony Chennells. A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, pp. 71-88.
[453] Note that two of the novels, one serial and two short stories are about "Coloured", "Malay" or "Indian" characters, and have been included as "black" characters since a detailed analysis of the racial views of each race in South Africa would necessitate a study with a larger scope.

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Stories containing black characters removed from white influence and stories dealing with black societies before the arrival of whites in South Africa indicate that separate development was seen as the moral ideal for blacks and those that dealt with them. The first group includes *The Makers of Mischief* by Stanley Portal Hyatt (1911), which briefly depicts an African kingdom with an ideal leader keen to keep the negative moral influences of whites from his people; *The Land of Tomorrow* by William Westrup (1912), which shows the Basotho as morally superior to a few white characters because of limited contact with white men; and *Tales from the Kraal*, a collection of short stories by John E. Iverach (1913) that dealt exclusively with black protagonists.[454] Iverach clearly shows that he believed blacks to be better off when removed from the influence of whites and the book makes a strong argument that separate development was the ideal situation for both black and white interests. One story in *Tales from the Kraal* that illustrates this clearly is "'Tsamu, the Ungrateful". In the story, Lobeti the old chief of the 'Kraal'[455] has ensured that it thrives and prospers by protecting it from any influence by whites. The community is described in terms of the pastoral idyll:

> The setting sun, casting its ruddy beams over the earth lights up the Grootberg with a vermillion green hue, and brings into relief the snug little huts of the Kraal, in such manner as would baffle the most expert colour artist. It looks such a peaceful, pleasant place that many a weary traveller has outspanned, and passed his evening nearby, feeling rested and rejuvenated.[456]

Iverach puts the peace and prosperity of the community down to its separation from white towns and mines:

> Fortunately, there were no Mines in the neighbourhood, and the white man's vices were unknown there. ... One day 'Tsamu met a Native Labour Agent from Johannesburg ... and this gentleman had offered 'Tsamu ten shillings for every boy who would leave Bendukraal for the Mines.[457]

At the indaba, 'Tsamu tells them that some men need to go to the mines so that they can increase their possessions tenfold. After considering the matter, Lobedi answers:

> "My sons, let me advise you – I have lived long and have seen much. We are happier without the great possessions, and at the Mines there is nothing but sorrow and disease and death. Heed not the foolish words of the White Man – rest content here for you are happy."[458]

After 'Tsamu has convinced the young men to follow him rather than Lobedi's council, he defeats the old chief in combat and takes over the village. One night, the spirits take 'Tsamu in a dream, first to fight Lobedi as a young man and then to another 'Kraal'. This is what he sees:

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[454] S.P. Hyatt, *The makers of mischief*; J.E. Iverach, *Tales from the kraal*; W. Westrup, *The land of to-morrow*.
[455] The word 'kraal' was obviously here intended to refer to the whole village, perhaps even the community itself, and not merely the cattle enclosure, which may have been integrated into the structure of the settlement.
[456] J.E. Iverach, *Tales from the kraal*, p. 10.
[457] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[458] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

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> Out of the first hut he approached there came a hungry skulking jackal, and nobody was inside: the other huts were also deserted, and many were falling to pieces. In the last hut however he was met with a ghastly sight: the moonlight shining through the doorway revealed the skeleton of a man. 'Tsamu turned away in horror. "What does all this mean?" he asked. "It means," replied the Spirits, "that this kraal has been ruined by the young men leaving for the Mines and bringing back disease and vice and death. – Beware, 'Tsamu, for Bendukraal is in danger."[459]

Of the reviewed books, two stories contained only black characters; this was achieved by setting them in a time before white men had settled in South Africa. The first was a romantic tale of Nowhen and Isaka which appeared as a complete story in a chapter on its own as a tale told to and recorded by a white character in *Frampton's Deception* (1911).[460] The only complete novel without any white characters, reviewed in the magazine, was *Golden Glory* (1915) by F. Horace Rose.[461] "Bookmark" indicates that the book was the South African winner of the Hodder and Stoughton's competition for best novel by writers in the Overseas Dominions. The novelty of an English writer producing a novel with only black characters is clear from the reviewer's comments:

> It is something of a *tour de force* to have written a book in which the interest is fully sustained, from first to last, without the introduction of a single white character. In *Golden Glory*, all the *dramatis personae* are South African natives, and it is no mean tribute to Mr. Rose's skill to say that he has succeeded in more distinctive characterization, from such apparently unpromising material, than one finds in the average "novel" of the day in which the scene is laid in Mayfair – or elsewhere.[462]

The reviewer points out that the novel could be compared to the work of Alexander Dumas, noting that the three heroes, Napo the Dwarf, Baroa the Bushman, and Keshwan the Giant have been dubbed the "South African Three Musketeers".[463] The similarities between *Golden Glory* and the work of Dumas would have been clear to anyone who had read both. The lead characters in *The Three Musketeers* are very similar in terms of characterisation to the three heroes of *Golden Glory* as are the humorous ways in which they outsmart their enemies both diplomatically and in combat. This comparison feeds in to the reader's 'horizon of expectations' of *Golden Glory*. Dumas' Musketeer series was well known for creating historical novels which encouraged a nostalgic attitude for a past age in which men and women were so much greater than contemporary characters.[464] *Golden Glory* is also set in a historical period long removed from the author's, and the main characters are idealised as remarkable types, uncommonly cunning, strong and skilled in combat, in sharp contrast to the racist stereotypes of the day. This could enable Rose to present characters that would otherwise seem unrealistic to a reader with preconceived ideas about black men and women's intelligence, military prowess and feeling. What sets the story of Nowhen and

[459] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
[460] E. Bickford, *Frampton's deception. A story of South African dorp life and other stories*, pp. 28-36.
[461] F.H. Rose, *Golden glory*.
[462] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(61), September 1915, p. 3.
[463] *Ibid.*
[464] A. Dumas, *Twenty years after*.

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Isaka and *Golden Glory* apart from the next few short stories that will be discussed, is that they were about complex adult characters and written for adult readers. The only other stories that contained only black characters were short stories in the form of 'native fairy tales'.

While other stories managed to remove black characters as competition for white workers by identifying either separate development or historical distance as an ideal, the use of folk, or fairy, tales could present blacks as less of a threat to white positions by relegating them to the realm of children. This is first indicated when "Fairy Tales collected from Native Sources" by Mrs E.J. Bourhill was lumped together with other South African children's books discussed under the subheading, "Books for Children", in the article "Women of South Africa" wherein concern was raised about the lack of English children's books published in South Africa.[465] In 1917, in addition to the monthly short story for adults, a "native folk tale" written by McPherson was published in each issue. Although initially titled 'folk tales' these stories were more securely connected to children's stories as they were later published in book form as *South African Native Fairy Tales.*[466] The stories that appeared in the magazine as well as those collected in the anthology include "Sepenkeng and Bulane", "The Princess and the Frog", "The Moon-Child", "The Magic Lute" and "The Daughter of the Ostrich Egg".[467] These 'Basuto' folktales featured fantastical occurrences, such as talking animals or a frog king capable of swallowing a princess and sagely delivering her home. Six months later, McPherson wrote what appears to be another folktale, but without black characters: "The Kingdom of the Dead" featured no specified race, but dealt with 'superstitions' held by people living in tent-like structures.[468] In fact, the folktales of the Basuto had been seamlessly converted into children's stories that also showed anthropomorphic animals and played with size to make the fantastical possible.[469] There is no difference between the portrayal of black characters in the folktales (the only stories featuring them as central characters in the magazine before 1919), and the portrayal of the characters in the children's stories. This kept black people in an eternally child-like state, thus positioning them as such in comparison to whites. The use of familial terms to discuss the racial development of black people provided the ideological support for

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[465] Anonym, Woman in South Africa. Topics of interest to all, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(34), June 1913, p. 62.
[466] E.L. McPherson, *South African native fairy-tales.*
[467] E.L. McPherson, Native folk tales. "Sepenkeng and Bulane", *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(78), February 1917, pp. 56, 60; E.L. McPherson, Native folk tales. "The princess and the frog", *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(79), March 1917, pp. 49, 50, 54; E.L. McPherson, Native folk tales. "The moon-child", *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(80), April 1917, p. 49; E.L. McPherson, Native folk tales. "The magic lute", *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(82), June 1917, p. 19; E.L. McPherson, Native folk tales. "The daughter of the ostrich egg", *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(83), July 1917, p. 19.
[468] E.L. McPherson, The kingdom of the dead, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(85), September 1917, p. 53.
[469] E.L. McPherson, The queen of pigeons, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(89), January 1918, p. 35; H.L. Geinsberg, The song of the king of all the mountains, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(88), December 1917, p. 53.

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separate development, which would ultimately lay the foundations to secure the dominant position of white women.

By portraying black people as children or 'not-human', white authors provided motivation for the loyalty shown towards white masters in the fiction. When well-developed black characters were not the lead characters of the story, they were most often depicted as loyal servants to the white characters. This loyalty is rarely connected to a mutually beneficial relationship. Rather, it is shown as part of a natural order of things either because the black characters are shown to be loyal as dogs – connecting them to a lower evolutionary plane – or, from a paternalistic racial viewpoint, because the black characters are like children and their loyalty is expected. A good example of an animal-like loyalty is given in the serial "The Settler" by Ernest Glanville published in the magazine in 1917. In it, a 'Fingo' (Mfengu) accepts the Englishman, Ted, as his master for no discernible reason other than that he also hates the 'Red Kaffirs' with whom Ted is at war. He is renamed Sixpence. He saves Ted's life and becomes Ted's trusted servant on whom the survival of the band of white men and women often relies. This is shown as a natural relationship as Sixpence is most often described in the same manner as Wolf, Ted's loyal hunting dog.[470] In his article on Ernest Glanville's empire fiction, Gerald Monsman notes that there are several Sancho-Panza like characters in Glanville's other stories, who are usually black and serve their white master, in part as a device to comment on the logic behind the white character's views and actions.[471]

One of the few authors who often incorporated black characters into her stories was Leigh Thompson. In both her short stories published in the magazine and her novels, her black characters are depicted as unfalteringly loyal to their white masters and in particular to the white children in their care.[472] An analysis of her work shows that she employs several techniques that question the humanity of the African characters making this loyalty a natural reaction of simplicity towards superiority.

In the opening scene of *Fate's High Chancery* Mary Stevens is in a wagon amidst the harsh African landscape. She is near childbirth and her husband departs to find a doctor, leaving her with N'ara and the Khoi driver. Thompson describes the scene as follows:

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[470] E. Glanville, The settler. A romance of the British settlement of 1820. Chapter 6, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(83), July 1917, pp. 16-17.
[471] G. Monsman, The early empire fiction of Ernest Glanville: on the border, *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920* 54(3), 2011, pp. 315-336.
[472] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery*; L. Thompson, Ex tenebris, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(85), September 1917, p. 13; L. Thompson, The seventh light, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(88), December 1917, p. 37; L. Thompson, *The lion and the adder*; L. Thompson, Busby and the cobra, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(78), February 1917, p. 6.

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> Mary was left alone, to wonder if the doctor thirty miles away would be back with her husband in time, or would she and her baby be left alone with Mother Nature, whose ways are so crude to the gently nurtured....[473]

The author here shows that only the white woman and the white unborn child are considered persons. The presence of the Khoi driver and caretaker is not enough for her to be considered left in the company of others, and instead she is described as being 'alone with Mother Nature'. This suggests that they are part of nature rather than humankind. This is in keeping with short stories by Thompson that were published in the magazine, notably "Ex Tenebris" in which the white woman complains that she had to nurse her leprous husband on her own just after it is made clear that there is also a 'Hottentot servant' who has helped her.[474] In a further description in *Fate's High Chancery*, Africans are compared both to animals and fairy creatures.

> N'ananous, Toointjies, N'gaus-was-iep and N'kouw were all sitting on their heels, chattering like monkeys round the flickering fitful light of a small bush fire. As one face after another was illuminated with a sudden flame, the scene suggested a gathering of gnomes, nibelung, earth-sprites, or perhaps fantastic phantoms in some drug-invited dream. They looked wizened and immeasurably old as they talked.[475]

The description further connects them with the supernatural and something inexplicable. The four men described here often serve the '*kleinbaas*', John, who enters: '… in his blue pyjamas, with his hair all tumbled about his head. He looked like a fairy king among the gnomes.'[476] This differentiates John from the 'Hottentots' physically, but it also connects him to them as he is also described as a supernatural or fantasy creature. Again the grown men are related to childhood stories as they are described as the creatures in fairy tales.

The period during which black characters were so strongly connected to fairy tales (1917-1918) is important as it coincided with an increased call for universal brotherhood.[477] The editor's explanation of what this brotherhood entailed enables one to better understand why authors like Glanville and Thompson were able to depict their black characters as unreservedly loyal to the white characters. According to the editor, Katherine Kemp:

> Brotherhood of man does not mean equality – the two are apt to be confused. In the family there are brothers of all ages and various attainments, each with his own rights respected by the others. Equality is seldom found in the family life. The younger brothers are protected and guided by the elder, and in return they perform small services for the elder ones. The younger have less freedom but also less responsibility. And so it is in Nations – the "little ones" either in age, or ignorance, or weakness, must be cared for by the elder brothers –

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[473] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery*, p. x.
[474] L. Thompson, Ex tenebris, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(85), September 1917, p. 13.
[475] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery*, p. 14.
[476] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[477] See, for example, Anonym, Editorial, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(85), September 1917, p. 2; Anonym, Editorial. "New Year, 1918", *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(88), January 1918, p. 2; Anonym, Letters to Betty at school. From her mother, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(97), September 1918, p. 40; Anonym, Editorial, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(99), November 1918, p. 2; Anonym, Greater love hath no man, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(99), November 1918, p. 26.

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> their rights respected – and at the same time the rights of the elder must not be encroached upon. The wise and strong must guide and protect the weak, and they in their turn, grown strong, will perform that service for others less able then themselves.[478]

The younger brothers who needed to be taken care of referred to other races, especially as they have been so closely connected not only to a position of childhood, but also to the poor. The war had brought the white upper and middle class women into close contact with poor working class women through war work, which led to an increased focus on, and sympathy for, the poor.

Furthermore, the outbreak of the Spanish Influenza in Cape Town in 1919, affected people of all classes and races, and as those who brought aid to the sick entered homes in the slums they became all the more aware of the unhealthy conditions that prevailed in their city.[479] The shocking realisation of the poor conditions that prevailed in the city made many critical of the leaders in society that did nothing to address it. John Lomax, for example, whose wife died of the Spanish Influenza, wrote *The Devil's Due*, which placed the blame for the outbreak on the rich who turned a blind eye on the conditions in the slums.[480] But while brotherhood meant increased sympathy and action to improve the lot of poor whites in South Africa,[481] it also meant greater support for the belief that racial inequality was a natural part of life.

The concern for the poor was illustrated with a short story on a poor white child of school-going age who runs away from a horrible home and dies tragically of hypothermia.[482] The emotion and sympathy created in the short story is noticeably missing in a story about an eight year old black boy, named Klaas. He is the lead character in a serial, called "Klaas Stories" (May 1919 to December 1919), and the first black protagonist in the magazine. Yet, no sympathy is shown for Klaas when he has to look after the cattle during the cold winter rains rather than going to school like the little white boy. In fact, the first instalment of the story shows near flippant brutality towards the main character:

> But Klaas was sensible enough to know that if he didn't look after the cattle, rain or fire, Mr. Van Vuuren would beat him, and there would be less money with which to buy mielie-pap. And he was old enough to remember that the summer was sure to come again after the rainy season. He knew that, if things had to be done, they just had to, and it was no good grumbling or trying not to do them, so he made the best of it. And when he was about eight years old, such lovely things began to happen to him that he wouldn't have given up being a herd-boy for anything.[483]

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[478] Anonym, Editorial, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(85), September 1917, p. 2.
[479] Anonym, Editorial, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(99), November 1918, p. 2; Anonym, Greater love hath no man, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(99), November 1918, p. 26.
[480] J. Lomax, *The devil's due.*
[481] Anonym, Editorial. "New Year, 1918", *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(88), January 1918, p. 2.
[482] B.S. Leger, The silver chain, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(94), June 1918, p. 36.
[483] F.R. Southon, Stories about Klaas, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(105), May 1919, p. 40.

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As with the servile supporting black characters and the brotherhood argument, the main character here also makes peace with his servant position. The author manages to justify Klaas' happy willingness to serve by showing that as a herd boy he experienced 'lovely things'. These things included fantastical adventures with talking animals who took him to special places and told him interesting stories.[484] But while fairytale-like adventures befall him, Klaas is not represented as an abnormal black boy: his 'Mammy' is good to him and tells him stories about heavenly maidens and magic eggs, which are elements of the "Native Folk/Fairy Tales" that had been published in the magazine so that the readers could have been able to identify these as typical stories told by real black women to their children.[485] Furthermore, a photo of a black boy fitting Klaas' description was included in the second instalment of Klaas Stories and each subsequent one (see Figure 7 below).

Figure 7: A Picture of Klaas featured from the second instalment of the serial (From: F. R. Southon, Klaas and the Eagle, *SALPHJ*, June 1919, p. 38.)

[484] *Ibid.*; F.R. Southon, Klaas and the eagle, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(106), June 1919, p. 38; F.R. Southon, Klaas and the hippopotamus, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(107), July 1919, pp. 38, 40; F.R. Southon, Klaas stories: bushbuck, sand and sea, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(110), October 1919, pp. 44, 50; F.R. Southon, Klaas stories: baviaan, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(111), November 1919, p. 44; F.R. Southon, Klaas stories: the elephant hunter, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(112), December 1919, pp. 44, 46, 48.

[485] F.R. Southon, Stories about Klaas, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(105), May 1919, p. 40. Look, for example, at E.L. McPherson, Native folk tales. "The daughter of the ostrich egg", *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(83), July 1917, p. 19.

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Note that in this case a black boy is pictured with a caption of his name. Yet, the name is in inverted commas indicating that this is a simple stand-in to represent Klaas. The name chosen for this character also further connects him with the status of a labourer. 'Klaas' was a Dutch name given to labourers in lieu of their African names on such a regular basis that it could act as an identifier. Its use in this manner was so common that it became part of a common Afrikaans saying, '*Baas voor Klaas*', which can be translated as master before Klaas or, by implication, master before servant or slave.

The author, F.R. Southon, used the Klaas stories to show that all should be content with the position they are born into, including a subordinate race position, thereby establishing a paternalistic racism as a natural order that should not be fought. He made this intention clear in the first instalment when he urged the reader to see the verses on page 44 of the same issue. The poem, "Your Birthright" by G.S.H.S. describes the natural beauty of South Africa in several verses to explain how fortunate anyone is who is born in South Africa:

> If you were born in South Africa,
> Whether you're brown or whether you're white,
> Be glad that you live in this wondrous land
> Of river and veld and mountain height.[486]

The last two verses tie in with the first story about Klaas as it urges all to be content with the place that they were born into:

> These are for you as they were for Klaas,
> Wonderful things to see and to do.
> But among them all, you mustn't forget
> There was work for him and there's work for you.
>
> It may be work that you like to do,
> Or it may be a job that you never planned:
> But whatever it is, the splendid thing
> For you, is to work for our own dear land.[487]

This suggested that the natural place for black people was that of manual labourer; no matter what their personal abilities, they would never be able to rise above the position of their white masters. This is made clear in the last instalment of Klaas when, after hearing the stories of ivory from the elephant hunter, Klaas goes looking for the elephant graveyard which he finds with the help of 'an old Hottentot' and Mr Eagle. He then tells Mr Van Vuuren and the hunter, who take dynamite and a wagon full of labourers to get to the tusks, which they sell for a lot of money. Klaas is rewarded for this loyalty, but he does not get the money for all the ivory as this would upset the racial hierarchy:

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[486] G.S.H.S, Your birthright, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(105), May 1919, p. 44, ll. 1-4.
[487] *Ibid.*, ll. 21-28.

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> Mr. Van Vuuren spent a lot of it on the farm and built a lovely new stoep with white pillars. The old hunter bought a little cottage by the sea, and he lived there with his daughter, and they were very happy. Boesman had a brand new leather collar with brass nails on it. And when Klaas grew up, Mr. Van Vuuren gave him a bit of the big farm for his very own, and he built him a nice little house and gave him some cattle.[488]

The conclusion that can be drawn from the above data on the stories with black characters is that while none of the fiction explored or presented a scenario in which a white man or woman loses his or her position because of an equally skilled black man, the fiction enforced the discourse of non-competition between black and white by advancing separate development or separate realms, or by showing that a servile/subordinate position was part of the natural order of things.

5. Conclusion

The magazine and reviewed books reveal how the discourse on gender and race was affected by views on education and wage work and how these were impacted by the First World War. Before the war, wage work was associated with unmarried women who did not have a husband to take care of them. However, the impact of the First World War created a need for women to fill the positions left open by men away at war, but also created the need for women to become the breadwinners of the family. This more practical concern also had an impact on education for women, which was discussed in much more practical and goal-oriented terms. Again, in descriptions of a number of careers, notably teaching and farming, a difference was noted between women's apparent situation in Britain and the one described in South Africa, which is an extension of the differences in physical strength and freedom to travel discussed in the previous chapter. These differences along with the noted focus on motherhood – the gender-specific imperative that took on racial importance during the war with its huge impact on the population size – will be further discussed in the next chapter as will the race relations between British, Colonial and Afrikaner women.

The race relations already discussed in this chapter, show how gender impacts on race relations. White women's subordinate position in relation to white men meant that women's entrance into wage labour would be problematic if this in any way threatened the socio-economic position of white men. Either white women or black men had to be removed as a threat to white men, and, in the magazine, black men were removed as competition. The arguments for this were refracted through the fiction in which well-rounded black characters could only exist alongside white characters if they were servile or relegated to the lower power position of children in a paternalistic racial order. Otherwise the black characters would be removed to a setting away from any white characters, which further supported arguments for separate development.

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[488] F.R. Southon, Klaas stories: the elephant hunter, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(112), December 1919, p. 48.

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V. WHITE RACES AND COLONIAL INSECURITIES

1. Introduction

The previous two chapters have shown some of the gender discrimination prevalent during the 1910s and the degree to which this was challenged in the *SALPHJ* and the books reviewed in this magazine; however, gender was not the only discriminatory signifier applied to "Our Readers", as South African women were also subjected to discrimination from women born in England.[489] Women's biological functions gave them a particularly prominent role in maintaining the dominance of their race.[490] Being part of the dominant race in a British colony meant that race relations were important for the reader's view of her own identity. As mothers, women were considered responsible for raising the new generation in a way that promoted the continuing progress, or at least not the regression, of their race, and as women living in a British colony, their own position on the social scale, whether in relation to men in the colony or the women of the metropole, was also determined by race relations. As Colonials, the women were colonisers in a country where the other white race was recently defeated in a war against Britain and where all other races were seen as subject to the British. Concurrently, they still strongly identified Britain as 'Home' and showed concern to live up to the customs and opinions of 'Home'. They were therefore also colonised as they were subordinate to men and women from Home.[491] Authors such as Anthony Chennells and Margaret Beetham have noted the latter form of discrimination as evidenced in popular reading and have identified race as a rationale for the discrimination.[492] However, such racial discrimination, as it was noted in the magazine and reviewed books, was not a constant factor and fluctuated depending on gender relations and the discourse on other races. Therefore, this chapter will provide an explanation of the development of this rationale and trace the fluctuations in the power-relation between the colonial-born women and the British. To do so, it will first discuss the rationale behind the view of Colonials as a separate race and the changing race relations with Afrikaners during the period as depicted in the magazine and reviewed books.

2. Degeneration caused by environment

The pseudo-scientific language used to rationalise racial differences ('racism') and racial discrimination ('racialism') enabled those who sought to apply Darwin's theories of evolution to

[489] Women born in England will be defined as "British" in this chapter to distinguish them from English-speaking women born in South Africa, who will be termed "Colonials".
[490] Anonym, Editorial, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(63), November 1915, p. 2.
[491] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, pp. 71-88.
[492] M. Beetham, The reinvention of the English domestic woman: class and "race" in the 1890s' woman's magazine, *Women's Studies International Forum* 21(3), 1998, pp. 223-233; A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, pp. 71-88.

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draw new conclusions on environmental impact, thus allowing for the conflation of culture and race. This played on the fear that whites would degenerate if exposed to the 'uncivilized' influence of blacks early in their lives. This was closely connected to the Social Darwinism that informed racist views at the time. A race was either civilised or uncivilised according to the extent to which it had evolved. This evolution was considered reversible and there existed the notion that white men and women in Africa tended to degenerate as a race. Some connected this to miscegenation, but other writers seemed to be of the opinion that the white race would degenerate if simply left in Africa since its environment had produced only races that were inferior on the evolutionary plane.[493] Therefore there existed the fear that if the English men and women living in Africa did not act correctly or create the correct environment, they would become more like the Africans they were surrounded by and would be the degenerated white race – a disgrace to the Anglo race. This fear could have greatly affected the white women readers whose role as mothers made them responsible for rearing their own children and thereby the next generation of South Africans. This gave them a sacred role in creating a strong nation continuously progressing up the civilisation scale and not regressing.[494]

It also meant that female writers tended to portray their relationship with Afrikaners in a somewhat mixed way, often veering into old racialist generalisations while at other times falling in line with the conciliatory call for 'South Africanism'. A possible reason for the remaining ambivalence with which Afrikaners were treated in a magazine that was largely committed to racial conciliation is because Afrikaners were assessed by some authors to confirm the argument that white races left in Africa would degenerate. One such an author was Stanley Portal Hyatt, whose book *Makers of Mischief* was reviewed in the magazine in 1911.[495] Anthony Chennells has noted that Hyatt portrayed a particularly negative view of Colonials in general, believing that they had degenerated, but an even more negative and overly stereotypical representation of Afrikaners as Hyatt believed they had been in Africa for longer and thus would have regressed even more. His depiction of Boers in *Makers of Mischief* shows them to be scheming, dirty, greedy, lazy, brown-skinned with bushy unkempt beards and cruel to their black servants.[496] In contrast, the British hero is commanding, hardworking, well-kempt, honest, and one who automatically engenders the respect and willing service of Africans.[497] For Hyatt, Afrikaners had become a new race, having degenerated as a result

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[493] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, p. 76.
[494] See also T. Keegan, Gender, degeneration and sexual danger: imagining race and class in South Africa, ca.1912, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(3), 2001, p. 460.
[495] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(16), December 1911, p. 3.
[496] S.P. Hyatt, *The makers of mischief*, pp. 91-101. These same characteristics cropped up in other novels when the villain happened to be Afrikaans. See, for example, Amy Jane Baker's *I too have known* and Charlotte Mansfield's *Gloria.*
[497] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

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of centuries of exposure to Africa and therefore serving as an example of what Colonials would eventually turn into as well.[498] Such careful rationalisation for discrimination against Colonials as articulated by Hyatt is absent in the *SALPHJ*. More often the reasons for the discrimination are not clear; yet its presence and effects are evident in the magazine and the reviewed books. This perceived racialism is identifiable in instances where Colonials distanced themselves from other races, self-consciously mimicked British culture and upheld British norms, in contrast to colonial equivalents, as the ideal.

3. Depictions of Afrikaner racial characteristics

The *SALPHJ* not only focused on English women as the target audience, but also on Dutch women who were sufficiently anglicised to appreciate the content and have access to the language. Thus the magazine had to juggle the concerns of two races in its pages without attempting to alienate either. This means that despite the strong hierarchical view and differentiation between races in existence at the time, the two white races of South Africa had to be portrayed as being on the same plane. During the years under purview, 1911-1919, there was a marked effort by politicians to promote conciliation between the two white races of South Africa, in order to counteract the racial tension left over after the South African War and create greater cooperation between the races in the new Union of South Africa.[499] That the magazine appeared to have the same aim is suggested in the frequent inclusion of appeals for conciliation and in the absence of racialist comments towards Afrikaners. There is a link between this decision and the fact that the magazine, for all its claims to be apolitical, supported certain political parties through its reports on social events tied to the particular party. The South African Party (SAP) is often mentioned as its members and its female supporters were regularly reported on in the magazine's social pages when the Women's SAP had a fundraiser or social evening. Thus the magazine began to reflect some of the ruling SAP's views such as that conciliation between English and Afrikaner (which included Dutch and Boer) was necessary.[500]

It is therefore probable that the edited stories and articles were closely censored for racialism. Hatred, disdain or even competition between the two races was not promoted in the magazine. And, although Archie Dick notes in his book, *The Hidden Histories of South Africa's Books and Reading Cultures*, that racial competition between the English and Afrikaans societies did exist,[501] the *SALPHJ* did not give evidence of this in its reporting on the activities of the various societies

[498] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, p. 76.
[499] J. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state*; S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000.*
[500] J. Barber, *South Africa in the twentieth century: a political history in search of a nation state*, p.60.
[501] A. Dick, *The hidden history of South Africa's book and reading cultures*, pp.52-66.

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(although some regional competition became evident in the social pages during the First World War). As a rule, Afrikaners were not portrayed as an inferior race in the magazine during the years following unification, yet there are indicators that ill feeling on both sides still existed. These include the repeated references to racialism between the two white races, stereotypical depictions in reviewed books and the effort it apparently took to portray Boers in a positive light.

One indicator of the ongoing racial hatred is that, although racialism between the English and Afrikaans was not expressed in the magazine, its existence was often lamented. It was especially the Dutch members of the Women's SAP who, from time to time, would call for an end to racialism. These were most commonly found in the monthly "Daughter of South Africa" articles, wherein leading Dutch women addressed the issue in various ways. So, for example, a lady in "Daughter of South Africa" would be described as someone who 'detest[s] ingratitude and so-called racialism.'[502] Repeated calls by English and Dutch interviewees and writers for an end to racialism offers clear evidence, I would argue, that discrimination between the two white races was an ongoing societal problem.

The call to an end to racialism was repeated in two of the poems in *Veldsinger's Verse*, a book of poetry reviewed in the magazine in 1911. In "The Union of South Africa" by Syned, there is a clear call for the two white races to end their racialism and work together to form a new nation:

> Take up your burden. Children of the Land!
> Behind you lie the bitter memories
> Of blood and tears commingled in the dust
> Where men have striven, suffered, fought, and died.
> Now from the past, the ashes of the slain,
> Have come the makings of a common cause.
> The future lies before you, babes unborn
> Await their destiny—with outstretched hands
> Two nations call to you in mute appeal
> —
> Take up your burden, Children of the Land!
> ...
> Oh! cast away your false, ill-omened fears.
> The whited garments of deep-seated hate;
> The hoarded garnerings of ancient wrongs;
> The hidden canker that destroys your peace.[503]

The call for unity was also echoed in "A South African Anthem" by F.E. Walrond:

> Mighty Lord of nations,
> We, Thy youngest born.

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[502] Anonym, A daughter of South Africa. Mrs. George A. Roth, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(30), February 1913, p. 35. See also, for example, Anonym, A daughter of South Africa. Mrs. John George Melville, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(36), August 1913, p. 50.
[503] The Veldsingers' Club, *Veldsinger's verse*, pp. 103-104, ll. 18-28, 37-40.

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> After toil and travail,
> After feuds outworn,
> Stand at last one people,
> Face the splendid morn.
> Give us faith, O Lord![504]

In contrast to such calls for conciliation were the reviewed novels that portrayed Afrikaners in an explicitly racialist manner. Typical racialist attributes identified in the reviewed books include Afrikaner gender roles in which women tended to be fat, lazy and overly concerned with getting married and having a large family while the men in the family were the undisputed, often despotic, heads of the household.[505] Other generalisations include that they also had very little reserve and were more religious or superstitious.[506] They were also marked by their love of the land, their practical nature and their lack of artistic taste or concern for outward appearance.[507] Finally, a characteristic attributed to the 'worst kind of Boer' was to be 'slim', which Charlotte Mansfield explained as being conniving and using wit in order to profit through deceitful means or to avoid hard work.[508] As can be seen from the above list, some of the racial attributes could be viewed as positive or neutral, but a number of them, notably the last characteristic, were most often used when depicting Afrikaans characters as villainous.

As such overt racialism existed but was not depicted in the *SALPHJ*, it is useful to note how the racial differences were managed in a magazine that aimed at conciliation. In the magazine and reviewed books the references to 'Dutch', 'Afrikander' and 'Boer' were all used interchangeably, but 'Boer' was most often used when referring to poor Afrikaans characters, while 'Dutch' was most often applied to wealthy farmers. Colonials and 'Dutch' were often lumped together as 'Anglo-Dutch' to show that they had a similar culture. For example, in *I Too Have Known*, a character opines when asked about Boers:

> "To tell you the truth ... I like them far better than the Anglo-Dutch variety one finds in the towns. All the same, some of their customs are weird beyond words. Old Johannes van der Merve [sic] always sleeps in his clothes; not, I think, because he particularly wants to be dirty, but because his father did the same, at a time when men dared not go comfortably to bed for fear of being attacked by natives."[509]

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[504] *Ibid.*, p. 112, ll. 1-7.
[504] A.J. Baker, *I too have known*; D. Broadway, *The longest way round*; C. Mansfield, *Gloria: a girl of the South African veld*; M.E. Martens, *A daughter of sin. A simple story*; E.F.M. Young, *The bywonner*.
[506] M. Baldwin, *Corah's school chums*; D. Fairbridge, *The torch bearer*; M.E. Martens, *A daughter of sin. A simple story*; L. Thompson, *The lion and the adder*.
[507] A.J. Baker, *I too have known*; M. Baldwin, *Corah's school chums*; D. Fairbridge, *The torch bearer*; S.P. Hyatt, *The makers of mischief*; C. Mansfield, *Gloria: a girl of the South African veld*.
[508] S.P. Hyatt, *The makers of mischief*; C. Mansfield, *Gloria: a girl of the South African veld*; F.H. Rose, *Haidee*; L. Thompson, *The lion and the adder*.
[509] A.J. Baker, *I too have known.*, p. 194.

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The Dutch were the upper-class of the Afrikaners. The difference between the 'Dutch' and 'Boers' was never explained in the magazine but accepted as well-known.[510] It is only through reading the literature reviewed in the magazine that it becomes clear what the differences were. Because the magazine aimed at conciliation and did not explain how the deplored racialism manifested itself, an intertextual reading is necessary to understand the negative views applied to the Boers. In the magazine itself, the Dutch were upper middle class, educated and often urbanized, while in books like *I Too Have Known*, Boers were seen as poor, uneducated, generally filthy and backwards.[511]

It has been noted in Chapter 2 that class was often equated with race in Britain. A common argument about British settlers in South Africa was that they replaced concerns about class differences held in Britain with greater racialism in order to secure a better position for themselves in the new society.[512] However, here the Victorian practice of equating class with race seems to come to the fore in their treatment of Afrikaners. Because Dutch women had much in common with English white women who were from the same class, they were easily included under the terms 'Our Readers' and 'South African women' to show conciliation between the races. The class similarities made it possible to show racial conciliation without the readers having to show themselves equal to a race with a culture markedly different from British culture. It was therefore not simple distancing that was applied to the Afrikaner race as a whole. While there were still noteworthy differences between the culture of upper-class Afrikaners and the English, their wealth enabled them to obtain a lifestyle and education more in keeping with Colonials than poorer and more rural Afrikaners.

In only three early entries in the magazine the Dutch, rather than Boers, were connected with assumed poverty, lack of education in general, lack of personal hygiene and stubbornness. Two of these are to be found in accounts from "Lady Pioneers" who told of their encounters with Boers before or during the war, and one was on the need for books to be made available to Dutch children on farms. In all of these the negative characteristics were insinuated rather than clearly articulated.[513] Generally, however, most writers did not dwell on racial stereotypes for the Dutch. Short story writers, especially, avoided mentioning which race (Dutch or British) a main character belonged to. A farmer in a short story could as easily be English as Dutch and only the names given to characters would be used to identify them as part of either. 'Boers' were generally only side

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[510] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(55), March 1915, p. 3.
[511] A.J. Baker, *I too have known.*
[512] F. Cooper and A.L. Stoler, *Tensions of empire: colonial cultures in a bourgeois world*, p. 27.
[513] Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand: Lady Dunbar, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(10), May 1911, p. 20; Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand. Mrs. Charles Marx, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(19), March 1912, p. 22; Anonym, From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African women, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(19), March 1912, p. 52.

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characters rather than well-rounded characters, which indicates a similarity to the treatment of black characters noted in the previous chapter. This power-relation is especially noticeable, as poor characters were included as rounded characters in short stories, but then they were always English rather than Afrikaans.[514]

The Dutch were also connected to the English-speaking women through motherhood, weddings, and romance. There was a clear shared concern for their children as both Dutch and English children were portrayed in the "Coming Generations" pages where, inclusively, photographs of all (white) 'South African Children' were placed.[515] Dutch names also feature in the betrothals pages,[516] and the two groups were linked not only through marriage, but also through their roles in romance. In the short stories of the magazine, the Dutch and Colonials both take on the role of hero, heroine, and villain interchangeably, and there is generally no problem when Dutch and English persons marry since they are shown to be so similar. In a few instances to be found in works of fiction, such marriages are taken as symbolic of the union of the two white races in South Africa. For example, in the short story "The Fairy Tale" by Eileen Magennis, the heroine is Kitty Machau, daughter of Gert Machau, who is forced to marry Andrew Murray who is rich, rather than her poor Irish lover, Mac. Besides Mac, the main characters are Afrikaans, and are clearly established so through words, such as '*voorkamer*', and the words of a '*Hotnot's reel'* (Afrikaans song): '*De man wat de osse oppas*...' (old edition of "Vat jou goed en trek Ferreira") as well as '*Brandewijn laat mij staan*'.[517] The two lovers run away to be together, and in the end the father accepts them, invites them back and gives a speech in which he calls their marriage an example of 'the Union of the Races in spite of all opposition.'[518] The importance of romance between the two races for the notion of racial conciliation is echoed in 1919 in "Klaas Stories: Baviaan" by F.R. Southon in which Old Baboon tells Klaas a tale of South Africa and concludes about the English and the Dutch:

> "There are still some on both sides who try to stir up the old quarrel. But English men have Dutch wives and English women have Dutch husbands, and the children play together; and I do not think they will really fight again."[519]

In addition to showing a bond between English and Afrikaners through familial relations, the depiction of noteworthy Dutch women in the magazine conformed to the same recipe used in the biographical sketches and interviews with noteworthy English women.

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[514] Compare, for example, the "Boers" in Ila, The soul of a violin, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(28), December 1912, pp. 21-22 to the lower class English girl in A. Askew and C. Askew, A studio idyll, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(7), February 1911, pp. 13-14, 16-17.
[515] See, for example, Anonym, The coming generations: portraits of South African children, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(63), November 1915, p. 30.
[516] See, for example, Anonym, Wedding bells, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(63), November 1915, p. 26.
[517] E. Magennis, The fairy tale, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 21.
[518] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[519] F.R. Southon, Klaas stories: baviaan, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 10(111), November 1919, p. 44.

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The articles in the "Daughter of South Africa" series are presented in such a way that the Dutch are more firmly identified as equals to English South Africans.[520] The "Daughter of South Africa" articles mirrored the articles on important visiting ladies in the type of information given on the women interviewed. The articles always began, like the ones on visiting ladies from Britain, on the woman's heritage. Her grandparents and parents were mentioned if well-known, even if not of noble blood. So, for example, Mrs. John George Melville could trace her heritage to the Huguenots and the famous General De La Rey.[521] There seems to be an attempt to give credibility to the idea that the Dutch and English could be considered equals and similar because they both came from distinguished families. Therefore this seems to focus on class differences as greater than racial differences with a view to reconcile two races. The differences between the upper-class members of the two races were downplayed. In essence, it formed a kind of reverse-othering, which has an inverse aim from what Edward Said theorises as the relationship between the coloniser and colonised.[522] Instead of focusing on differences to create the 'Other', the similarities were emphasised in an attempt to place the two races on the same plane in order to create unity amongst the white races in South Africa.

The lower-class Afrikaners, the Boers, proved more difficult to reconcile with the upper class white English women. As already noted, a number of the reviewed books clearly presented them as members of an inferior race to the British. It would only be through creating a shared enemy out of the Germans and cowards that it would become possible for the Boers to be portrayed as rounded characters on the same plane as the white English-speaking women.

It is quite possible that the negative stereotype was upheld by many of the readers, but it was never supported in the magazine itself. Notably, the review of *I Too Have Known* was particularly negative with "Bookmark" stating that it would be sorry if this were a fair picture of South African life: 'We are all of us eager for more South African fiction, but no good purpose can be served by the presentation of such 'untouched negatives' as some of the chapters in this, the author's first, novel.'[523] Despite the negative review, this was the only novel not just to illustrate more openly the racialist views held in South African society, but also to show some of its complexity, range and origins. Following the South African War, many Englishmen felt that their country owed it to them to give them jobs in the new colony of South Africa and subsequently felt betrayed when their jobs

[520] Dubow notes that the positive conciliation veneer after Union did not last long and WWI brought on increased 'racialism', but that this caused a converse reactionary call for South Africanism. S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000*, p. 200.
[521] Anonym, A daughter of South Africa. Mrs. John George Melville, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(36), August 1913, p. 50.
[522] E.W. Said, Orientalism, *in* B. Ashcroft, Griffiths, Gareth., & Tiffin, Helen. (ed.), *The post-colonial studies reader*, pp. 87-91.
[523] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 3.

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were taken away from them and given to Afrikaners. In the book, this is shown as a reason for the racialism in the country:

> Close upon the beginning of retrenchment came the first Transvaal General Election, and only those who were in the colony at the time realised the depths of racial feeling hidden under the mask of political terms. Whether on the Rand of in the remotest up-country district, "Het Volk" and "Progressive" were but party names for Boer and Briton. Englishmen smarted with a sense of injustice; Dutchmen rejoiced, naturally enough, at the idea of being once more masters in the land of their birth.[524]

Both sides are shown to have an understandable point, and the two main characters of the book, two English girls recently come to South Africa, are teachers in schools with mostly Afrikaans children and are shown to be caring and sympathetic to their students despite often being baffled and disgusted by the habits of the Boers.

Amy Jane Baker was the first reviewed author to deal with the main cause of the racial hatred as not rooted in notions of degeneration, namely the South African War. In the novel, the attempts by the politicians to foster reconciliation are shown only to have a largely superficial effect. The moment of true conciliation in the book takes place at a memorial service held for those who lost their lives during the war. At the memorial service, Boer and Briton gather together to pay their respects in the cemetery kept by the Loyal Guild Women. That it is a society run by women helps to give their efforts greater meaning as a means of bridging the racial schism in society that the political parties could not. At this event, one of the main characters, Hilda, places roses on a grave that turns out to be the grave of a Boer woman's son who had died in the war. Hilda in turn tells the woman of her brother who had died at Spioenkop. The two women manage to come together over their shared loss during the war when the Boer woman symbolically reaches out to take Hilda's hand:

> "Yes, it is sad; we lost our loved ones, and the English also lost theirs. I know you; you are good; my girls love you at the school. See, I will take your hand so long," and across the grave of the dead Boer the two women joined hands and looked at each other with tear-dimmed eyes. ... on that Sunday afternoon the Englishman and the Dutchman who met in the little Pietersdorp cemetery were nearer together than they had been before; for the Boers, in spite of their cunning, were a brave enemy.[525]

Baker's *I Too Have Known* was reviewed in 1912; it took the magazine itself until 1916 to start dealing directly with what had happened in the South African War and why it had created so much racial hatred. Until 1916 comments such as a need for conciliation between English and Afrikaner were made but what happened in the war, especially with regard to the concentration camps, was not dealt with in articles. Even the opening of the Vrouwemonument in 1913 was not covered despite its obvious interest and importance to women in South Africa. Considering the general avoidance of the topic, the most likely reason why it was not reported on in the magazine is the

[524] A.J. Baker, *I too have known.*, pp. 128-129.
[525] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

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monument's focus on loss of life in the concentration camps. At most, the regret that there should be racial tension or the existence of racial tension as a cause of the war would be mentioned.

Likewise, in an article on Mrs. Brandt's *Petticoat Commando,* published in 1913, the war itself was not dwelt on. The writer mentioned Mrs. Brandt's daring and her wish that her book would not flame racialism during this time: 'One hopes it will in no way fan the smouldering fire of racialism. Mrs. Brandt says it was written with the sole object of an ennobling, softening effect on the present strained relations'.[526] Her courage was celebrated in the article as something that showed women to be gutsy and capable, but the omission of any mention of the book's central theme, the war, is glaringly obvious.

Similarly, the Rebellion of 1914 was also avoided in the *SALPHJ*. At most, when the books reviewed were set during the Rebellion, "Bookmark" would note that it was too soon to write on the topic as it was still a very sensitive issue:

> The Rebellion is of too recent date, the scars it has left behind too tender yet, to admit of a discussion of this side of the book. Clearly the author loves the land of her adoption, and her studies of the varied races that strive together in the rough life of the sub-continent are thrown on the screen in a series of vivid pictures sometimes as crude as the life they represent, but strong and virile.[527]

This was the case even though this review of Leigh Thompson's *The Lion and the Adder* was published in 1918, four years after the Rebellion. This could be that the reason for the Rebellion – a refusal by a large group of Afrikaners to fight in the First World War on the side of Britain – was a problematic issue for a magazine attempting to show all men who fought bravely for England to be on the side of justice.

The First World War was a dividing factor in South Africa. Most English-speakers rallied to the British call and found pride in the successes of the campaigns in German South West Africa, East Africa and Delville Wood. For them, the fact that the South African troops were made up of English and Afrikaner and that they were led by Louis Botha, coupled with the role of Jan Smuts in the war effort in Europe, was an indication that Afrikaners were also on the side of Britain. This perception that the Afrikaners had enough reason to support Britain's war efforts made it possible to view anyone who did not support Britain as disloyal to the Empire rather than as a person with a legitimate reason not to support Britain, who had, after all, been the enemy of the Afrikaners just over a decade earlier.

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[526] Anonym, The Petticoat Commando, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(34), June 1913, p. 58.
[527] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(97), September 1918, p. 3.

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Well into the First World War the writers of short stories did not manage to reconcile the English with the lower class Boers through romance, and it was only through their reaction to the war that a characteristic of the Boers could be used to portray them as a worthy part of the white races. This would be done by focusing on characteristics of Boers linked to their actions during the South African War. The short stories in the magazine also did not deal with the South African War. They never mentioned feelings of enmity and bitterness between English and Afrikaners and were never set in that period if they included Afrikaners characters. This occurred even though historical romance, as was clear from the book reviews, was a much loved genre. In the short stories, any historical setting would be before the South African War, or they would be set in England.[528] When a war was used in stories to show a man's bravery, it would be the 'Kafir Wars', though details of these wars were then omitted.[529]

During the First Wold War the brave soldier became a regular hero in the short stories and poems in the magazine and their antithesis were cowards and Germans. Through short stories, poems and articles urging women to let their sons and husbands sign up to fight in the war, cowards were increasingly established as villains who betrayed their country, the men fighting, and the women and children of Belgium that had been affected so greatly by the German invasion in 1914.[530] It was specifically because of the invasion of Belgium that the Germans became known as the most barbaric of races. They were often called baby-killers, and atrocities committed by them in Belgium were reported on regularly. There were even active calls for the hatred and eradication of the Hun race with the war framed as a battle between the forces of good (Allies) against evil (Germans).[531] This discourse surrounding the war gave extra importance to the common brave soldier facing incredible odds. This is significant as during this period the situation that the Boers must have faced while fighting in the various 'Kafir Wars' was indirectly compared to the situation and actions of

[528] Short stories set before the South African War: E.S., A magnate in the making, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(9), April 1911, pp. 18-19; G.P. Rodolf, The governor's doom: a story of other days in South Africa, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(16), December 1911, pp. 49-51; M. Hartill, Dirk Steenhart's wife, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(64), December 1915, pp. 37-38; A. Mackenzie, Grandmother's story, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(62), October 1915, pp. 21-23; Anonym, The first diamonds: a story of Kimberley, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(68), April 1916, p. 55; M. Bell, The pretend knight-errant, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(84), August 1917, pp. 58, 60; E. Glanville, The settler. A romance of the British settlement of 1820, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal*, March 1917 - January 1918; C.S. Stokes, Blockhouse 97, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(108), August 1919, p. 41.

[529] G.P. Rodolf, A coward. A South African story, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(11), July 1911, pp. 48-49; E. Glanville, The settler. A romance of the British settlement of 1820, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal*, March 1917 - January 1918; C.S. Stokes, Blockhouse 97, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(108), August 1919, p. 41.

[530] See, for example, M. Peterson, The woman's message, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(90), February 1918, p. 2; Anonym, Me brother wot stayed at 'ome, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(78), February 1917, p. 38; M. Smith, Adventurous girls of the British Empire: the pre-war novels of Bessie Marchant, *The Lion and the Unicorn* 33(1), 2009, pp. 1-25.

[531] See, for example, Anonym, Letter from France, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(97), September 1918, p. 29.

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the brave soldiers of the Springbok Brigade, who were mostly made up of white English-speaking South Africans and a few Afrikaners – the sons, brothers, fathers, and husbands of the readers.

A particular example where this can be seen in the magazine is in the similarities between a poem about a Voortrekker and typical war poems published in the magazine. During the First World War "Our Poet's Corner" was introduced as a monthly feature of the magazine where readers could submit poems for publication. Many poems celebrated the life of a fallen soldier in the Great War, often describing the person's deeds while mentioning his eternal sleep or grave. In one example, a poem in the magazine, "The Voortrekker" by Gilbert E. Chittenden, helped to show that the Afrikaners and young English soldiers were not so different from one another.[532] A cursory analysis of this poem reveals imagery and themes that were popularly used in the poems in the magazine. In the poem, Chittenden describes the final resting place of a Boer who lies buried under a tree:

> There lies his grave,
> A mound of weather-beaten stone
> Rudely piled on a lofty spur
> Far in the Zoutpansberg's great zone,
> Enshrouded in a purple blur.
>
> He wished it so,
> And dying bid them rest the clay
> Aloft in the Northern mountains,
> Where silent solitude holds sway,
> Above the rolling wind-swept plains.
>
> His work was done,
> Now while he sleeps his last long sleep,
> Alone upon the mountain crest,
> Around his tomb the pale mists creep
> And so conceal his place of rest.
>
> He loved the veld,
> And in the early hunting days,
> When Government's encroaching hand
> Curtailed the freedom of his ways,
> He crossed the Vaal to farm new land.[533]

The grave of the Voortrekker is as unimposing as was many a grave in poems of deceased soldiers, which chose to focus on humble appearance of the grave and the peace that came with it, akin to sleep, to the one buried. This is in keeping with lines 12 to 15. In the third stanza, some time is spent on the Voortrekker's love of the veld, connecting him again to the South African men who

[532] G.E. Chittenden, The Voortrekker, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(67), March 1916, p. 53.
[533] *Ibid.*, ll. 1-20.

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were fighting in the First World War and who were often described as men who loved the country of their birth, men who like the Voortrekker, also longed for the open veld:

> The sun sinks low,
> And as it droops, dark shadows fall
> Athwart the old Voortrekker's grave,
> While from the silence voices call
> As though some audience they would crave.
>
> What might they tell —
> What tale of journey day by day
> O'er unknown plains and deserts drear,
> Where dangers lurked in every way
> And night was but incessant fear?[534]

The poetic device of the speaker telling the final story of the soldier lying dead on the field in Flanders or buried in a grave is one which is frequently employed in the war poetry which appeared in the magazine, a device which reflects the poet's concerns about the fear that the young man felt before he died. The following stanza reminds one that the events were of the past, but also sets the scene of an embattled group of men about to face a fearsome foe:

> Past scenes return,
> The coming night inspires thought.
> Far on the arid sun-scorched veld
> Is formed again the laagered fort,
> And each man dons his cartridge belt.
>
> Onward they come,
> The black hosts swell and swarm around
> With steely glint of assegais,
> Once more the silent plains resound
> With dull reports and battle cries.
>
> In dead of night,
> When earth is wrapped in sable gloom
> And hungry jackals howl with fear,
> And Zulu hosts like shadows loom
> To track the white foe unaware.
>
> Silent the camp,
> But white men wait in readiness.
> The black shapes hesitate and pause;
> A sudden fear of death's caress
> Each pagan warrior overawes.
>
> A belching roar,
> With steel-fanged spurts of lurid light,
> The black shapes flit like startled ghosts

[534] *Ibid.*, ll. 21-30.

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And panic stricken take to flight
In wild disordered frenzied hosts.[535]

Again, the silence before the battle is a stock poetic image used to describe the British Tommy waiting in a trench before the expected attack and listening intently for the enemy or orders. As in the poetry of the First World War, the enemy in this poem is described as an overwhelming horde through words such as 'host swell and swarm' (l.37). In this poem, Chittenden praises the bravery of the Voortrekker in entering the unknown and facing the Zulu enemy, using imagery similar to that used in the war poems on the First World War, and he takes a moment to tell the reader that it is fitting to recall the Voortrekker's bravery:

How sighs the wind,
Here on this lonely mountain tall,
Where citied sounds can ne'er intrude,
How meet it is to now recall
The old Voortrekker's fortitude.

The land is one,
And he who rests within the tomb
Shunned town and civilization,
From savage strife and warfare's gloom
Has issued a mighty nation.

Look to the dead.
Bright peace envelopes all the land.
Ah, think how much has gone before
And how the brave Voortrekker band
Have left us thus for evermore.[536]

That the time is fitting ('meet') for the readers to recall the Voortrekker and how his bravery and the bravery of those like him have resulted in peace and produced a mighty nation could be interpreted as particularly fitting for a magazine whose aim is to propagate unity in the nation. It also reminds the readers that peace will follow war. Yet, the poem is followed by a line indicating that it is '[p]rinted by courtesy of The Sunday Times, Johannesburg'.[537] The poem was initially published in 1910 shortly after Union. This would mean that the author's initial aim was to urge unity between the Afrikaner and English South Africans by reminding them of the past and to celebrate the peace between them. However, despite Chittenden's original aim, the fact that the editor chose to reprint the poem in 1916 suggests that the poem was seen to have special meaning. I would argue that it also began a trend of emphasising what was considered a Boer racial characteristic already noted by Baker, namely bravery. This recontextualised poem shows that Boers could be compared to the British or South African soldiers because they were also brave in the face of terrible danger and that

[535] *Ibid.*, ll. 31-55.
[536] *Ibid.*, ll. 56-70.
[537] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

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they gave their lives in the fight for what they believed in. This shared moral character rather than class became the means through which Boers could be portrayed in the magazine on the same racial plane as the readers. The first writer who managed to take this idea further and use the hatred left over from the South African War to further the idea of conciliation was W. V. Campbell in "Old Jacobus Hugo", a short story that appeared in November 1917.[538]

"Old Jacobus Hugo" was the first short story to deal frankly with the fact that Afrikaners did not want to fight for Britain. In the story the Boer heroine is married to an Englishman, to the chagrin of her father, Jacobus. Her husband then goes to fight in the Great War on the side of England, which he sees as his patriotic duty. His more successful brother stays, which old Jacobus initially thinks is the better choice, until he learns of the atrocities of the German armies in Belgium. Jacobus then begins to '*terg*' (tease) the brother who stayed behind for his cowardice. This would probably have struck a chord with the reader as, before this story was published, cowards who refused to volunteer to fight in the war had been portrayed, very regularly since the outbreak of the war as some of the worst kinds of men.[539] Readers were in fact pulled in to identify with the old Boer through their disdain for cowardly men who did not answer to their country's call for help. Finally, the Afrikaner even allows his own son to go fight for Britain against the 'swine' who murder women and children. That the 'swine' are the Boers' previous ally, the Germans, is probably not as material as the fact that the English brother who refused to fight is now shown to refuse the call to protect women and children in a war; something that old Jacobus would have looked down on as his own wife had died in the South African War while he was away to fight for their freedom. The old Afrikaner can see in his son-in-law the bravery and loyalty needed in true South Africans, and he identifies himself at the end as a South African rather than an Afrikaner when he tells the cowardly brother:

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[538] W.V. Campbell, Old Jacobus Hugo, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(87), November 1917, pp. 52-53.
[539] See, for example, C. Murray, Greater love, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(52), December 1914, pp. 19, 21-23; A.W. Phillips, For friendship's sake, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 4(43), March 1914, pp. 22-23; L.H. Sargent, A straw in the wind, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(50), October 1914, pp. 21-22; A.L.W.H., The invalid, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(61), September 1915, pp. 21-22; E.H., Two of us, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(57), May 1915, pp. 21-23; D.S. Spero, The mother, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(55), March 1915, pp. 21-22; D.S. Spero, They also serve, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(60), August 1915, pp. 21-23; T. Alexander, Better late than never, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(75), November 1916, p. 17; T. Alexander, A heavy stake, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 6(72), August 1916, pp. 19-22; A. McMurray, Sister O, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(73), September 1916, p. 19; C. Percival, A fireside soliloquy, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(73), September 1916, p. 44; P.de Riet, The recruit, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(76), December 1916, p. 63; J.F. Alexander, The sacrifice, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(82), June 1917, pp. 32, 35-36; M.C. Bruce, A letter from home, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(83), July 1917, p. 17; A. Chisholm, Eve's passport, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(86), October 1917, pp. 19, 45; K. Mortimer, A reminiscence, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(85), September 1917, pp. 49, 50, 52; L.H. Sargent, At his country's call, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(78), February 1917, p. 54.

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> Who do you think is the better South African? I, who fought and lost a son for a lost cause years ago; whose daughter has lost her man fighting for my former enemies; I, who have sent my son to fight, and who am myself trying to link English and Dutch in support of Botha, who has fought and is still fighting for South Africa? Or you, an Englishman, who thinks so little of your country that you can shelter behind your pretended responsibility ... while those murderers are still trying to murder your own countrymen and enslave your women and children by foul means the devil invented?[540]

It is important to keep in mind that this argument was read by women who most likely already supported the fight on the side of the Empire. To them, this would help to create a tie between the English and the Boers especially because the latter had also experienced the atrocities of war and were willing to fight for their country. That Afrikaners were brave fighters is also highlighted in the honour roll that was packed every month full of photos of soldiers who had fought bravely in Delville Wood. In general, pride in South African contributions to the war effort helped to lessen feelings of racial schism.[541] Photos of Afrikaans soldiers were often accompanied with more detail than English soldiers' photos, and there were several articles on Botha and Smuts as well as their wives' war efforts.[542] The war, the shared enemy in the form or the Germans and cowards unwilling to fight for their country became the means through which the magazine managed to include Afrikaners (both Boers and Dutch) as rounded characters and points of interest in the magazine to further combat racialism.

The clearest depiction of the belief that fighting alongside one another has brought Afrikaans and English closer together is the long poem *Around the Campfire* by A.V. Hall, reviewed in December 1918. The poem presents a fictional conversation between four young soldiers on campaign in East Africa – including an Afrikaner, Englishman, Colonial and a Scotsman. The poem emphasises the different views held by the soldiers but also just how much they actually have in common.[543]

It is also during the war that the term 'Boer' becomes more closely connected to farming rather than class. This is first made clear in *The Afrikaner Rebellion: South Africa To-Day* and *The Hun in the Hinterland,* in which the author, J.K. O'Connor, gives his explanation for the origins of the Rebellion, placing all the blame on manipulative Germans who convinced uneducated Boers that they should take back their country. O'Connor argues that it is because the Boer lives in isolated rural areas, removed from the regular news available in the towns and without a good education,

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[540] W.V. Campbell, Old Jacobus Hugo, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(87), November 1917, p. 53.
[541] S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000*; J. Lambert, "An unknown people": reconstructing British South African identity, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37(4), 2009, pp. 599-617.
[542] See, for example, Harold Spender's *General Botha: the Career and the Man*, reviewed in the magazine in 1916. "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(75), November 1916, p. 13; Anonym, A day's work. Mrs. Smuts and the khaki boys, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 7(84), August 1917, p. 5.
[543] A.V. Hall, *Round the camp fire in East Africa*; "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(100), December 1918, p. 28.

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that German conspirators could convince the Boers to begin the Rebellion.[544] The reviewer was critical of the author for writing on the subject so soon.[545]

Subsequent reviews by "Bookmark" placed emphasis on the desirability of conciliation as depicted in other reviewed books: *The Lion and the Adder* and *The Longest Way Round.* These were the only reviewed novels to successfully show a romantic relationship between more traditional Boer and British characters as the main plot line.[546] "Bookmark's" remarks on *The Lion and the Adder* by Leigh Thompson noted the desirability of a novel set during the Rebellion, commending the love story of Jocelyn, an Englishman, and Nonnie, a lovely Dutch girl, despite its undesirable setting:

> And there are not a few of those who love their country well enough to peer anxiously into her future that look to intermarriages such as these to solve the racial strive of to-day. Hatred for the English is an oddly impersonal thing in this country in most cases – nationally it is intense, but between man and man, Dutchman and Englishman, the clarity of vision bred in the wide clear reaches of the great sub-continent dissipates the mists of prejudice, and we find again and again strong friendships and perfect love and trust.[547]

Both novels, which are set during the war, depict the marriage of English and Dutch characters. What they also have in common is that, in both cases, the Afrikaner lover is shown to have the redeeming quality of loyalty to the Crown. In Thompson's novel in particular the loyal Afrikaners are shown to be more intelligent and likeable. On the other hand, the main villain is not only a narrow-minded Afrikaner who helps to set the Rebellion in motion, but also a violent threat to the couple, and a person who threatens the heroine with rape and imprisonment. And while other Afrikaners in the Rebellion are shown to have been misled by Siener van Rensburg, the villain's irredeemable qualities are explained by the revelation that he has mixed German blood. This reassures the reader that the author's '... study of the various races ...'[548] emphasises the Germans as the natural villain of romantic stories rather than a poor or deceitful Afrikaner or Englishman.

4. Colonial women and British norms

It has been argued in the previous chapters that South African women were viewed as active and creative because their lifestyle out in the colonies often demanded it. Removed from luxuries, many women were forced to be ingenious and active around their homes. However, though South African women enjoyed greater agency in terms of travel and an active lifestyle than British women, they also experienced prejudice on the basis of these differences; women in the colonies were often

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[544] J.K. O'Connor, *The Afrikaner Rebellion: South Africa to-day*.
[545] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(55), March 1915, p. 3.
[546] D. Broadway, *The longest way round*; J.K. O'Connor, *The Afrikaner Rebellion: South Africa to-day*; L. Thompson, *The lion and the adder*.
[547] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(97), September 1918, p. 3.
[548] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

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unfavourably compared to women in Britain. This is especially true for the reportage during the first two years of the magazine's existence.

In her article, "The Reinvention of the English Domestic Woman: Class and 'Race' in the 1890s' Woman's Magazine", Margaret Beetham explores the intersections of gender, whiteness, class and 'Britishness' to show that the discourse of English Domesticity used in the magazine *Woman at Home* was so clearly equated with Englishness and whiteness that it created an unequal power relation between woman readers in England and those in the colonies.[549] As mentioned in Chapter 2, racialism often manifested itself in judgments on social conduct, which was perceived as indicative of innate racial values rather than culture. The occasions when Colonial women are depicted as socially inept in some form, are therefore indicative of their racial degeneration.

The fear of racial degeneration was closely linked to the perceived opinions of the British towards Colonials. To be able to be proud South Africans (or Africanders) the readers had to be able to live in such a way that Home-born men and women could not accuse them of allowing racial degeneration to occur.[550] One way to do this, which was especially prominent in the early years of the magazine's publication, was to replicate the culture of the British upper class in South Africa.[551] This was attempted by keeping up with the British fashion and gossip reported in "Our Letter from Overseas", by hearing the views of visiting ladies on their country in order to validate their own society in comparison with Home society, and by creating a social upper-class for themselves through regular reports on the activities and fashions of the wives and daughters of prominent politicians.

In their attempt to live up to the social standards of British society, Colonials have been found to influence their surroundings to establish 'little Englands' – replicas of Home that could easily help to identify them as British.[552] This included having homes ordered to British norms and gardens filled with flowers from Home, such as roses, with the flower beds and surrounds cultivated to show a green, ordered world amidst the often dry veld. When characters in the novels and short stories speak of missing South Africa, they generally refer to the 'great open spaces' of the country. This gives the impression of South Africa as a relatively empty country, ready to be filled with white settlements and farms. It is in these so-called empty spaces that English-speaking white

[549] M. Beetham, The reinvention of the English domestic woman: class and "race" in the 1890s' woman's magazine, *Women's Studies International Forum* 21(3), 1998, pp. 223-233.
[550] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, p. 73.
[551] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[552] M. Smith, Adventurous girls of the British Empire: the pre-war novels of Bessie Marchant, *The Lion and the Unicorn* 33(1), 2009, p. 18.

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women seem to set up 'little Englands' to protect the culture of the white Anglo Saxons.[553] This is why, amid descriptions of the veld, there are the homes and farms of Colonials that are depicted as islands of order and taste. Even a little girl like Corah, from Baldwin's *Corah's School Chums,* is concerned about whether she would be able to run her brother's farmhouse well in order to be a good Colonial.[554] Aside from the fiction, a similar concern with creating little Englands is clear from the articles on gardens and home making. The magazine articles provided the reader with fashions and news from England, which again shows a skewed concern for keeping up with Home. This is because the perceived power relations between Colonials and British-born women were nested within the concept of culture, including social conduct and achievements in what would be considered social realms outside of political and economic behaviour, which as has already been indicated, was a concept often substituted and conflated with race.

In the monthly article, "Our Letter from Overseas" news from England was shared with the readers. The news typically centred on the royal family, some notable events and fashion advice. The latter was provided in a form that supposed that the reader was less up-to-date with the fashions in London than her British counterparts and thus in need of advice. This played an important role for colonial women, since another way to establish that the racial standards were being upheld was to mimic the British. Even the monthly features of the magazine mirrored those of British magazines, such as *The Woman at Home*. Chennells notes that this form of mimicry was common in colonial writers in order to show that they ought to be taken as seriously as British writers.[555]

Even in the same areas that women in South African had achieved great success in breaking through gender discrimination, they still experienced discrimination from Home. This is evident in the discourse on art and stage: 'Imperial paternalism regarded colonial art as backward at worst and transitional at best in relation to advanced western art. Similarly, the colonial mindset of many South African artists saw them deferring to Europe and yearning for international approval'.[556] In the magazines, stage productions served to show female actresses and musicians' successes, but also articulated the assumption that British or European productions were superior to anything produced by Africans or Afrikaners. According to Temple Hauptfleisch, English stage productions in South Africa during 1910-1914 were mostly reproductions of European, especially British, plays

[553] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
[554] M. Baldwin, *Corah's school chums.*
[555] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, pp. 71-88.
[556] A.S. Marion and Schmahmann, B., *Between Union and Liberation. Women artists in South Africa 1910-1994.*

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with little novel to offer.[557] This is definitely reflected in the *SALPHJ*. The focus on European productions can be seen in the articles on visiting companies as well as in the reports on amateur clubs. The performances of amateur clubs were mostly reproductions of European favourites or farces in characteristic British style that focused on entertainment rather than breaking new ground. In addition, South African performers were lauded for getting training overseas and performing internationally.

In art there was a more nuanced turn from simple mimicry. Although the artist's training in London was always mentioned, there were increasing numbers of women reported on who established art schools in South Africa without any comparison made to British training. Additionally, the trend of choosing to paint Africans and South African landscapes reflected a similar need as was evident amongst South African writers, in that the artists too wanted to promote their own country. The subjects chosen for the paintings may have revealed a continued power relation between men and women during the time, but it also indicated a concerted effort to enhance pride in South Africa. This South Africanism[558] found further expression in the craft and home industries movements that served to give some legitimisation to women's traditional modes of creative expression as art, and to bolster two trends that came and went in the magazine: a dualistic pride in South Africa, and in the British Empire.

a. 1910-1912 racial insecurities and British chauvinism

Despite all efforts to establish little Englands in Africa, the view that South African women could simply not live up to the Home ideal prevailed. The writers were themselves complicit in this inferiority view as they regularly insisted that Home goods or ladies were better than their South African counterparts, often even in the same issue that promoted South African industries, natural beauties and its ladies' talents. This reached a high point in 1912 and, as I will argue in the next chapter, this had an impact on the perceived threat of interracial rape. As with racial differences, the differences between Colonials and British-born men and women could be seen in physical characteristics as well as behaviour. While British women were described as leisured, well-manicured, white skinned and socially aware, the Colonials were not, by circumstance, seen as such. Colonials were brown skinned, large, energetic, hard-working, open and without social reserve and generally tom boyish. This was initially shown to be looked down upon by British visitors. In an article by a popular British author, May Baldwin, colonial women's lack of

[557] T. Hauptfleisch, Lady Anne s Blog: Some Initial Thoughts on the Evolution of Theatrical Commentary in South Africa, 2010, pp. 5-8.
[558] S. Dubow, *A commonwealth of knowledge. Science, sensiblity and white South Africa 1820-2000.*

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knowledge on social behaviour and reserve was indirectly linked to racial terms used for blacks.[559] The article, called "The South African Schoolgirl", was published after the author's recent visit to Cape Town, during which she had inspected several South African schools in order to find material to use in her books on girls' boarding schools. She noted about the girls (English and Dutch) that they were:

> … very resourceful, useful and independent, and secondly, that they were more easily moved than schoolgirls in England. That, of course, is the result of environment and the life they lead, in many cases in wild or lonely parts, which makes them more the *children of nature*, a very desirable thing in some ways.[560] [Own emphasis added]

'Children of nature' may have been closer to 'nature's gentlemen' (the term used to describe black men) than was comfortable for the colonial reader. It seems at first that May Baldwin meant it as a positive view, of them being simpler and closer to nature, until she added that her visits to their homes revealed spaces 'far from civilization' and warned that they were at times overly familiar and that familiarity breeds contempt, so young women should not ignore having some noble reserve.[561] This was an insult to colonial women's upbringing of their own children and seems to show the metropolitan view that colonial women had degenerated.

Views on colonial degeneration and British superiority were again shown in several of the magazine's short stories that painted colonial characters as unrefined in contrast to the heroines of the stories who were 'from Home'. Two examples are: "A Timely Interference. A Story of South Africa" and "A Wild Rose" by Mrs Chastel de Boinville.[562] Both appeared in 1912 and both showed Colonials to be larger and have browner skin; these were characteristics that were typically connected to black women in order to contrast them to British women. Two quotes from "A Wild Rose" show how colonial characters compare to British characters as when Mrs George Richardson is described as "… fat, fussy, a perfect type of Colonial farmer's wife....'[563] The second occurs when Miss Smith asks how Mrs Richardson knows she is 'from Home':

> Ellen Richardson smiled – her beautiful irresistible smile. "How do I know?" she repeated; "why these (touching the white hands that almost clutched the work) tell me. We don't manicure our hands much in Natal nor bother over our half moons, and this tells me" (stroking the beautiful cheek of exquisite fairness), and this (pointing to the burnished and well-brushed coils of silky hair). "Dear, we *have* beauty out here maybe of the rugged and generally large variety, but this daintiness comes from the Home-land."[564]

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[559] Anonym, The South African schoolgirl, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(19), March 1912, p. 50.
[560] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[561] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[562] N.M. Chastel de Boinville, A timely interference. A story of South Africa, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(21), May 1912, pp. 21-23; N.M. Chastel de Boinville, A wild rose. A complete story, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(24), August 1912, p. 21.
[563] N.M. Chastel de Boinville, A timely interference. A story of South Africa, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(21), May 1912, p. 21.
[564] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

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Another example of such a comparison is found in the "Lady Pioneers on the Rand. Mrs. Waldegrave Blaine". The person of interest, Mrs Waldegrave Blaine, was one of the first white women in Swaziland and was, she claimed, admired by the black queen for her slender white figure in contrast to the queen's own larger dark body.[565] Colonials were also portrayed as more robust and energetic as well as lacking in social restraint. In the short stories published in the magazine, these stock characteristics were often applied to show Colonials as inferior to the white-skinned British-born heroes and heroines who knew how to act in social situations. It is important to note that in 1911 and 1912, the heroines of love stories were most often British, indicating that this was an ideal, while the villains and side characters were Colonials.

In the novel *I Too Have Known* by Amy Jane Baker, reviewed in January 1912,[566] the heroines and any redeemable characters are British-born. The characters are often extremely dismissive of Colonial attempts to mimic British customs and uphold racial purity. In the novel, the town is depicted to show that there was some criticism of their attempt to emulate the British to such an extent that it became ridiculous:

> Pietersdorp was a typical up-country settlement of some thousand inhabitants. Everybody knew everybody else, but at the same time there was a circle which called itself "society," headed by the Resident Magistrate's wife, who was known as the "leading lady."[567]

So-called society women in Pietersdorp are shown to observe certain social niceties such as always leaving three calling cards (one from herself and two of her husband's) and by naming occupations in such a way that all above shop assistant level could be part of society: for example, a lady's husband would be said to be 'connected with cold storage' when in fact he was simply the town's butcher. 'Crested note-paper was fashionable, and double-barrelled names with a hyphen much affected.'[568] These social conventions were upheld in particular by the Anglo-Dutch who were often critical of the English-borns who did not adhere to them.

b. Promoting colonial pride

In 1913 there is a discernible response to this negative view of colonial women in the magazine. The writers no longer pushed to mimic British women as the ideal in their characters or to emphasise British qualities in their interviewees but, instead, the magazine's focus seemed to change in order to show that these Colonial characteristics were the new ideal rather than a sign of

[565] Anonym, Lady pioneers on the Rand. Mrs. Waldegrave Blaine, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(33), May 1913, p. 36.
[566] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 2(17), January 1912, p. 3.
[567] A.J. Baker, *I too have known*, pp. 13-14.
[568] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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degeneration.[569] From 1913 there was a marked effort to show that energetic, resourceful and sun-kissed women were the ideal. This was done through positive portraits on the "Lady Pioneers of the Rand". These monthly features interviewed some of the women who were some of the first to live on the Rand from 1888 when it was but a tent town. They were shown to be the type of women needed in order to develop and civilise South Africa exactly because they were resourceful and energetic and not too hung up on social niceties. These characteristics were established as positives and then taken further as a natural attribute of colonial-born women in the short stories. Even authors who previously portrayed British women as the ideal now turned a more critical eye on British customs. One example is N.M. Chastel de Boinville, author of "A Timely Interference", who wrote "A Farmer's Daughter" in 1913. In this short story a mother explains to her daughter not to worry about her incorrect 'At Home' cards:

> "Winnie, dear, I am sorry you felt ashamed, for the ignorance was very natural. You are a little Colonial girl brought up on a South African farm – nobody would expect you to be familiar with the unwritten – and often absurd – laws of so-called *Society*. My little girl, the trifles that obsess small, narrow minds must never trammel you. I don't say that it is not right to do things as they should be done, but these are, after all, such trivialities, and the big things that matter, child, are honour, truth, loyalty, true charity."[570]

In the story the villain is, unconventionally, a British-born snob who pretends not to be poor and is only after Winnie's family's money. The hero, on the other hand, is a 'fine type of a well-to-do Natal farmer',[571] who sweeps in on horseback to save the day when Winnie is abducted.[572] While this may seem a small change, I would argue that to make Colonial heroines the fictional ideal in successive short stories shows that the South African writers themselves felt a corrective was necessary. "A Farmer's Daughter" was also the first short story that the editor encouraged the readers to turn to in the editorial.[573] This even though the storyline was not novel and nor was the quality of the writing any better than the author's previous works. This suggests that the editor thought the story had some extra value for the reader.

An added new monthly feature, a series called "Daughters of South Africa", showed that British women with good breeding and excellent social manners and complexions were not the pinnacle of civilisation to strive for. It focused on women born in South Africa and usually on Dutch women. After the woman's education and family were reported on she was described, typically, as being energetic, hard-working, open and friendly. Again, these were characteristics that were considered typical of colonial-borns. For example, "A Daughter of South Africa. Mrs. George A. Roth" was

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[569] This is in contrast to some of the individual literary works focused on by Chennels in A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, pp. 71-88.
[570] N.M. Chastel de Boinville, A farmer's daughter, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(32), April 1913, p. 21.
[571] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[572] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[573] Anonym, Over the tea-cups, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(32), April 1913, p. 2.

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shown to have 'the Colonial resourcefulness' needed in the country to help improve it as she could design and make dresses that could compare with imported dresses but at 10% of the cost; she even made her own '*blajang*' which won bronze at the SA Exhibition in London and gold in the Pretoria Society of Agriculture and Industries. Mrs Roth thought women should do on small scale what could not as yet be done on a large scale by throwing 'herself heart and soul into the work.'[574] In general this view was in accordance with the ideal 'modern woman', who worked hard, whether in the home, in a paid job, or with social work. She was described as athletic and healthy and could be courageous when called upon. As has been argued in Chapter 2, this view of the modern woman existed in Britain but seemed to be more emphasised during the First World War. When the war broke out it became possible and necessary for women to take on the work previously done by men. The economic impact of the war also necessitated that women be more resourceful. As a consequence, women who were energetic, hard-working and resourceful were increasingly portrayed as the ideal in the monthly "Letter from Overseas" – rather than the high-society woman of leisure. This helped to reinforce the view of the colonial ideal in the magazine.

c. War and greater equality

As has been argued in the preceding two chapters, the First World War changed the concept of ideal femininity. Traits typically connected with colonial women, such as greater physical strength, independence and skills connected with farming, horse riding and motoring, were valued more as they were of more use in the war effort when women had to fill positions previously held by men. Women in England were found too weak and unskilled in comparison with colonial women, which meant that the discrimination diminished. An example of this is that books in which colonial society was satirised, including *Giddy Mrs Goodyer* (1916) and *The Torch Bearer* (1915), were no longer met with the same negative review as was the case with *I Too Have Known* in 1912.[575] Dorothea Fairbridge's satire *The Torch Bearer* shows a lady travelling from England in order to shed the light of the Empire in South Africa. That she chooses to do so by providing cooking demonstrations in a small town in South Africa is the cause for several humorous moments in the novel, and in the end there is criticism levelled at both her, the colonial characters and the Afrikaans characters. Such a self-critique is only possible because the Colonials no longer felt a need to defend against any critique of their culture by British women.

Another author who portrayed British views of Colonials' lack of social reserve and social etiquette is Leigh Thompson in *Fate's High Chancery.* In the novel, John tries to convince a girl to forego

[574] Anonym, A daughter of South Africa. Mrs. George A. Roth, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 3(30), February 1913, p. 35.
[575] A.J. Baker, *I too have known*; D. Fairbridge, *The torch bearer*; H. Tremlett, *Giddy Mrs. Goodyer*.

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convention and have tea with him despite the fact that he is not a relation of hers. He circumvents the social hurdle by suggesting she pretends he is a family member visiting from one of the colonies:

> "Why not a colonial cousin? A lot of latitude is allowed to them, poor things. They are supposed not to know all the niceties of modern convention. May I take you – won't you have me for a distant relation?"[576]

This statement creates dramatic irony as the reader well knows that John is indeed from Africa. This shows criticism by the South African author towards the British preconceived ideas of Colonials' lack of social etiquette.

Additionally, no discrimination was shown towards women in the colonies for being more independent than British women because the war had brought situations in which these were shown to be more useful qualities. For example, the author of "Our London Letter" notes that while all South African women could not help in the war effort in Europe at the time of publication, there was no doubt in colonial women's ability to do so: 'When the call comes to the woman overseas, we know how she will respond and how her splendid qualities of independence and adaptability will fit her for whatever she undertakes to do.'[577] The War also brought with it increased critique of people who had degenerated in Britain itself. The First World War revealed the poor physical health of the average working class man, which meant that as happened during the South African War the problem of racial degeneration was identified in London itself rather than in the colonies. In fact, the colonies were praised for producing larger and stronger men:

> We shall see many processions in the next few months, but I am sure none will be more impressive or will give a better idea of the fine calibre and physique of the Empire's fighting men than this first great march past of the Dominion's troops.[578]

Therefore, colonial mothers were no longer considered the ones who had let the race down. In the "London Letter" there was no more advice on fashion, but there were points noting the degeneration of the poor, the work done and how well the handsome and strongly built colonial men were received when they marched through London.[579] Additionally, no discrimination was shown towards women in the colonies for being so independent, as had been the case before the war.[580] When it came to conditions of the poor in South Africa, most criticism published in the magazine focused on the spread of disease in and from the slums, especially during the outbreak of the Spanish Influenza in Cape Town.

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[576] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery*, p. 76.
[577] Anonym, Our London letter, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(91), March 1918, p. 24.
[578] Anonym, Our London letter, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(107), July 1919, p. 34.
[579] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[580] Anonym, Our London letter, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(91), March 1918, p. 24.

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5. Conclusion

The threat of colonial women changing both culturally and physically from what was expected in Britain took on a racial aspect because of the discourse of racial degeneration and miscegenation. In the magazine, the racial insecurity felt by colonial women was at its peak in 1912. I will argue in the following chapter that this affected the discourse on 'black peril' as it was rather a reaction to fears of becoming like Africans that led to a fear of social intermingling. Additionally, the First World War gave rise to the portrayal of Germans as a particularly degenerated race. This affected the discourse surrounding Afrikaner racial differences as it helped to strengthen the value of the brave soldier as a type. This in turn is reflected in stories showcasing Afrikaner bravery during war, albeit in wars from years past. This will be shown to have affected the discourse on the threat of interracial rape through, what I will term, the 'Hun Peril' in the next chapter.

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VI. 'BLACK PERIL' AND MOTHERHOOD

1. The 'Black Peril'

This chapter focuses on fears of interracial rape, specifically of the dominant white woman being raped by the subordinate black man. These fears were commonly termed 'black peril' and cropped up in South African English literature at various intervals between 1886 and the present. In 1912-1913 these fears were reported on and discussed in the country in general, in the media and in a special commission formed to investigate the growing number of reports of black men alleged to have raped white women.[581] In the magazine there were two articles that reported the occurrence of such incidents and suggested possible ways for white women to avoid being raped by black men. There were also a number of representations of 'black peril' scenarios and discussions thereof in the reviewed literature between 1910 and 1919. These will be considered within the broader context provided by the previous chapters. It will be argued that the 'black peril' fears were more prevalent during particular intervals in the period and that this is related to the changing discourse on gender and race as has already been discussed.

In reading the magazine articles, it is apparent that the authors do not directly mention the word 'rape' or refer to specific instances with detail of the events. The two articles in which the 'black peril' was discussed, were "The Black Peril" by E.L. McPherson published in the January 1911 issue[582] and the July 1912 instalment of the monthly feature called "From the Cape to the Congo: Topics for South African Women".[583] These articles make reference to particular incidences, but primarily focus on advice for women to avoid situations in which they could be raped by black men. The article, "The Black Peril", mentions how there were, from time to time, shocking reports of violence from 'native' or coloured men towards women or children, especially in districts other than Cape Town where houseboys were used rather than maidservants.[584] McPherson was rather vague about the number of attacks but nevertheless assured the reader that the actual incidences were far more than the ones reported. The inflation of the number of attacks coupled with vague word usage served to add to the hysteria which was at a highpoint during 1912.[585] Instead of the word 'rape', phrases such as the following are used: 'violence from native or coloured men towards

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[581] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995; L.V. Graham, *State of peril: race and rape in South African literature*; T. Keegan, Gender, degeneration and sexual danger: imagining race and class in South Africa, ca.1912, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(3), 2001, pp. 459-477.
[582] E.L. McPherson, The black peril, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, pp. 29-30.
[583] See "From the Cape to the Congo. Topics for South African Women." Under the subheading "Black Peril" *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* July 1912 2(23) p. 67.
[584] E.L. McPherson, The black peril, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 29.
[585] T. Keegan, Gender, degeneration and sexual danger: imagining race and class in South Africa, ca.1912, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(3), 2001, p. 471.

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women or children', 'a woman was roughly handled' and 'terrible experience'. Such allusions left room for the reader to infer rape even though it quite possibly referred to what was regarded as inappropriate behaviour by black servants.[586] In a study on the discourse of 'black peril' in 1912, Timothy Keegan has noted that the actual reported number of white women raped by black men was considerably lower than the media gave cause to believe.[587] Rather than an accurate indicator of events, the reports were rather indicative of an exaggerated phenomenon and a type of public hysteria. The reasons for the increased reports on 'black peril', I will argue, can be connected to the group insecurities caused by changes in gender and race relations that led to the perceived need for white men and women to safeguard their moral economy.

Studies by David Cornwell, Timothy Keegan and Valerie Lucy Graham have analysed the literature, including novels and media reports, on the 'black peril' scares during this period and found that the core reasons for the scares were that white men, specifically English men, in South Africa felt their relative power position to be under threat. It may be useful to note the main arguments that Cornwell, Keegan and Graham used to explain the scare of 1912-1913. The first is that white men may have experienced a gender threat from vocal, educated white women who demanded the vote, entered the workforce on equal footing with men and campaigned for moral reform in the form of temperance and equal sexual morals, which men viewed as a particular infringement on their masculine identity. One argument then is that men used the black peril scares to their advantage to reassert their position as white woman's protector through the discourse of chivalry. Alternatively, it has also been suggested that they feared a loss of control over women as white women's increasing familiarity with black houseboys may have led to consensual sex. Another cause of insecurity is the economic and political threat posed by black men who competed with white men for the same positions which, in turn, caused concern over racial superiority. Finally, fears of white degeneration caused by poor whites created the need to police racial boundaries further.[588]

These points are all well supported by the media reports, official report and literature used in each of the studies on 'black peril'. They therefore provide important socio-historical context for understanding the discourse surrounding 'black peril' in the magazine and reviewed books. What is

[586] E.L. McPherson, The black peril, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 29.
[587] T. Keegan, Gender, degeneration and sexual danger: imagining race and class in South Africa, ca.1912, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(3), 2001, p. 470.
[588] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930,* Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995; L.V. Graham, *State of peril: race and rape in South African literature*; T. Keegan, Gender, degeneration and sexual danger: imagining race and class in South Africa, ca.1912, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(3), 2001, pp. 459-477.

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evident is that the 'black peril' scares were regularly presented as a case infused with racial and gender significance.

According to the two articles published in the magazine, black men raped white women because women misunderstand the racial difference and acted inappropriately around black men. According to McPherson, in the article "The Black Peril", and an anonymous writer in the Cape to Congo series, inappropriate behaviour on the part of women lead to familiarity and as black men were uncivilised they '[could] not help themselves' and the women were attacked. McPherson suggested that, to avoid the situation that would lead to rape, women's behaviour ought to be carefully regulated, and that clear lines needed to be drawn concerning where blacks were allowed to go. The author noted that black men should never be allowed in the bedroom '... for any other purpose than of scrubbing or cleaning, the bedmaking or other necessary duties being performed by a woman; never to have morning coffee served in the bedrooms by male servants.'[589] In addition she suggests that they should never '... allow children, and especially girls, to be left in charge of a male servant or to be taken out by him ... talk familiarly with a male servant or permit one's children to do so. ... appear out of one's room half dressed, or to let one's little girls be seen half clothed.'[590] The reasoning behind this was that white women grew complacent around the well-dressed houseboy because he 'looked civilized':

> We should treat them [native and coloured] with perfect courtesy, but at the same time there should not be the least familiarity, for we must never forget that, under the veneer of civilisation, they have the uncontrolled desires and impulses of primitive man.[591]

The term the 'veneer of civilization' was commonly associated with the notion that blacks had only picked up European culture so easily because they were natural mimics.[592] Here, McPherson used it to suggest that the black man's European clothing was nothing more than a thin layer or mask: a way for him to appear more acceptable to the European coloniser. Chennells notes in an argument on colonial attempts to be considered equal to British standards '… that masking is never so successful that a mask is not recognized as a disguise and that mimicry allows both the mimicking medium and the voice or gesture that is being mimicked to be simultaneously recognizable'.[593] Chennells takes the mask and mimicry to refer to attempts to behave in a manner that replicates the culture of another group. In *SALPHJ*, McPherson called out the mask worn by the black man as the veneer of civilization; his actions and clothing that mimicked European culture, she argued, was just an act and not a sign of increased civilisation. This then presented a counter-argument to the one

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[589] E.L. McPherson, The black peril, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 29.
[590] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
[591] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[592] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p. 90.
[593] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, pp. 71-88.

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shown in the mission school articles, as it implied that the civilising mission was only a theatre production complicit in giving the colonised their masks and acting or mimicking ability, again showing that the colonisers also feared what they saw as colonialism's legitimising role: to bring civilisation to the colonised people. The English women looked down on blacks who wore traditional clothing, especially if it did not cover much of their bodies, and wanted black workers to dress more modestly (i.e. more like Europeans). But, when the black workers complied, they were seen as problematic wolves in sheep's clothing and a threat to white dominance rather than a more successful climber up the civilisation ladder.[594]

The threat of rape presented by a black man dressed in European clothes also related to the perceived racial threat posed by aspiring blacks, especially if educated. Cornwell notes that South African writers of the early decades of this century were often preoccupied with what he terms 'transracial' character types, a term which refers to characters who transgress, or attempt to transgress, the boundaries of racial identity. These include the black man in European clothes and the white man guilty of miscegenation.[595] The fear of educated black men is evident in several articles in the magazine and in the reviewed books that warn against the ill effects of educating black men. An example is a warning by Charlotte Mansfield in *Via Rhodesia* regarding the safety of white women:

> In the wildest and most remote parts of Rhodesia women need fear no harm from the native, but near the towns and mission stations, and with other natives who have received education, the case is different. With so-called education they acquire vice and put off their native virtue.[596]

Part of her concern over educated blacks was clearly linked to their political aims as she later reported the danger posed by literate black men based on a warning she received from a Rhodesian man that certain mission papers had promulgated 'dangerous policies' regarding natives.[597] A fear and mistrust of educated black men is also noted in the research by Graham, who argues that 'black peril' around the time of Union (1910) was a discursive phenomenon directly related to white anxieties about the emergence of black literary and political enunciation. Though she does not refer to *Via Rhodesia*, her argument finds a similar connection between access to print media and 'black peril', and between the 'black vote' and 'black peril'.[598]

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[594] Examples of women showing concern that black men should dress more in accordance with European norms and how this is problematic is evidenced in W. Westrup, *The debt*; M.F. Maturin, Our camp in the wilds, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(10), May 1911, pp. 18-19.
[595] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p. 97.
[596] C. Mansfield, *Via Rhodesia: a journey through Southern Africa*, p. 94.
[597] *Ibid.*, pp. 97-99.
[598] L.V. Graham, *State of peril: race and rape in South African literature.*

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The attempts by black men to become the equals of their colonisers, through mimicking their dress, education and the vote, along with the claims of white women for greater gender equality, posed a threat to white men's position of power. Keegan argues that this focus on the danger to white women's virtue from attacks by black men was linked to white men's masculinity coming under threat specifically from women's entrance into the public sphere both in the colonies and back Home. The entrance of the New Woman and the call for men and women to be held to the same moral standards threatened what men saw as their masculine sphere and imperative. The threat of attack from black men then gave the opportunity to emphasise the sanctity of white women's virtue and the role of the white man as her protector against the black rapist.[599] As has been argued, the gender discourse in the magazine shows that women increasingly entered the public sphere and that this was viewed by some as a particular form of competition to white men. However, in the magazine itself, the role of the white man to protect women from the perceived threat of rape was never dwelt on, and the main concern raised on this issue was how women treated black servants. In the two articles in the magazine the 'black peril' was seen as a wholly gendered affair. Women, not men, were in danger of being attacked by black men and women, not men, were most responsible for acting in a way to prevent such attacks.

Noticeably, in the magazine the onus was placed on women alone to act in a way that would not allow these attacks to take place. While it made white women the agents of their own safety, it also placed all the blame on their shoulders without ever holding the white men responsible. In this way the 'black peril' scares served to strengthen the Victorian notion that if a woman was raped, it was because of the temptation that she presented to a man who could not master his sexual nature (as is argued in Chapter 3). However, this insistence on women's actions in preventing rape by a black assailant also meant that women were placed in charge of safeguarding racial superiority.[600]

In the books reviewed, white men as chivalric protectors against black assailants do not appear before the First World War. Instead, white men are depicted as having to protect white women from other white men (as discussed in Chapter 3). This supports the idea that white men's concerns about the New Woman were more related to the extension of her relative freedom than to her choice of a sexual partner from other races. Keegan identifies this sentiment in the Durban novelist George Webb Hardy's novel *The Black Peril*, in which the author dwells on images of 'Jim' scrubbing his mistress's back and buttoning up her dress. The possibility of white women welcoming the

[599] T. Keegan, Gender, degeneration and sexual danger: imagining race and class in South Africa, ca.1912, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(3), 2001, p. 461.
[600] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930,* Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, pp. 180-181.

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advances of black men are engaged with in some detail by Hardy.[601] That his novel, published in 1912, was never reviewed in the magazine is a possible indication that women wanted to deny this as a possibility. While Hardy's depiction of domestic relations between madam and servant as the cause of rape cases focuses on the sexual aspect, the two articles in the magazine consistently argue that women do this without any intent.

In Hardy's novel the attempted rape of Mary by Jim is actually a kiss.[602] That this forced kiss is used to present rape, enables one to identify a similar forced-kiss scene depicted in William Westrup's *The Land of Tomorrow*, as a counterargument. Westrup's novel was reviewed the same year that Hardy's novel was published, but shows a strong argument that the black peril was not a real threat. The novel is set in Lesotho where two white men have a trading post. There is also a little white girl, Sybil, who lives in a homestead nearby who often visits them. When two men suggest that they go off on a hunting trip and leave Sybil on her own, the newcomer is shocked:

> "But surely you can't leave a little girl like that all alone here," Denbigh-Connington remarked.
> "Why not? Isn't she always alone with the natives? I tell you, Connington, she's a dashed sight safer here than she would be in most places. You hear a lot about the wicked native, but in his own home he could give lessons to lots of white men. There's not a nigger for miles around who doesn't know Sybil, and not one of them would harm a hair of her head. More, if they saw a stranger annoying her, they would let drive at him good and hearty. Go to one of the big towns – go to Johannesburg – and if a woman is left alone in a house at night, she sit up with a gun, shivering with fear, and counting the minutes to daylight. And she's surrounded by thousands of white men, remember. Oh, some of the niggers are pretty bad, but I reckon they're not so bad as the low-down whites. And generally speaking they're what we've made them."[603]

The author also shows a white man to be a greater threat to a white woman in his other novel, *The Debt.* In *The Debt* the idea that a woman is 'asking for it' through her dress or behaviour is problematised. Later on in the *Land of To-morrow*, this observation is confirmed when Sybil has a kiss forced upon her by a white man and Dangerfield and Denbigh-Connington have to protect her like the chivalrous knights that she often pretends they are.

Between 1911 and 1920 the notion that woman's sexual desires were to blame for interracial sex was still not the major topic of discourse in either the magazine or the books it suggested to its readers. It rather seems that the main concern at this point in time was the prevention of a breakdown of cultural boundaries between black and white. The more black men and women managed to conform to European standards, the more Colonials became aware of the shrinking gap

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[601] T. Keegan, Gender, degeneration and sexual danger: imagining race and class in South Africa, ca.1912, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(3), 2001, p. 475.
[602] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930,* Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p. 120.
[603] W. Westrup, *The land of to-morrow*, p. 156.

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between the races and the more their perceived superiority diminished on the civilisation scale. Linked to the theories of Social Darwinism, this would imply that blacks were 'catching' up with whites on the evolutionary plane. Conversely, greater similarity in the culture of white and black was also taken as a sign of Colonial racial degeneration. That this was indeed the case is clear from the last argument made in the above-mentioned article by McPherson, in which she showed a sudden reservation as to whether white children should be minded by black men or women, with more concern about the moral effects on the white child than the threat of rape.

2. The role of mothers in policing racial boundaries

It is because blacks were considered uncivilised at the core that they were of special concern to mothers. Linked to this fear of attack from the uncivilised is the call for separation of the races for the sake of the children. In "The Black Peril", E.L. McPherson quotes Mrs J. R. Cuthbert (a respected Rand Pioneer Lady) who in an interview with the *Cape Times* on 18 May 1910 said:

> Their language should remain a closed book to our children. Their very gestures can at times be an offence. How then can it be right for children to be trusted to their care? They are kindhearted and mean well by the child but their lack of refinement and of the elements of modesty are a perpetual menace to our little ones.[604]

As proof of the degenerating effects of early exposure to black servants, she urged the reader to read a local novelist Nelly Fincher's *The Heir of Brendiford.* The novel gives a fictional account of a white boy, Theodore, from a noble English family living in South Africa, whose mother allows him to be looked after by a black servant. The boy is later removed from South Africa when the parents learn that he has heard his Zulu friend and caretaker talk about sex, which removes all innocence from his childhood. Later in the book he returns to Natal, but because the damage has already been done he commits the ultimate racial sin by having a child with a Zulu woman, making him no longer fit to be the heir to the house of Treloar.[605]

In the novel, as in Cuthbert's warning, the white boy learns Zulu because he is looked after by Umteuquah, a young Zulu who takes great care of him and even saves his life on two occasions. It is not through intent but simply because the boy hears Umteuquah's rude conversations with black girls that the ill effects are done.[606] This shows that even though he means well the black man's lack of modesty, due to his uncivilised nature, leads to harm. The moral dilemma in the novel is not the miscegenation at the end of it, which is only touched on slightly; instead the authoress is more concerned with the central focus that propels the main plot: how white children are morally affected

[604] E.L. McPherson, The black peril, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 30.
[605] N. Fincher, *The heir of Brendiford.* Dubow notes the "horror of 'miscegenation'" as a prominent form of racism in SA during the first half of the twentieth century. It was closely linked to Eugenics and warned against dilution of pure racial stock and the decline of white civilization. S. Dubow, Race, civilisation and culture: the elaboration of segregationist discourse in the inter-war years, *in* Marks and Trapido (ed.), *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*, pp. 75-77.
[606] N. Fincher, *The heir of Brendiford.*

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by inter-racial familiarity. This threat is specific to the home (women's traditional realm) as it impacts on children but not grown men: 'Men go out into the world and do meet with evil, but they have acquired a strength of character, as men, to enable them to discriminate. But for a little child to be so obscene!'[607] This outburst is made by Lady Lonita who realises that she had failed as a mother; neither her race, class nor refinement can counteract the early influences of the black man who helped to raise her son during his most formative years.

This last argument in the article shows, then, that the real fear was not related to the threat of attack or rape but rather stemmed from a concern with racial levelling. Taking the arguments of the time, such racial levelling or equality would only be possible if blacks evolved or whites degenerated. This would greatly affect the white women's position on the racial hierarchy as any racial degeneration that occurred would be because of her inability to fulfil her role of mother and protect her children from the influence of 'lower races'. This helps to show why black women were also considered a bad influence on white children. Black women were never portrayed as physically dangerous, but it was believed that they would inadvertently influence children incorrectly because they were themselves so uncivilised:

> In all fairness, however, it must be said that the native woman ... is tender and motherly and, according to her lights, does all she can for the child, but she is a primitive creature, and the child entrusted to her will early become acquainted with much that is undesirable.[608]

Thus the 'black peril' concerns were not just about safety but also about policing the boundaries out of fear of degradation. I would argue that this fear of degradation was not only because of the so-called 'poor white' problem, as argued by Keegan and Cornwell, but also because of discrimination from British women aimed towards colonial women. This is confirmed by the fact that the years in which discrimination from British women was most noted in the magazine coincided with the years in which the 'black peril' was focused on. It was therefore important for the racial integrity of the Colonials not to allow their children to pick up any 'incorrect' behaviour or ways of thinking from black caretakers.[609]

The intertextual warning to mothers was further emphasised with the publication of an article, "The End of Term" on the same page as "The Black Peril". The article on the end of term listed a few awards ceremonies of schools in the Cape, such as one for Ellerslie High School. Another was an end of term performance:

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[607] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[608] E.L. McPherson, The black peril, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 30.
[609] A. Chennels, The mimic women: early women novelists and white Southern African nationalisms, *Historia* 49(1), 2004, p. 76.

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> A pretty little scene was enacted at Miss Boger's private school, when the small pupils acted a portion of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," looking, as our illustration shows, the sweetest of elves and fairies and showing that they thoroughly appreciated the spirit of the scene.[610]

The accompanying photo (see figure 8 below) shows happy children who have flourished in a white school under a white teacher's supervision. This was usefully contrasted with the case set out in *Heir of Brendiford* where the boy is either tainted through black supervision or sent to England. The article then helped to make the point that it was possible for mothers to raise their children in a healthy environment in South Africa, as long as their children were looked after and educated by white caretakers and teachers.

S.A. Lady's Pictorial, January, 1911. 29

by those to whom the more energetic games are forbidden. Someone has called croquet outdoor billiards, and that description is not undeserved, for the strokes are, in many cases, exactly like the strokes in billiards and the same amount of

Ladies' Croquet at Newlands.

scientific precision and accuracy is demanded in the play. Croquet is an excellent game for developing the finer qualities of character. In croquet the player always has to play with a view to the ultimate success of her partner and very often a tempting shot, to her own benefit, is resolutely resisted in order to forward the partner's game. The devotees of croquet find absorbing interest in the wonderful combinations of strokes that reveal themselves during an afternoon's play. In many of the up-country towns croquet is played all the year round.

There is no game that shows pretty frocks to better advantage, provided that long trains and very loose draperies are not worn, quite elaborate costumes are not out of place in this game, which is full of pretty attitudes and graceful movements.

Another point in its favour is that when the first flush of youth is past one does not lose one's ability to play a good game, as happens so often in tennis; indeed many excellent players and winners in tournaments are well on in life.

There are few courts more favourably situated than Newlands, with the lovely mountain in the background and the surrounding of beautiful trees and the court of soft turf: it is indeed an ideal spot. Among the notable players at Newlands one may mention Mrs. de Waal, Mrs. Hands, Miss Owen Smith, Major Usher, and Mrs. H. J. Smith and her husband.

Last year Mrs. Morley Humphrey played a very good game, though since her removal to Sea Point she has not been seen so often on the Newlands courts. The game flourishes at Sea Point, but as there are, unfortunately, no public courts there, the players are heavily handicapped, and can only get practice when invited to play upon the few private courts. If the players would approach the authorities of the Sea Point tennis courts or the bowling green, some agreement might be arrived at by which public courts could be opened; such an arrangement would, we are sure, be welcomed by many players.

The Black Peril.

By E. L. McPherson.

IN reviewing the events of the last ten or twelve years in South Africa one of the outstanding features of the survey is the way in which women have come forward to take their share of social service. They have organised their efforts and have borne their part in social, philanthropic and political work; they have lent their aid to find a solution of such vital problems as the support of hospitals, the raising of the Poor White population, and the better protection of child life. Women are now to be found on many School Boards, and in the investigation and relief of distress their help is accounted indispensable. There is, however, one problem to which, up to the present, they have given but scant attention—the Black Peril. Yet this is a danger which affects women and children most nearly, and is one in which the aid of women is needed even more than that of men.

From time to time we are shocked by reading of some act of violence from native or coloured men towards women and children. As a rule the culprit escapes, or if he is caught, the woman, from a natural dread of the publicity of the Law Courts, refuses to follow up the case. A few years ago many acts of violence took place in Cape Town and its suburbs, and, though much indignation was expressed, little was done. Less than three years ago a lady was roughly handled on the Kloof Road before sundown, and the police can tell of many cases of assault which never come to public notice.

If this is true of Cape Town, it is, unfortunately, still more true of many districts in South Africa, which are inadequately policed and where it is a custom forced upon householders to employ house boys instead of maid servants. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to remind readers of the cases which have occurred in Johannesburg, Rhodesia and Natal. Such a state of affairs has prevailed that the women's organisations in the Transvaal met in council some time ago to consider a course of action, and the result of their deliberations was the drafting of a circular which was sent round in the public interest to all householders. The circular set forth certain rules, which are here given:—

I. Never allow a male servant to enter a bedroom for any other purpose than of scrubbing or cleaning, the bedmaking or other necessary duties being performed by a woman; never to have morning coffee served in the bedrooms by male servants.

II. Never to allow children, and especially girls, to be left in charge of a male servant or to be taken out by him.

III. Never to talk familiarly with a male servant or permit one's children to do so.

IV. Never to appear out of one's room half dressed, or to let one's little girls be seen half clothed.

On reading through these rules some indignation was expressed by a lady of long Colonial experience that it should be necessary to bring

30 *S.A. Lady's Pictorial. January, 1911.*

to the notice of housemothers such elementary precautions. The indignation is easy to understand, but, unfortunately, there exist many who, from idleness or thoughtlessness, are indifferent to the danger involved by their neglect. They ignore the fact that the native, for all his veneer of civilisation, is little removed from the primitive savage, and they show a carelessness of dress and demeanour in his presence that they would avoid in presence of friends and brothers. The neatly-dressed house-boy who enters with the early-morning coffee is looked upon as a mere chattel, until one day there is a terrible experience, and the perils of African life are proclaimed, and a feeling akin to panic seizes the women of the neighbourhood, who forget that they, through carelessness, are largely responsible for the mischief.

Where children are concerned there can be no doubt that the safeguarding of their lives rests almost entirely with the mothers, and for this reason the mother of a family in South Africa has a heavier task and a greater responsibility than she would have in countries where white help is available. The wages claimed by white nurses are high and beyond the means of the average householder, who is, therefore, obliged to be her own nurse if she is unwilling to trust the children to the native or coloured woman. In all fairness, however, it must be said that the native woman, who has not been rendered by contact with civilisation, is tender and motherly and, according to her lights, does all she can for the child, but she is a primitive creature, and the child entrusted to her will early become tainted with much that is unadmirable. On this point the words may be quoted of Mrs. I. R. Cuthbert, whose experience of pioneer life, and of life in lonely outposts entitles her to speak with authority. In an interview appearing in the weekly edition of the *Cape Times* of May 18th, she says:—

"Our whole attitude to the native and coloured people is at fault. We should treat them with perfect courtesy, but at the same time there should not be the least familiarity, for we must never forget that, under the veneer of civilisation, they have the uncontrolled desires and impulses of primitive man. Their language should remain a closed book to our children. Their very gestures can at times be an offence. How then can it be right for children to be entrusted to their care? They are kindhearted and mean well by the child, but their lack of refinement and of the elements of modesty are a perpetual menace to our little ones. Nevertheless, our women send their children out with native and coloured nurses and allow them to remain from home for hours at a time. In nearly every South African home there is some nook of the garden or some corner of the stoep where the little one might lie sleeping or playing under the eye of its mother. This would often mean sacrifice, but after all the contract of the wife and the mother involves this sacrifice."

Where families are large, the mother who dispenses with the help of a nurse for her children is necessarily often hard pressed, and one could wish that, among white girls who are compelled to earn their living, there was less of the foolish pride that prevents them from entering households as children's nurses. Where the mistress of the house is a woman of sympathy and intelligence the position should be an agreeable one, and to the majority of girls the training would be a preparation for the care of their own children in later years.

The problem of the Poor White girl is engaging the attention of that energetic body of women, the Afrikaansche Christelijke Vrouwen Vereeniging, who are opening domestic schools at Tulbagh and Middleburg in the near future, and one could wish that some of the girls who have passed through their hands might afterwards take service as children's nurses.

Before dismissing the subject of the influence of the native upon the mind of the white child, one feels called upon to bring to the notice of readers a little book entitled "The Heir of Brendeford," by Nelly Fincher, which sets forth the history of an English boy in Natal, who had for his constant companion a young Zulu of splendid physique and daring. The two were sworn friends, and at nine years of age the horrified parents awoke to the fact that their boy was familiar with all the obscenities of a native kraal. They sent him away to England, but the mischief was done, and later when he returned to Natal he disappeared from civilisation and took to wife a native woman. This may be a presentment of an extreme case, and it is obviously impossible to send our young people across the sea for their education or to keep healthy and active boys wrapped in cotton wool, even were it desirable to do so, but by presenting a strong case the writer calls attention to a very real danger, and one which must be faced by the mothers of South Africa.

The End of the Term.

"Midsummer Night's Dream" at Sea Point.

DECEMBER, the month of closing schools and opening holidays, had its usual school concerts and prize-givings. Ellerslie Girls' High School, Sea Point, had, in addition, a recitation contest, which included the tiny tot, scarcely able to pronounce the long words, as well as the "nervous senior," and excellently did the tiny tots aquit themselves. The seniors have studied under Mr. Notcutt, and showed the result of the careful training in the execution of a selection from Shakespeare. Mrs. Reitz presented the prizes.

Mrs. Botha distributed the prizes at the Wynberg Girls' High School, and gave an interesting speech which quite won the girls' hearts. A pretty little scene was enacted at Miss Boger's private school, when the small pupils acted a portion of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," looking, as our illustration shows, the sweetest of elves and fairies and showing that they thoroughly appreciated the spirit of the scene.

Figure 8: "Midsummer Night's Dream" at Sea Point (from: End of term, *SALPHJ*, January 1911, p. 30.)

Michelle Smith notes that a common theme in children's books in the Victorian and Edwardian era was the ill effects of children reared in the colonies without adequate adult supervision. They only come right when taken to England and given proper supervision. A well-known example of this is Hodgon Burnett's *Secret Garden*.[611] Fincher's novel shows the same detrimental effects of leaving children in charge of natives without adequate parental control. But, for Fincher, the damage is irreversible. The race will degenerate if children are exposed to what was considered uncivilised

[610] Anonym, End of term, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 1(6), January 1911, p. 30.
[611] M.J. Smith, *Empire in British girls' literature and culture. Imperial Girls, 1880-1915*, p. 126.

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influences during their development. Another novel with a similar storyline to *Heir of Brendiford* was published during the war, namely Leigh Thompson's *Fate's High Chancery*, reviewed in December 1916. Thompson's novel connected the impact of a white child being reared by an African caregiver more closely to race than to sexual contamination.

3. *Fate's High Chancery* and racial degeneration in the First World War

Fate's High Chancery, by Leigh Thompson, presents a similar argument on the racial contamination caused by early exposure of young white children to black culture via their caregivers, but removes this contamination from any 'black peril' narrative. The novel tells the story of John, whose mother dies in childbirth. He is left to the care of a 'Hottentot' nanny, N'ara – who is described as a mother hen and is very protective – as well as the other workers on the farm including N'ananous, a medicine man and friend to the little white boy. As with Theodore in *Heir of Brendiford,* Johnnie is happy and unaware of any perceived loss:

> He looked highly strung and rather pathetic and uncared of, as far as European standards go; but, in fact, he was quite happy, Unconscious of any loss, and the centre of love and devotion.[612]

Johnnie is raised with very little European or Christian influence as his father remains single and spends his time managing the farm rather than seeing to his son's education. That the author assumes men's inability to safeguard the race is evident in her description of John's father: '... a sad-looking, silent man, tall and thin, with that indefinable disregard for appearances that proclaims the man destitute of any white woman's influence....'[613] This indicates the power white women assigned to themselves in the civilising of their own race. Looking uncared for has specifically to do with not being raised by a white *woman* and not just by any white *person*, seeing that his father is also unkempt because of the lack of guidance by a white woman. When Johnnie's father later considers his son's education, he is shown to have remorse, not because he has failed to spend more time with, and educate, his son but because he did not send Johnnie away to be raised by a white woman.

As in the case of *Heir of Brendiford,* Johnnie learns to speak the language of his African caretaker. However, it is not through their conversation that he is tainted but through a near-death incident. When Johnnie is bitten by a puff adder, N'ananous hears him calling him. He cuts Johnnie's thumb, with a special blade, and rubs some special powder into it. He takes him to N'ara to whom he pronounces:

> "If I had not been there, now he would be even as the lamb that the assvogle hath picked the eyes from, for can the white man's magic get the better of the puff-adder? But N'ananous

[612] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery*, p. 2.
[613] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

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> heard him cry, quick as the springbuck he sprang, and with the black man's magic did I doctor him; now he is as one of us, for the black man's magic flows in his veins – as a white man he will be, but as a black man will he also be able to see. I, N'ananous, I know what I know. In the sand, in the fire, I see the future; the boy will live. N'ananous has spoken."[614]

This quote reminds one of *Heir of Brendiford* in which the white boy is also saved by his black caretaker. But, unlike Umtequa, N'ananous changes the white boy knowingly and through magic. African knowledge of the supernatural is a common element in Leigh Thompson's stories, and she identifies this as a primitive characteristic that the British have stamped out of themselves through their education and belief in science.[615] In this incident, the idea that the magic will 'flow through his veins' and that he will 'see' like a black man marks a connection with the discourse of race mixing since heredity and bloodlines were closely connected to class and race. The impact that this has on the little boy becomes evident while he is still young and living in Africa as is shown in the chapter following the incident with the snake.

The chapter opens with a quote from *Midsummer Night's Dream*: 'One sees more devils than vast Hell can hold'. This also reminds one of the "Black Peril" article which was followed by the report on the innocent performance of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* at a Seapoint school. In the context of Johnnie's story in *Fate's High Chancery*, the quotation foregrounds the question of evil. Unlike the little white children educated by white teachers, Johnnie is subject to evil through the snake (fate) and the so-called African influence:

> For three weeks little John Stevens was stone blind and as one heavily drugged; and for three weeks he saw with an inner sight that had nothing whatever to do with the eyes: with black people he lived and moved and had his being; as one of themselves he knew with their knowledge. By day he raved of monoliths, of great soap-stone images with the heads of birds, monkeys and devils, and as night fell he would traverse in imagination narrow passages cunningly contrived, all leading to inner temples so weirdly impressive that no delirious child could convey their tremendous impressiveness by mere language, yet the ways leading into the asymmetrical depths were so well disguised that they looked to be only monkey paths going up natural rocks. John also saw stone altars and witnessed ceremonies appertaining to the worship of the devil, unmentionable rites of wickedness and cruelty, beyond any child's power to take hold of, yet understood in a way by him, helped out perhaps by an hereditary memory allied to the Bronze Age. But his greatest nocturnal terror came to him in sound: boom—boom—boom—John would start and tremble in his sleep at the banging on the human parchment, snake-encircled, sacred drum, the roaring of which, ominous and awe-inspiring, shook him every night and haunted him for years.[616]

The images seen by John in his fever-fuelled dreams show that the magic flowing through his veins have led to him being open to 'rites of wickedness and cruelty'. The reference to 'hereditary memory allied to the Bronze Age' already shows what the author will later suggest: that civilisation

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[614] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[615] This is most clearly articulated by a character in Thompson's short story "The Seventh Light" published in the magazine: L. Thompson, The seventh light, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 8(88), December 1917, p. 37.
[616] L. Thompson, *Fate's high chancery*, p. 8.

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is only a veneer and that primitive man still remains inside. At this point, like the parents in *Heir of Brendiford*, John's father has no idea about the content of his son's nightmares or of the manner in which N'ananous had saved Johnnie's life. Note that the language difference further serves to keep the white father in the dark. This too is reminiscent of the *Heir of Brendiford.* Further ties to the role of motherhood in preventing racial contamination is evident in N'ananous' warning to N'ara against telling the white baas about the powder: 'N'ananous knows what he knows; the child will live, and be one of us'.[617]

It is only well after Johnnie has recovered that his father decides to send him to England:

> Had he any right to leave this child, whom he loved deeply, so much with uncivilized folk? They were kind enough to him; but where was that safe convention, that safeguard erected by the wisdom of the ages?[618]

Again, British upbringing is shown to be superior, and the only viable alternative in Africa would be for white women to raise their children correctly with the correct culture, which would safeguard their race from regressing. The boy's father also comes to this conclusion when he sees the 'Hottentots' worshipping his boy, so he sends Johnnie to England to live with his aunts. Unlike the *Heir of Brendiford* the danger is not related to early exposure to sexual knowledge but rather is caused by exposure to pagan rituals. Interestingly, the use of 'black man's magic' to heal the child not only makes him like a black man, but also ages him, as is the case in *Heir of Brendiford* where the English relatives often notice the boy's eyes look too old:

> John looked at the Hottentot. The white child, inheritor of the modern, restless, pushing west, confronted this symbol of the ancient, brooding, primitive east. Then, as a white man, he put out his hand and clasped the hand of N'ananous; but as a black man he felt for him as he did it, and knew just what he was feeling. Both said nothing: there was between these two no need for words.
> Little John was a child in years yet old with the knowledge that although a part of himself was not his own.[619]

As in the case of *Heir of Brendiford*, the white child becomes older because of his contact with the black man. But, unlike the previous story, there is no sexual connotation here. Instead it is explained by the white boy sharing some of the more ancient race's soul. This manifests as horrible nightmares for the boy that continues into his adult life, and the terror connected to this adds yet a further element to the notion of stolen childhood innocence.

Whilst the *Heir of Brendiford* carries sexual knowledge/blemish that leads to miscegenation, John carries a knowledge of African worship and primitive ferocity, which manifests itself at different

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[617] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[618] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[619] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

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intervals in England, and asserts itself after he experiences a betrayal orchestrated by Reading. In a similar delirium as after he was bitten as a child, John decides to kill Reading:

> A sound not heard for years, a hurly-burly almost forgotten, the roar of the great snake drum. John opened his eyes, and soap-stone effigies grinned at him from the walls of a London flat. N'ananous was prancing, gyrating before him; his jackal-tails twitched as though they were alive around the skinny, naked waist. John could hear the leopard claws round the Hottentot's neck rattle together. Black magic! black magic! and the klop-klop of the horses passing in the busy streets were the noise of brown hands as they clap to mark the tune for the dancers.
> "N'ananous," he said, and he laughed as the phantoms kept faithful tryst. John's dual personality asserted itself and returned with the past in full force. Boom! boom! boom! There it was again and the yellow faces all looked at him. Hark! the clicking whispers – what were they saying? urging him to do – what ? – his black brothers.[620]

Whilst previous descriptions of his snake drum dream always alluded to black dancing figures and horror, this is the first to make it clear that the figures were his old Khoi friends. And it is the first time that he recognises N'ananous. Also, while as a child he struggled to replicate the clapping and dancing on his own, his whole environment, including the hooves of the horses outside, now helps to recreate the ceremony. The melding of the two environments, the African ritual and London streets, and his dual personalities as well as the use of the word 'brothers' prepares one for the assertion to come that all humans are bound not by civilisation but by a more primitive blood lust.

Like a child, John still struggles to understand the meaning of the ceremony and what his childhood caretakers are trying to tell him:

> He was seized with a horrible obsession. The dancing figures had become overwhelmingly hostile. They were urging him to do something, and he could not understand them. His face was haggard; he felt that in twenty-four hours he had had to suffer too much – lies, hate, all the violent things of life. He got up, looking like a person walking in his sleep, as though he had lost touch with everything. Yes! he understood them now – what they were whispering and urging him to do. He knew at that moment the tie between all humanity is not civilization, but blood-lust. All understand it, the call is the same to philosopher and savage. He picked up the long knife in its spotted skin sheath; slowly he drew it out and felt the edge, and the phantoms seemed to hold their breath, to wait, to smile. They were gone; he was alone again, no black figure remained. The lonely, stricken man began speaking to himself, looking at the half-drawn knife in his hand, slowly feeling the cold blade dull from age.[621]

The confusion in the passage above cause some doubt about whether John decides that they are urging him to kill simply because he has suffered too much or whether, by degrees, his 'veneer of civilisation' needs to drop away for him to understand that they want him to kill. This is important as it suggests that all men simply wear a mask and that it is only through careful policing of the boundaries and behaviour that the savage in each person is held at bay. This is why, in the above

[620] *Ibid.*, pp. 255-256.
[621] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

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passage, John identifies blood-lust as the universal tie of humankind. This suggests that women's perceived roles as keepers of their racial superiority can be argued for since it is the behaviour that they teach their children that ultimately keeps them from giving in to their base natures and becoming equals with savages. It is also good to keep the context in mind here. The book was published at the height of the First World War when European racial superiority could be questioned in light of the blood-lust that they shared with other races. The idea that the British were killing for the sake of a good cause while the Germans were morally corrupt murderers and rapists is shown to be questionable when tied to John's own humanity and motives:

> "Kill him! kill him! he but encumbers the ground, corrupts the wholesome earth – an underminer of society, a breeder of sin, a polluter of the young – for this alone he should die!" John gave a wild laugh. "Oh, what a hollow sham I am, that I try to lie, try to deceive myself – have I sunk so low? Yes – what do I care whom he means to ruin or poison or destroy, or if the whole world becomes a stinking lazar-house? What is it all to me? A rogue, a saint, only a sentimental environment divides them." A terrible look came over his face. "I will destroy this man simply to please myself. Kill him – because to see him stretched out dead before me is the one satisfaction I crave, a pleasure above all others...."[622]

Just as the Germans are perceived to threaten women and children more so than men in the propaganda, so is Reading depicted as a person who poses a specific threat to women. But, John is able to identify that it is not because of this that he wants to kill Reading, but simply because he wants revenge and because of his inherent blood-lust. He connects moral behaviour to the environment, which is also what the readers would understand as they have seen how Africa as an environment is connected to savagery and moral degradation. What is also clear is how not raising your child in an ideal environment, with the guidance of a white mother, will affect the child's morals. This savagery is shown to be part of John when considering that it has been part of him since he had the dreams of the drums. Now, waking, he hears the drum as he goes to find Reading:

> Bang, bang! The drum was in his head now; how it hammered with every step he took. In spite of the agony he welcomed it, its savagery, its evil. His mind had felt it always, though obscurely of late. Now it pulsed in his veins, beat with his heart – England had again disappeared. In a waking delirium he paced the streets, and although he moved in the centre of all that is modern, with the retrospection of the imaginative, he saw the primeval with self-centred eyes.[623]

Here, evil and savagery seem to be tied together, making this a moral judgement on what is considered 'savage'. The modern, civilised, English culture is shown to be but a small coating on John's reality when he changes what is around him into scenes from Africa:

> The hoot of a passing motor became a jackal's eerie howl; the shrill yell of the newsboys but the chattering of baboons upon the kopjes; the purr of the traffic was in his ear only the locusts' restless cheep; while the note of the river steamers stirred the echoes of the night-jar's harsh and mournful lament. The talking going on around him was the whispering

[622] *Ibid.*, pp. 256-257.
[623] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

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> gurgle of the "wonderhole" telling the secrets of the mountains conceived by fire, in the heart of the earth from which they were formed.[624]

Here, the city that is the metropole of the British Empire and thus often equated with the heart of modern civilisation is also changed into a scene from Africa – a continent connected in the novel to ancient and primeval knowledge of the world. Echoing Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* published in 1902, the novel suggests that all British men and women are also simply guarded from their primeval natures by the environment that they have created. This disillusionment in evolution and so-called civilisation comes at a time when European racial superiority is in question in the face of the moral dilemma of so much killing during the war. Motherhood (raising a child) becomes more important to racial superiority than simple biological procreation of a white Anglo blood line. The English are tied to Adam and Eve and England to Eden, thereby showing that all of humankind has fallen and has been corrupted:

> The piercing flame of the great lights searching the sky throbbed and died down again, turning to the east and the west as the sword flashed before the gates of Paradise when the first children of despair were cast out – they, the most sadly beautiful of the fair creation by the hand of God, at once the greatest and the weakest of His subjects.[625]

Yet, while there is this disillusionment with the human race in general, the war also brings hope in humankind as people start to help John and René without judging or trying to get money out of it. A doctor also provides help, and after him the taxi driver goes above what is expected of him when he takes John to René's house: 'The driver, used now to driving many helpless men, showed that awakened universal feeling of brotherhood, and lent a willing hand'.[626] The constant emphasis on the 'brotherhood of nations' or universal brotherhood works against the earlier disillusionment with human progress and civilisation. The author brings some hope to the situation by appealing, not to civilisation or education, but to Christianity as John tells the poor girl, René:

> "Oh, girl! girl! What is education? Nothing! What is culture? A myth! Anger and the primitive man drops the thin cloak of civilization and becomes a savage; but the pure in heart, such as you, René, see God. I take my Commission from your hands, René, as a knight would receive the accolade. René, queen of the poor, helper of the miserable, who can forget the sin in sorrow for the sinner!"[627]

In conclusion, Thompson's novel has an initial 'black peril'-like storyline, which compares somewhat to *Heir of Brendiford.* Like Umtequa, N'ananous saves the white child's life. And, like Fincher's hero, John Stevens knows the language and culture of the Africans better than his own – but unlike Theodore's, John's aged soul is not related to an early exposure to sexual knowledge but rather to a deeper knowledge of the cruelty and evil of Africa. John is never taught about a loving Christian god before he reaches England, and his nightmares are about a snake drum booming in a

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[624] *Ibid.*, p. 258.
[625] *Ibid.*, pp. 259-260.
[626] *Ibid.*, p. 261.
[627] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

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pagan ceremony. These stay with him throughout his life: they are a bit of Africa in him, but he is able to adapt to English life and does not marry a black girl whereas Fincher's hero cannot adapt and feels the need to abandon his white fiancé to move back to Africa and marry a black woman. Here the comparison is interrupted with the above revelation by John as it shows that it is not just through education that civilisation can be upheld. The events of the war had convinced many that the white races were also just a short step away from reverting to the primitive, cruel impulses still latent inside them. By contrast, Thompson pointed out that there was still hope for regeneration through common brotherhood and sacrifice arguing that it was actually because of moral degradation that the West was going through a crucible. Note that for Leigh Thompson war work could have a moral use. In the March 1917 edition of the *SALPHJ,* her war work with the Red Cross was noted alongside an advertisement for the novel (see figure 1).

During the First World War, fear of racial degeneration was closely connected to the ability to fight the war as well as the moral weight of the actions taken by the Germans. In several articles on the Germans' invasion of Belgium, the magazine relied on sensational accounts of rape and child murder more than on simple acts of war between men. I would argue that the villain position of black men during the 'black peril' scares was now overtaken by an irrational fear of Germans. This 'Hun peril' manifested itself in short stories in the magazine in which any German character would eventually be proven a spy and try to misuse the heroine. This was also present in the two books by J.K. O'Connor on the German involvement in inciting the Rebellion: *The Afrikaner Rebellion* and *The Hun in the Hinterland.* In another novel by Leigh Thompson, *The Lion and the Adder*, the man who supports the Rebellion is also shown to be of mixed German and African ancestry. He is the only sexual threat to the Afrikaans heroine, and in fact, the black and Khoi characters are instrumental in saving her.[628] Thus, the German race becomes tied to a sexual threat to women but also to a more general threat to the notion of unchecked racial evolution as a European race is tied with barbarity. With the new perceived sexual threat posed by the child-killing and raping Hun, the discourse of 'black peril' was effectively erased from the magazine. The only exception was a single, heavily criticised novel published in 1915: *A Daughter of Sin.*

4. *Daughter of Sin* and the 'white peril'

In July 1915, the most scathingly negative book review of the period under study was published. The review was of Mary E. Marten's *A Daughter of Sin.* The book was dedicated to the women of Natal and clearly written to show how unfairly they were treated under law when it came to

[628] L. Thompson, *The lion and the adder*.

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interracial relationships. The degree to which this was still a taboo subject in the magazine is clear from the review:

> Here the colour question is so clumsily interwoven with a passionate demand for an equal moral code for man and woman, that the writer is forced to justify the quite superfluous conjunction by a catastrophe which it is only possible to describe as revolting. No doubt I am laying myself open to the wearisome charge of viewing such matters purely from the man's standpoint. In this particular instance I am well content that it should be so, for I am very sure that no man would ever have conceived an incident so morbid and repulsive as that upon which this story is based.[629]

In spite of providing only one interpretation of and response to the reviewed book, the negative review could have influenced readers not to buy or to read it. However, the review's evasiveness about what could have been so objectionable and Bookmark's insistence that there was no way a man could have written something so morbid, may have actually piqued readers' curiosity and induced them to read the book after all. According to Chartier, 'A text does not exist except for a reader who gives it signification',[630] and it is therefore important for the interpretation of the book that it be read. However, at the very least, this study can endeavour to see what the author (a woman who lived in Natal at the time) and the reviewer, the only confirmed reader (besides the publisher), had read, and tease out possible implications of this for the views on gender and race prevalent at the time.

The novel is of particular interest in this study as it deals with all the possible reasons hitherto given for the 'black peril'. *A Daughter of Sin* introduces two white characters, a married couple. The husband has several affairs with young black girls, and in one case the girl becomes pregnant with his baby. Using his racial privilege, he refuses to take any responsibility for the situation. In the meantime, his wife, generally neglected by her husband, also has an affair with David, the black man who manages their store. She gives birth to a mixed race child, and both she and David are sent to jail for it. This is the unfair gender treatment which the author sought to address. In Natal the law still allowed white men to have interracial sex, but it was illegal for white women and black men to have sex.[631] Francis Bancroft's *Of Like Passions* also addressed the problem of the moral duplicity in Natal several years earlier. Bancroft argued it was wrong for such public hysteria to be made about white women being raped by black men but not of black women being raped by white men. Her novel has received much attention in English literature studies.[632] However, very few examples of the literature of the early twentieth century deal with a romantic relationship or at least consensual sex between a white woman and a black man. The majority of studies that have focused

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[629] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 5(59), July 1915, p. 3.
[630] R. Chartier, Labourers and voyagers. From the text to the reader, *in* D. Finkelstein and A. McCleerly (ed.), *The book history reader*, pp. 47-58.
[631] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, p. 160.
[632] Notably, *ibid*; L.V. Graham, *State of peril: race and rape in South African literature.*

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on the 'black peril' scares in South Africa between 1910 and 1920 have referred to the possibility that white women welcomed the sexual advances of black men, but cite nothing more than an article by George Hardy as confirmation. In the article, also entitled "The Black Peril", Hardy reports on white Durban high school girls who enjoyed having sex with black men. It was an article that was met by public outrage.[633] However, there is no mention made of *A Daughter of Sin* in any of these studies, even though the novel contains a white woman having an affair with a black man and showcases the unfair treatment she receives before the law as a result of it. No work has been done on this novel, and today it is not held in any South African libraries. This can be an indication that it was not well received at all.

Martens' *Daughter of Sin* is of particular interest here because of the way the topic of rape is introduced in the novel, and specifically regarding the reasons given for the attempted rape of the white character Maisie by Absalom, a black man (the character David's cousin).[634] In the description of the attempted rape, the author makes reference to nearly every identified cause of 'black peril' in circulation at that time. For instance, the idea that black men rape white women because they are too familiar with their servants is quickly shown to be false in the rape incident in the novel. The girl does not treat Absalom with familiarity; in fact, she treats him with complete contempt and talks to him like a dog, using the word '*voetsek'* when she wants him to leave her alone. This is after his initial attempts to convince her to have a relationship with him.[635] As has been explained in Chapter 2, Jauss argues that the reader's expectations of the text affect the meaning that he or she takes from it. Given the ubiquity of the advice and cautionary novels reviewed in the magazine around this time, it is safe to assume that potential readers may have subscribed to the idea that it is partly the woman's fault if she gets raped because she has been too familiar with the black servant. The novel will then have appealed to such readers to agree that Maisie is completely innocent in the attempted rape scene in *A Daughter of Sin* as she treats the black man with the prescribed haughty distance and authority, yet she is still attacked.

Another identified cause of 'black peril' is education and the wearing of European clothes by black men. This is present in the novel as both David, the black girl who became pregnant, and Absalom are mission educated. Much is made, in fact, of Absalom's tweed hat in descriptions of him, and he is shown to be extremely haughty and disrespectful. Yet, this is in contrast to the better educated David, who enters a consensual sexual relationship with a white woman and is even willing to take

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[633] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930,* Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, pp. 116-117.
[634] M.E. Martens, *A daughter of sin. A simple story.*
[635] *Ibid.*

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the fall for her when their affair is discovered. Thus, black attempts to be more like whites, connected to white loss of privilege is not clearly established as the cause of rape.

In the rape scene, Martens also shows that white women's entrance into the public sphere and better education is identified as something noted by the black man. He wants to own her all the more because she thinks so much of herself and he argues that the white men in her circle are not strong enough for her. This shows a loss of power on the side of white men, but the author also helps to establish white men as the chivalrous protectors of white women. White men are restored to their position of power through the actions of Cornelius, who saves Maisie from Absalom. He carries her home calling her 'my little girl' even though she is an adult.[636] It is also he who tracks Absalom down to give him a brutal beating, which shows that the white male is the protector of white women. He is thus placed in a dominant position in relation to the black man, who is shown to be so much weaker, physically, that he is not even able to put up much of a fight. The white man is again the chivalrous protector of white women's bodies.

Ultimately, in the trial of Lulu, the white woman who gave birth to a black man's baby, Hester stands up for Lulu and appeals to men's chivalry to address what she identifies as the main cause: white men who lower themselves to the level of black men by having sex with black women. By wooing black women and taking from black men what is theirs, white men give black men the impetus to rape or attempt romantic relations with women out of revenge: 'You become a rival of his, and if you outbid him in the favours you bestow, how can you expect him to honour and respect you as a superior being?'[637] In other periodicals of the time (notably the September issue of *The Christian Express* (1911)) the blame for black men's alleged attacks on white women, was placed on immoral white men who had sex with black women. This, according to popular argument, offered a bad example for black men to mimic, and it angered them to the point that they attacked white women in retribution for their own women being used by white men.[638] Hester here uses the argument, which has been identified in recent academic studies, namely the phenomenon of 'white peril'. Ian Glen has identified this as a characteristic in the work of several female novelists of the time, including Nellie Fincher and Olive Schreiner.[639] Schreiner's *Trooper Peter Halket*, a novel that deals with a black woman being raped by white men,[640] is mentioned only once by

[636] *Ibid.*
[637] *Ibid.*, p.296.
[638] D.G.N. Cornwell, *The discourse of race in South African English writing 1890-1930*, Thesis, Rhodes University, 1995, pp.162-178.
[639] I. Glenn, Legislating women, *Journal of Literary Studies* 12(1-2), 1996, pp. 145-170.
[640] O. Schreiner, *Trooper Peter Halkett.*

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"Bookmark" and then as a negative point of comparison for another book that is reviewed.[641] Novels that focused on 'white peril' did not present a greater argument against the existence of 'black peril', but rather a resultant fear of degeneration through miscegenation. Lucy Valerie Graham notes that 'white peril' stories of rape or sexual exploitation of colonised women by colonising men

> offer a progressive alternative to "black peril" stories in South African literature, [yet] the issues that inhere in all representations of interracial rape are complex, and one could argue that "white peril" representations have historically been used to argue for legislation against "miscegenation." As evidenced by a tradition of white South African women writing about "the white peril,"... portrayals of "the white peril" have often been marked by a horror of "miscegenation," by a phobic inability to think of interracial sex in any other than violent and abased terms.[642]

The violent rape of a black woman is absent. However, while the interracial sex in the cases of infidelity are not violent, they are treated as abased in the novel as they do lead to miscegenation and are connected to the sin of infidelity – thereby linking the plot to the title. However, the miscegenation in the story is not the problem that Martens addresses in her 'novel with a purpose'; it is the unfair treatment of white women before the law and the white men's sexual relations across the racial divide that Martens focuses on. While Hester argues for the equal treatment of the sexes before the law, it is not completely equal treatment that she demands. When jeered in the court as a suffragette, she notes that she is not asking for the vote but that men, as the only ones who have the vote, should fight for their women and make interracial sex punishable in the case of white men as well.[643]

5. Conclusion

While women's changing roles with regard to men was a key factor in the argument for separate development and work, women as the weaker and more vulnerable sex, called for the separation of racial social spheres. The 'black peril' scares rarely related unambiguously to a single cause, but in the magazine and in two of the novels reviewed, it was agreed that mothers had a special position in insuring that their race did not degenerate. This would place greater responsibility on white women in South Africa as it was clearly not enough to form 'little Englands' to protect the race. During the First World War, these racial fears became much more universal and the cause more difficult to define and Martens' novel took the responsibility for racial superiority off the lone shoulders of women and placed it onto men by referring to the double standards applied to the policing of interracial sex.

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[641] "Bookmark", My lady's books, *The South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal* 9(98), October 1918, p. 3.
[642] L.V. Graham, *State of peril: race and rape in South African literature.*
[643] M.E. Martens, *A daughter of sin. A simple story.*

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VII. CONCLUSION

This study has shown how an intertextual reading of popular literature alongside a popular magazine could provide an overview of the complex interrelations between gender, race and degeneration as they were understood in the period between January 1911 and December 1919. What is clear is that white women experienced greater changes in agency in South Africa before these occurred in Britain and that this was a factor in the discrimination of colonial women by British women. Such discrimination played on fears of colonial racial degeneration. However, the racial insecurity of Colonials is shown to have changed in the magazine before the First World War and especially during it. A reason for this change could be that there were fewer differences in gender discourse on work and physical strength between South African women and British women, which meant that the pre-war ideal woman in South Africa became the ideal type of woman in Britain during the war as this ideal possessed the characteristics needed to aid in the wartime work.

The war also affected how Afrikaners were depicted. Class structures and the use of racial stereotypes affected the relationship between English and Afrikaner as depicted in the magazine, but the increased value of brave soldiers and vilifying of cowards and Germans meant that Afrikaners could be celebrated in the magazine as a brave race. However, while Afrikaners were celebrated as brave fighters during the war, black men were simultaneously relegated to a world of fairy-tale, and consequently placed on the level of children. Arguments about separate development were reflected in the short stories published in the magazine and the reviewed novels as they were either depersonalised and used to provide ‘local colour’, shown to be ideal when separated from white society or relegated to fairy tale. It is only when black characters are subservient manual labourers that they are granted room in stories with white characters. This separation is also prevalent when white women’s children were discussed as white women were called on to police the boundaries between the races especially in their homes and in social interaction. The argument for ensuring that white children should not be looked after by black men or women was due to fears of racial degeneration masked as ‘black peril’.

Within the magazine, white women also enjoyed greater education and work possibilities but, at times, these were seen as a threat to male economic dominance. This barrier to greater opportunities for white women was dealt with by arguing for the separation of labour in terms of black and white in order for women to support their own position at the expense of black men. Finally, white men are portrayed in the discourse in multiple, ambiguous ways as the chivalrous protectors of women, threatening predators, and as the cause of attacks on white women by black men.

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As a primary historical source the *SALPHJ* and the works of literature with which was associated can still provide insight into much of women's history in South Africa, a history that has been neglected in part because of the difficulty in finding information on the subject matter given that history and document preservation in South Africa has favoured white men at the expense of women. As a serial form, the magazine is particularly suited to show the socio-cultural and ideological changes over the years, and it is a source that deserves greater attention. Furthermore, the literature in South Africa written in English is in need of re-evaluation. In the various efforts of canonisation which have occurred over the years, much of what has been written by South Africans have been overlooked because only a handful are deemed deserving of being studied. This critical neglect can be attributed in part to the lack of availability but a further reason can be found in the fact that so little has been done to document the literature that is available. To this end, the magazine provides an excellent starting point for those who wish to address this absence. By including the many lost or neglected works published during this period, the literary historian is able to facilitate a more complete and therefore more accurate sense of the history of South African literary production in English.

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