

All of London exploded on the night of 18 May 1900, in the biggest West End party ever seen. The mix of media manipulation, patriotism, and class, race, and gender politics that produced the "spontaneous" festivities of Mafeking Night begins this analysis of the cultural politics of late-Victorian imperialism. Paula M. Krebs examines "the last of the gentlemen's wars" – the Boer War of 1899–1902 – and the struggles to maintain an imperialist hegemony in a twentieth-century world, through the war writings of Arthur Conan Doyle, Olive Schreiner, H. Rider Haggard, and Rudyard Kipling, as well as contemporary journalism, propaganda, and other forms of public discourse. Her feminist analysis of such matters as the sexual honor of the British soldier at war, the deaths of thousands of women and children in "concentration camps," and new concepts of race in South Africa marks this book as a significant contribution to British imperial studies.

Paula M. Krebs is Associate Professor of English at Wheaton College, Massachusetts. She is co-editor of *The Feminist Teacher Anthology: Pedagogies and Classroom Strategies* (1998) and has published articles in *Victorian Studies, History Workshop Journal*, and *Victorian Literature and Culture*.



CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE AND CULTURE 23

GENDER, RACE, AND THE WRITING OF EMPIRE



## CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITERATURE AND CULTURE

General editor Gillian Beer, *University of Cambridge* 

Editorial board
Isobel Armstrong, Birkbeck College, London
Terry Eagleton, University of Oxford
Leonore Davidoff, University of Essex
Catherine Gallagher, University of California, Berkeley
D. A. Miller, Columbia University
J. Hillis Miller, University of California, Irvine
Mary Poovey, New York University
Elaine Showalter, Princeton University

Nineteenth-century British literature and culture have been rich fields for interdisciplinary studies. Since the turn of the twentieth century, scholars and critics have tracked the intersections and tensions between Victorian literature and the visual arts, politics, social organization, economic life, technical innovations, scientific thought – in short, culture in its broadest sense. In recent years, theoretical challenges and historiographical shifts have unsettled the assumptions of previous scholarly syntheses and called into question the terms of older debates. Whereas the tendency in much past literary critical interpretation was to use the metaphor of culture as "background," feminist, Foucauldian, and other analyses have employed more dynamic models that raise questions of power and of circulation. Such developments have reanimated the field

This series aims to accommodate and promote the most interesting work being undertaken on the frontiers of the field of nineteenth-century literary studies: work which intersects fruitfully with other fields of study such as history, or literary theory, or the history of science. Comparative as well as interdisciplinary approaches are welcomed.

A complete list of titles published will be found at the end of the book.



# GENDER, RACE, AND THE WRITING OF EMPIRE

Public Discourse and the Boer War

PAULA M. KREBS

Wheaton College, Massachusetts





PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 IRP, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge, CB2 2RU, UK http://www.cup.cam.ac.uk
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA http://www.cup.org
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia

© Paula M. Krebs 1999

Ths book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1999

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeset in Baskerville 11/12.5pt [VN]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Krebs, Paula M.

Gender, race, and the writing of empire: public discourse and the Boer War / Paula M. Krebs.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in nineteenth-century literature and culture: 23)

Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0 521 65322 3 hardback

South African War, 1899–1902 – Literature and the war.
 South African War, 1899–1902 – Foreign public opinion, British.
 English literature – 20th century – History and criticism.
 English literature – 19th century – History and criticism.
 South Africa – Foreign relations – Great Britain.
 Great Britain – Foreign relations – South Africa – Foreign relations.
 South Africa – In literature.
 English Marica – In literature.
 Imperialism in literature.
 Sex role in literature.
 Race in literature.

I. Title. II. Series.

PR129.86K74 1999
820.9'358 – dc21 98–47072 CIP

ISBN 0 521 65322 3 hardback



To my mother, Dorothy M. Krebs, and to the memory of my father, George F. Krebs, who knew war and knew not to glamorize it.



#### **Contents**

Acknowledgments		page ix
I	The war at home	I
2	The concentration camps controversy and the press	32
3	Gender ideology as military policy – the camps, continued	55
4	Cannibals or knights – sexual honor in the propaganda of Arthur Conan Doyle and W. T. Stead	80
5	Interpreting South Africa to Britain – Olive Schreiner, Boer and Africans	rs,
6	The imperial imaginary – the press, empire, and the literary figure	143
Notes		179
Works cited		189
Index		201



### Acknowledgments

The research for this book was carried out with the generous assistance of many individuals and institutions. I have for many years benefited enormously from the resources of the University of London's Institute of Commonwealth Studies. I am especially grateful to the Institute for the Henry Charles Chapman Fellowship, which I held for eight months in 1994. The Institute's seminars on Societies of Southern Africa in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries and Gender, Commonwealth, and Empire have been exciting and challenging venues at which to offer my own work and equally important places at which to learn from the work of others. Wheaton College provided a semester of research leave under the generous terms of the Hewlett-Mellon Research Award program and an additional semester of unpaid leave, in addition to the travel funds necessary for the research to complete this book. The Graduate School at Indiana University awarded funds for travel to collections, and the Indiana University Victorian Studies Program funded the important first year of my research. The Charlotte W. Newcombe Fellowship, from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation in Princeton, New Jersey, enabled me to finish the doctoral dissertation that was the first stage of this book.

I would like to thank the Trustees of Indiana University for permission to reprint material that appeared in *Victorian Studies* and the Editorial Collective of *History Workshop Journal* for permission to reprint material from that publication. For permission to quote from the Joseph Chamberlain Papers, I thank the University of Birmingham library. Lord Milner's correspondence is quoted by permission of the Warden and Fellows, New College Oxford. For permission to use the cover illustration, I thank the John Hay Library at Brown University and Peter Harrington, curator of the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection. I am grateful to the librarians at the British Library and the British Library Newspaper Library at Colindale, the Public Record Office at



xii

#### Acknowledgments

Kew, the University of York's Centre for Southern African Studies, the Indiana University library, the library of the London School of Economics and Political Science, the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, the National Army Museum, the Madeline Clark Wallace Library at Wheaton College – especially Martha Mitchell, the library of the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, David Doughan and the Fawcett Library, the Royal Commonwealth Society, and David Blake and his staff at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies.

Tricia Lootens, Carolyn Burdett, Donald Gray, Regenia Gagnier, Patrick Brantlinger, Paul Zietlow, G. Cleveland Wilhoit, and Susan Gubar read and commented on chapters of this work, and I have benefited tremendously from their help. I would also like to thank the anonymous readers for Victorian Studies and History Workshop Journal, and, especially, the extremely helpful readers for Cambridge University Press. Thanks also to my wonderful editor at CUP, Linda Bree. Friends and colleagues who have heard me present aspects of the argument at seminars and in lectures and who have provided valuable feedback include Kate Darien-Smith, Shula Marks, Deborah Gaitskell, Hilary Sapire, Shaun Milton, Chee Heng Leng, Annie Coombes, Lynda Nead, Dian Kriz, John Miller, Travis Crosby, and Kathryn Tomasek. I am extremely grateful as well for the useful advice of Sue Wiseman, Tim Armstrong, Joe Bristow, Wendy Kolmar, Nicola Bown, Beverly Clark, Richard Pearce, and Sue Lafky. My undergraduate research assistant, the late Sam Maltese, helped with the Kipling material; he would have contributed much to the field of literary and cultural studies. I offer a sincere thank you to Marilyn Todesco and to my indexer, Jessica Benjamin. My intellectual debt to Patrick Brantlinger will be obvious in the pages that follow, and I thank him very much. Tricia Lootens has been my partner in Victorian Studies for many years – my best friend, collaborator, mentor. Claire Buck made this book possible, always making the time to read and discuss drafts, and always asking the toughest questions. Her intellectual, practical, and emotional support have made all the difference.