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Emily Hobhouse's speech at the inauguration of the Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein in 1913 and its translation: A documents-of-life account

By

Natania du Plessis

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements in respect of the Master's Degree

MA Translation Studies

in the Department of

Linguistics and Language Practice

at the

University of the Free State

Supervisor: Prof. Kobus Marais

Co-supervisor: Prof. André Wessels

January 2018

ABSTRACT

This dissertation will investigate, through the methodology of documents of life, the factors that influenced Emily Hobhouse to write in English the speech for the inauguration of the Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein in 1913 and to commission its Afrikaans translation. It will also examine the different translation choices that Hobhouse made in the translation process and what motivated these decisions. The study will construct a narrative by using the background provided by autobiographies, letters, diaries, newspaper articles, etc. to evaluate Hobhouse's speech and to see if they might shed light on the writing of the speech and the consequent translation choices. Hobhouse was a controversial figure in the Anglo-Boer War because she sympathised with Afrikaner women and children. The British people accused her of being pro-Boer, but Hobhouse remained a patriotic Englishwoman whose only aim was to help people in need. The study shows that an agent's personal history influences translation choices. It also shows that relationships with other people, specifically patronage relationships, play a vital role in the translation process and result. It introduces and examines the two concepts of reciprocal patronage and double patronage, and highlights how these two forms of patronage relationships can act as motivation for translation choices and how it influences the invisibility of the translator. This study is an interdisciplinary study between translation studies and history, using narratives of lives as the bridge. It will therefore point out that historical narratives influence translation choices of translators and are important to take into account when studying future translations and historical documents. To my knowledge, this study is a pioneer study, since the narratives of lives have been used in other studies, but not to determine whether documents of life and the events they refer to play a role in a translator's agency. The study also introduces new concepts with regard to patronage in translation.

KEY TERMS

Emily Hobhouse

President M.T. Steyn

Tibbie Steyn

Translation Studies

History

Anglo-Boer War

Concentration camps

Documents of life

Narrative

Life story

Frames

Patronage

Reciprocal patronage

Double patronage

Translator invisibility

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Natania du Plessis
19 January 2018

PREFACE

From a very young age, my father took me and my siblings and friends on exciting tours to various historical landmarks in our country. At first, my interest in these tours were limited to the excitement of taking trips with friends. However, somehow my father's passion for history eventually grasped my mind and heart.

After three years of teaching English, I realised that I wanted a change, and diverted my attention to Translation Studies. At first, I had no idea what my dissertation would be about, but I heard a talk about history and language. And so, my love for history and newly acquired interest in translation was about to be combined. I could not anticipate the road this research would take me on. I was confronted regularly with clashes between personal ideas and beliefs and other people's convictions and research findings.

As with any such study, several people guided and supported my process of searching and researching, doubting, celebrating and astonishment. From the registration date, to the final submission, my husband, Vian, was there, encouraging me and believing in me. His love has carried me through more than this dissertation. I also value the role that my parents played, not only motivating me, but also teaching me the value of persevering and helping me with various vital tasks.

I could not have asked for two better supervisors than Professor Kobus Marais, with his constant reminder to put aside preconceived ideas, and Professor André Wessels, with his keen eye for detail. They went above and beyond, constantly ensuring that I was well-informed and providing me with insightful feedback.

In addition, I would also like to thank Ingrid Kluyts, for helping with the editing details and Elsabé Brits for sharing her knowledge and very precious sources.

Throughout this process, I have become acutely aware of people and their roles in my life. Without them, I would have been helpless. I conclude by thanking my Heavenly Father for sending these people on my path and for granting me the opportunity to conduct and finish this dissertation.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

> The sin in historical composition is the organization of the story in such a way that bias cannot be recognized… It is to abstract events from their context and set them up in implied comparison with the present day, and then to pretend that by this "the facts" are being allowed to "speak for themselves". It is to imagine that history as such, or historical research however intense, or historical surveys however broad, can give us judgements of value – to assume that this ideal or that person can be proved to have been wrong by the mere lapse of time. **-Herbert Butterfield-**[1]

> If history is studied from an unbiased perspective, no individual, ethnic group or nation would wish to lay exclusive claim to a war or any historical event. **André Wessels-**[2]

South Africa's history is riddled with misunderstandings, poverty, hardship and struggles to maintain power without considering what the effects would be. In order to counteract these struggles, it is necessary that people examine their own situations and contexts to get a better idea of how to act, so as not to aggravate already fragile relationships. The Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902 is an excellent example of this.

1.1 Background

A complicated history, which was left unresolved, snowballed, causing both the British and Afrikaners to evaluate South Africa's reality and future from their own perspectives. The Afrikaners wanted a country of their own that they could rule according to the guidelines set by Afrikaner nationalism. Britain, on the other hand, acted according to the rules established for a major empire and did not allow anything to hinder them in their quest to expand their empire. Misunderstandings and miscommunications paved the way for the Anglo-Boer War, dragging thousands of innocent people along and becoming one of Britain's most expensive wars.

Due to the nature of this war, various people became role players not only during the course of the war, but also in its aftermath. Emily Hobhouse was such a role player. She followed her keen sense of human rights activism and became involved in a manner that not even she could predict. The concentration camps and its inhabitants provided her with a worthy cause to fight for, pulling her closer to the Boer people. She continued to remain a patriotic Englishwoman, but could not help but to sympathise with the suffering Boer women and children in the concentration camps. This sparked severe reaction in England, and Hobhouse was judged

[1] H. Butterfield, *The Whig interpretation of history*, p. 57.
[2] A. Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902: White man's war, black man's war, traumatic war*, p. 19.

harshly for her involvement and sympathetic crusading.[3] The Afrikaner people, however, were captured by the English lady who risked losing the goodwill of her own people in order to help strangers. She quickly became a symbol of hope for the Afrikaners and they viewed her as their saviour.[4]

When the war was over, President M.T. Steyn acted on his vision of a monument for the women and children in the camps and, knowing how the Afrikaner people felt about Hobhouse, asked her to unveil the monument. Hobhouse, having spent time with both the English and the Afrikaner people, wrote her speech to convey an important message at the inauguration of the monument.

Hobhouse wrote the speech based on her convictions and beliefs and how she had developed to become the woman she was at the time of the inauguration. Added to this development, Hobhouse was influenced by President Steyn, who played a great role in the Afrikaners' fight for freedom and was fondly called a "great man" and an "uncrowned king".[5] Not only did Hobhouse write the speech with a specific message in mind, she also commissioned its translation into Afrikaans. This language was very intricately part of Afrikaner nationalism and, in the few years before the inauguration, it had experienced a remarkable blooming period. Commissioning the translation, Hobhouse acted as an agent under the patronage of President Steyn.

1.2 Research problem

By using Ken Plummer's Documents of life,[6] this study will construct a narrative of Hobhouse, based on frames, or themes, identified in the speech. By studying various Documents of life, it was possible to identify these frames, which are sacrifice, human rights, forgiveness and reconciliation and power and identity, as key themes in Hobhouse's life as well.

These frames, and the narrative constructed accordingly, also explain several important translation choices that Hobhouse made. As the study progressed and more sources were consulted, the study's aim had to shift. At first, the research was conducted based on the assumption that Hobhouse translated the speech herself. She spent hours learning Afrikaans and had translated various other documents from Afrikaans to English.[7] However, while reading Rykie van Reenen's book, *Emily Hobhouse: Boer War Letters*, Hobhouse wrote to Mrs

[3] Van Reenen, p. 10. Tom Barrett was an acquaintance of the Hobhouse family in St Ive;
[4] *Ibid*.
[5] N.J. van der Merwe, *Marthinus Theunis Steyn, 'n lewensbeskrywing*, pp. 120–122.
[6] K. Plummer, *Documents of life 2: An invitation to a critical humanism*.
[7] E. Hobhouse, *War without glamour*; A. Badenhorst and E. Hobhouse, *Tant Alie of Transvaal, her diary*

Steyn that she had commissioned Sanni Metelerkamp, a Cape journalist, to translate the speech.[8] More or less at the same time, I exchanged emails with Elsabé Brits, a specialist journalist and author of *Emily Hobhouse: Beloved Traitor*,[9] an insightful biography of Hobhouse. She confirmed this new piece of the puzzle, as she had travelled to Canada to visit a family member of Hobhouse who still possesses many of Hobhouse's personal belongings, letters, diaries, etc. Later, other sources[10] also confirmed that Metelerkamp was indeed the translator of Hobhouse's speech.

What started as a study to examine Hobhouse's choices in writing and translating her speech, now took a new direction. New challenges, including the concept of translator invisiblity, presented itself.

The study now also had to discuss Metelerkamp as a contributor, but soon it became clear that very few known sources have any useful information on Metelerkamp. Therefore, although Metelerkamp translated Hobhouse's speech, she acted in the shadows of Hobhouse and the Steyn couple.

Hobhouse did not translate the speech herself, but this does not mean that she did not make several vital translation choices. Acting under President Steyn and his wife's patronage, she in turn acted as a patron towards Metelerkamp, and also towards Mrs Tibbie Steyn, President Steyn's wife, and eventually also President Steyn himself. This then draws the attention to patronage and its complexities, which requires closer inspection.

1.3 Research design and methodology

To understand Hobhouse's speech, it is necessary to understand her relationship with Afrikaner people and her involvement in the Anglo-Boer War. To understand the Anglo-Boer War fully, the strained relationship between the British and Afrikaners should be comprehended. This study therefore starts with a brief overview of the complex history of South Africa, especially with regard to the British and Afrikaners. By evaluating the following chapters based on the historical context of the Anglo-Boer War (Chapter 4), Hobhouse's involvement would also be better understood. Chapter 5 comprises the narrative of Hobhouse's life. This narrative is formulated based on the identified frames. Several excerpts from the English speech (the source text) have been identified under the different frames, and the Documents of life consulted

[8] R. van Reenen (ed.), *Emily Hobhouse: Boer War letters*, p. 401: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Tibbie Steyn, 9 December 1913
[9] This book was published in 2017 by NB Publishers. The Afrikaans version, *Emily Hobhouse: Geliefde Verraaier* was published in 2016 by Tafelberg Publishers.
[10] E. Truter, *Rachel Isabella Steyn 1905–1955*, p. 122.

during the research help to build the narrative to show how these frames were also evident as themes in Hobhouse's life. Chapter 6 then takes a closer look at the target text, which is the Afrikaans translation of the speech.

As this is not a descriptive translation study, the entire speech and its translation are not analysed. Instead this is an interdisciplinary study between history and translation studies, which aims to show that the historical context of an agent's life influences their translation choices. Therefore, this study evaluates and discusses Hobhouse and Metelerkamp's translation choices based on the patronage relationships between the Steyn couple, Hobhouse and Metelerkamp. The target text is also discussed against the frames identified and discussed in Chapter 5.

1.4 Ethical issues

As with any historical study, sensitivity about certain issues is of the utmost importance. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that the dissertation is written in the context of the Anglo-Boer War. The British acted according to their context, Afrikaners acted according to their very different context, and any other role player also acted in specific contexts, making judgement based on present knowledge impossible. These different contexts should be kept in mind throughout the study.

For this reason, the study will also be referring to the war as the Anglo-Boer War, [11] and not as the South African War, as it is regularly referred to today. The war started out as a war between Britain and the Afrikaners, which explains the "Anglo" and "Boer" terms. If this study would use "South African War", it would omit the major role that Britain played, which is vital in the context of this study. Therefore, the name "Anglo-Boer War" will be used, without ignoring the fact that many others were eventually dragged into the war.

This study aims to provide a detailed but contextual narrative of not only the events leading towards the inauguration of the Women's Memorial, but also the role that Hobhouse played during the war and afterwards in the formation of Afrikaner identity. By making several crucial decisions in the speech and its translation, she portrayed an image of herself that the Afrikaner people accepted as part of their culture.

[11] F. Pretorius, "Everyone's war: The Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902)" in F. Pretorius (ed.), A *history of South Africa: From the distant past to the present day*, p. 242.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Development of Translation Studies

Translation is no longer studied as a simple linguistic action of conveying the same message in a different language.[1] Marais agrees when he states that in the past, scholars in Translation Studies focused primarily on the language used in documents, relying on whether the language used in a specific translation adheres exactly to that of the source text. They disregarded the importance of the translator and their role in specific social contexts.[2] Lefevere refers to the same situation when he states that Translation Studies relies on the "fidelity and faithfulness" of the translation rather than focusing on other, possibly even more important, aspects regarding the translation process. These aspects include cultures, text functions and the translator's agency.[3] Regardless of Lefevere's lament, an interest in the translator and their agency in the social context has grown over the past 50 years. Abdel Khalifa describes this new interest by referring to the shift in Translation Studies from "textual" to "cultural", which took place during the 1990s.[4] Maria Tymoczko instead argues that this shift started to take form during World War II, when people started to realise that understanding a country's culture was a vital part of understanding the country as a whole.[5] This shows that different scholars agree on the shift that took place, but that they differ in the timeframe they apply, based on their specific fields of study. These differences show that development started to take place in different spheres of Translation Studies, at different times. The timeframe might differ, but the reality of the shift is evident.

Before this shift, the only aim was to translate linguistically accurate. Contexts and cultures were not considered, and if the linguistic components were correct, the translation was regarded as correct. While it is true that translators have always focused on the context, Translation Studies have not always been theorised as such.[6] As Translation Studies developed, translations were adapted to notice the effect of the source and target texts on the respective audiences and to acknowledge the cultural function of these texts, the translators and their patrons.[7] Tymoczko adds that, in addition to these factors, the "social and historical contexts" also play a role in

[1] J. Munday, *Continuum studies in translation: Translation as intervention*.
[2] K. Marais, "Exploring a conceptual space for studying translation and development", *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 31(4), 2013, p. 403.
[3] A. Lefevere (ed.), *Translation/history/culture: A sourcebook*, p. 6.
[4] A.W. Khalifa, "Rethinking agents and agency in Translation Studies" in A.W. Khalifa (ed.), *Translators have their say? Translation and the power of agency*, 2014, pp. 9–17.
[5] M. Tymoczko, *Enlarging translation, empowering translators*, p. 34.
[6] E. Nida, *Contexts in translating*, pp. 13–28.
[7] Tymoczko, p. 33.

translations. The source text author, the patron, the translator as agent and the different audiences all result in the different social and historical contexts.[8] But, the emphasis is still entirely focused on the language and its technical points. To address this problem, descriptive Translation Studies started to develop. Descriptive theory, according to Tymoczko, emphasises "the particular historical and cultural context of any translator, any translation, and any translation movement".[9] In addition, descriptive theory scholars acknowledged the important influence of different perspectives based on the culture and temporality of the specific translator, implying that a translation and its perspective depend on different frameworks and contexts of different times and places.[10]

However, Translation Studies failed to acknowledge the possibility of ideological influences. It was only after the Cold War that the focus shifted to ideological influences. By the end of the 1980s, the "cultural turn" was introduced.[11] According to Tymoczko, this turn in Translation Studies "reveal[ed] the impact of ideology", but because it was not as clearly connected to cultural studies, was often ignored or disregarded. The "culture turn" showed that translation should be studied with regard to ideological influences, as "cultural patronage and power are frequently evident in translation processes and products".[12] The "culture turn" was therefore the first step in the direction of acknowledging the translator, their position in the social context and their culture as part of the final translation product.[13] Wei agrees when she states that the "cultural turn" not only studied the linguistic aspects of translation, but that it also acknowledged the importance of admitting the existence and impact of ideology and cultural identity.[14]

Recently, Translation Studies have shifted its focus towards the "social turn", because scholars started to apply translation actions and decisions as part of a "social practice".[15] Wei claims that before the social turn, researchers did not pay enough attention to "the social conditions".[16] Tymoczko describes this new turn as having a new interest in the human being as a definite agent in the translation process. She states that it is no longer possible to analyse a translation in the confines of certain rules and regulations. Instead, she states that to completely understand a translation, it is important to account for different perspectives as well as "acknowledging

[8] *Ibid*.
[9] *Ibid*., p. 41.
[10] *Ibid*.
[11] *Ibid*., p. 43.
[12] *Ibid*.
[13] *Ibid*., p. 44.
[14] Q. Wei, "A sociology of translation: From text world to life world", *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 4(1), 2014, p. 90.
[15] *Ibid*., p. 88.
[16] *Ibid*., p. 90.

uncertainties and indeterminacies – including those pertaining to language, cultural difference, and meaning… associated with time, place, subject positions, ideology, and power".[17]

2.2 Translator agency

"The social turn" in Translation Studies states that a human being, their situation and their perception of that situation play a bigger role than what was at first believed. It also places more emphasis on the agency of the translator and specifically on translation choices.[18]

When referring to the agency of a translator, it is important to understand the term and what it implies. According to Buzelin, agency is defined as "the ability to exert power in an intentional way".[19] Another definition of agency is that of Kinnunen and Koskinen. They define agency as the "willingness and ability to act".[20]

Therefore, a translator as an agent can be seen as someone translating texts in order to have an influence people or situations. Michaela Wolf describes an agent of translation as someone who is present at every step of the translation process, exerting power to influence over every facet of this process.[21] In addition, Milton and Bandia explain translation agency in terms of how a translator is a vital part of the process of how a society or nation changes and develops.[22] Maria Tymoczko, a leading researcher in political translations and agency in translation, adds that the translator exerts a certain power to influence social environments by making translation choices, whether it is what they translate, or how they translate it.[23] Marais further states that the translator uses this power and decision making that Tymoczko refers to in order to fulfil a certain role in the target culture.[24] He admits that translators do not always intend a specific agenda or consequence with their translations, since "life is much too complex and messy to assume that everything that happens was planned… unintentional agency is part of translation action".[25] However, translators, whether they intend it or not, have the ability and opportunity to influence people and situations. Marais therefore continues that in order for the translator to be able to exert this power, the target environment should be receptive enough for the

[17] Tymoczko, p. 51.
[18] *Ibid*., p. 211.
[19] H. Buzelin, "Agents of translation" in Y. Gambier and L. van Doorslaer (eds), *Handbook of Translation Studies: Volume 4*, 2011, p. 7.
[20] T. Kinnunen and K. Koskinen (eds), *Translator's agency*, p. 7.
[21] Khalifa, p. 11.
[22] J. Milton and P. Bandia, "Introduction: Agents of translation and Translation Studies" in J. Milton and P. Bandia (eds), *Agents of translation*, pp. 1–15.
[23] Tymoczko, pp. 200–216.
[24] K. Marais, "The representation of agents of translation in South Africa: Encountering Gentzler and Madonella", *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, 2011, p. 189.
[25] K. Marais, "Can Tymoczko be translated into Africa? Refractions of research methodology in Translation Studies in African contexts." *South African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 29(3), 2011, p. 196.

translation to reach the full potential that the translator intends.[26] Therefore, the translator must be able to analyse a situation or environment and then make their translation choices based on that analysis. This means that translators should have knowledge of more than just the language into which they translate.[27] An overall knowledge of every economic, political, social and religious context that might play a role in how the target audience receives the translation is important.

Another issue that translators must be aware of is the social context in which they work. Marais describes this awareness as understanding how people understand the society that they live in, and what their specific role is in that society. [28] One of the ways in which people can understand their relationship with the social context is through culture. They exist and survive in a certain social context by living with other people and applying and sharing certain practices, ways of thinking and evaluating of the rest of the world. This is known as culture. According to Terje Loogus, culture is "common shared knowledge, which serves as a collection of recipes for problem solving".[29] These recipes are guidelines for the individual to act in certain acceptable ways, and in turn to judge and analyse other people's actions according to those guidelines.

Therefore, a translation would be transferring knowledge from one culture to another.[30] This implies that a translator depends on their culture to understand certain events and then convey information that was communicated in another culture in such a way that it makes sense to readers in the target culture. Once again, translation is not only dependent on language, but also on culture and society, and transferring that knowledge from one culture to another implies being an agent of translation.

However, this is not always easy, because the source culture and the target culture each have certain ways of doing and communicating things, which are not always compatible. The translator as an agent then has the responsibility to transfer a perspective from the source culture in such a way that is not only acceptable to the target culture, but also deemed as their own perspectives.[31] The challenge for the translator is to devise the best methods to transfer these perspectives successfully.

[26] *Ibid*., p. 192.
[27] Marais, "Exploring a conceptual space...", p. 403.
[28] *Ibid*., p. 404.
[29] T. Loogus, "Culture-related decision conflicts in the translation process", *Sign Systems Studies* 40(3/4), 2012, p. 371.
[30] *Ibid*., p. 369.
[31] *Ibid*., p. 375.

2.3 Translator decision making

The translator has to make certain crucial decisions regarding the translation.[32] The act of translation, the translator himself or herself and the relevant decisions regarding the translation play a major role in the information and how it is interpreted. Loogus states that although translators have to make choices regarding the translation and its process, they cannot simply go rogue and make these decisions however they please. They are still bound to the source text, but the broad scope of choices remains; they still have to decide how they want to convey the message in the source text. This process demands intense research into both the source and target cultures. The result is that the translator is responsible for the outcome of the target text and the consequent reaction to it.[33]

This decision-making process forces the translator to evaluate the situation by looking at their role in society, taking note of that specific social context and identifying ways in which the translation might influence these factors. According to Tymoczko, the translator is responsible for identifying the most important and meaningful parts in the source text. Then the translator has to decide whether it is relevant and important to the target audience. If so, the translator must find the proper means to convey the message. However, if the same information is not as important to the target audience as it is to the source text audience, the translator has to evaluate the source text and decide what other information would be more important to the target audience and then decide how to convey it so that the eventual message has the same impact on the target audience as the source text had on its audience.[34] Naudé and Miller-Naudé describe this decision-making process as "embedded in, and contributing to, the elaboration of a concrete social reality".[35]

Here, Loogus makes another valid point by stating that these decisions involve risk taking regarding personal convictions and ideologies and possible reactions of both the source and target cultures.[36] These risks involve being part of certain communities with their own set of cultural, political and religious convictions, which will inevitably influence the translator.[37]

Therefore, although the translator makes choices and aims to act as a bridge between two different cultures,[38] it is not always attainable.[39] As part of translators' agency and decision-

[32] Tymoczko, p. 211.
[33] Loogus, pp. 372–373.
[34] Tymoczko, p. 304.
[35] J.A. Naudé and C.L. Miller-Naudé, "Lamentations in the English Bible translation tradition of the King James Bible (1611)", *Scriptura* 2, 2012, p. 209.
[36] Loogus, p. 373.
[37] M. Baker, "Reframing conflict in translation", *Social Semiotics* 7(2), 2007, p. 153.
[38] Y. Gambier and L. van Doorslaer (eds), *Handbook of Translation Studies: Volume 4.*
[39] M. Baker, *Translation and conflict: A narrative account*.

making process, they need to decide which of the target or source text they want to promote. In other words, the translator decides to translate a certain text in order to equalise the source and target cultures, but not to bring them too close together, in order to maintain the separate identities of each culture. If the target culture were to identify with the source culture too intimately, they would be at risk of eventually losing their own unique identity, which is something the translator wants to conserve.[40] Therefore, the translator first acts as a division between the two cultures by not encouraging the target culture to delve too deeply into the source culture. Then, they act as a bridge to show that the target culture and source culture are not that different and are somewhat similar. By making specific translation choices, translators can determine the direction in which they want to lead the readers or the way to interpret things. In other words, they "take on an active role and have to negotiate solutions".[41] By this Loogus implies that the translator is aware of different cultural differences and that they must evaluate their own position and its implication in the source culture and then decide how to address certain issues in the source text to convey the intended message to the target culture.[42]

Therefore, Loogus states that the translator's intentions are the most important issue to consider.[43] Siobhan Brownlie agrees with this statement, but defines the intentions as "ideologies and loyalties" and states that they are "grounded in particular places and times".[44] This does not mean that the culture in which the intentions are grounded are the only influences on the translator. As much as the translator needs to take the culture into consideration when translating, other factors like people's environments and contexts of both the translator and the target audience[45] can also influence both the translating process and the reading and evaluation of the target text.

This means that since translators sometimes act according to certain ideologies and therefore make certain resulting translation choices, they cannot always be seen as unbiased bridge builders or mediators. Brownlie states that there is a myth that translators innocently encourage meaningful communication between two different cultures. She then goes on to say that because of ideologies or preconceived ideas of translators, it is nearly impossible for a translator not to place one culture above the other and to promote that culture and its specific ideologies and convictions, especially when conflict between the two cultures exist.[46]

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[40] K. Marais and I. Feinauer, "Introduction" in K. Marais and I. Feinauer (eds), *Translation Studies in Africa and beyond: Reconsidering the postcolony*, p. 2.
[41] *Ibid*.
[42] Loogus, p. 374.
[43] *Ibid*., p. 376.
[44] S. Brownlie, "Situating discourse on translation and conflict", *Social Semiotics* 17(2), 2007, p. 137.
[45] Baker, *Translation and conflict*, pp. 28–32.
[46] Brownlie, p. 138.

Thus, some translators translate specific documents for predetermined reasons, e.g. to manipulate people, to advocate a certain ideology, or to uplift either the source language or the target language. Other translators translate documents within specific political or religious regimes and their translations mirror their opinions. The translator now acts as an activist for adaptation during certain social situations.[47] In other words, agency involves translation to achieve certain goals.

2.4 Patronage as motivation for decisions

As explained in the previous section, a translator acts as an agent to achieve a certain goal by translating very specific texts in very specific ways. Wolf describes this as an "interplay of power and ideology".[48] This means that the translator as an agent is responsible for deciding what to translate, why it should be translated and how it should be done. Wolf stresses that the agency plays a role in the entire translation process.[49]

However, before even starting with the translation process, several translation decisions must first be made. One way of influencing these decisions is through patronage. Patronage is "something like the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature".[50] A translator as an agent is influenced by and is part of a certain culture and social environment, and based on this culture and social environment, makes certain translation choices in order to convey a message. The writer or another person in a position of authority influences the translator in specific ways in order to translate the text according to the abovementioned culture or social environment's viewpoint. Milton and Bandia believe that patronage entails that an agent makes certain decisions based on a "national consciousness"[51] and Shuping describes patronage as a way to regulate texts to fit in and keep up with their own ideologies.[52]

In other words, the patron uses their power to guide the translator to make certain translation choices based on the society's ideologies. The patron's power includes influence on both the direct choices that the translator makes, and the circumstances in which the entire translation process, from source text author to target audience, occurs.[53] This means that the patron's ideology influences the way in which the power is exerted.

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[47] *Ibid*.
[48] Khalifa, p. 14.
[49] *Ibid*., p. 15.
[50] A. Lefevere, *Translation, rewriting, and the manipulation of literary fame*, p. 15.
[51] Milton and Bandia, p. 3.
[52] R. Shuping, "Translation as rewriting", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 3(18), 2013, p. 57.
[53] C. Marinetti, "Cultural approaches" in Y. Gambier and L. van Doorslaer (eds), *Handbook of Translation Studies: Volume 2*, p. 28.

Lawrence Venuti explains this idea of ideology as playing a definite controlling role in every step of the translation process in order for the translation to be a "cultural political practice, constructing or critiquing ideology-stamped identities for foreign cultures, affirming or transgressing discursive values and institutional limits in the receiving culture".[54] Therefore, a patron then commissions a translator based on their ideologies and guides the translator in certain directions, to translate in the way that they wish. Thus, the influence of ideology on the translator and the translation process, whether it is their own ideology, or that of the patron's, greatly regulates the translator and translation decisions.

This means that the patron keeps a close watch on the entire process for their message to reach the target audience. In other words, it might be another person translating the text, but the essence of the translation is still in the hands of the patron. This then implies that the translator is a mediator, but remains in the shadows of the patron.

2.5 Translator invisibility

Lawrence Venuti introduced the idea of "translator invisibility".[55] He states that the translator's role is to translate the source text in such way that the target text does not seem to be translated.[56] Bassnett and Lefevere state that translation and trust in the translator influence the way the message is received and therefore translators, although they are supposed to act in the shadows and be invisible, play an important role.[57]

The patron commissions the translation, but still wants the target audience to see the translated text as written by the original author in order to keep the trust that the target audience has in the author. In other words, the patron wants to give the impression that they have written the translation originally to show support for the target language. Therefore, Venuti states that the reader must "forget that it is a translation at all, and be lulled into the illusion that he is reading an original work".[58] The patron wants the readers to think that they have written the text in the target language, although they do not have enough knowledge of the target language to do the translation. This can be explained by referring to Bassnett and Lefevere, where they describe that certain target audiences tend to believe specific translators, not necessarily because the translation is a good one, but because the reader trusts the translator, and based on that trust, the translation is deemed "faithful".[59]

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[54] L. Venuti, *The translator's invisibility: A history of translation*, p. 15.
[55] Venuti *The translator's invisibility: A history of translation*.
[56] *Ibid*., p. 5.
[57] S. Bassnett and A. Lefevere (eds), *Translation, history and culture*, p. 6.
[58] Venuti, p. 101.
[59] Bassnett and Lefevere, p. 8.

When researching the translator and their various translation choices, it is important to identify who the translator is, what their role is and how the specific decisions are made. Commissioning a translation of a certain text is a crucial translation choice being made. First, the writer must decide who will be translating the text. Decisions such as who will translate the text is vital and plays an enormous role in the eventual acceptance of the target text. Although this decision is not always up to the writer, they sometimes play a crucial role in deciding whether the text should be translated and why, and who the translator will then be.

This then implies that the target audience is familiar with the patron, and trusts their judgement and statements, and that any text coming from them is accepted without reservation. The translator, on the other hand, is not as well known or trusted, and is therefore commissioned to translate the text but stay "invisible" so as to allow the patron to be seen as the original author. A certain amount of trust is necessary between the patron and the translator. Venuti states that:

> transparency is an illusionistic effect: it depends on the translator's work with language, but it hides this work… by suggesting that the author can be seen in the translation, that in it the author speaks in his or her own voice. If the illusion of transparency is strong enough, it may well produce a truth-effect, wherein the authorial voice becomes authoritative, heard as speaking what is true, right, obvious.[60]

2.6 Critical humanism – studying the human subject

As seen in the section above, a mutual trust should exist between the patron and the translator as agent. Now the issue at stake is that each of these role players are different human beings with different contexts. Considering the human subject as part of the study is vital, because, whenever people are involved, theoretically and scientifically rigid guidelines and statements are not always possible. The human subject might change ideas and situations completely and can even change the outcome of an entire study. The reason for this is that no situation with human beings involved is ever set in stone. Situations change, people change, motives change, ideologies develop and change, contexts change, and focus points change. This means that scholars should study the human subject more closely in order to either prove what they want to say, or to point out certain inconsistencies in their theoretical hypotheses. It is also necessary to study human behaviour to show what influence they might have on a society or situation, or vice versa. In other words, studies concerning people should work hard to "restore the human subject".[61]

This restoration of the human subject means to place them as an individual with unique contexts and convictions in a social sphere with possibly opposing and constraining ideologies.

[60] Venuti, p. 249.
[61] K. Plummer, *Documents of life 2: An invitation to a critical humanism*, p. 6.

Identifying ways in which they understand these constraints and how they then express themselves in order to exist in these societies is known as critical humanism. According to Jeff Noonan, critical humanism evaluates the way that different people express their understanding of different social situations based on cultural factors.[62] Critical humanism states that the way a human being experiences things is important and apart from cultural factors also "acknowledge[s] the political and social role of all inquiry"[63] and acknowledges that human experience, which includes factors like gender, race, culture and ethnicity,[64] should be analysed and evaluated as part of critical humanism. Ken Plummer discusses critical humanism in five points:[65]

2.6.1 Human subjectivity and creativity

Firstly, he states that critical humanism is dependent on human subjectivity and creativity,[66] which comprises people going about their daily routines, acquiring certain values, and then applying these values in the wider society with its "constraints of history…inequalities and exclusions".[67]

Critical humanism shows how people respond in different ways to different situations and "social constraints" and how they form, understand and handle these constraints.[68] Each person is an individual and unique human being and thus also perceives life in a unique manner. Liz Stanley states that although life has certain definite structures and limits, it is also true that different people interpret these structures and limitations in unique ways.[69] In other words, studies are done based on some of these societal structures and assumptions. The human subject can then alter or support these structures and assumptions based on the way they perceive it. Stanley states that critical humanism does not disregard different opinions. It embraces different opinions by acknowledging the complexity of different situations and human beings.[70]

It is therefore crucial to consider the human subject and examine their active agency in the meaning making of a developing society. By perceiving situations and events in a unique

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[62] J. Noonan, *Critical humanism and the politics of difference*.
[63] K. Plummer, "Critical humanism and queer theory: Living with the tensions" in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, 2011, p. 197.
[64] H. Pleasance, "The essential subject? The very documented life of Myra Hindley" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism*, p. 45.
[65] Plummer, *Documents of life*, p. 14.
[66] *Ibid*.
[67] K. Plummer, "A manifesto for a critical humanism in sociology: On questioning the human social world" in D. Nehring (ed.), *Sociology: A text and reader*, <https://kenplummer.com/manifestos/a-manifesto-for-a-critical-humanism-in-sociology/> accessed on 29.11.2017.
[68] Plummer, *Documents of life*, p. 14.
[69] L. Stanley, *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism*, p. 11.
[70] *Ibid*., p. 59.

manner, and then acting and reacting in ways that are influenced by these perceptions, a person becomes an agent. Studies should endeavour "getting close to living human beings… picking up the way they express their understandings of the world around them".[71] By doing this, it would be possible to identify people as active agents in the forming of societies.[72]

2.6.2 Specific social and economic organisations

Secondly, Plummer states that research should be done regarding specific social and economic organisations.[73] A researcher doing research in one part of the world or with regard to a particular piece of history, cannot apply that same research as it is in a completely different situation. Also, a person cannot live in isolation and therefore cannot be studied in isolation. Context is vital in research. To understand motivations, it is important to consider the human being and their context completely. Everything that happens "is experienced differently by differently situated people during a particular period of time, and more profoundly different events occur depending on people's location, while the effects are not even either."[74] A set theory cannot explain everything that happens, and because of this Plummer states that every individual is situated in a specific environment in a specific time. What is applicable to a person in certain circumstances would not necessarily be applicable to someone else in the same circumstances but at a different time.[75] Plummer also mentions that

> human beings cannot be understood if they are taken out of the contexts of time and space of which they are always a part. Thus the 'human being' is not a free floating universal individual: rather 'it' is always stuffed full of the culture and the historical moments of which it is a part, and this history and culture is always in process and changing.[76]

Morrow agrees with Plummer and adds that people are part of developing societies regarding social, cultural and historical factors that require constant meaning making and evaluation in terms of unique contexts.[77] These unique contexts do not only apply to individuals, but also to groups of people and how they see themselves in the bigger world context. Groups of people often see themselves as being set apart because they are afraid that people in higher social positions would look down on them and classify them as having a "lower" status.[78]

Stanley refers to this as embeddedness in a certain context or situation and states that this embeddedness is not a stationary state of being, but rather a constantly changing process of

[71] Plummer, *Documents of life*, p. 2.
[72] Stanley, *Documents of life revisited*, p. 5.
[73] Plummer, *Documents of life*, p. 14.
[74] Stanley, *Documents of life revisited*, p. 63.
[75] Plummer, *Documents of life*, p. 14.
[76] Plummer, "A manifesto for a critical humanism in sociology".
[77] C. Morrow, "Lies and truths: Exploring the lie as a document of life" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism*, p. 19.
[78] *Ibid*., p. 23.

defining yourself and the world around you.[79] In this process, it is also important to accept the possibility of unexpected situations and problems presenting itself. Stanley urges that "contingency and its impact" is necessary to understand and cope in the world, [80] and that sometimes, it is important to look at the bigger picture in order to understand the small things happening.

One person might see a situation in one way, and another person might see it completely differently. Their contexts and points of departure differ, causing them to judge the situation differently. This means that the world, which is constantly evolving and developing, is experienced through different perspectives that in turn encourage different points of view and different reactions.[81]

2.6.3 Intimate familiarity

Thirdly, Plummer values intimate familiarity,[82] which states that a researcher must be well acquainted with their subject, knowing what the subject has said, written and done. The researcher must also be familiar with as much as possible of what is said about their subject. The subject must become like a very close friend. However, caution should also be applied to prevent the familiarity from drowning intellect and common sense. The researcher cannot be blinded by the friendly affection that unfolds as the research progresses.[83] Stanley goes on to say that although this affection is important, it should not be taken lightly, as it might influence the researcher by "inflecting and shaping how people behave and think and what they see as truth, facts and realities".[84]

The importance of affect is that it allows the researcher to get to know his human subject intimately, and consequently share in their personal struggles, triumphs and joys. In this way, the researcher is able to connect the emotional with the intellectual. The researcher acknowledges the influence of the emotional on the overall understanding and function of the human subject, causing the researcher to share in the same emotions and understand why the subject made certain decisions and acted in certain ways.

[79] Stanley, *Documents of life revisited*, p. 10.
[80] *Ibid*.
[81] Plummer, *Documents of life*, p. 13.
[82] *Ibid*., p. 14.
[83] Stanley, *Documents of life revisited*, p. 11.
[84] *Ibid*.

2.6.4 Moral and political role

Fourthly, Plummer highlights the moral and political role in critical humanism.[85] This point adds to the previous one in that it encourages the researcher to get to know the subject, sympathise with their situation, and understand various choices that they have made. However, the researcher must remain objective, as they have a responsibility to convey the truth and not merely a philosophical and popular tale.

The researcher has a moral and political role and responsibility to look at the problems and issues that present themselves during the research process. Subsequently, the researcher should be able to evaluate the issues in terms of the contexts (not only those in which they are embedded), but also remember that the subject is or was embedded in a completely different context and that the different perspective should be considered.[86] It does not necessarily mean that moral and political issues that are evident today were automatically present during the relevant timeframe in the subject's life. Assumptions and biases based on current perspectives cannot be applied as is to another person living in another context.[87]

2.6.5 Radical and pragmatic empiricism

Lastly, Plummer mentions radical and pragmatic empiricism.[88] By doing research based on a human subject, the researcher must be careful not to shape the subject as they want, but to use the information with a practical and truthful vision in mind. A researcher cannot do research about certain events happening in time without considering who was involved and who played a role in the transpiring of the specific events and then acknowledging that this role player had an impact on the events. [89] Therefore, Plummer states that there is an "interminable tension between the subjectively creative individual human being acting upon the world and the objectively given social structure constraining them".[90] Liz Stanley agrees when she compels researchers to do introspection about their participation in every aspect of "social encounters" and how these encounters might affect the research process. She states that this introspection might lead to an inspection of uncomfortable and sensitive issues.[91]

2.7 Biography, structure and history

Studying a human subject also has certain limitations and issues that need to be considered to prevent the study being one-sided or prejudiced. Each human subject has a certain way of

[85] Plummer, *Documents of life*, p. 14.
[86] Stanley, *Documents of life revisited*, pp. 262–264.
[87] Marais and Feinauer, p. 2.
[88] Plummer, *Documents of life*, p. 14.
[89] *Ibid*.
[90] *Ibid*.
[91] Stanley, *Documents of life revisited*, p. 5.

evaluating and perceiving their specific situation. The researcher is also a unique human subject who perceives the world in their unique way. These perceptions would then influence the research and how it is conducted and evaluated.[92] Lynch states that to be able to conduct documents of life research, the researcher should understand what the research method entails, and how they will go about this method. It might even compel the researcher to look at texts from a completely different angle in order to acknowledge "great complexities involved in documents of life research."[93] This means that the researcher must be aware of the personal situations and perceptions of the human subject, and also the contextual situation, and be able to find the balance between the two and see how it fits together to form a reality.[94]

Therefore, Plummer states that it is very important to consider biography, structure and history when conducting a study. In terms of biography, it is important to consider and understand the person's personal life when conducting a study. In addition, it is important to understand the current structure, whether it is the economic, political, ideological or social structure. These structures influence a person's way of looking at and evaluating life. In the same way, a person also evaluates things that happened in the past, and once again it can be said that different people judge past experiences differently. Stanley explains:

> Our bodies and minds change in profound ways over the life course. And who we are and how we feel ourselves to be changes over time, including in relation to the range of circumstances and situations we find ourselves in.[95]

This means that it is also crucial to understand history. What has happened in the past influences this community or this person to act in certain ways and, therefore, there is a continuous, albeit complex, relationship between things that happen every day, things that happened in the past and things that will happen due to developing societies and situations.[96] Blenkinsop thus refers to critical humanism by denying that a single history exists about which everyone feels exactly the same and remembers in exactly the same way. She states that "memory is a present time activity and multiple knowers will have different perspectives and truths about the past".[97]

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[92] *Ibid*., p. 5.
[93] C. Lynch, "Critical humanist thoughts on the Burnett archive of working class autobiography: 'Nobody wages war with Dostoevsky or Dickens'" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism,* p. 32.
[94] Stanley, *Documents of life revisited*, p. 7.
[95] *Ibid*., p. 9.
[96] *Ibid*., p. 61.
[97] H. Blenkinsop, Forgotten memories? Silence, reason, truth and the carnival" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism,* p. 121.

The balance between biography, structure and history is very important and Plummer states that the social structure cannot be more or less important than the human subject.[98] In every facet of life, a human subject with a particular biography is present and is able to influence that specific social structure by regarding and referring back to history. With this in mind, Helen Dampier states that this influence of history or structure is an example of human agency.[99] However, to understand the human subject and then explain how they fit into a structure, remains somewhat abstract and researchers are still not as keen to move in that direction, partly because they would then have to admit that there is a certain unexpected agency of human beings and unpredictability to life, research and the future.

2.8 Documents of life

It is one thing to say that the human subject should be examined and not left out of research. It is quite another thing to actually do this. One way of examining the human subject is to scrutinise their documents of life as Ken Plummer calls it. He defines documents of life as "accounts of individual experience which reveal the individual's actions as a human subject and as a participant in social life".[100] These documents can be anything from newspaper clippings and pamphlets to personal letters, photographs and diaries or anything people make or collect that would shed light on who the person is.[101] It is usually the unnoticed or unimportant documents that tell us the most about who the person is.[102]

By applying the concepts of critical humanism, Plummer explains documents of life by showing how these documents might influence "social material worlds of bodies, economics and environments (and not just their inner, psychic or biological structuring)". [103] Plummer emphasises the importance and value of personal experience.

However, it remains critical to consider Plummer's five points of critical humanism when conducting research based on documents of life. Therefore, the context of the person being researched, and all the relevant documents of life, should be taken into account. These documents cannot be taken out of context, and in addition, cannot be analysed on their own without valid analysis and interpretation.[104] Helen Dampier agrees when she emphasises that

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[98] *Ibid*.
[99] H. Dampier, "Identifying the quotidian in the heterotopic universe of Olive Schreiner's letters" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism,* p. 152.
[100] Plummer, *Documents of life*, p. 3.
[101] *Ibid*., p. 17.
[102] Stanley, *Documents of life revisited*, p. 4.
[103] Plummer, "A manifesto for a critical humanism in sociology".
[104] A. Salter, "Someone telling something to someone about something? Stories in Olive Schreiner's letters and Nella Last's diary" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism,* p. 93.

an individual exists in a wider society, which plays a role in shaping them, but that this individual's documents of life, in turn, also point to and explain certain events in this wider society. Here, Dampier cautions the researcher to remember that the documents of life are also "constructed and manipulated" and that it should not be read in isolation.[105]

By using documents of life, a researcher can look at individual and ordinary people and see how their lives have been influenced by situations and other people, and how they have influenced other people and different situations in return. Stanley states that documents of life research values individual accounts of different people, as it allows the researcher to look at certain situations from a different perspective in order to determine the full extent of that particular event on all parties concerned.[106]

By reading and re-reading the documents of life and seeing each of these documents in the correct context, the researcher is then able to devise a story or narrative of the subject. Each of the documents of life tells the reader a little bit more about the subject. The researcher must then combine these documents in such a way that it forms the story. Plummer describes a narrative as combining the personal life and perspective of the subject with the version of events of the wider society and constructing a single telling of this combination to determine how the personal perspective influences the wider society and vice versa.[107] Stanley sees a narrative as describing complicated matters and events by combining different perspectives based on various documents of life and adding the context and history to form a single narrative. [108] She believes that a narrative describes social life, which consists of events from the past that are evaluated and explained in the present based on different interpretations and experiences by different people.[109]

What then motivates a translator to act as an agent, whether it is done deliberately or not? One way in which one can study the motivations behind a translator's choices is to investigate the translator's personal life. These motivations can depend on a variety of factors like empathy, pacifism, feminism, moods, etc. that influence the translator's choices. Plummer has researched the notion that a person's life story or narrative can influence the way other people see them.[110] By being a participant in everyday life, an agent constructs their life. This is called narrative research and, according to Plummer, a person's narrative or life story is very important. Documents of life, as discussed in the previous section, are witnesses to someone's life. Blumer

[105] Dampier, p. 149.
[106] Stanley, *Documents of life revisited*, p. 5.
[107] Plummer, "A manifesto for a critical humanism in sociology", p. 213.
[108] Stanley, *Documents of life revisited*, p. 6.
[109] *Ibid*., pp. 6–7.
[110] Plummer, *Documents of life*, pp. 17–18.

calls these documents human documents, and describes them as "accounts of individual experience which reveal the individual's actions as a human agent and as a participant in social life".[111] By combining these resources, a researcher compiles a narrative, or story, and through this narrative, the reader can get to know the person and identify the factors in their personal life that influenced them to act and perceive their lives in certain ways.

When trying to make sense of someone's life, a person would usually reflect on what has happened thus far in their life and then go on to classify and order these events in a logical manner that makes sense in their own mind. This classification then becomes a guideline according to which the person acts. In addition, these events then also influence the person to act in certain ways in the future, based on lessons and experiences. Then, whenever this person needs to convey information about himself or herself to other people, they would retrieve information selectively from that classification system to construct a view of himself or herself that they wish people to see. In other words, the person somehow manages what other people see and what they wish them to see.

> The life now becomes clusters of stories, about our pasts, presents, futures. We come 'to story' our lives through the culture we live in, and use this very culture as a way of 'writing' into ourselves who we are.[112]

However, how does the classification first start to develop? How does the person decide what is important and necessary, and what not? Different things happening in their own life influence every single person, and different factors influence different people in unique ways. By communicating via different documents of life, a person is influenced by various other people, which in turn builds on their self-knowledge. It influences their understanding of themselves, and the world they live in.

In short, a life story is a story someone tells about themselves in their own words.[113] It is important for the subject to be as honest as possible to allow the researcher to convey the life story as accurately as possible. However, there might be some things that the subject does not wish people to know, and it is then their choice to disclose, or not. Atkinson therefore describes a life story as an honest but selective account of the person's life, where the person decides what information to include in the story and what information to omit due to various reasons.[114]

It is important to remember and consider that all life stories are told from one person's biased perspective. This person has seen and experienced life from a one-sided viewpoint, implying

[111] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[112] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

that the life story cannot be seen as the ultimate truth. Other people might experience the exact situation or event in a completely different manner. Therefore, whenever life stories are told, it is important to consider context.[115]

Based on these observations, Plummer gives a few advantages of using life stories to assess a person's life. Firstly, it is a tool for history, because it gives an inside view of how a specific event shaped someone's life, and "always brings a focus on historical change, moving between the changing biographical history of the person and the social history of their lifespan".[116] Secondly, life stories show ambiguity, processes and change. Thirdly, it gives perspectives on the life as a whole by analysing the entire person, including their culture, religion, personality, etc.[117] By using a life story, the researcher tries to convey the entire person, and not merely an "amputated" version of them, but still the researcher decides what information should be included and what information is not important, and should rather be omitted.[118] With regard to this, Plummer states:

> Can a life be imagined without some sense of the person accumulating traces of their experiences into some form of coherence through a narrative form – as they live through it? Some sense of time, of place, of family and friends, or wider connections? So it may be that the very lived me itself is bound up with versions of speaking and telling about it… In any event, part of the auto/biographical quest may be a concern with the kinds of tellings given of the life.[119]

2.10 Baker's Narrative Theory

When doing documents of life research, it is important not to confuse Plummer's narrative research and Mona Baker's narrative theory. Plummer's Documents of life does research using the different documents of life that might have influenced the person's life and way of thinking, and then building a narrative of that person's life using the documents as a guideline and framework.

On the other hand, Baker's narrative theory states that "the stories we tell ourselves guide the way we act and not just the way we think, and any action we take naturally impacts on those around us."[120] She uses the term "narrative" in the sense that a person gives account of certain events that have transpired, which are then known as narratives. In understanding a certain situation or event, different people look at it in different ways. According to Mona Baker, people use stories, or narratives, to understand these events. In the same way, history is narrated

[115] *Ibid*., p. 20.
[116] Plummer, *Documents of life*, p. 39.
[117] *Ibid*., p. 40.
[118] *Ibid*., p. 41.
[119] *Ibid*., p. 87.
[120] Baker, *Translation and conflict*, pp. 28–32.

by someone, and this person's narrative might differ entirely from another person's narrative. Baker then explains that this difference in narration is "determined by our history, culture, experience of the world and ultimately the stories we come to believe about the world(s) in which we live".[121] Baker also describes accounts of history as various opinions explained by different people, each experiencing the world around them differently.[122]

Baker therefore describes a narrative as a one-sided account of a person that cannot be seen as the ultimate truth. As there are quite a number of people experiencing the same situations, each of these people will have their own version of the events, which means that there is no ultimate truth, but rather multiple truths.[123] This does not mean that any person is lying. It just means that they highlight certain events more strongly than another person, and in the same narrative places less emphasis on other events. The person constructs the narrative according to how the events and experiences impacted on them.

However, Baker goes on to explain how these narratives are then used and misused by different parties to influence people. Politicians, etc. manipulate people by selecting a few narratives that play into their favour, and then adjusting it so that it supports their campaign or goal. In that sense, translators are also known to use narratives to translate history. According to Salama-Carr, translators use their own narratives of how they evaluate certain contexts and combine it with either the target group narrative or the source group narrative and then translate documents according to the need.[124]

One way of constructing a narrative is by using frames.[125] Again, Baker's frames are not the same as the ones referred to by Plummer. According to her, different people will see situations differently, and will therefore frame it differently. A person in a position of power will frame a situation to promote his/her goals. An oppressed person, on the other hand, will frame the situation in such a way that it elicits sympathy. Baker states that in the frame space, the involved parties are participants in the narrative and they "take different positions in relation to the events".[126] Al-Mohannadi states that people act by their different ideological views and that ideologies are "the basis of social representations shared by the members of a group".[127]

To narrate a story, it should be framed. When translating a certain text, a translator also makes use of narratives and framing and automatically takes part in the narrative and sometimes

[121] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[122] Baker, "Reframing conflict in translation", p. 151.
[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.
[124] M. Salama-Carr, "Introduction", *Social Semiotics* 17(2), 2007, p. 132.
[125] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[126] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[127] S. Al-Mohannadi, "Translation and ideology", *Social Semiotics* 18(4), 2008, p. 530.

constructs a new narrative. The translator becomes part of "the construction of social and political reality".[128] Baker also states that a translator is in a specific community and most likely adheres to the narratives of that community, and particular cultural, political and social aspects will influence their behaviour.[129] Brownlie states that translators are part of cultural movements and that these movements will necessarily affect their translations and it is impossible to stay neutral.[130] By framing a text, the translator establishes a certain interpretation of the specific text, even before the reader has started to read.[131] This then supports Brownlie who states that:

> translation, therefore, which has an activist aspect, which participates in social movements and which is effective in the world at achieving social and political change. Such engagement is associated with conflict and struggle. The reason that translation is political is that it is always partial… a translation is always less and more than its source text, a representation that creates a particular shaping of the source text… a source text from past centuries can be reactivated in translation, and remobilized for specific purposes, creating an image of the past that furthers ideological resistance and political programmes of the present.[132]

[128] *Ibid*., p. 151.
[129] *Ibid*., p. 153.
[130] Brownlie, pp. 137–138.
[131] Baker, *Translation and conflict*, p. 161.
[132] Brownlie, p. 139.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Documents of life

When using documents of life as an approach to investigate an agent in Translation Studies, it is vital to go about the research in a structured manner. Otherwise, the narrative might end up as a jumble of words attempting to write a compelling story. To help the researcher focus their thoughts to structure the narrative writing, Plummer suggests that the research be divided into seven stages: posing problems; planning; doing the fieldwork; managing; analysing and interpreting; presenting; and archiving.[1]

3.2 Posing problems

In history research, it is easy to get side-tracked when you stumble on information that is not relevant but interesting, only to realise later that time has been consumed on irrelevant reading. To prevent unnecessary reading, Plummer advises that the question, "What do you want to know?" should be the basis of identifying the problem of the current research, and then the researcher should take care not to deviate from this concept. In other words, the key is to find a broad theme and narrow it to down to such a point that would allow a valid research problem.[2] The researcher decides exactly what they want to know and then devises methods to reach that goal. Plummer makes it clear that in order to do successful narrative research, you first have to ask the questions and then examine the methods to reach this goal. He also cautions the researcher to plan the research in such a way that the subject's view of their life is mirrored and to conduct the research "about how they see their life unfolding".[3]

It is important to look at the person holistically; then, examine the person in terms of their context,[4] relationship with other people and how the person acts as an agent to make meaning of their place in the situation.[5] It is also very important to place the person in a specific historical context,[6] since "different lives are shaped throughout by different historical baselines and different historical roots".[7]

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[1] K. Plummer, *Documents of life 2: An invitation to a critical humanism*, p. 122.
[2] *Ibid*.
[3] *Ibid*., pp. 122–123.
[4] H. Pleasance, "The essential subject? The very documented life of Myra Hindley" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism*, p. 54.
[5] Plummer, p. 123.
[6] C. Morrow, "Lies and truths: Exploring the lie as a document of life" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism*, p. 29.
[7] Plummer, p. 128.

When first deciding on combining history and Translation Studies in an interdisciplinary study, the question was to find a piece of history that would lend itself to documents of life research. It made sense to take my own country's history, as it forms part of my own context and the information would be easier to access. Therefore, I first planned to take South Africa's entire history and identify several translated documents to analyse. I quickly realised that this would be impossible to do in one study. I then narrowed it down to the Anglo-Boer War. This proved to be too broad as well. The Anglo-Boer War was a complex war between two groups of people, each trying to propagate its own agenda, but involving other people as it progressed. This war was the first war ever where propaganda and photographs were used as methods of warfare[8] and because of this several possible texts were fit for analysis. I had to narrow it down even more. I then came across Hobhouse's speech, which she wrote for the inauguration at the Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein in 1913.

This proved to be a fitting text on which to apply documents of life research, as it also addresses the relevant issues of women's rights and empowerment. In 2013, I attended the centenary celebrations of the Women's Memorial at the monument in Bloemfontein, and it was telling how many people attended the event. They were commemorating "collective memory… where the focus moves beyond individuals and is placed upon the social frameworks of memory".[9] In addition, since the centennial of the monument, quite a number of books and other publications emerged, once again proving the relevancy and popularity of this topic.

3.3 Planning to compose the narrative

The second step is planning, which asks the questions who, how, where, when and what.[10] When deciding who the subject of the research will be, the researcher can either discover someone worth writing about without planning beforehand, or the researcher can work according to a methodical way in order to find the right subject for very specific research.[11] Although most historical subjects are chosen after a chance discovery, this study specifically chose the subject. Plummer gives three different ways in which the researcher can go about finding the right subject. The first method is that of finding "strangers, outsiders or marginal people".[12] A stranger or outsider is not from a specific society, and does not know the culture

[8] N.J. Cull, D. Culbert and D. Welch, *Propaganda and mass persuasion: A historical encyclopedia, 1500 to the present*, pp. 12–13.
[9] Plummer, p. 235.
[10] *Ibid*., p. 134.
[11] *Ibid*., pp. 132–133.
[12] *Ibid*., pp. 134–135.

or context of that society. This person would then develop a certain sensitivity to the target society. The marginal person is almost torn between two "antagonistic societies". They are not entirely part of either society and somehow must find their identity between the two.[13] Both strangers and marginal people are people

> experiencing contrasting expectations as to how he or she should live, the subject becomes aware of the essentially artificial and socially constructed nature of social life – how potentially fragile are the realities that people make for themselves.[14]

The second type of person is someone who has done something to cause other people to admire them and view them as a noteworthy person. Plummer states that greatness is difficult to grasp and identify but that great people are defined by something that has "a much wider bearing on the age in which they live than those of the common man".[15] The last type of person is the common man or woman, an ordinary person who is just part of their society without having done something remarkable or without being rejected from a certain society.

Hobhouse fits into two of these categories, being both a stranger and a great and popular figure in one society, but being marginalised in another. She went to South Africa as a complete stranger and outsider, aiming to help people in their need, but not to become part of their society. Her goal was to help people from another society without giving up her own society and identity. Her actions caused estrangement in England and, as a result, she was marginalised in her own society. Still being part of the English society, and acting on its behalf without their approval, she was also taken up in the Afrikaner culture and accepted by the Afrikaners as one of them.[16] For the Afrikaners, she was a great woman, and looking at what she achieved both in South Africa and in England, she should also be evaluated as someone who had "a wider bearing on the age she lived in".[17]

3.4 Data collection

The actual gathering of the data etc. is the third stage and managing the load of data the fourth.[18] In these two stages, Plummer encourages the researcher to stay curious, listen carefully and always remember that the subject is an active participant in the narrative, and "your task is to think and feel your way into that subject."[19] There are various ways of collecting data for

[13] *Ibid*., p. 134.
[14] *Ibid*.
[15] *Ibid*., p. 135.
[16] H. Blenkinsop, "Forgotten memories? Silence, reason, truth and the carnival" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism,* p. 130.
[17] Plummer, p. 135.
[18] Plummer, pp. 140–144.
[19] *Ibid*., p. 144.

research, which includes writing, interviewing, videoing, recording, observation and collection of archive materials – diaries, photos and artefacts.[20] According to Salter, materials such as these are "social texts", which provide a glimpse of social relationships.[21]

Since Hobhouse died in 1926, and no known films or recordings of her exist, this study makes use of biographies about Hobhouse and archival materials such as diaries, photographs, newspaper articles and other artefacts.[22]

3.4.1 Diaries

According to Plummer, diaries are very valuable, since they were written during the time that the events took place, and not as part of a later memory. Diaries also provide insight into the identity of the subject.[23] They are proof that there is constant investigation into the subject's personality and view of things happening.

> …It would also be naïve to believe that each day's entry is that alone: for at least in sustained diary keeping, the diarist will eventually come to perceive the diary as a whole and to plan a selection of entries according to this plan.[24]

Hobhouse struggled to keep a diary faithfully. For her, it was difficult to think about wasting time writing in a diary, when she could rather have used the time constructively, helping people. Another reason for the small amount of diary entries was that for her, keeping a diary was proof that she was alone: "The human desire for interchange of speech is strong…To sit down and talk to myself in a diary was only to accentuate solitariness, and I invariably shrank from the effort."[25]

However, during her time in South Africa, she was later subject to letter censoring, and thus started to keep a diary of the things she could no longer write to people in England.[26]

3.4.2 Letters

Another valuable life document is a letter. These documents are usually written to people that share a bond with the subject and therefore it is possible that the subject might share some

[20] *Ibid*., p. 140.
[21] A. Salter, "Someone telling something to someone about something? Stories in Olive Schreiner's letters and Nella Last's diary" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism*, p. 103.
[22] Plummer, p. 140. See also chapter 2 and 3 in Plummer.
[23] C. Watson, "Between diary and memoir: Documenting a life in wartime Britain" in L. Stanley (ed.), *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism*, p. 117.
[24] Plummer, p. 49.
[25] R. van Reenen (ed.), *Emily Hobhouse: Boer War letters*, p. 7.
[26] *Ibid*., p. 99.

feelings or issues with the person that would not otherwise be known. Plummer states that a letter is a way of seeing more of the society, and we get "glimpses of the wider social world."[27]

Of all Hobhouse's life documents, letters are probably the most abundant. She also preferred writing letters to keeping a diary: "It had seemed a necessity …to have a human factor – I could only write as if *to*[28] someone. This curious feeling of wanting some sympathetic person to whom to speak with."[29] She continuously wrote letters to various key role players both in her own life and the Anglo-Boer War and other endeavours of which she was part; she used letters to attack, comfort, mediate and communicate.

As the Women's Memorial and Hobhouse have been in the forefront since 2013, Hobhouse's life documents were not too difficult to obtain. Her Anglo-Boer War letters are compiled in a book, *Emily Hobhouse: Boer War Letters*, which was edited by Rykie van Reenen. The book consists of all Hobhouse's letters and was written by Hobhouse after Mrs Steyn asked her to write a memoir of her time in South Africa. Mrs Steyn was a good friend of Hobhouse, wife of the president of the Orange Free State before the war, and key role player in the Afrikaners' perseverance during the war and after. Hobhouse wrote this memoir in the form of a letter to Mrs Steyn.[30]

Another valuable source was a book written by a family member of Hobhouse, Jennifer Hobhouse Balme. Her book, *To love one's enemies*, also uses various letters to weave a story, and contains letters and other official documents from more than just the Anglo-Boer War. Hobhouse Balme possesses several of Hobhouse's notebooks, letters and other valuables. Elsabé Brits, a specialist journalist in South Africa, who also recently published a book about Hobhouse, *Emily Hobhouse: Beloved Traitor*,[31] visited Balme and had the privilege of viewing all these treasures. Brits was very helpful and kindly shared the information she obtained, which included several invaluable primary sources, including unpublished letters.

I also visited the Free State Provincial Archive, the University of the Free State's Africana Collection and the Archive for Contemporary Affairs, all based in Bloemfontein. In addition, I scrutinised various other archives and biographies to find as many of Hobhouse's letters as possible.

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[27] Plummer, pp. 53–54.
[28] Italics added by Hobhouse herself.
[29] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 7.
[30] *Ibid*.
[31] This book was published in 2017 by NB Publishers. The Afrikaans version, *Emily Hobhouse: Geliefde Verraaier* was published in 2016 by Tafelberg Publishers.

However, the volume of data was not the real issue concerning letters. Ponsonby states that letters have "two parents" and that it is extremely important to keep account of both the writer and the recipient of each letter.[32] Here, Plummer states that "every letter speaks not just of the writer's world, but also of the writer's perceptions of the recipient… the social scientist should then view a letter as an interactive product, always enquiring into the recipient's role."[33] When reading Hobhouse's letters, I had to make sure who the recipient of each letter was and what kind of relationship she had with each recipient. Hobhouse would have agreed, as she felt that, "the value of a message is relative to the condition of the recipient."[34] This also influenced the evaluation of the contents of each letter.

Most of Hobhouse's letters were written to close friends and family, especially her aunt Mary, Lady Courtney, her brother, Leonard Hobhouse and his wife, Nora Hobhouse. Mrs Steyn and Jan Smuts were two of her faithful South African correspondents. Although she regularly wrote to other people as well, most of her letters were addressed to the abovementioned people. Some of her letters took on a more formal tone when she wrote to the British government and its officials, including the army. In her memoir to Mrs Steyn, Hobhouse states that she heavily relied on letters, because her memory sometimes proved to be inaccurate. The letters "too, may err, but at least they record impressions and opinions accepted and acted upon at the moment".[35]

3.4.3 Auto/biographies

Biographies and autobiographies also provide valuable insight into a person's life. This genre of writing does research on a real person and writes their story in such a way that it reads like a novel.[36] About biographies and autobiographies, Plummer states, "there is clearly no firm boundary to this style of work except that it manages to weave a literary (and literate!) tale around detailed research and analysis of a real-life event".[37]

Various biographies of Hobhouse have been published and I made a point of consulting as many of these biographies as possible in order to see if they all agree on the most important issues in Hobhouse's life, and to determine if any of them have some information that the others did not include. With all documents of life, but especially biographies, it is important to constantly compare its content to the information about the same situations presented in other

[32] Plummer, p. 54.
[33] *Ibid*., p. 54.
[34] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 154. Hobhouse wrote her memoir in the form of a letter to Tibbie Steyn.
[35] *Ibid*., p. 7.
[36] Plummer, p. 56.
[37] *Ibid*.

sources, as some biographers or even the autobiographer might include information or interpret events in a person's life according to their own set of ideologies. Hobhouse herself stated, "It is instinctive and almost unconscious to try and make the best of oneself. It is like putting on one's best clothes to appear in company."[38]

Something that is noteworthy is Hobhouse's unpublished autobiography, which also contains several letters, newspaper clippings and some of her diary entries. This she all combined and added notes in order to compile the autobiography. For some reason it was never published; however, the original copy is still kept at the Free State Provincial Archive and comparing its contents to other biographies gives insight into Hobhouse and how other people viewed her.

3.4.4 Possessions

Although possessions are not necessarily a document that can be studied, Plummer suggests that a great amount of insight can be gained about a person by looking at their possessions and which ones they treasure.[39]

Although Hobhouse was constantly moving from place to place, she owned several properties in her life, and although no mention is made of specific possessions, several biographers mention the house that the South African people sponsored for her in her old age.[40] This shows that Hobhouse valued the house, but that she also had a close connection with the South African people. Mrs Steyn and Jan Smuts both remained close friends of Hobhouse until her death in 1926. In addition, she received elaborate South African care packages.[41] This she also treasured as a testimony of gratitude from South Africans.

3.4.5 Photographs

Plummer suggests photographs as another medium of life document and states that the most important use for photographs is that it illustrates text.[42] Interestingly, during the Anglo-Boer War, photographs were used as propaganda on both the Boer and English sides.[43] In addition, Hobhouse used a very specific photograph of a young girl, Lizzie van Zyl, in her plea to the British government and to make the English people aware of the circumstances in the camps.[44]

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[38] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 8.
[39] Plummer, p. 57.
[40] E. Truter, *Rachel Isabella Steyn 1905–1955*, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid*., p. 119.
[42] Plummer, p. 59.
[43] Cull, Culbert and Welch, pp. 12–13.
[44] E. Hobhouse, *Die smarte van die oorlog*, pp. 262–266. Hobhouse wrote the original book in English. N.J. van der Merwe translated it to Afrikaans in 1923.

The picture portrays the young emaciated girl lying on a bed just before her death. This photo sparked the British media's attention and became quite controversial, and Hobhouse proved her point.[45] She wanted people to see the circumstances and felt that mere words fell on deaf ears. Getting a glimpse of what she was constantly confronted with in the camps served as a wake-up call to many people and eventually sparked the government into action.[46]

Plummer also mentions major life history statements, newspaper articles and third person reports as additional personal documents, all of which are valuable resources to aid in the construction of Hobhouse's life story or narrative.[47]

3.5 Analysis and interpretation

When analysing the data, it is important to make sure that bias in life stories are managed during the course of the research process. It is impossible to rule out bias completely.[48] As Laurel Richardson remarks, "No textual staging is ever innocent. We are always inscribing values in our writing. It is unavoidable."[49] Firstly, the bias might be from the subject, who might lie or twist facts. On the other hand, the researcher might "hold prejudices and assumptions" beforehand and then conduct the research according to that.[50] Plummer emphasises constantly comparing the written narrative with authoritative records in order to stay truthful and not dwindle off into a fantasy. He cautions the researcher to make sure they stay truthful by using what he calls "validity checks".[51] These checks include comparing the narrative with other similar sources, official records and other informants.[52]

In order to make sure my own or another person's bias is managed during this research, it was important to make sure that I consult a wide variety of sources. I made sure that I read accounts from both English and Afrikaner perspectives. If I only read accounts of women in camps, I would have been biased. I also ensured that when I consulted newspaper archives, I read both imperialist as well as pro-Boer newspapers. This allowed me to see the situation from different perspectives.

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[45] *Ibid*., pp. 265–266: Speech by J. Chamberlain, claiming that the picture was taken by doctors to prove that Lizzie's mother abused her. Hobhouse claimed that the picture was taken by a Mr de Klerk to show the horrors of the camps.
[46] *Ibid*., p. 266.
[47] Plummer, p. 105.
[48] Pleasance, p. 55.
[49] L. Richardson, *Writing strategies: Reaching diverse audiences,* p. 12.
[50] Plummer, p. 156; Morrow, p. 29.
[51] *Ibid*., pp. 157–158.
[52] *Ibid*., p. 158.

3.6 Writing the narrative

Writing the narrative is what the entire research process up to this point builds up to. Plummer states that "writing no longer 'merely' captures reality, it 'helps construct it'."[53] He also advises that to construct a narrative, it is important to keep several issues in mind.[54] The researcher must know who their audience will be. It is important to know and keep in mind that this study is not to be read like fiction and should rather be read like a "scholarly biography".[55] However, it is also important that the whole idea of writing a narrative is to capture the reader's attention and allow the reader to see who the subject really was. The question of intrusion, interpretation and voice is also important to consider.[56] When using documents of life, the researcher should balance the amount of material from the subject they use versus the amount of their own words that are used. This creates a relationship between the researcher and the subject and therefore also links the agent to the audience. In order to ensure that this relationship is balanced, Plummer advises to find out how the subject processed information, how they structured thoughts and expressed opinions.[57] The researcher must get to know the subject's words and then interpret it in such a way to construct a new and fresh view of that person's life.

Another issue to keep in mind is that of intertextuality, which describes how the researcher uses other texts in their text in order to create a unique narrative.[58] This study is an interdisciplinary study between translation and history. The challenge with such a study is that it should be completely acceptable as a translation study, but just as much as a piece of sound history research. This implies that certain adjustments should be made to find the perfect harmony between these two disciplines. Several technicalities should therefore be considered. When writing a translation study, the researcher would usually use the Harvard method as a reference style. However, history studies make use of the Chicago method and thus use footnotes. Since this study compiles a narrative, using in-text referencing would distract from the text and would prevent it from being read as a story. Furthermore, footnotes provide an extra opportunity to elaborate on issues that do not necessarily belong in the text itself, but are still important.

[53] *Ibid*., p. 171.
[54] *Ibid*., pp. 172–173.
[55] *Ibid*., p. 174.
[56] *Ibid*., p. 176. See also Plummer, Chapter 6.
[57] *Ibid*., p. 177.
[58] *Ibid*., p. 172.

Intertextuality also addresses "textual poaching".[59] This study specifically uses Hobhouse's documents of life and is built on how these documents constructed the image she had of her life and other people around her. Likewise, it describes how other people viewed her. This means that a certain amount of quoting other sources would be necessary. It is important, however, to find the right balance, so as not to poach another author's work.

This study will construct a narrative of Hobhouse by referring to letters, diaries, photographs, newspaper articles, biographies and other sources to see how, and if, the events leading to the writing of these documents might have influenced her to make several choices in writing the speech. A timeline indicating important events in her life will be constructed based on the different documents of life and other sources I have consulted. This timeline will also indicate major world and Anglo-Boer War events that might have influenced and played an important role in both Hobhouse's life and the writing of the speech. Plummer also advises using a timeline to structure the events:

> a life occurs within a definite historical time span. A line of key world events can be drawn which situates a life firmly within its specific cultural history… take the researcher into an important awareness of historical time – and how different lives are shaped throughout by different historical baselines and different historical roots… Shared generational and historical experiences come to play a key role in a life history approach.[60]

3.7 Research design

By using documents of life, this study will connect history and Translation Studies and construct a narrative using personal and other documents, as well as a variety of other sources to determine influences on the translation of Hobhouse's speech. Instead of referring to only the big events in her life, this study aims to look closer to personal things that might have influenced these big events, and which might have encouraged or influenced Hobhouse to act or react in specific and telling ways.

I will divide Hobhouse's life into several themes, or frames, by taking the "wider social frame" and identifying Hobhouse's role in that frame, and by elaborating on her life. Plummer describes elaboration as "the extent the researcher fills out the frame in considerable detail, rather than merely using it as an analytic device for two or three pages and then ignoring it".[61] This means that the essence of the study relies on the elaboration and how it is done. It depends on the manner of elaboration and whether it can be connected to the speech and its translation.

[59] *Ibid*.
[60] *Ibid*., p. 128.
[61] *Ibid*., p. 191.

Plummer suggests four guidelines[62] and necessary traits that are vital for a successful life story and its elaboration. First, he states that a life story should have order and that "we cannot comprehend timelessness". Secondly, there must be "sense of a person behind the text…" This means that a narrative must have a sense of structure and predictability instead of being a jumble of words and ideas thrown together. Thirdly, he states that the narrator, or person telling the story, "should be identifiable." Fourthly, there must be a motivation for the actions portrayed in the narrative. Something cannot just happen without "a sense of causality". Here, causality implies that the researcher cannot stand cold to the research and the person being researched. In other words, just like the subject acts and reacts to things that happen, the researcher also acts and reacts based on certain motivations. By getting to know the subject, the researcher comes to the research with an individual set of motivations; the involvement plays a role in the final product of the study. Just like the translator, the researcher can never be completely objective to what is being researched. In order to really understand and appreciate the subject's life story, it is important to get a glimpse of the researcher and their involvement as well.[63] Narrative research is impossible without personal involvement from the researcher.[64]

The researcher should also make sure that they write truthfully and that whatever is written is as honest as possible in order to construct a life story that not only represents the subject fairly, but also focuses on the researcher and their views regarding the subject and the various connected issues.[65] However, just being honest and jotting down a few facts that are true, does not make it a narrative. The researcher must now take the truths and construct them in such a way to take the reader deeper into a new understanding of the subject: "The aim is to gain enhanced understanding from the story."[66] However, in synchronisation with realism and honesty, the researcher must also ensure that the life story is not a lifeless piece of writing.

By using the background provided by autobiographies, letters, diaries, newspaper articles and other people's views of Hobhouse, it will be possible to examine and get to know Hobhouse as a human agent and to see how she saw other human beings as part of her life. The study will then be able to evaluate Hobhouse in her particular context using life documents, as well as analyse her speech at the inauguration of the Women's Memorial in 1913 and see if these

[62] *Ibid*., p. 196.
[63] *Ibid*., p. 208.
[64] *Ibid*., p. 213.
[65] *Ibid*., p. 218.
[66] *Ibid*., pp. 238–241.

documents of life show influences on the speech's writing and translation. The study will then also attempt to show how these documents have not only shaped Hobhouse's life in certain ways, but how it has also influenced the way she chose to write certain documents, especially the 1913 speech.

Hobhouse addressed several themes or frames in the speech, and this study will use these themes as a framework to guide the narrative and link them to specific events in her life. Using the timeline will aid in the linking, as it parallels Hobhouse's life with worldwide and specific South African events. The narrative of Hobhouse's life would then give the reader a glimpse of Hobhouse and how she viewed her own life. Then, by using this narrative, it would be possible to examine her different translation choices. The speech and its translation pose several questions and point to some crucial translation choices that Hobhouse made leading to the translation, and checking and managing the translation. Whether she planned it or not, Hobhouse became an agent of translation in the South African context.

Although she did not translate the speech herself, she made choices that influenced the translation. These choices were in turn motivated by the notion of patronage, and in the case of this study, double patronage from President Steyn to her, and then from her (Hobhouse) to Metelerkamp.

The speech and its translation are divided into different themes or frames, and the narrative is therefore also constructed according to these frames. To identify the frames, I have consulted various other sources that have previously divided the speech into several themes.[67] Based on these themes, I have read all the life documents of Hobhouse I could find and through these documents, I could then adhere to some of the previous themes identified. However, in my own investigation, I have adapted some of the themes by combining, and adding or omitting certain components as my research pointed it out as more fitting.

As previously mentioned, the narrative is also structured according to each frame, which means that the narrative will not be chronologically structured. Instead, the story is divided into the frames, but within each frame, it follows a chronological sequence, for example,

Sacrifice

- Childhood years
- Time in America

[67] Beste Emily – skryfkompetisie, "Emily Hobhouse se toespraak", <http://www.cumlaudemedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Emily-Hobhouse-Toespraak.pdf>, accessed on 10.10.2014.

- Time in England before leaving for South Africa
- First visit in South Africa
- Return to England to spread information about the situation in the concentration camps
- Attempt to return to South Africa, ending in her deportation to England
- Second visit to South Africa to tour country after the war
- Third visit to South Africa for the weaving schools
- Last visit for the inauguration of the Women's Memorial

The following frames then follow the same sequence, each one starting from her childhood years to Hobhouse's last visit to South Africa. The sequence of the frames is structured as sacrifice, human rights, forgiveness and reconciliation, and lastly, power and identity. Sacrifice is placed first, as this frame is a broad theme in Hobhouse's life. Following sacrifice is human rights as this is a cause that consumed most of Hobhouse's time and is also the driving force behind most of her actions. Following human rights is the theme of forgiveness and reconciliation. Forgiveness and reconciliation is placed specifically after human rights to show that forgiveness and reconciliation was necessary after human rights were violated according to Hobhouse. Power and identity is last, as this theme connects most to the chapter of text analysis. Power and identity is also important as it forms the basis of any action and without identity at the baseline, none of the above themes would be possible.

In some instances, it might seem that some of the information in the frame chapters overlap and is repeated. The goal is to structure each frame chapter in such a way that it can function as a separate unit, but at the same time fit in with the other frames in order to form part of the overall dissertation.

By first analysing the original speech as source text and composing a narrative based on the frames in the speech, the reader can get a glimpse of who Hobhouse was and how certain events shaped her. Then, it can be easier to analyse her translation choices in the target text. Based on the narrative, it then also becomes clear why she specifically chose Metelerkamp to do the translation and how Metelerkamp's choices are linked to Hobhouse's choices.

CHAPTER 4
THE ANGLO-BOER WAR AS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

4.1 Background

To understand the real impact and events of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), it is important to analyse the war in terms of the global context.[1] Although South Africa's history is too long and intricate to summarise entirely, this chapter aims to discuss the interesting but strained relationship between Britain and the Afrikaners, and how this animosity culminated in the Anglo-Boer War.

A constant struggle existed between various global empires to expand their territories. Africa was not excluded, and these empires greedily grasped for various strategic locations on this continent. The first of these great nations to get a foothold in Southern Africa, was the Netherlands by means of the Dutch East India Company.[2] For this trading company, the only interest in the Cape was that it was an ideal halfway stop where the traders could get fresh produce and recover from scurvy, etc.[3] The climate was harsh, and there was no staple produce that traders wanted to exploit.[4]

It was only in 1652 that Jan van Riebeeck established a halfway station, which was governed by the Dutch East India Company.[5] However, the French Revolution caused chaos in the Netherlands, which also affected the Cape. The Prince of Orange asked Britain to protect the Cape Colony against French occupation,[6] resulting in the first British occupation of the Cape in 1795.[7] Britain's occupation of the Cape was closely linked to the Napoleonic Wars.[8] In 1803, Britatin returned the Cape back to the Netherlands,[9] only to reoccupy it again in 1806.[10] When the Napoleonic Wars ended, Britain wanted to retain the Cape as it was of strategic value and

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[1] A. Wessels, *The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902: White man's war, black man's war, traumatic war,* p. 20.
[2] W.J. de Kock, "Ontdekkers en omseilers van die Kaap" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, p. 16; J. de Villiers, "The Dutch era at the Cape: 1652–1806" in F. Pretorius (ed.), *A history of South Africa: From the distant past to the present day*, p. 42.
[3] H. Giliomee, "In goeie geselskap" in H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga (eds), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 40; De Kock, "Ontdekkers en omseilers van die Kaap", p. 15.
[4] Giliomee, "In goeie geselskap", p. 41; De Kock, "Ontdekkers en omseilers van die Kaap", pp. 17–18.
[5] Giliomee, "In goeie geselskap", p. 42; A.J. Boeseken, "Die koms van die blankes onder Van Riebeeck" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* p. 21.
[6] De Villiers, "The Dutch era at the Cape", pp. 65–66.
[7] H. Giliomee, "Tye verander" in H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga (eds), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 79.
[8] J. de Villiers, "Cape colonial society under British rule: 1806–1834" in F. Pretorius (ed.), *A history of South Africa: From the distant past to the present day*, p. 79.
[9] *Ibid*.
[10] H. Giliomee, "Hutspot van botsings" in H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga (eds), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 82; M.C. van Zyl, "Oorgang: 1795–1806" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, pp. 104–119; De Villiers, "The Dutch era at the Cape", pp. 66–67; De Villiers, "Cape colonial society", pp. 80–104.

therefore vital to keep from other empires.[11] To further consolidate their position in the colony, Britain implemented several measures such as proclaiming English as the official language and prohibiting slave trade.[12]

Not everyone in the Cape was satisfied with the British rule and local Dutch/Afrikaners felt that the British government wanted to govern them in the same way that England was governed. In addition, the situation on the Cape's eastern frontier deteriorated, forcing the British to implement several strict measures concerning slave trade and regulate the constant struggle between the border farmers and the indigenous tribes. However, these measures miserably failed due to the damage done by British patrols and merchants scheming to procure more land.[13]

The Afrikaners felt insecure and decided to search for better living conditions.[14] Piet Retief explained their move, not as a group of people who foolishly wanted to escape law and order, but rather as people who yearned for land and freedom and, not finding it in their current situations, deciding to find it elsewhere.[15] However, in the course of the Great Trek northwards, they were soon caught in various struggles with several of the local tribes,[16] and with each other.[17] The following years were riddled with conflicts between tribal and racial groups,[18] and in the Cape Colony, self-enrichment was often a motivating factor in crucial decisions the British government made.[19]

In 1847, Sir Harry Smith was appointed governor of the Cape Colony, and without consulting the British government, he started to expand British territory.[20] Although the British government in London did not support his methods, [21] they encouraged British settlers to move inland and procure land. There was no prohibition as to how much land could be owned when

[11] Giliomee, "Tye verander", p. 80; C.R. Kotze, "'n Nuwe bewind" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, pp. 120–122; De Villiers, "Cape colonial society", p. 80.
[12] De Villiers, "Cape colonial society", p. 89; Kotze, "Nuwe bewind", pp. 142–143.
[13] H. Giliomee, "Onstabiele grondgebied" in H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga (eds), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika* p. 107; Kotze, "Nuwe bewind", pp. 143–148; C. Venter, *Die Groot Trek*, p. 16; De Villiers, "Cape colonial society", pp. 92–101.
[14] Giliomee, "Onstabiele grondgebied", p. 148; C.F.J. Muller, "Die Groot Trek-tydperk" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, p. 155; C. Sandys, *Churchill: Wanted dead or alive*, p. *xxvi*.
[15] Muller, p. 163: Piet Retief's Manifesto of 2 February 1837; Venter, p. 20.
[16] H. Giliomee, "'n Groot Trek" in H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga (eds), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 115.
[17] *Ibid*.; Muller, p. 164.
[18] J. Visagie, "The emigration of the Voortrekkers into the interior" in F. Pretorius (ed.), A *history of South Africa: From the distant past to the present day*, pp. 142–149.
[19] Venter, pp.53–58.
[20] A. Manson, B. Mbenga and J. Peires, "Die ontstaan van die liberale Kaap" in H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga (eds), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 140.
[21] *Ibid*.

obtained through imperial connections,[22] and thus, without considering the people living there, Harry Smith annexed the Trans-Gariep (Orange Free State).[23]

This arrangement did not last long, and because people became afraid of Moshoeshoe (the BaSotho king), they abandoned the land. In 1854, it was given to the Afrikaners with the Bloemfontein Convention[24] and they renamed it the Orange Free State.[25] A large number of British settlers who gave up land in the Orange Free State went to Natal, which by then had already been established as a British colony.[26]

In the Transvaal, the people were also not without challenges. The Voortrekkers struggled to agree on many issues and were involved in constant skirmishes with local tribes. However, by 1850, Britain had lost interest in the Transvaal, and not wanting their image to be marred by greedy traders and speculaters who wanted to obtain some of the land, granted self-governance to the Transvaal in 1852 with the Sand River Convention.[27] However, the Transvaal, in due course known as the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR), struggled with economic and other problems.[28]

In 1867, diamonds were discovered at Hopetown and in Kimberley, and with devious scheming, Kimberley was included in the Cape Colony, instead of being part of the Orange Free State.[29] The discovery of diamonds made it clear that South Africa had rich mineral deposits, and Britain, who was initially only interested in the coastal areas, changed their minds and shifted their attention inland.[30]

In 1875, Lord Carnarvon wanted to unite all the nations in South Africa as a single British colony and devised plans to annex the ZAR in 1877.[31] Paul Kruger and others led a military rebellion against British rule in 1880–1881 and without much effort, regained limited

[22] A. Manson, B. Mbenga and J. Peires, "Koloniale uitbreiding na die binneland van Suid-Afrika" in H. Giliomee and B. Mbanga (eds), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 143.
[23] *Ibid*., pp. 62–66.
[24] Visagie, pp. 151–152.
[25] Manson, Mbenga and Peires, "Koloniale uitbreiding", pp. 144–145.
[26] *Ibid*., pp. 148.
[27] Muller, p. 181; J.S. du Plessis, "Die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, p. 260; Visagie, p.151.
[28] Du Plessis, "Die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek", p. 260; F. Pretorius, "Everyone's war: The Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902)" in F. Pretorius (ed.), *A history of South Africa: From the distant past to the present day*, p. 239.
[29] A. Manson, B. Mbenga and J. Peires, "Diamante en daarna" in H. Giliomee and B. Mbanga (eds), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 159; T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. 118.
[30] Manson, Mbenga and Peires, "Diamante", p. 163.
[31] Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 239; Manson, Mbenga and Peires, "Diamante", p. 164; Du Plessis, "Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek", p. 272; Pakenham, p. 18.

independence.[32] Britain was on the verge of accepting that the ZAR would never be part of the British Empire, but then in 1886, gold was discovered and the ZAR became a prosperous country.[33] Cecil John Rhodes renewed the possibility of an expanded British Empire, and his vision included the ZAR and its gold.[34]

Being unsuccessful in forcing this small nation to become a British colony, he deviously invented the "Uitlandergriewe". The "Uitlanders" (foreigners) were English (and other) people searching for gold in the ZAR. Paul Kruger, president of the ZAR, was concerned that they might jeopardise the ZAR government, and introduced legislation, stating that these people could only qualify for citizenship after 14 years.[35] Most of them were not interested in ZAR citizenship,[36] but Rhodes used it as an opportunity to interfere. With Lord Salisbury and Joseph Chamberlain of the British government, he organised the Jameson Raid in 1895.[37] The plan was that the "Uitlanders" stage a riot in Johannesburg, and that Jameson and his army would then rush in to rescue them from their oppressors. The raid was a dismal failure,[38] but it was part of the build-up leading to the Anglo-Boer War.[39]

In 1899, President Steyn and W.P. Schreiner, Cape Colony prime minister, arranged a conciliatory meeting between Paul Kruger and Alfred Milner, High Commissioner for South Africa.[40] Like Rhodes, Milner envisioned the ZAR being part of the British Empire, and regardless of the outcome of the Bloemfontein Conference, he would have found a way to start a war with Kruger,[41] for there was "no way out of the political troubles of South Africa except

[32] Du Plessis, "Die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek", pp. 278–279; J. Grobler, "State formation and strife: 1850–1900" in F. Pretorius (ed.), A *history of South Africa: From the distant past to the present day*, pp. 176–179; Pakenham, p. 19.
[33] J. Fisher, *That Miss Hobhouse: The life of a great feminist*, p. 60.
[34] Sandys, p. *xxvii*; P.L. Scholtz, "Die Kaapkolonie: 1853–1902" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* pp. 278–279; Du Plessis, "Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek", p. 295.
[35] F. Pretorius, *Die Anglo-Boereoorlog*, p. 7; Du Plessis, "Die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek", pp. 291–297; Pretorius, "Everyone's war", pp. 239–240.
[36] Pakenham, p. 20. Pakenham states that most miners in the Transvaal were Afrikaners, Germans, Frenchmen and Americans and that, although they were not entirely satisfied with their political position, had no intention of making trouble because they were earning enough money.
[37] Scholtz, "Die Kaapkolonie", pp. 278–279; Du Plessis, "Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek", p. 297; Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 240.
[38] Du Plessis, "Die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek", pp. 297–298; Pakenham, p. 22. Not only did the Uitlanders not take part in the riot, but the Cape Afrikaners were also disillusioned by Rhodes and therefore the Cape colonial nationalism that he aimed for, also failed.
[39] Pakenham, p. 9; Pretorius, *Anglo-Boereoorlog,* p. 9; Grobler, pp. 183–184.
[40] Scholtz, "Die Kaapkolonie", p. 195; M.C.E. van Schoor, "Die Oranje-Vrystaat" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* p. 258; M.C. Van Zyl, "State en kolonies in Suid-Afrika 1854–1902" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis,* p. 332; Pakenham, pp. 12, 22; Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 241.
[41] Pakenham, pp. 14, 23, 64; Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 240.

reform in the Transvaal or war".[42]

4.2 Anglo-Boer War

4.2.1 Events of the war

As with the rest of South Africa's history, The Anglo-Boer War has to be seen against the background of events in the rest of the world. According to Wessels, this war should be viewed "in context of European interest in Africa, [and the] race to secure colonies, Britain's colonisation of large parts of Africa".[43] The war was about a struggle between British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism and should therefore be viewed as such.[44]

When Paul Kruger issued the ultimatum to Britain on October 1899, he did not do so without careful and thorough contemplation and consultation. Since the Free State made a pact with the ZAR,[45] stating that the Orange Free State and the ZAR would help each other whenever their independence was at risk,[46] President Steyn was one of the people Kruger consulted. President Steyn wanted to prevent the war, but stated that it was important that the two nations work together and help each other, even if it cost them their independence. [47] Consequently, on 9 October 1899, after the failed Bloemfontein Conference, Kruger issued the ultimatum to Milner, stating that if the British did not withdraw their troops from the ZAR border and refrain from sending more troops to South Africa, they would be in a state of war.[48]

The ultimatum provided an easy excuse for Milner as Kruger was now portrayed as the aggressor. The British simply rejected the ultimatum and on 11 October 1899, the ZAR and the Orange Free State were at war with Britain.[49]

From the onset of the war, the Boer cause seemed doomed. The two small republics had several disadvantages. Although the Boer army was quick to be deployed, they were mostly untrained locals with no previous experience of structured combat used by the British.[50] Very young boys and elderly men were included in commandos.[51]

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[42] J.W. Muller (ed.), *Churchill as peacemaker*, p. 124; Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 241.
[43] *Ibid*.
[44] *Ibid*.
[45] Van Schoor, "Oranje-Vrystaat", pp. 255, 257, 259; Pakenham, pp. 40–41; Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 240.
[46] Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 240.
[47] M. van Bart, "Voorwoord" in M. van Bart (ed.), *Die Nasionale Vrouemonument*, p. 10.
[48] F. Pretorius, "The Anglo-Boer War: An overview" in F. Pretorius (ed.), *Scorched earth*, p. 11; Pretorius, *Anglo-Boereoorlog*, p. 9; Du Plessis, "Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek", p. 302; Wessels, p. 21; W.J. de Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog, 1899–1902" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, p. 334; Scholtz, "Die Kaapkolonie", p. 195.
[49] Du Plessis, "Die Suid-Afrikaanse Republiek", p. 302.
[50] De Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog", p. 334.
[51] *Ibid*., p. 336.

However, while the Boers were ill-equipped for the coming war, the British were overconfident, and made several serious mistakes. The war soon turned out to be more complicated and costly than Britain thought it would be. Even before the war, the British Army was handicapped by poor administration, internal strife and a shortage of manpower due to financial constraints.[52] Furthermore, the British did not quite expect that the war would last that long. They underestimated the Boers' combat skills and could not adapt easily to local conditions.[53] The Boers had home-ground advantage and knew the climate and terrain intimately. They were also very skilled mounted cavalry and were not confined to the prescribed structured methods of the British. In contrast, the British Army still followed rigid formations and used outdated infantry methods.[54] The Boers had another unexpected advantage. The Jameson Raid gave them new nationalist solidarity among each other and they were willing to fight for this unity.[55]

Moreover, the Jameson Raid proved to President Kruger that his country's military resources were not up to date. Before the outbreak of the war, he acquired much-needed military equipment, forming the Boers into a "real [albeit still small] military power".[56]

On 31 October, General Redvers Buller arrived in South Africa, assuming command of the British army. Like most of Britain, Buller thought that the war would be quick and straightforward and that it would be over by Christmas that same year.[57] The Boers surprised the British soldiers and Buller soon realised that it would not be that simple. In particular, he became flustered by what became known as Black Week, when the British army suffered enormous defeats in the three battles of Stormberg, Magersfontein and Colenso (December 1899).[58]

The consequences of this week were disastrous, and across the British Empire, the British government had to answer questions regarding the war. [59] Britain, the greatest empire at that time, had deployed the biggest army in the country's history to suppress two very small and insignificant countries. Buller was the scapegoat and the government decided to replace him.[60]

[52] Pakenham, p. 73.
[53] Wessels, p. 22; Fisher, p. 72.
[54] De Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog", pp. 336–337.
[55] Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 239.
[56] Pakenham, p. 41.
[57] *Ibid*., p. 572.
[58] De Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog", p. 342.
[59] Pakenham, p. 247.
[60] Wessels, pp. 42–43; Fisher, p. 73; Pakenham, p. 241.

At his own request, Field-Marshal Lord Roberts was sent to replace Buller. In February 1900, Roberts launched the great flank march from the Cape via Paardeberg and Bloemfontein to Pretoria. In due course Roberts applied ruthless strategies and the Boers' shortcomings were exposed.[61] On 13 March 1900, Roberts occupied Bloemfontein and by 28 May, the Orange River Free State was annexed and renamed Orange River Colony. On 31 May, Roberts marched into Johannesburg, and five days later he entered Pretoria.[62]

Roberts assumed that by occupying the capitals of the two republics, he had won the war. When it became clear that this was not the case, he needed tougher measures to force the Boers to surrender. His scorched earth policy, proclaimed on 16 June 1900, was the result.[63] On 1 September 1900, the ZAR was declared a British colony, but this did not stop the Boers. By this time, the Boers had already resorted to guerrilla warfare.[64] Roberts did not expect this and did not know how to handle it. He felt that he had done his job when he annexed the ZAR. On 29 November, he handed the position of Commander-in-Chief to Lord Kitchener, his Chief of Staff, to wrap up the last phase of the war.[65]

After Kitchener's success in the Sudan, he was the ideal candidate for this job. He was ruthless and eager to conclude the war as quickly as possible. Like Roberts, he had bigger ideals than fighting and winning South Africa for the British Empire. His objective was to become Commander-in-Chief in India, but the Boers stood in his way.[66] According to Pakenham, the Boers' guerrilla style vexed him.[67] He quickly realised that the war was dragging on and that the Boers had no intention of surrendering. In December 1900, he increased the burning of farms as instituted by Roberts. This in turn, increased the influx of the white and black women and children refugees, causing new problems for Kitchener. The refugee (concentration) camps that Roberts introduced were the solution. Thousands of women and children were moved to these camps after their houses were burnt down.

Trusting that his newer and stricter measures were paying off, Kitchener, in February 1901, issued an invitation of peace negotiations, but the Boers were not willing to accept the British peace proposals. Kitchener then implemented even more serious measures by erecting blockhouses and launching drives between these blockhouses in an attempt to catch and destroy

[61] Wessels, p. 43; B. Roberts, *Those bloody women: Three heroines of the Boer War*, p. 86.
[62] Wessels, p. 55.
[63] Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 249.
[64] *Ibid*., p. 245.
[65] Pakenham, p. 580; De Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog", p. 351.
[66] Pakenham, p. 492; Roberts, p. 254.
[67] Pakenham, p. 493.

the Boer commandos. Although the Boers' freedom of movement was restricted, they were still not defeated. [68]

Meanwhile, the situation in the camps continued to deteriorate. This forced the Boer leaders to serious introspection, and for the sake of the women and children in the camps, they decided to enter peace negotiations with Kitchener. On 15–18 May 1902, the Boer leaders had their first meeting at Vereeniging and on 31 May 1902, they signed the surrender terms at Pretoria. The war was over, and Kitchener had another military success. The controversial concentration camps rested on Kitchener's shoulders for years. People did not remember his successes in the war, but rather the way he treated white and black civilians.[69]

4.2.2 Scorched earth and the concentration camps

The term concentration camp is often misunderstood, and is also an emotionally loaded term. Throughout the British imperialist history, similar camps were used, but named differently. In South Africa, Roberts first called it refugee camps, referring to many women and children who had no place to stay after their homes were burnt down by the British Army. Later, women and children were forced into these camps by the British soldiers. This implied that the name refugee camp was not applicable any longer. People then started calling it concentration camps. Although this name is still used most commonly, it should not be confused with the concentration camps for Jews in World War II. The South African concentration camps were terrible camps, but their aim was not to exterminate the inhabitants, although the British have often been accused of it.[70]

When Roberts arrived in South Africa, it was with the single purpose of rectifying Buller's blunders and ending a war that was dragging on. He did not waste any time implementing changes.[71] Roberts became frustrated when he realised that these measures had little effect on the Boers' fighting spirit and that they had no intention of surrendering, despite the fact that he had occupied Bloemfontein and Pretoria.[72] True to his nature, Roberts reacted emotionally, and

[68] Wessels, pp. 77–80.
[69] Pakenham, pp. xvii, 495.
[70] Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 250.
[71] Reid-Ross, L. *Scorced earth: A documentary which crushes all preconceived ideas about the Anglo-Boer War.* Film documentary.

[72] *Ibid*.

resorted to even more stringent measures by implementing the scorched earth policy on 16 June 1900.[73]

Initially, he only proclaimed that farmsteads within a mile (1.6 km) from sabotaged railways were to be burned. Later, Roberts enlarged these perimeters to a radius of 10 miles (16 km) and farms were to be burned down and cleared of everything, including stock, crops, etc.[74] By the end of the war, approximately 30 000 farms were burned down.[75]

Due to this reckless burning of farms, thousands of women and children were left destitute and somehow the British government had to address their needs. At first, Roberts wanted to send these women and children to the commandos, but the Boer leaders objected, stating that it was the British Army that had destroyed their houses, and thus demanding that the British Army had to provide shelter for them. If the women and children were to stay with the Boer commandos, it would have hampered the one strong point they had, which was their mobility in the veld.[76]

Roberts then established what he called the refugee camps, providing shelter and basic support to the destitute women and children. The camps were not uncommon to the British, as it had been used frequently in other previous British wars.[77] These camps, however, were not very popular, even in England, because of blunders regarding other similar camps in previous imperial wars.[78]

When Kitchener took over the reins from Roberts, it was assumed, albeit incorrectly, that he was to conduct the final policing and wrap up the war. At first, Kitchener began with a softer approach and came with peace proposals. However, when the Boer leaders rejected it, and did not "see reason in his terms", he turned to the ruthless methods he was remembered for.[79] Pretorius also states that the Boer women were a problem. They helped the men with both physical and emotional needs. They fed the Boers and provided motivation and support.[80] Kitchener consequently proclaimed that the scorched earth policy be intensified, which in turn increased the influx of refugees. By this time, the camps could no longer be regarded as refugee

[73] Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 249; Pakenham, p. 440; E. Hobhouse, *War without glamour, or women's experiences written by themselves 1899–1902: Historical records collected and translated*, p. 20.
[74] J.C. Otto, *Die konsentrasiekampe*, p. 20; De Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog", p. 354; Pretorius, "Anglo-Boer War: An overview", p. 22.
[75] Pretorius, "Everyone's war".
[76] Otto, p. 44–45.
[77] Scorched earth film documentary.
[78] *Ibid*.; Otto, p. 23.
[79] Scorched earth film documentary: B. Nasson.
[80] Pretorius, *Anglo-Boereoorlog*, p. 54.

camps and the people started to refer to them as concentration camps.[81] Roberts first implemented the camps, but Kitchener saw the opportunity to flush out the guerrilla warfare.[82]

Although Kitchener was a brilliant soldier, he was not a good administrator and a very poor communicator. The burden of the concentration camps rested heavily on his shoulders, and even more so when Milner returned to England for leave. Kitchener then had to take full responsibility for the camps in addition to managing his army. His lack of administrative skills and empathy became evident. Kitchener was oblivious, not only to the suffering of the women and children, but also to the deprivation of his own troops. His soldiers suffered immensely, they were thirsty and hungry, but Kitchener mercilessly pushed them.[83] He had little regard for the physical needs of his soldiers and had no patience with anyone who needed help. More than once, his men wrote that they were starving but that there were no proper rations or safe water. This, however, cannot be placed solely on Kitchener's shoulders. He was only part of a very poorly administrated system. In Bloemfontein (March–May 1900), the death of a thousand British soldiers who died of typhoid fever could have been prevented if the logistics were in place.[84]

Kitchener's maladministration became more evident in the concentration camp system. There were several contributing factors for the high fatality rate. Firstly, the camps were situated incorrectly. The placement of the camps had all the signs of being hastily erected without too much thought of the location. Most of the camps were placed on open plains, exposed to the elements and were later overcrowded, sometimes forcing up to 18 people to live closely together in one bell tent.[85] Secondly, there were not enough facilities to accommodate all the inhabitants, and quickly the need for better sanitation, fresh water, firewood, etc. became evident. Thirdly, the food rations were insufficient, and the quality of the food was poor. There were also not enough hospitals and the available medical staff were either incompetent or overworked. In addition to poor medical facilities, the Boer women did not trust the officials and sometimes resorted to traditional but outdated medicinal practices, contrary to what the medical personnel prescribed.[86] These logistical issues caused the already dire circumstances in the camps to deteriorate more, which resulted in a great number of deaths among the

[81] Otto, p. 60; De Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog", p. 354; Pretorius, *Anglo-Boereoorlog*, pp. 54–57; Pakenham, pp. 382–383.
[82] Pretorius, *Anglo-Boereoorlog*, p. 56; De Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog", p. 354.
[83] Scorched earth film documentary: Interview with T. Pakenham.
[84] De Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog", p. 347.
[85] *Ibid*., p. 356; Pretorius, *Anglo-Boereoorlog*, pp. 57–64.
[86] R. van Reenen (ed.), *Boer War letters*, pp. 93, 95.

inhabitants, especially children. The mortality rate rose to a climax from August to October 1901. In October 1901 alone, there were 3205 deaths.[87]

Regardless of these figures, it seemed that Kitchener simply did not care. For him, caring for or worrying about the women and children and other non-combatants was not part of warfare, and therefore not his responsibility. He was a professional soldier, and that is all he cared about.[88] He saw no need to visit the camps himself to ensure that the conditions were satisfactory and to establish if the rumours were true. Instead, he relied on other people to send him reports of the situation in the camps. Unfortunately, these reports were not always accurate, and sometimes entirely false.[89]

It was only when people in England became aware of the actual circumstances in the camps that he was compelled to start addressing the problems. According to the reports that were beginning to circulate, the camps were known for the "…callous disregard for life, contempt for… the sanctity of life, of people, even if they are your opponents… and there is nothing praiseworthy of the way the British Army conducted the Boer War".[90]

This attracted the attention of many sympathetic people abroad. Although many of these parties were too scared to get involved, some felt the need to step in and help. The situation in South Africa gained international attention and the British government had to act in order to maintain their international reputation. Eventually, the concentration camps were discussed in parliament and the Liberal Party made it part of their political campaigns.[91] In a House of Commons debate, David Lloyd-George criticised the entire system by commenting on the poor conditions in the camps.[92] Sir John Brodrick, the Secretary of State for War, also had to admit that the camps and its administration were very poor.[93]

To examine the allegations, a Ladies' Commission, also known as the Fawcett Commission, was sent to South Africa. They made several crucial recommendations and shortly before the war finally ended, the poor conditions were addressed, and the camps were improved. The mortality rate drastically decreased. In the fight against the concentration camps and its

[87] Pretorius, "Everyone's war", p. 250; Otto, p. 61; De Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog", p. 357.
[88] Roberts, p. 157.
[89] Fisher, p. 161.
[90] Reid-Ross, L. *Scorced earth: A documentary which crushes all preconceived ideas about the Anglo-Boer War*. Film documentary: Interview with Lord David Owen, former British Foreign Secretary.
[91] Otto, p. 33; Pakenham, p. 467.
[92] Scorched earth film documentary.
[93] Otto, p. 75.

improvement, one English woman stands out: Hobhouse made it her mission to help the Boer women and children in their need in South Africa.

4.3 After the war

After the war, the divide between the Afrikaans and the English whites widened.[94] True to his military nature, Kitchener felt that now that the war was over, the animosity between Britain and the Afrikaners was now also a thing of the past.[95] It was not to be that simple, however, because the Afrikaners had very deep feelings of bitterness towards the British, and Kitchener in particular. They were not professional soldiers who could get the war over with in order to continue with their lives. It was a struggle for their precious independence, which was taken from them.[96] This bitterness towards the British was deepened by the strained relationship between the Bittereinders on the one hand, and the Handsuppers and Joiners. According to the British government, everyone was to be treated equally with regard to the post-war British support, but many Bittereinders could not accept Joiners back in their ranks.[97] They labelled the Joiners British, because they betrayed their country when they surrendered and, in some instances, joined the British Army to fight against their own people. Sometimes, this feud was also evident between members of one family, with one member being a Bittereinder and another a Joiner.[98] In addition to these issues, the relationship between black and white people was also complicated by the war. The black people were disillusioned by the British government. From the beginning of the war, many black people supported the British, believing that the British would grant them better living conditions and political rights. In return, the Afrikaners viewed the blacks with animosity, because they felt that the black people helped the British, and therefore supported imperialism against the Afrikaners.[99]

Meanwhile, the British government was anxious to repair their relationship with the Afrikaners and felt that this issue was more important than the racial question. They did everything in their power to please the Boers,[100] but many Boers were not interested. This suited Milner, as he was not really interested in pleasing the Afrikaners. He felt that the country would be governed

[94] J.P. Brits and S.B. Spies (adapted by A. Grundlingh), "'n Nuwe Suid-Afrika in wording" in H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga (ed.), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, p. 224.
[95] L. Scholtz, "Die politieke situasie einde 1913" in M. van Bart (ed.), *Die Nasionale Vrouemonument: Honderdjarige herdenking, verlede – hede – toekoms*, p. 123.
[96] *Ibid*.
[97] V.E. Solomon, "The hands-uppers", *Military History Journal* 3(1), 1974.
[98] Brits and Spies, p. 224.
[99] D.M. Scher, "Post-war race relations: 1902–1948" in F. Pretorius (ed.), *A history of South Africa: From the distant past to the present day*, p. 260; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 91.
[100] Scher, "Post-war race relations", p. 260.

better without Afrikaners altogether.[101] What complicated Milner's work was that many of the farms and towns were burned down and that people had to be resettled somehow and be allowed to rebuild their farms and start producing again. Although the British government supplied some financial aid, the administration for distributing these funds was not done properly.[102]

Adding to the animosity the Afrikaners felt towards the British, was the issue of mismanaged labour issues. White labour became too expensive, and many black people refused to work. The British government then solved this issue by resorting to cheap Chinese labour.[103] Thousands of Chinese were sent to South Africa to work in the mines. Although this agreement did not last very long, and the Chinese labourers were quickly sent back to China, the situation proved to the Afrikaners and black people in South Africa that the British government did not really consider their well-being, but only wanted to enrich themselves.

Another issue was that Milner now started applying a new language policy. He tried to enforce English as the only official language in the country, and that it had to be applied in all the official capacities, including schools.[104] He made teaching history of the British Empire and the "wider world" compulsory and suggested that local history not be taught in schools.[105] In reaction to this, an independent Afrikaans education system was established. These schools used Afrikaans as medium and advocated Afrikaner nationalism.[106] Moreover, education was not compulsory and many of the children did not attend school.[107] This meant that Milner could not force anyone to use English. Milner failed in most of his political endeavours in South Africa,[108] and in April 1905, he left South Africa, to be replaced by Lord Selborne as the British High Commissioner.[109]

During this time, the Afrikaners once again formed a more united front. In 1906, Britain granted the Transvaal self-governance and in 1907, the Orange Free State as well.[110] With money they collected abroad, Afrikaners started several Afrikaans newspapers and worked ardently to

[101] J.C. Steyn, "Die driemanskap en die oprigting en onthulling van die Nasionale Vrouemonument" in M. van Bart (ed.), *Die Nasionale Vrouemonument: Honderdjarige herdenking, verlede – hede – toekoms*, p. 25.
[102] Brits and Spies, p. 225.
[103] Pakenham, p. 575.
[104] S.B. Spies, "Women and the war" in Warwick, P. and S.B. Spies (eds), *The South African War: The Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902*, p. 367.
[105] H. Giliomee, "Uprising, war and transition" in F. Pretorius (ed.), *A history of South Africa: From the distant past to the present day*, p. 282.
[106] *Ibid.*; Spies, p. 370; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 265: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 13 August 1903.
[107] Brits and Spies, p. 227.
[108] *Ibid.*, p. 228.
[109] E.A. Benians, J. Butler and C.E. Carrington (eds), *The Cambridge history of the British Empire* 3, p. 370.
[110] Pakenham, p. 575.

develop and promote Afrikaans. In the Cape, Jan Hofmeyr greatly promoted Afrikaans by means of the Afrikaanse Taalbond, and in Transvaal, Eugène Marais, Jan F.E. Cilliers and J.D. du Toit aided the cause with their Afrikaans literature and poetry.[111] Within a few years, the Afrikaner movement, which was again strengthened by Paul Kruger's death, developed into a full-blown force.[112]

In 1905, the political party, Het Volk, was established in the Transvaal with Louis Botha as its leader.[113] The following year, the Orangia Unie, under the leadership of C.R. de Wet, J.B.M Hertzog and Abraham Fischer, was established in the Orange River Colony.[114] Although these two parties did not see eye to eye on everything, they agreed that it was necessary to reconcile the Afrikaners with the British, to unite and to form "a new, larger South African unitary state".[115]

Setting aside certain differences, there were several issues on which Botha and Hertzog agreed, and they — and others — promoted unification.[116] On 31 May 1910, South Africa was proclaimed a union and Louis Botha was appointed as the united South Africa's first prime minister.[117]

Cooperation did not last long. The differences between Botha and Hertzog flared up, inter alia because Botha and Smuts were planning that the Union become a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, requiring certain obligations towards the British Empire.[118] Hertzog, on the other hand, was adamant that South Africa and the Afrikaner rights came first.[119] Botha felt that Hertzog harmed his cause, and consequently, in 1912, left him out of his cabinet. Hertzog retaliated by establishing a new political party, the National Party (NP) in January 1914.[120] No further cooperation between these strong characters were possible.[121] By 1913, South Africa was neither peaceful, nor an example of a successful union. And in Europe,

[111] Brits and Spies, p. 228; Spies, p. 372.
[112] Brits and Spies, p. 229; Spies, p. 372.
[113] Giliomee, "Uprising, war and transition", p. 282; Pakenham, p. 575.
[114] Brits and Spies, p. 229.
[115] Scher, "Post-war race relations", p. 261.
[116] Scher, "Post-war race relations", p. 262; Pakenham, p. 576; Spies, p. 374.
[117] Brits and Spies, p. 230.
[118] Giliomee, "Uprising, war and transition", p. 287; Scholtz, "Die politieke situasie einde 1913", p. 127; Spies, p. 379.
[119] Scher, "Post-war race relations", p. 267; Spies, p. 379.
[120] Scholtz, "Die politieke situasie einde 1913", p. 123.
[121] Giliomee, "Uprising, war and transition", p. 287.

war clouds were gathering, which in due course would lead to the outbreak of the Great (later called First World) War.

CHAPTER 5
SOURCE TEXT: EMILY HOBHOUSE

5.1 Emily Hobhouse background

The second youngest of five children, and the youngest daughter, Hobhouse was born on 9 April 1860.[1] Her mother, Caroline Trelawny was a passionate, adventurous and self-confident woman and her father, Reginald Hobhouse, the Archdeacon in St Ive, was a moral man, for whom everything was black or white and who strongly believed in righteousness.[2]

Hobhouse's childhood was a happy and protected one, however, when she was seventeen, her second oldest sister, Blanche, became ill and died. A few years later, Hobhouse's mother also passed away and her father withdrew from society, becoming silent and broody. It was left to Hobhouse and her surviving sister, Maud, to care for their father and his parish.[3] For a few years, life continued in a very predictable pattern, which was disrupted when Maud married,[4] leaving Hobhouse completely alone with her father for approximately six years.[5]

On 27 January 1895, Hobhouse's father died and at the ripe age of 35, she left the town of St Ive.[6] Instead of moving in with relatives and living a quiet life, Hobhouse decided that she was destined for more and shortly left for Virginia, Minnesota in the United States of America (USA), to work among Cornish mineworkers.[7] Here, she realised that there was great need across town, and started to help anyone who needed her support and to empower people to help themselves.[8]

During this time, Hobhouse fell in love with a local businessman, John C. Jackson.[9] Hobhouse swooned over this handsome and charming man, but her heart was soon shattered when she realised that he probably only used her for her money and that he might not have planned to ever marry her.[10]

A brokenhearted Hobhouse returned to England in 1898, and somehow tried to make sense of her calling in life. To occupy her mind, she started to study child labour in factories before the

[1] R. van Reenen, *Heldin uit die vreemde*, p. 9.
[2] *Ibid*., p. 11.
[3] *Ibid*., p. 16.
[4] J. Hobhouse Balme, *To love one's enemies*, p. 9.
[5] Van Reenen, p. 16.
[6] J. Fisher, *That Miss Hobhouse: The life of a great feminist*, p. 24.
[7] E. Brits, *Emily Hobhouse: Geliefde verraaier*, p. 30.
[8] A.R. Fry, *Emily Hobhouse: A memoir*, p. 49.
[9] Brits, pp. 32–33.
[10] Hobhouse Balme, pp. 16–17.

Factory Acts were passed,[11] waiting for a new opportunity and welfare mission to present itself. She did not wait too long, as this was the year just before the Transvaal sent Britain an ultimatum on 9 October 1899. Britain rejected the ultimatum and two days later, the Anglo-Boer War broke out.[12]

With other British citizens, Hobhouse followed the news and when accounts of forlorn women and children started to trickle in, Hobhouse accepted an invitation to become honorary secretary of the South African Conciliation Committee, [13] whose aim was to campaign against the war.[14] Soon Hobhouse could not stand to only speak against things she had only heard about. She decided that she wanted to be where the action was and after collecting funds and clothes, left for South Africa.

Arriving in Cape Town in January 1901, she heard the terrifying accounts of the "refugee camps"[15] that had since been erected all over the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and of course, Hobhouse was determined to visit these camps. After she acquired limited access to the camps, she was on her way to Bloemfontein.[16] She immediately started to investigate the Bloemfontein camp and several other camps.

What she saw made her furious and quite often she had serious verbal encounters with the British Army officers. Soon, Hobhouse realised that people in England needed to know about the true situation, since news was often twisted by the government and the press or simply withheld from the people back home.

In England, she met with St John Brodrick, the British Minister of War Affairs. When he did not seem to take her seriously,[17] she organised several meetings across England, met with Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal Party's leader, and used the press to spread the word of everything happening in South Africa.[18] Although she was ridiculed, and the British government was greatly irritated with her,[19] they knew that they had to do something about the matter and sent a Ladies' Commission,[20] of which Hobhouse was not part, to South Africa to

[11] R. van Reenen (ed.), *Emily Hobhouse: Boer War letters*, p. 15.
[12] F. Pretorius, *Die Anglo-Boereoorlog*, p. 13.
[13] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 14. This committee was founded on 1 November 1899.
[14] Brits, p. 40; Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 437–438.
[15] Pretorius, *Anglo-Boereoorlog*, p. 56.
[16] Brits, p. 53.
[17] T. Pakenham, *The Boer War*, p. 502.
[18] S.B. Spies, *Methods of barbarism? Roberts and Kitchener and civilians in the Boer republics January 1900 – May 1902*, p. 9.
[19] B. Roberts, *Those bloody women*, p. 167.
[20] Pretorius, *Anglo-Boereoorlog*, p. 64.

examine the concentration camps. They confirmed many of Hobhouse's observations, and the conditions in the camps improved significantly.[21]

However, Hobhouse was not content and wanted to be part of the action and despite being forbidden by the British government to return to the camps,[22] she went in any case. Since the government did not allow her to visit the inland camps, and because martial law existed in these areas, she planned to visit the coastal camps.[23] She arrived in Cape Town in October 1901. The British Army accused Hobhouse of disobeying government orders, and immediately deported her back to England.[24]

Hobhouse then temporarily retired to France to write a book, *The brunt of the war and where it fell*, about what she witnessed in South Africa and to convey her true feelings regarding war.[25] When the war eventually came to an end on 31 May 1902,[26] Hobhouse returned to South Africa in April 1903, travelling across the entire country to see how she could identify and alleviate the people's misery.

Based on these travels, she made key suggestions and put several measures into place to help the people get back on their feet. Satisfied that she had done what she could and that she had completed her mission in South Africa, Hobhouse returned to England in October 1908, thinking that she would never return.[27]

A few years later, former Free State president, M.T. Steyn, contacted Hobhouse with the idea of a monument in honour of the thousands of women and children who had died in the concentration camps during the war. He wanted Hobhouse to be part of the planning of this monument. This idea appealed to Hobhouse and soon she was once again pouring her energy into South African matters.

5.2 Women's Memorial

After the war, a serious drought had the country in its grip, and with the destroyed farms, the Afrikaner people suffered tremendous economic despair. South Africa entered a period of utter poverty and, slowly, they had to start rebuilding their country and identity. President Steyn wanted to develop and inspire the Afrikaner movement and pride. He knew how closely the

[21] *Ibid*.
[22] Van Reenen, p. 69.
[23] Fry, p. 167.
[24] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 147–149.
[25] Brits, p. 108.
[26] Pretorius, *Anglo-Boereoorlog*, p. 35.
[27] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 389: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to J.C. Smuts, 6 March 1913.

Anglo-Boer War and the concentration camps lay to people's hearts, and he was also aware that because of the war and the camps, some people's bitterness was still very intense. This situation made it difficult for President Steyn to fulfil his dream of a united Afrikaner nation, but he had a vision of a way to honour the women and children who suffered in the concentration camps.[28]

Unfortunately, directly after the war, there were many issues to be managed and prioritised, and the idea of the monument was almost forgotten. But, when the struggle between Afrikaner leaders became fiercer, President Steyn felt that he had to do something, and started working on the monument again. With this, he hoped that the people would remember what they stood for in the war and would rather support one another, instead of fighting.[29]

One goal he had with the monument was that the Afrikaners had to cooperate in order to make the monument a reality. He also wanted the monument to be worthy of the Afrikaner cause, and for him, something small and insignificant would not suffice. He viewed contribution to the monument as a sacred duty,[30] and every Afrikaner was asked to contribute.[31] People, and especially poor people, quickly became inspired by the idea of the monument and started donating.[32]

Louis Botha, the first prime minister of the Union of South Africa, did not share President Steyn's vision about the monument and its effect on the Afrikaners.[33] He felt that such a monument would fuel Afrikaner bitterness against the British, which would have been the nail in the coffin for Botha's endeavour to cooperate with the British. He suggested that President Steyn should rather encourage and erect a monument for the Voortrekker leader, Piet Retief.[34] President Steyn was not to be moved and persisted with the Women's Memorial. He did, however, give his assurance that he would do everything in his power not to fuel the bitterness, and insisted that his idea was "pure piety".[35]

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[28] J.C. Steyn, "Die driemanskap en die oprigting en onthulling van die Nasionale Vrouemonument" in M. van Bart (ed.), *Die Nasionale Vrouemonument: Honderdjarige herdenking, verlede – hede – toekoms*, p. 23.
[29] *Ibid*., p. 33: We stand at the grave of thousands of women and children… Let us set aside all the current issues and discord around the grave and unite as a nation that has carried so much sweet and sour and many joys and sorrows (English translation).
[30] N.J. van der Merwe, *Marthinus Theunis Steyn, 'n lewensbeskrywing*, p. 165.
[31] Steyn, p. 27.
[32] Steyn, p. 30.
[33] L. Scholtz, "Die politieke situasie einde 1913" in M. van Bart (ed.), *Die Nasionale Vrouemonument: Honderdjarige herdenking, verlede – hede – toekoms*, p. 125.
[34] *Ibid*., p. 125.
[35] Steyn, p. 31.

To ensure that the monument was one that would do justice to the memory of the deceased and that it was one people would take pride in, President Steyn wanted the best artisans to design and build it. He asked Anton van Wouw, a well-known artist, to make the sculptures and side panels that would form the centrepiece of the memorial, and various famous and popular South African leaders were invited to be part of the inauguration ceremony.

President Steyn also knew that Hobhouse was closely connected to the concentration camps and the women and children in these camps, and that she was very popular among the people.[36] As part of her involvement, he also requested that she unveil the monument and deliver a speech at its inauguration.[37] By this time, President Steyn must have anticipated to what extent she would become involved. Hobhouse, in turn, did not disappoint. She even went so far as to contact Van Wouw to advise him on how the sculpture should look.[38]

Eventually, on 16 December 1913, the inauguration took place and approximately twenty thousand people attended.[39] Unfortunately, Hobhouse suffered from chronic heart disease and when she reached Beaufort West on her way to Bloemfontein from Cape Town, she was forced to abandon the trip.[40]

To ensure that her message to the people still reached them, she asked that her speech be printed and read on the day of the inauguration. Charlie Fichardt, the son of one of Hobhouse's dearest South African friends, Caroline Fichardt, read the speech. In addition, 4 000 copies of the speech were distributed in pamphlet form in both languages.[41]

Thousands of Afrikaners solemnly participated in this fine event and although Hertzog and Botha still did not speak to each other, and the tension was evident, the men honoured President Steyn's wish and set aside their quarrels for one day. The result was that the Afrikaner nation seemed to be a united nation, cooperating and supporting one another. This memorial quickly became one of the focal points of Afrikaner nationalism and several of the key figures during the war, including President Steyn, his wife, Christiaan de Wet, and Reverend J.D. Kestell, in due course were buried at the monument. Another unlikely grave at the foot of this monument is Hobhouse's. Her unwavering compassion touched the Afrikaner nation's hearts and burying her ashes in 1926 at the monument dedicated to a cause that she fought so strongly for, was the

[36] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 67.
[37] Fisher, p. 230.
[38] L. Scholtz, "Die vrou wat vergifnis gevra het: Emily Hobhouse" in M. van Bart (ed.), *Die Nasionale Vrouemonument: Honderdjarige herdenking, verlede – hede – toekoms*, p. 45.
[39] Steyn, p. 34.
[40] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 400: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to J.C. Smuts, 7 December 1913.
[41] Steyn, p. 37.

highest and final respect they could possibly pay her. This was their last message of love to her, just like the speech at the inauguration of the Women's Memorial was her final message to them.

5.3 Hobhouse's speech at the inauguration of the Women's Memorial

As Hobhouse viewed this speech at the inauguration of the Women's Memorial as a final message to the Afrikaner people, she had to ensure that whatever was in the speech had to speak to Afrikaner hearts and be compelling and convincing. Hobhouse agreed with President Steyn that the monument should not be about Afrikaner bitterness and resentment and when writing her speech for the unveiling, kept this in mind.

This must have been a challenge, since Hobhouse was entirely up to date with everything happening in South Africa. She was therefore also very much informed about political clouds gathering around this young Union. President Steyn on the other hand, knew that the people trusted and loved Hobhouse; by asking her to unveil the monument, it would have a positive effect on the entire venture. President Steyn was also aware of Jan Smuts's great respect for Hobhouse and knew if he asked Hobhouse to be part of the memorial, he would automatically have Smuts on board, even though Smuts was initially sceptical and shared Louis Botha's doubts about the memorial.

By now, Hobhouse also knew how the Afrikaner people viewed her and that whatever was written in her speech would be taken to heart. For the Afrikaners, Hobhouse was one of them, and for Hobhouse, the Afrikaners were close to her heart, and several of the things that were happening in South Africa worried her. Thus, she made one last effort to convey the message she wanted the South Africans to receive, and wrote a very compelling and somehow prophesying speech[42] for the inauguration of the Women's Memorial.

As seen from the excerpt below, it was decided that the monument would be inaugurated on 16 December, a day that already had great significant meaning to the Afrikaner people. This day was also called Day of the Vow, referring to the day that the Voortrekkers beat Dingaan and his Zulu army at Blood River.[43] However, this specific date was not to commemorate the Day of the Vow. Instead, it was to unveil the Women's Memorial, and to honour the women and children who died in the concentration camps; the committee called it Vrouwen-Dag.[44]

[42] Brits, p. 215.
[43] H. Giliomee, "Die strewe na 'n verdrag" in H. Giliomee and B. Mbenga (eds), *Nuwe geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, pp. 115–118.
[44] Steyn, p. 33.

Later in the speech, Hobhouse referred to the Day of the Vow as Dingaan's Day, showing that she was aware of the day's significance for the Afrikaners. However, the aim of her speech was to acknowledge the women and children and honour them for their bravery.

VROUWEN-DAG[45]

December 16, 1913

In Memoriam, 26 370 Women and Children,
and with them 1 421 old men[46]

After the heading, the speech starts with a quote from a drama, *Trojan Women*, written by Euripides. The drama is about the Trojan women left in Troy after the Greeks destroyed it. Euripides wrote the drama in 415BC and its aim was to point out the atrocities of war, and as Hobhouse was a passionate pacifist, this play was a perfect reference for her speech. In the quote below, Hobhouse quoted Cassandra, Hecuba's daughter, before being taken off to become Agamemnon's concubine:[47]

> *Would ye be wise, ye cities, fly from war! Yet if war come, there is a crown in death for her that striveth well and perisheth Unstained."*[48]

As the speech continues, Hobhouse frequently quotes the famous Funeral Oration that Pericles, an Athenian statesman, delivered for fallen soldiers of Athens during 431 BC:[49]

> …Of old a great man[50] said: "Acts deserve acts, and not words in their honour," and this is true. Yet having come so far at your request to share in this solemn dedication, and having been most closely bound with the last hours of their lives, I feel constrained to offer my tribute to the memory of those women and those little children who perished in the Concentration Camps.[51]

It is clear why the oration touched Hobhouse, because many of Pericles's quotes speak of similar situations and issues that plagued Hobhouse. She quotes Pericles, the great man, or Thucydides,[52] several times in her speech:

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[45] E. Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech, Vrouwen-dag, 16 December 1913 (English version). Original document available at the Anglo-Boer War Museum (Bloemfontein), Document collection, File 4709/171.
[46] *Ibid*. Some versions of the speech do not include this line. Several sources have different numbers of women and children who died. The accepted number now is 28 000 white women and children and 14 000 black women and children according to F. Pretorius in *Scorched earth*.
[47] "Trojan Women", <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Trojan-Women>, accessed on 5.12.2017. See also Euripides, *The Trojan women: Tears of war*.
[48] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[49] Thucydides.
[50] K. Bekker, *Om te skryf*, p. 7–126; Thucydides, *Pericles's Funeral Oration*, <https://online.hillsdale.edu/document.doc?id=355>, accessed on 5.121.2017.
[51] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[52] Pericles presented the speech, but Thucydides wrote it down.

> "The grandest of all sepulchres they have, not that in which mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men; their story lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives."

The speech continues with a reference from Jeremiah 31:16: [53]

> …In this way, perhaps, is the prophetic vision fulfilled: "Refrain thy voice from weeping and thine eyes from tears; they shall come again from the land of the enemy; thy children shall come again to their own border."[54]

Although Hobhouse had a somewhat strained relationship with her father, who was a minister, and she felt that the British churches played a role in encouraging the Anglo-Boer War,[55] she was not entirely removed from church and religion. This was also shown in many of her letters. She was "an evangelist who shrank from talk of God",[56] for her evangelism lay in actions. One of her acquaintances in South Africa, Marie Koopmans de Wet, thanked her for what she did in South Africa and bestowed a Christian blessing on her as a sign of gratitude:

> May, during your useful life, and the work you do, the feeling can be with you, that you follow the steps of your Saviour when you bring comfort to those who suffer…it was what you did not say but showed you felt that came so deep with us.[57]

Disregarding her own religious preferences, Hobhouse knew that the Afrikaners were very religious. By referencing Scripture in her speech, she confirmed her message:

> A community that lacks the courage to found its citizenship on this broad base becomes "a city divided against itself, which cannot stand."[58]

The speech also compares the Vrouwen-Dag to the Sabbath:

> My Friends, – This day, this Vrouwen-Dag is *Good*. Like the Sabbath in the week, it breaks into the hurrying years, and in the pause, the past can calmly be recalled, its inspiration breathed afresh, its lessons conned once more.

Another source that Hobhouse frequently quotes, is Oscar Wilde's book, *De Profundis*:

> You are gathered here from all parts to consecrate this spot to women and children who were stripped of all – I say it advisedly – of *all*. Husbands and sons, houses and lands, flocks and herds, household goods and even clothing. Denuded, it was good to watch how yet they "possessed their souls." "It is tragic," says a writer, "how few people ever possess their souls before they die."[59]

Given the circumstances under which Wilde wrote the book, it has some touching points with Hobhouse's speech. *De Profundis* is a letter that Wilde wrote just before he was released from

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[53] Although it is not quite certain which translation Hobhouse used, it is most probably the King James Version. However, another Bible translation in England in 1913 is the English Revised Version (ERV). This verse in the ERV is the same as that of the KJV.
[54] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[55] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 16.
[56] Hobhouse Balme, p. 1.
[57] Hobhouse Balme, p. 203. Mrs Koopmans de Wet's command of English was very limited.
[58] Bekker, p. 7–131; Mark 3:25: "And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand." (KJV).
[59] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech; O. Wilde *De Profundis*.

prison. In the letter, he mentions suffering and injustice and often also quotes Scripture:

> "Christ," I have read, "had pity for the poor, the lowly, the imprisoned, the suffering, and so have we, but remember that He had far more pity for the rich, the hard, those who are slaves to their goods, who wear soft raiment, and live in kings' houses. To Him riches and pleasures seemed greater tragedies than poverty and sorrow."[60]
>
> ... I have read that when Christ said, "Forgive your enemies," it is not only for the sake of the enemy He say so, but for one's own sake, "because love is more beautiful than hate."[61]
>
> ... For when Society is shaken to its foundations, then deep calleth unto deep, the underlying oneness of our nature appears, we learn that "all the world is kin".[62]

The speech continues, describing Hobhouse's emotions when she first witnessed the camps and realised Britain's involvement. It also describes her involvement in the Women's Memorial's process and its design:

> Far away in Rome I have been privileged to watch its creation. I noted its conception in the Sculptor's thought. I saw it first issue in the common clay; moulded by his hand it passed into the pure white plaster; at length chastened to his mind and meet for the supreme ordeal it was cast into the pit of burning metal whence issued the perfected work.[63]

When Hobhouse heard that President Steyn had asked Anton van Wouw to be the sculptor, she was not satisfied as she felt that Van Wouw would not do the commission justice. She accepted President Steyn's decision, but she decided that she was going to be very involved with every step of the sculpture. She contacted Van Wouw and shared her ideas with him. He then presented his idea to President Steyn and his committee, but they felt that he portrayed too much of the sorrow, bitterness and suffering.[64] Hobhouse on the other hand encouraged him to show the suffering and reality of death in the camps and illustrated a scene that she witnessed at Springfontein Station during the war:

> The mother neither moved nor wept. It was her only child. Dry-eyed but deathly white, she sat there motionless looking not at the child but far, far away into depths of grief beyond all tears. A friend stood behind her who called upon Heaven to witness this tragedy and others crouching on the ground around her wept freely."[65]

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[60] Bekker, p. 7–127: Unclear where this quote is from. Similar to some lines in *De Profundis*, but not exactly the same.
[61] Wilde, *De Profundis*. Based on Matthew 5:43–45 and Luke 23:34.
[62] Bekker, p. 7–130. Reference unknown but it might be based on an unknown nineteenth century literature, to which Hobhouse was exposed as a young girl.
[63] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech. Anton van Wouw, Dutch-born South African sculptor, was the sculptor and the architect was Frans Soff. They worked in Rome in Franciscus Bruno's studio. Bruno was also responsible for a bronze sculpture of President Paul Kruger.
[64] M. van Bart, "Anton van Wouw en Frans Soff: Skeppers van die Nasionale Vrouemonument" in M. van Bart (ed.), *Die Nasionale Vrouemonument: Honderdjarige herdenking, verlede – hede – toekoms*, p. 94.
[65] Free State Provincial Archive (Bloemfontein), Adv. Gladys Steyn and Mrs M.T. Steyn Collection, A156/3/11: E. Hobhouse, Unpublished Autobiography, Chapter IV, The Camps, p. 71; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 112: Hobhouse wrote her memoir written in the form of a letter to Tibbie Steyn.

Van Wouw sculpted a preliminary sculpture, but Hobhouse felt that the mother did not look sad enough and that the child looked asleep rather than dead.[66] She told him to visit hospitals to see how a dead child looks and also sent him to the St Peter's Basilica in the Vatican City to study Michelangelo's Pietà sculpture.[67] Eventually, both Hobhouse and the Women's Memorial committee were satisfied.

Later on in the speech, Hobhouse also described one of the camps:

> Thirteen years have passed since under the burning January sun I trudged daily forth from your wire-girt town to that kopje of many tears. Daily in that camp, as later in others, I moved from tent to tent, witness of untold sufferings, yet marvelling ever at the lofty spirit which animated the Childhood as well as the Motherhood of your land. So quickly does suffering educate, that even children of quite tender years shared the spirit of the struggle, and sick, hungry, naked or dying prayed ever for "no surrender."[68]

The Bloemfontein camp, to which she refers in the quote above, was the first camp that Hobhouse visited. Although other camps were in worse shape than this one, it made an enormous impression on her. This is also the camp where she spent most of her time.[69] Of all the camps that Hobhouse visited, Bloemfontein was one of the worst ones.[70] As a woman from England, she could not accept that her beloved country could allow these conditions:

> Think what it meant for an Englishwoman to watch such things… It is not mainly sorrow that fills your heart to-day; time has already softened personal grief. Therefore many may and do say it is useless to perpetuate as we do to-day memories so drear. But these very memories are needful because they embody that precious legacy from the past. My own face now is turned towards the West, and soon each one of us who witnessed the sufferings of the Concentration Camps will have passed to our own rest; but so long as we who saw those things still live, they will live within us *not* as memories of sorrow, but of *heroic inspiration*.[71]

Hobhouse's journeys to South Africa not only filled her heart with sorrow, it also deteriorated her physical well-being. By saying that her face was turned towards the West in the excerpt above, Hobhouse hinted at the possibility that her life was almost over. Hobhouse's health was in a very poor condition, and it makes sense that she honestly thought that her death was not very far away. Although she survived the trip and lived for thirteen more years, she really was very ill at the time of the inauguration and, at first, told Jan Smuts that she would not be able to make it. When she at last decided that she would take the risk, she only made it as far as Beaufort West. The long trip, the Karoo heat and the high altitude took a toll on her body. After

[66] Van Bart, pp. 94–95.
[67] *Ibid*.
[68] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[69] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 16.
[70] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 58: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 7 (or 9) February 1901.
[71] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

resting in Beaufort West for several days, she returned to Cape Town, from where she once again boarded a ship, this time really for the last time.

Another famous leader that Hobhouse chose to quote, was Abraham Lincoln, American president during the Civil War (1861–1865):

> The plea of Abraham Lincoln for the black comes echoing back to me :- "They will probably help you in some trying time to come to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom."[72]

Lincoln fought for abolition of slavery and for the rights of black people. It is quite interesting then that his Gettysburg Address in 1864 touches on the same themes as the Funeral Oration by Pericles. Not only does Hobhouse's speech address issues like racial tension, but it also focuses on her fight for women's rights and emancipation. The speech continues by reminding the audience that it addresses women beyond Afrikaner women:

> Still more intimately will this Monument speak to the Womanhood of South Africa and beyond to a yet wider range.
>
> To you, women, it should cry ever: "Go back, go back, to simpler lives, to nobler principles; from these martyrs learn the grandeur of character that chooses rather to suffer to the uttermost than to win life by weakness."[73]
>
> …For remember, these dead women were not great as the world counts greatness. Some of them were quite poor women who had laboured much. Yet they have become a moral force in your land. They will enrich your history. As the diamonds and the gold glitter in the bedrock of your soil, so their stories, written or handed down, will shine like jewels in the dark annals of that time.
>
> And their influence will travel further. They have shown *the world* that never again can it be said that woman deserves no rights as Citizen because she takes no part in war. This statue stands as a denial of that assertion. Women in equal numbers to the men earned the right to such words as the famous Athenian uttered at the grave of his soldiers: "They gave their bodies to the commonwealth, receiving each for her own memory praise that will never die."[74]

Hobhouse wanted the monument to showcase the tragedy and the suffering that was brought on by war. This is also why she placed so much emphasis on the sculpture and what it had to depict. For her, the speech was one thing, but the monument that would be a witness, not only for the current Afrikaner population but also for people in the future, was much more vital. She believed that actions spoke louder than words and that the monument was an action that would

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[72] *Ibid*.; Letter from Lincoln to Michael Hahn, a republican who had just been appointed as Governor of Louisiana. In this letter, Lincoln pleads for black voting rights, "I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in – as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion." <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/lincoln/letter-to-michael-hahn-march-13-1864>, accessed on 26.9.2017.

[73] Bekker, p. 7–127. No reference could be found of this quote. Bekker is of the opinion that this might have been Hobhouse's own words that she placed between quotation marks, suggesting that the monument speaks these words to the Afrikaner women.

[74] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech; Pericles

speak to future generations. The last quote of the excerpt above is another one from Pericles's oration, which Hobhouse again directed at women's rights. Her whole life, she tirelessly fought for women's rights and therefore also used the speech, fighting not only for the rights of women, but also jabbing at England, which was also in the midst of severe suffragist struggles:

> Nay, more – for they gave themselves, not borne on by the excitement and joy of active battle, as men do; but passively, with open eyes, in the long-drawn agony of painful months and days.
>
> My Friends :- Throughout the world the Woman's day approaches; her era dawns. Proudly I unveil this Monument to the brave South African women, who, sharing the danger that beset their land and dying for it, affirmed for all times and for all peoples the power of Woman to sacrifice life and more than life for their common weal.
>
> This is your South African Monument; but it is more; for "their story is not graven only on stone, over their native earth."[75]

Using the collective term 'South Africa' in the excerpt above, Hobhouse included everyone, from all races and genders. Hobhouse also wanted to make sure that the monument was to be a national monument and not one implied only to Afrikaner people. Although history shows that the committee and Afrikaners overall did not heed this wish, she still wanted to remind them of her intent in her speech. She pointed out that it was not only the Transvaal and the Free State whose women had suffered. It was now a united country of South Africa, and the monument was to remind everyone:

> We claim it as a WORLD-MONUMENT, of which all the World's Women should be proud: for your Dead by their brave simplicity have spoken to Universal Womanhood, and henceforth they are "woven into the stuff"[76] of every woman's life.[77]
>
> Bergvliet,[78] December 1913[79]
> Emily Hobhouse

5.4 Frames of the speech

It is clear that in the speech, Hobhouse addressed certain issues that she held dear and about which she felt very strongly. These issues can be divided into different themes, or frames. Throughout her life, Hobhouse struggled and fought for these issues. Although it is not certain that she wrote the speech specifically with reference to certain events in her life, it is quite sure that certain events in her life moulded her into the woman she was at the time of the speech, which influenced her to write the speech and address the different frames.

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[75] *Ibid*.
[76] Pericles.
[77] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[78] Home of the Purcells. Hobhouse stayed there before and after her attempt to reach Bloemfontein for the inauguration.
[79] This part is not included in all the versions of Hobhouse's speech. Some versions only conclude with her name.

As discussed in the methodology chapter, the frames have been identified from another source that identified the themes in the speech.[80] However, this study has adapted the themes according to the research done. The adapted frames have then been used to structure Hobhouse's narrative, applying different documents of life to determine how Hobhouse's life was formed and influenced to formulate the speech the way she did. The frames appear in the following order: sacrifice, human rights, forgiveness and reconciliation, and lastly, power and identity. The narrative is constructed according to the frames, but within the frames, the narrative follows a chronological order, starting with Hobhouse's childhood and ending with the inauguration of the Women's Memorial.

5.4.1 Sacrifice

> You are gathered here from all parts to consecrate this spot to women and children who were stripped of all – I say it advisedly – of *all*. Husbands and sons, houses and lands, flocks and herds, household goods and even clothing. Denuded, it was good to watch how yet they "possessed their souls."[81]

If one would have to identify one word to define Hobhouse's life, it would be sacrifice, for her family, her country, strangers in need and sacrifice regarding personal issues in her life. In fact, sacrifice can be seen as a broad theme, of which the other themes are all part. Biographies, letters, diary entries and other documents of life point out to what extent she sacrificed security, leisure, comfort, friendship, etc. In her speech, it is also clear that, to her, sacrifice meant being in "the last hours of your life" or dying for a cause, being "stripped of all" and being "torn from familiar simple life, plunged into sickness and destitution, surrounded by strangers".

Losing someone close to you must be one of the biggest sacrifices a person makes. The death of her sister, Blanche, made a very definite impression on the young Hobhouse. The year before Blanche's death, Tom Gane, the family gardener and a good friend of the Hobhouse children, also died, and four years later her mother contracted a brain tumour and within months, she succumbed.[82] Hobhouse's already melancholic personality was affected, and she entered a sombre period of her life. Hobhouse's father was very strict and not very sociable, and when her mother died, he seriously deteriorated and withdrew socially. Only Hobhouse and Maud remained, and they had to look after their father and take care of the parish.[83] They had no other occupations to take their minds off their father and the precarious situation at home, and for

[80] Beste Emily – skryfkompetisie, "Emily Hobhouse se toespraak", <http://www.cumlaudemedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Emily-Hobhouse-Toespraak.pdf>, accessed on 10.10.2014.
[81] *Ibid*.
[82] Van Reenen, p. 16.
[83] *Ibid*.

nine years, Hobhouse and Maud carried the burden of the household and the parish work, "encouraging the backsliders, visiting the poor, distributing food, clothing and literature, [and] listening to the songs of some and woes of many". [84] It was during this time that Hobhouse was confronted with sickbeds and death, and knowing how death affects a family, this encouraged her to support and care for other people going through the same situation. Maud was a little shy and she took care of the cases closer to home. Hobhouse, on the other hand, was adventurous and energetic and thus served the wider community.[85] It is said that she inherited her resolve for doing the right thing from her father, but this energy and self-confidence came from her mother, who descended from the very confident but obstinate Trelawny family.[86]

Apart from their work in the parish, Hobhouse and Maud led a very solitary life. Neither Hobhouse nor Maud had any serious romantic relationships and the sisters were well on their way to becoming spinsters.[87] Despite their father being very strict in all matters regarding their romantic relationships, Maud went ahead and married one of her father's curates, Ernest Hebblethwaite.[88] Whether she really loved him was uncertain, and while the marriage turned out to be a very unsatisfying and sad one, it provided an escape from the depressing situation at home.[89] Now, only Hobhouse remained, and she had no one to confide in, and she had to work hard to keep a positive state of mind. In order to have something to talk about every day, she rationed the topics that she discussed with her father.[90] As part of these rationed topics, she read to him from *The Times*.[91] This provided her with interesting topics to maintain conversations with her father, but it also served as an escape from the monotony of the rectory. Reading the newspaper articles also provided her with a glimpse of what was happening in the world outside St Ive and to keep updated about politics and other interesting topics.[92] Later, she would write that this was the loneliest time in her life,[93] knowing that her life was rushing past her and that she had no opportunity to realise some of her dreams and prove to people that she was capable of more than they thought. This feeling of wasted time and energy filled Hobhouse with anxiety.[94]

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[84] Roberts, p. 128; Fisher, p. 20.
[85] Fisher, p. 16.
[86] Van Reenen, p. 12.
[87] Fisher, p. 22.
[88] Brits, p. 19.
[89] *Ibid*.
[90] Van Reenen, p. 16.
[91] Brits, p. 19.
[92] *Ibid*.
[93] *Ibid*., p. 20.
[94] Van Reenen, p. 17.

This anxiety was aggravated by the fact that her romantic life was also in shambles. At one time, she met a young man, William John Barrett, and very soon a relationship developed between the two of them. Her father immediately reacted, stating that William was not suitable, as he was a member of the choir and his sister-in-law was a housemaid at the rectory. So, he made Hobhouse end the relationship.[95] Following this fiasco, Hobhouse became lonelier and nowhere, in any of her diaries or letters, did she write anything during that time. For her, the time being cooped up in a house with no intellectual stimulation and no one to converse with was torture.[96]

Then, on 27 January 1895, her father died. Though she was sad to lose him, she did not waste any time on mourning, and within two weeks, she packed her few personal belongings and left the town that had been her home for 35 years.[97] A chapter in her life story was ending, and another chapter was starting to unfold. Although it was not the last time that she was to be confronted with the death of someone close to her, and she would repeatedly be with someone in "the last hours of their lives", the new chapter in her life would portray eing "torn from familiar simple life, plunged into sickness and destitution, surrounded by strangers".[98]

The last years of her life in St Ive were tedious, but it was simple and familiar, and now she was on the verge of being thrown into a completely new and unfamiliar life. Hobhouse had inherited a somewhat meagre sum of money, but her financial situation was not entirely dire. She had the option to go to her aunt and uncle Hobhouse, where she could spend the rest of her life in comfort, sewing, playing piano and acting as companion to her aged relatives. This also meant that her inheritance would be more than enough to grant her a leisurely lifestyle, which would have been on par with the expectations of women during those times. In addition, Hobhouse had no formal training that would have allowed her to do anything else.[99] But Hobhouse agreed with Florence Nightingale, who despised the expectations that society had of women: "The Anglican Church told me to go back and do crochet in my mother's drawing room or if I were tired of that, to marry and look well at the head of my husband's table."[100] Hobhouse could not bring herself to burden her aunt and uncle, and besides, she was too adventurous to consider such a life.

[95] Fisher, pp. 22–23.
[96] Fry, p. 34.
[97] Fisher, p. 24.
[98] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[99] Fisher, p. 24.
[100] Van Reenen, pp. 18–19.

Instead, she gave up the opportunity of a very comfortable life and set sail to Virginia. She started an abstinence group for drunken miners and taught Finnish miners English and organised a library for them. She also helped in the hospital by changing the bedding and caring for the sick.[101] This new adventure in Hobhouse's life might sound very idealistic and it would have been easy to say that Hobhouse's yearning to care for other people was satisfied, but this was not the case. From the onset of her time in Virginia, she was faced with multiple barriers and she had to learn to adapt the expectations she had of life. She also had to rethink her place in the world. The first obstacle she encountered was with her lodgings. At first, she booked a place in a room in a very grimy boarding house. She quickly decided to look for alternative lodgings and found a charming cottage. She was ecstatic, but it was not to last long, as she soon realised that the cottage was swarming with lice. She had to return to the boarding house until the cottage could be cleared out.[102] Another unexpected obstacle was the people around her. Although she had no knowledge of miners and their ways, she quickly figured out what their particular needs were and was quick to address it. This resulted in fierce opposition from the various pub owners who lost some of their faithful clients to the abstinence meetings. On the other side of the spectrum, the Archdeacon she was working for criticised her because she did not limit her welfare work to the Anglican Cornish miners. [103] No, she stuck to her obstinate self and addressed need whenever she saw it, without letting herself be side-tracked by the way things were supposed to be done. Although the opposition made her even more determined to go on, it also increased her loneliness and struggle in a foreign country where she was a stranger.[104]

This yearning for companionship was soon answered, but ended in terrible heartbreak. She met a young man, John C. Jackson, who eventually also became the mayor of Virginia.[105] They spent long hours together and soon, Hobhouse fell in love with him. She wrote to her sister and Aunt Mary that she was very much in love with him and that they were practically engaged: "Mr Jackson consumes a great deal of my time… and I respect and admire him more every time I see him… We are sort of half engaged and expect to be wholly so in a short while."[106] This dream soon turned into reality and Jackson accompanied Hobhouse to England to be introduced to her family and to get their approval for the engagement. Their reaction to him

[101] Fry, p. 49.
[102] Fisher, p. 31.
[103] Brits, pp. 30–32.
[104] *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.
[105] Brits, p. 33.
[106] Hobhouse Balme, p. 15.

disappointed Hobhouse terribly. They deemed the match as extremely unfit and even after the engagement was ended, they acted like Jackson never existed.[107] No doubt her family had her best interest at heart, but it could not have been pleasant for Hobhouse to seek her family's approval for something or someone close to her heart, only to be disappointed by their cool reception.

True to Hobhouse's nature, she stuck to her resolve and without her family's blessing, she returned to Mexico, where before their trip to England, she had bought a ranch, dreaming about a new life for herself and Jackson. He was not there. It turned out that he was declared bankrupt in Virginia and that he might have used Hobhouse primarily for her money. In the process, she lost her ranch, and in 1898, she returned to England, brokenhearted and bankrupt.[108] One must wonder if she really loved Jackson, or if he was just another exciting adventure that passed. Hobhouse, who made notes and kept record of everything, left this part of her life from her diary, like she erased him from her life and memory, just like the time at home alone with her father.[109] One clue, which reveals her true feelings, was the bridal veil that she kept and treasured until her death. This piece of material possession provides a small window into Hobhouse's romantic heart.[110]

Whatever the reasons for the broken engagement, Hobhouse's outlook on life took a drastic turn and she regarded people with caution, rather than storming in blindly when she sensed that there was someone in need: "Rescuing self-indulgent backwoodsmen from their excesses had not proved the noble, all-absorbing cause she was seeking. This, and her shattered romance, had made Hobhouse more critical of human failings."[111]

Returning to England, Hobhouse had no idea what to do next, but she shortly found a new welfare project appealing to her. Friends of hers, the Courtneys, shared tales about the South African women and children being left desolate after their farms had been torched by the British soldiers during the Anglo-Boer War.[112] The stories of the heart-rending sacrifice in South Africa struck a cord and she decided to help with their cause without realising how extensive the agony was and how closely she was to be associated with them in the future. Hobhouse decided that she wanted to become part of this venture, and was appointed as honorary secretary

[107] Fisher, pp. 35–36.
[108] Hobhouse Balme, pp. 16–17; Fisher, p. 40.
[109] Van Reenen, p. 24.
[110] Brits, p. 34.
[111] Roberts, p. 131.
[112] Brits, p. 40.

of the South African Conciliation Committee, a fund founded to oppose the war and help the women and children whose husbands and fathers were away fighting and whose farms were looted and destroyed by Kitchener's scorched earth policy.[113] As a member of this committee, she organised a meeting for women to show their indignation against the war and their support for the Transvaal and the Orange Free State women and children.[114] After this meeting, "There followed a storm of abuse from relatives and acquaintances, some of whom even attacked me in the press. I lost the majority of friends…taking up the work publicly I would not escape a painful severance of old ties".[115] Noticing the reaction and knowing that she could only do a limited amount of work in England, Hobhouse decided to go to South Africa: "The constantly renewed picture of women and children homeless, desperate and distressed, formed and fixed itself in my mind and never once left me. It became my abiding thought. The thought deepened to torture… became a vision of vivid reality wherein I saw myself amongst the sufferers bearing relief. I never doubted then that I should go and that, be the obstacles what they might, they would be surmounted."[116]

Once again, she boarded a ship, and once again, she left everything that was familiar and comfortable behind to help people who were complete strangers. Armed with a few letters of recommendation,[117] she was on her way to Cape Town, the port city in a new and faraway country. Arriving in Cape Town on 30 December 1901, she was welcomed by several pro-Boers who told her about the concentration camps.[118] Immediately she made an appointment with Lord Milner. At first, he shied away from seeing her, but Hobhouse was so persistent that he eventually met with her and after a two-hour conversation, gave her permission to travel to the camps, but stated that it was subject to Kitchener's approval. Kitchener agreed to her visiting the camps, but only permitted her to go as far north as Bloemfontein.[119] She accepted the terms, feeling that it was better than nothing and planning to try again later on to see the camps in the Transvaal as well. With a train truck filled with items she thought would alleviate the suffering of the women and children in the camps, she was on her way.

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[113] *Ibid.*
[114] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 18. The meeting took place on 13 June 1900 in the Queen's Hall.
[115] Free State Provincial Archive (Bloemfontein), Adv. Gladys Steyn and Mrs M.T. Steyn Collection, A156/3/11: E. Hobhouse, Unpublished Autobiography, First draft of Chapter for 1899, p. 11.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[117] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 35, 441: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, 6 January 1901. Lady Hobhouse and her cousin Henry Hobhouse had written introductions to Milner, stating that Hobhouse was "well known to our family".
[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34: "In England we had heard nothing of the formation of such camps."
[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 445: Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, 20–22 January 1901.

The travelling to Bloemfontein proved to be more challenging than what Hobhouse expected, and she was reminded that she now entered a war zone and that her previous comforts were something of the past. She was the only woman on the train and felt very exposed and uncomfortable: "It was difficult for Hobhouse to play the part of a lady of quality in a train that had travelled through an area of dust storms, and the refreshment rooms crowded with British officers who appeared not especially anxious to treat this middle-aged, non-too fashionably dressed interloper as one of themselves."[120]

Upon her arrival in Bloemfontein on 26 January 1901,[121] she immediately started visiting the camps, scrutinising the location, facilities, care and overall well-being of each camp. The situation in the camps were far worse than she feared, and she immediately realised that the provisions she brought was neither adequate, nor enough. The camp superintendents and other British officers were very suspicious of this English woman telling them how to do their jobs and criticising them when she disagreed with them. They could not believe that one of their own people would be such a critical observer, and from the start, Hobhouse experienced severe resistance from them:

> I consider we are all more or less prisoners in Bloemfontein. We cannot move without passes. Everything is censored – spies abound – barbed wire and picquets surround the town – newspapers nearly all prohibited – we have no news and know nothing but vaguest rumours…what was the use of wearing out the patience and ruining the business of the inhabitants by this deadening Martial Law?[122]

While visiting the people and listening to their complaints and concerns, she made meticulous notes of every single story she heard from the women. Once, she recounted a snake coming into one of the tents:

> They told me their stories and we cried together and even laughed together and chatted bad Dutch and bad English all the afternoon. Wet nights, the water streams down through the canvas and comes flowing in (as it knows how to in this country) under the flap of the tent and wets their blankets as they lie on the ground. While we sat there a snake came in. They said it was a night adder and very poisonous. So, they all ran out to make room and I attacked the creature with my parasol (Afterwards I was told it was a puff-adder.)[123]

She also noticed how the superintendents treated the inhabitants in the camps and how they reacted to her: "I am a real coward over it… Just the way these subordinates look at you is enough, as if you were a fool, an idiot and a traitor combined."[124]

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[120] Fisher, p. 126.
[121] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 46–47.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[123] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[124] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 11; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 56.

After spending some time in Bloemfontein, she visited other camps in nearby towns and continued to make notes of the suffering. Although she kept to her resolve to visit the camps and give proper feedback of her observations, she grew tired and sometimes had to muster all her strength to go to all the camps. She wrote to her aunt that she was dreading the visits and that although she felt fine physically, she suffered emotional and psychological illness and quoting Mark 6:7 stated, "I can't in a letter make you understand now how wise it was in Bible days to send people out two by two when there was something difficult to be done…"[125]

She often had to endure terrible conditions to visit these camps, and sometimes longingly looked after the trains leaving the stations returning to Cape Town,[126] but she persevered, knowing that she wanted to get the whole story in order to make informed judgements and convey the entire situation accurately to the people back home. On occasion, she had to give away very personal and intimate items and luxuries to help some of the people in a camp. For example, she once came across an old lady who had no dress to wear. Without second thought, Hobhouse slipped off her underskirt and gave it to the lady.[127]

Before long, she realised that the problem lay much deeper than the situation in the camps. Many of the superintendents accused her of playing political games, and working for the Liberal Party to gather information for their campaigns.[128] Of course this was not true, but on various occasions, she noticed that people tried to trap her into making statements that would prove that her reasons for visiting the camps were political rather than philanthropical: "By feigning pro-Boerism they hoped to draw me out and make me say things which could be reported to the Commandant. So, I talk of everything from wild flowers to American spelling and keep off the Boers and politics."[129] Another account that Hobhouse gave in this regard, was about a particular superintendent who tried to lure her into making statements that might be politically incorrect:

> I spent till dusk in the camp, finding myself rather superfluously accompanied in my rounds by Mr Gostling… To my surprise he insisted upon walking with me in spite of my assurances that I was quite able to go alone as usual. During this walk as during the day, his one subject seemed to be to draw me into talking politics. He talked nothing else, while my efforts were to introduce other topics – the vegetation, prices, stars, and so forth. It was a trying ordeal, this setting a snare for me, so exhausted as I was… Can you believe it, but the whole of that time he talked politics, returning to it again and again as I as often changed the subject? In vain I told him I wanted to read and rest, in vain suggested that I did not like to take up his time from the camp…

[125] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 12; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 57.
[126] Brits, p. 71.
[127] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 111: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.
[128] Hobhouse Balme, pp. 97–98.
[129] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 85: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, 8 March 1901.

> Mr Gostling died later in the camp. He was better than some Superintendents, having a sense of law and order, but he was narrow and hard and lent himself to the dirty work of an agent-provocateur.[130]

She also realised that her mail was being censored.[131] In a letter to her aunt, she said, "…since I have been thus made public they have begun censoring my letters which is most annoying. Do be careful how you write to me and expect nothing of interest from me…" [132] After this, she started keeping a diary instead of conveying all her acquired information in letters.[133]

In addition, the imperialistic newspapers started to get wind of her works and ridiculed her mission and accused her of being an over-emotional pro-Boer. In a report after a meeting Hobhouse had with the Guild of Loyal Women or Loyal Ladies' League[134], the *Bloemfontein Post* of 21 February 1900, called her a "lady missioner" and mockingly reported:

> … From one or two stray words which reached our ears concerning yesterday's proceedings – such words as 'soap' and 'filthy English slums' – and the vague digest of Miss Hobhouse's oration of one hour's duration, we imagine that that lady has not been fortunate in the sources of her information, or her choice of mentors and guides since her residence here. We should say rather she has been singularly unfortunate… South Africa has suffered enough from impressionists and we do hope Miss Hobhouse is not of their number. The manner, however, according to rumour, in which she set herself yesterday to instruct and correct ladies who have spent their lives in this town, or in South Africa, argues that she is not altogether free from the failings of this pernicious class of historian. But be that as it may, we must certainly, by way of conclusion, express the earnest hope that Miss Hobhouse will not, as part of her mission, teach the refugees at the Refugee Camp, who have so much to be grateful for, to believe that they have grievances – grievances quite unimagined hitherto.[135]

This piece was posted after the Loyal Ladies' League had promised Hobhouse that her meeting with them would be private.[136] This article caused great problems for Hobhouse: "Up to this point I had enjoyed the freedom of complete obscurity, but the unfortunate publicity which followed my little visit to the Loyal Ladies' League brought undesirable notice in Bloemfontein itself and in London the English Press soon began to make mischief… Its ultimate effects were very troublesome… one being the tightening of the Censorship of my letters hitherto unmolested."[137]

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[130] *Ibid*., pp. 112–113: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.
[131] *Ibid*., p. 51: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 1 February 1901.
[132] Hobhouse, The Camps, 25 February 1901, p. 36; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 97: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 26 March 1901.
[133] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 99.
[134] *Ibid*., pp. 73, 443, 453–54: The Loyal Ladies' League stated that they belong to no party but that they are proud daughters of the British Empire.
[135] *Ibid*., pp. 453–454.
[136] *Ibid*., p. 78: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.
[137] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 41.

She could do no more in South Africa, and wrote to Aunt Mary that to stay in South Africa would be worthless.[138] She knew that the only solution was to return to England to make people aware of the circumstances regarding the camps. Alfred Milner was on the same ship, rerturning to England for holiday. She made sure that she spoke to him about the situation, and he reprimanded her, stating that he had heard rumours and complaints that she stirred among the inhabitants of the camps and that she made it difficult for the superintendents to do their work.[139] Hobhouse strongly reacted by accusing Milner of not trusting her and that he rather depended on the "low class of people that were willing to be informers".[140]

After her meeting with Brodrick back in England, he sent the report to Milner, but Milner advised Brodrick not to give it too much thought,[141] as Hobhouse was just another "screamer".[142] When she did not get the reaction she wanted, and Brodrick seemed to dismiss her reports, Hobhouse decided to make it public. With the help of various key players, she organised several meetings across England for this purpose. Although she was able to speak at a few meetings, other venues were manipulated by the government and newspapers and cancelled the meetings on short notice, for fear of "disturbances", or worse, being called a supporter of the Boer cause.[143] Other venues allowed her to speak, but the public made it difficult and some hurled sticks, stones and vegetables at her.[144]

The reactions she received were mixed, and although some people were appalled at what they heard from her and she received great support, most branded her as hysterical and disloyal toward the Imperial cause.[145] Wherever she could, she held meetings and quickly drove a wedge between the Liberal and other parties in parliament, and various protests started to occur throughout England.[146]

Because of her relentless attacks on the government and army, Hobhouse was ridiculed and mocked by people who mostly reacted with an unknown fury and negativity, "not about what

[138] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 109: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.
[139] Pakenham, pp. 501–502.
[140] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 116: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.
[141] *Ibid*., p. 128: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, 4 June 1901. See also Van Reenen's own notes, pp. 464–465.
[142] Pakenham, p. 502.
[143] *Ibid*., p. 504; W.J. de Kock, "Die Anglo-Boereoorlog, 1899–1902" in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, p. 360.
[144] Roberts, p. 214; Van Reenen, p. 67.
[145] F. Pretorius, *Scorched earth*, p. 54.
[146] De Kock, p. 349.

was happening in South Africa, but more against the bearer of this terrible news".[147] This provided sensational material for the media and they twisted and turned everything she said:

> Miss Hobhouse… is deficient in one of the first qualities of an investigator into such a subject. She has no knowledge and no previous experience of the habits of the people whose conditions she undertook to examine. Our Correspondent, who has that knowledge and experience, affirms that the overcrowding which impressed her, like many of the other alleged hardships of which she complains, is habitually practised by the Dutch in ordinary times of their own free will…[148]

Hobhouse was accused of writing too emotionally and using too many adjectives to influence the readers in her reports and letters about the camps:[149] "Accusations of exaggeration and gullibility were to follow Hobhouse for months, and, trivial as it was, the snake story never failed to draw a sneer. She found these attacks more amusing than offensive and rarely replied to them. As far as she was concerned they were irrelevant to the serious issues she had raised."[150] Bravely, Hobhouse ignored most of the insults and continued with her awareness campaign. She was devastated to realise that her beloved country allowed atrocities like the war in South Africa.

During the process of making people aware of the situation in South Africa, she was criticised as being pro-Boer and a traitor who was against England and rather sympathised with strangers than to care for her own country.[151] "The trouble with Miss Hobhouse: she went and nursed, not like Lady Nightingale, our wounded soldiers, she went and tend [sic] the blinking Boers! And that was that!"[152] For others, the problem was not that she wanted to help people in need, but that she had sympathy with them and consequently spoke out against her own people and their wrongdoings:[153] "They accused me of talking politics whereas we could only talk of sickness and death; they objected to "shewing sympathy" but that was needed in every act and word. It was all kept very quiet."[154]

The problem was that many of the Liberal Party supporters were her friends and also supported her cause. They would then accompany her to various meetings, and sometimes even make speeches at these meetings. Unfortunately, it also seems that some of these politicians used Hobhouse's words and reports as part of their political campaigns. Hobhouse voted for the Liberal Party, but she did not use the camps as a campaign mechanism. She kept her

[147] Van Reenen, p. 67.
[148] Fisher, p. 152.
[149] Roberts, p. 167.
[150] *Ibid.*, p. 168.
[151] Fisher, p. 202: Sir C. Cayzer, House of Commons debate, 20 March 1902.
[152] Van Reenen, p. 10. Tom Barrett was an acquaintance of the Hobhouse family in St Ive.
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 60.
[154] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 79.

humanitarian work separate from politics. In fact, she never participated in any political campaigns. Hobhouse maintained that her actions were purely philanthropical, and that she did not care for politics: "On that score I always maintained a negative attitude."[155] In a heartfelt letter to Mrs Steyn, she conveyed some of her feelings that she could not always show to her fellow countrymen and women:

> My work for the camps in South Africa has brought nearly all of my people to look on me with contempt and suspicion. The Press has singled me out and I am branded as a rebel, a liar, an enemy of my own people, and accused of hysteria and a lot worse. One or two papers such as the *Manchester Guardian* have raised their voices in my defence, but the struggle was not even, and most people have a totally false impression about me. This has done much to sour my life. I am banned from society. People turn away when my name is mentioned. It has been so for years and has meant losing many old friends of my youth.[156]

To encourage her during these difficult times, Caroline Murray, wrote the following letter:

> Most people live only on the surface of life and are unconscious instruments of good or evil in the hands of the few who really think and plan and sway the conscience of most as they will. To go counter this wave of popular opinion means a struggle for which few are fitted and therefore one cannot but find many well-meaning people considering you an enemy.[157]

The emotional time in Hobhouse's life also had an impact on her health, but she refused to give up. Eventually, the government finally admitted that there might be a problem, and sent a Ladies' Commission to examine the situation. Judging by a letter Leonard Hobhouse received from Mrs Courtney, Hobhouse's great friend in England, "It is a great triumph, the Government really accepting your sister's suggestions, though their friends will probably continue to abuse her and us as traitors",[158] it is clear that the British government did not send the commission because they finally acknowledged Hobhouse's observations and statements.

As a result, Hobhouse was not invited to be part of the commission, because Brodrick stated that they were sending out people "removed from the suspicion of partiality to the system adopted or the reverse"[159] and "no one specifically identified with any form of opinion…"[160] At first, she was furious and could not understand why the government rejected her first-hand expertise and experience on the matter.[161] However, the government felt that Hobhouse was too politically involved and that she would cause even more damage if she returned to South Africa. The chairperson of this Ladies' Commission, Millicent Fawcett, on the other hand, was

[155] E. Hobhouse, *The brunt of the war and where it fell*, p. 123.
[156] Fisher, p. 160.
[157] Brits, p. 88: Letter from Caroline Murray to Emily Hobhouse, 11 July 1901.
[158] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 129–130: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.
[159] *Ibid*., pp. 461–462
[160] Hobhouse Balme, p. 278; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 128: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Mrs Charles Murray, 11 July 1901.
[161] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 476.

an ardent imperialist and the government could rest assured that she supported their goals and would protect their image. Millicent Fawcett and her team had the government's full support, and thus travelled in comfort to and from the camps.[162] Moreover, they had Hobhouse's previous list of suggestions to work from and it was easy to confirm some of the observations made by Hobhouse without having to make the extensive and uncomfortable visits to the camps that Hobhouse had to endure.[163] Their camp visits were much more superficial, and they heavily relied on Hobhouse's reports, something they never admitted. Although it must have been difficult for Hobhouse to accept the fact that a lady, who had no previous interest in South Africa[164] and the camps' situation, was chosen above her and that Fawcett received praise for much of Hobhouse's work,[165] she still acknowledged Fawcett's accomplishments and was very relieved when it seemed that the mortality rate finally started to decrease.[166] Fawcett on the other hand, never once mentioned Hobhouse despite using her recommendations as an obvious guide in compiling her own.[167] Later in her memoir, she omitted Hobhouse when writing about her experience in South Africa:[168]

> Later it was suggested that Millicent Fawcett was the real heroine of the concentration camps because it was only after her visit that substantial improvements were made. While Mrs Fawcett certainly deserves credit, it is obvious that Hobhouse was the true pioneering genius of the camps. Had it not been for Hobhouse's report and the controversy surrounding it, it is doubtful whether Mrs Fawcett…would ever have been sent to South Africa.[169]

However, this did not happen for several months, and while the members of the Ladies' Commission were preparing for their trip to South Africa, Hobhouse heard alarming reports from the camps about the rising infant mortality.[170] She begged the British government to speed up the process, but it dragged on, much too slow for Hobhouse's taste. She could not take it any longer and decided to return herself. It was widely accepted that she would return, and people started enquiring about the possibility.[171] However, the government prohibited her from going.[172] Acting on advice from Lord Ripon, she decided to return to South Africa, but not to visit the Free State or Transvaal camps, but rather the coastal camps.[173]

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[162] *Ibid*., p. 462.
[163] E. Hobhouse, *Die smarte van die oorlog*, p. 176.
[164] Roberts, pp. 205–206.
[165] Hobhouse Balme, pp. 238–239.
[166] Pretorius, *Anglo-Boereoorlog*, p. 64.
[167] Ladies' Commission camps reports.
[168] Roberts, pp. 205–206.
[169] *Ibid*.
[170] Hobhouse, p. 176.
[171] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 462: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to St John Brodrick, 26 July 1901.
[172] Van Reenen, p. 69.
[173] *Ibid*., p. 137: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.

In order to allow her to rest after a very stressful and busy time, she asked the captain of her vessel, *Avondale Castle*, to omit her name from the passenger list so that no one would know she was on board and disturb her.[174] A nosy journalist got word that she was on board, and without checking his facts, assumed that she was going against the government's orders to visit the Free State and Transvaal camps. He published the information in a paper in London and when Hobhouse's ship anchored in Cape Town, there was a warrant out for her arrest:

> His woeful ignorance of what is possible under martial law made him believe and publish that I was going back to the camps. As already stated, the Government had definitely refused permission and I should never have dreamed of anything so undignified as attempting to go behind that prohibition even had it been possible, which, with martial law in control throughout the interior, it certainly was not… Inaccurate journalists are mischievous people, and I have suffered much at their hands one time or another.[175]

She was denied permission to go on land and commanded to immediately board another ship, leaving Cape Town that very same day. Hobhouse refused, stating that she was exhausted after a long journey and first needed time to recover. After being treated roughly, she was forcefully carried to another ship and deported back to England on 31 October 1901, less than a day after arriving in Cape Town.[176]

When Hobhouse returned to England, she wanted to open a case against Kitchener, but people advised her not to do it.[177] According to them, it would have been harmful to her cause.[178] Thus, she humbly left it at that. Unfortunately, this resulted in that people's reactions to Hobhouse's deportation was based only on what some newspapers reported, and some people never learned Hobhouse's side, or they viewed her silence about the matter as an admission of guilt.[179]

When the war in South Africa was over, she started to think of ways to help the Afrikaner people get back on their feet. Even in this endeavour, newspapers twisted her words and when she arrived in Cape Town once more, she was met with a rather cool reception. Enquiring as to what caused the negative reception, someone said that they only believed what the newspapers wrote about her. In reaction to this, Hobhouse stated that "People who read the Chamberlain press, and these are the majority, imagined I was a person to be boycotted and ostracised, and on hearing my name were wont to turn the cold shoulder. This insolence, against

[174] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[175] *Ibid.*
[176] *Ibid.*, p. 411: B. Molteno, Statement re Miss Hobhouse's forcible removal from the *Avondale Castle*.
[177] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[178] *Ibid.*, pp. 147–149.
[179] *Ibid.*, pp. 175–176.

which of course I had no weapon, created difficult situations for many years."[180] Once again, journalists were key in creating difficult circumstances for Hobhouse.

Hobhouse gathered herself once more and when the war was over, returned to the two former republics for a six-month journey through the country. She wanted to stop at as many farms and towns as possible to get a clear picture of the situation. Thus, several volunteers transported her through the country in a wagon pulled by horses. This trek caused an old ailment, neuritis, to return and "Every jolt of the wagon (which is continual) makes the pain worse. Perhaps if I could get some rest it would be better, but there is, so to say, no comfortable moment in the whole twenty-four hours of these trekking days".[181] She also described her trek to Aunt Mary as "tedious and painful but I hope useful".[182] For months, she braved the sun, wind and dust to visit even the remotest places. At night, she joined families in their homes, which were now only shadows of proud homes it used to be before scorched earth hit them. To worsen the situation, an ongoing drought plagued the country, there were no crops, most of the fruit orchards were burnt down and most of the livestock were either slaughtered or driven off by the British soldiers. People were starving, but to get the full picture, Hobhouse stayed and shared meals with the families. Their meals were different from what Hobhouse was used to: "The Boers, partly by custom, partly, indeed largely now, by necessity, eat so much less than we do, that I am underfed, and though I carry some food with me I am ashamed I have to confess I must supplement their meals. At night, I chew a little biltong and crack up some bread which has dried in this air beyond cutting with a knife".[183] Once, after being on the road for a few days, she was able to get a glimpse of herself in a mirror: "I am like the raw springbok biltong which is to be seen hanging in strings outside some farmhouse walls, and my hair is electrified and blazes when I comb it."[184]

She sacrificed comfort, her image and much more, but she achieved a great deal through her travels across the barren country. By organising a team of plough oxen, and working with the ministers from the Dutch Reformed Church, she was able to work out a system where several teams of oxen travelled from farm to farm to plough the earth in order for new crops to be sown. In this way, she played a role in helping the Afrikaner people get back on their feet. However, this did not win over the newspapers and British government. They were still

[180] *Ibid.*, p. 175.
[181] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[182] Hobhouse, Chapter XI: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Aunt Mary.
[183] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 230.
[184] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

antagonistic towards Hobhouse and "…as the days went on, the papers did not sneer much at my appeal. They sneered a good deal at me, but that did not matter as I was indifferent to their opinions. As regards what I said they were hardly able to deny it because they had not visited the country outside the towns."[185]

While touring South Africa, Hobhouse realised that the Afrikaner girls needed some kind of vocation and started working on weaving schools for the girls. At first, she wanted it to be lace-making schools, but realised that lace was a luxury and that weaving suited the South African lifestyle better. Returning to England, she once again started to raise money for the cause. There, her supporters faithfully stood behind her to help in whichever way they could. During one of these campaigns, a lady, who was not one of her ardent supporters, nevertheless stated, "I have always known that to sacrifice yourself in every way – health, wealth and reputation – for the sake of the Boers, was the natural outcome of your character, and I hold you blessed among women because God had given you power to perform as well as the heart to feel."[186]

This would have been a perfect conclusion to everything that Hobhouse had done, but she still powered on. She was making headway with her project, but there was a cloud hanging over the endeavour. Her uncle, Lord Hobhouse, was old and becoming very weak. Hobhouse wanted to postpone the upcoming South African trip, but Lady Farrer, a family friend, encouraged Hobhouse not to change her plans: "She held the strong opinion that as long as the old are well cared for it is the duty of those who are still active to work for the good of society, and she saw no reason why our old couple should not yet enjoy many tranquil years. In a word, her advice was to continue my preparations and go."[187] This she did, but before she could leave, her uncle passed away at the age of 85. Once again, she had to endure the sacrifice of standing beside the deathbed of a loved one:

> I dwell much upon this loss, for I never felt any death so deeply. Since I was six years old I had been closely linked to my Uncle, and I always looked on him and my Aunt as my mental parents. It was hard to creep into her room that dark winter morn and break to her that the end was near, and together we stayed with him till all was over and I led her back to rest.[188]

Worse still was leaving behind her aunt, who took her husband's death very poorly.[189] However, she did, and as a final sacrifice, she later learned that her aunt had also passed away less than a year later, without her being there to support her to the very last moment. "For me,

[185] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[186] *Ibid.*, p. 327.
[187] *Ibid.*, p. 331.
[188] *Ibid.*, p. 333.
[189] *Ibid.*, p. 332.

her death left a blank nothing could fill, it was the loss of one who always understood. The full realisation of my great loss came upon me. I knew then I was absolutely alone for the remainder of my life."[190]

She greatly regretted the fact that she could not greet Aunt Mary, but Lady Farrer's words were true and Hobhouse had important work to do in South Africa. She started the weaving schools and with the help of a few supporters, she taught Afrikaner girls how to weave. This endeavour grew until they later opened a few other weaving schools and eventually also a lace-making school. Although the work was satisfactory, Hobhouse was still very alone and started to live a rather solitary life, and Margaret Clarke, her help at the schools commented: "It seems to me that I would give anything to make her happy, but her nature is so confounded that I do not believe she will ever find the pure and unqualified happiness which is the only thing that could satisfy her."[191] In addition, she wrote in her diary: "It makes me bleed to know what dust and ashes the world is for her."[192]

Eventually Hobhouse felt that her time in South Africa was coming to an end, and handing over the schools to a governing body, she returned to England to bury herself in new endeavours, thinking that she would never return to this country that has taken so much from her,[193] but in return had given her several causes to fight for. Her sacrifices in so many aspects of her life were perfectly defined by Olive Schreiner, when she wrote to Hobhouse after her book, *The brunt of the war* was published: "I fear your work must have told heavily and permanently on you. One does not pass through such a time of combat with injustice ever to be quite the same again…"[194] For the sake of other people, Hobhouse was willing to sacrifice everything she had, including companionship, love and health.[195]

5.4.2 Human rights

> Are not these the withholding from others in your control, the very liberties and rights which you have valued and won for yourselves?[196]

Hobhouse's life was filled with sacrifice for the sake of helping others; people and relationships were very important to Hobhouse. She learned this strong will to sacrifice and help other people

[190] Free State Provincial Archive (Bloemfontein), Adv. Gladys Steyn and Mrs M.T. Steyn Collection, A156/3/11: E. Hobhouse, Unpublished Autobiography, Langlaagte and after, p. 3.
[191] Brits, pp. 176–177: Margaret Clark diary, 2 June 1906.
[192] *Ibid*.
[193] J. Hall, *That bloody woman: The turbulent life of Emily Hobhouse* p. 205.
[194] The Olive Schreiner Letters Online (online archive), Letters/456: Letter from Olive Schreiner to Emily Hobhouse, 3 April 1903.
[195] Hall, p. 205.
[196] *Ibid*.

from her parents, who were involved in humanitarian work. Hobhouse's ancestors, on her father's side, were involved in slave trade, something that Hobhouse and her parents were fully aware of.[197] Although it might not have been the main reason for everything they did for society, there could have been a subconscious drive to counteract and compensate for these actions.

Even when she was still very young, Hobhouse threw her weight into her father's parish and visited poor and sick people, distributed food, etc. She spent days on the road to reach the remotest people in the area. But she continuously felt that she did not reach her full potential in St Ive, and when her father died, she immediately left the small town.

Her passion for people and helping them convinced her to accept the opportunity in Virginia, as described in the previous section. At first, her job description stated that she should only work with certain people, but seeing the situation in Virginia, she could not stand this when she so clearly saw the need everywhere. Defying orders and norms, she stepped in and helped whoever needed assistance.[198]

Her time in America came to a disheartened end. Returning to England, her trust in people was somewhat damaged, but her desire to help people was just as strong, and the war in South Africa deepened the desire:

> Deeply, I had felt the call. Passionately, I resented the injustice of English policy. Wholeheartedly I offered myself for relief to the distressed. Carefully, step by step I prepared the way. Sternly, I economised and saved. Greatly, I felt the wrench and anxiety for my aged relatives. But never did the vision fade of those desolate women and children, nor the certainty that I must go to them.[199]

In South Africa for the first time, she relentlessly continued her quest to help people. She did not know about the concentration camps and her only aim was to alleviate the suffering of the women and children whose farms had been burned down by Kitchener and his army. She was very indignant that a country as 'civilised' as England had the audacity and the ignorance to burn down other people's homes to win a war. When she heard about the concentration camps, her anger intensified. How could the British government condone such an act? In order to show the inhumane practices, she distributed images she saw in the camps, which provided her with a tool to address human rights violations.

[197] Brits, p. 14.
[198] Fry, pp. 46–47.
[199] Hobhouse, First draft chapter, p. 18.

Human rights, something that Hobhouse fought for her entire life, reached a climax when she started the work in the concentration camps. For Hobhouse, this was not about one race or another, or one country against another:

> Our leaders still struggling with the unlearned lesson, that liberty is the equal right and heritage of every child of man, without distinction of race, colour or sex. A community that lacks the courage to found its citizenship on this broad base becomes "a city divided against itself, which cannot stand".[200]

Hobhouse simply saw the need and had to address it. She started visiting the camps and attempted to address the most basic needs. The injustice committed against the women and children was too much for her to bear and she worked hard to alleviate the situation and create awareness. It is quite comical how the British started the war after claims that the ZAR government treated the "Uitlanders" inhumanely: "The case for intervention is overwhelming… The spectacle of thousands of British subjects kept permanently in the position of helots, constantly chafing under undoubted grievances, and calling vainly to her Majesty's Government for redress…"[201], only to apply inhumane treatment on the concentration camp inhabitants themselves. Kitchener's reputation was no secret and Hobhouse must have known that human rights would not be Kitchener's main concern, and she knew that someone should take responsibility to address the needs and to remind Kitchener and the British army about The Hague Convention:[202]

> The necessity has never been made clear to this nation to justify a departure from the recognized laws of international warfare. I mean the frequent injudicious if not reckless burning or sacking of farmsteads or houses of the Boers… as also the forcible removal into camps of all women and children, and there being kept in bondage… What would be the indignation in the United Kingdom if anything approaching to such miseries were enacted by an invading army in our own country where even the nests of birds are under protection of the law?[203]

Once again, she used the images of the concentration camps to make people aware of the situation in letters, knowing that visual and first-hand experience would convince people more than an impersonal, second-hand account.

Although Hobhouse constantly lamented the British soldiers' incompetence and ignorance, she also saw their need and realised how difficult it must be for them to have to commit actions like burning farms and driving women and children to the concentration camps.[204] Later, she

[200] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[201] W.D. Hancock (ed.), *English historical documents, 1874–1914*, p. 405.
[202] M. van Bart, "Voorwoord" in M. van Bart (ed.), *Die Nasionale Vrouemonument: Honderdjarige herdenking, verlede – hede – toekoms*, p. 12.
[203] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 469: Letter of retired field marshal, published in the *Manchester Guardian.*
[204] *Ibid*., p. 34.

also nursed some of the sick soldiers travelling with her on a train.[205] This only showed that Hobhouse's compassion lay much deeper than patriotism, racism, pro-Boerism, or any other label that was so often bestowed on her. This courtesy was unfortunately not returned and sometimes, Hobhouse was forced into a crowded train truck in order to make way for British soldiers who wanted to sit comfortably through the journey.[206]

On several occasions, she was accused of being too sympathetic,[207] but she could do nothing else. To her, sympathy was what was needed to address needs appropriately.[208] Once, one of the camp superintendents, Captain Hume,[209] accused her of sympathy, and she reacted by calling him to come and look at a young woman, lying on the ground, dying and a small boy with "nothing left of him… I made him come in and showed him the complete child skeleton. Then at last he did say it was awful to see the children suffering so… I can't describe what it is to see these children lying about in a state of collapse – it is exactly like faded flowers thrown away. And one hates to stand and look on at such misery and be able to do almost nothing."[210] In another incident, Major-General Pretyman,[211] Military Governor of Bloemfontein, also accused Hobhouse of sympathy, and instead of acknowledging that the concentration camps' circumstances were beyond dire, accused Hobhouse of inciting the Boer women and convincing them that they needed more and deserved better. The British soldiers and government called her a fanatic.[212]

Returning to England after this first encounter with the concentration camps and its issues, Hobhouse turned to Henry Campbell-Bannerman for help after she was ignored and ridiculed by Brodrick and his administration. After hearing her account of everything that had transpired in South Africa,[213] he made the famous speech asking the question, "When is a war not a war?" and answering it, "When it is carried on by methods of barbarism in South Africa."[214] Hobhouse adopted the term barbarism and used it frequently. As the quote below shows, she also used it in her speech:

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[205] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 60; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 97: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.
[206] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 63.
[207] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[208] *Ibid*, p. 25.
[209] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 54: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 31 January 1901.
[210] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 10; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 55: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 31 January 1901.
[211] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 446. Pretyman also had general control over the civil administration of the occupied parts of the Free State.
[212] Hobhouse Balme, p. 97.
[213] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 125: Hobhouse's account of her interview with Henry Campbell-Bannerman.
[214] Spies, *Methods of barbarism?*, p. 9.

> We too, the great civilised nations of the world, are still but barbarians in our degree…[215]

The barbaric acts that Campbell-Bannerman referred to, included several human rights issues that Hobhouse not only noticed, but wanted to address.

5.4.2.1 Situation in camps

One of the issues that Hobhouse immediately noticed, was the sanitation and hygiene in the camps. She felt that as a woman, she was able to identify needs that had slipped the attention of many of the superintendents. Nowhere in the camps could she find any soap, and instead of identifying the need, the superintendents accused the Boer people of being dirty and unhygienic.[216] In addition, their medicinal practices were also scrutinised, with *The Times* stating that the children were dying because the mothers allowed and forced them to live under dubious circumstances.[217] To these accusations Hobhouse had a ready answer. She admitted that there were some people in the camps that were not living very hygienically, but also stated that old medicinal habits were part of every culture, and that she remembered how her own very British and civilised family also used some very peculiar cures for certain ailments.[218] She held fast that it was not the entire Boer population that were guilty and that there was a serious communication gap between the Boer women and the superintendents and medical staff in the camps and that a capable mediator would simplify the matter. [219] She refused to allow the women to be branded as being dirty and unfit mothers.

Her indignation about the reports concerning the sanitation and cleanliness in the camps was later demonstrated when she turned around the British accusation against the Boer women, and flung the same accusation at the British. When she was detained on the *Avondale Castle*, the dock authorities did not allow a washing woman to help her with her clothes and personal self. Hobhouse furiously asked whether the British government would "allow me to communicate with a washerwoman, or is uncleanliness part of the regime to which I must submit?"[220] After the ordeal, Hobhouse lashed out at Kitchener:

> Your brutality has triumphed over my weakness and sickness. You have forgotten so to be a patriot as now to forget that you are a gentleman. I hope that in future you will adopt greater width of judgement in the exercise of your high office. To carry out orders such as these is a degradation both to the office and the manhood of your soldiers. I feel ashamed to own you as

[215] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[216] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 20.
[217] M. Hasian (Jr.), *Restorative justices, humanitarian rhetorics, and public memories of colonial camp cultures*, pp. 84–85.
[218] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 95: Emily Hobhouse Memoir; p. 457; Report of the Ladies Committee, Imperial Blue Books, pp.16–17.
[219] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 51: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 26 January 1901.
[220] *Ibid*., p. 145: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Colonel Commandant H. Cooper, 28 October.

> a fellow countryman.[221]

And on Milner, she lashed the same accusation of having no regard for other people and their human rights: "Your brutal orders have been carried out and thus I hope you will be satisfied. Your narrow incompetency to see the real issues of this great struggle is leading you to such acts as this and many others, staining your own name and the reputation of England…"[222]

5.4.2.2 Black concentration camps

> Does not justice bid us remember to-day how many thousands of the dark race perished also in Concentration Camps in a quarrel that was not theirs…Was it not an instance of that community of interest, which binding all in one, roots out racial animosity?[223]

Another subject that continued to bug Hobhouse was the black concentration camps, and she constantly begged people to look into those camps as well.[224] More than once, she wrote letters to various people, asking them to make sure that the black concentration camps were also visited. She also asked the Loyal Ladies' League, who considered themselves non-political, to look after these camps.[225] However, her pleas fell on deaf ears. The Loyal Ladies' League stated that according to their knowledge, the situation in the black camps was not as dire.[226]

Now the question would be why Hobhouse did not visit these camps herself. Is it proof that she was a racist herself? Although Hobhouse was frequently accused of being pro-Boer and embracing their ideas about other races, this was not the case. She was constantly worried about the people in the black concentration camps. Black farm labourers and their families were brought in from farms in large numbers, having been made destitute by the destruction of crops and stock animals. The black "refugee" camps were started at about the same time as those for the Boers and suffered no less.[227] Hobhouse became aware of the situation in these camps, and stated that they "perplexed" her terribly.[228] Hobhouse's goal was to alleviate poor conditions of people in South Africa's concentration camps, regardless of race:

> With regard to the vexed question of differing nationalities, is it generally known and realized at home that there are many large Native (coloured) camps dotted about? In my opinion these needs looking into badly. I understand the death-rate in one at Bloemfontein to be very high and so also in other places – but I cannot possibly pay any attention to them myself. Why shouldn't the Society of Friends send someone if the War goes on, or the Aborigines

[221] Free State Provincial Archive (Bloemfontein), Adv. Gladys Steyn and Mrs M.T. Steyn Collection, A156/3/11: E. Hobhouse, Unpublished Autobiography, Arrest & deportation, pp. 6–8.; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 150: 1 November 1901.
[222] Hobhouse, Arrest & deportation, pp. 6–8.
[223] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[224] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 7.
[225] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 71: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, 18–22 February 1901.
[226] *Ibid.*
[227] P. Warwick, *Black people and the South African War*, pp. 145–53.
[228] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 53: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 26 January 1901.

> Protection? In my camps there are many kinds of nationalities. They are all suffering alike and it is not always possible to pick out the pure Boer and leave those mixed or intermarried. Often there are Kaffir [sic] servant girls whipped up and carried off with their mistresses, and those too need clothing. Decency demands that all should be provided…"[229]

There simply was not enough time nor resources, and Hobhouse had to stick to what she set out to do. She was one woman and if she divided her attention between the black and white camps, she would have neglected both. Instead, she devoted herself to the white camps.[230]

After the war, when she was touring through South Africa, she once again asked that the government consider the matter. On one occasion, she also visited a black community, after she was invited to go to show her that they also suffered and that they also needed help.[231] During this time, she also sent food to a black community, but was viciously criticised by newspapers for suggesting that these people were in "distress".[232] The need of the people grasped her heart, and it was almost like she felt lost in the immensity of the work and the realisation of what lay ahead.

5.4.2.3 Women's rights

> From ancient times men have pronounced eulogies over the graves of their fellow-men who had fallen for their country. Today, I think for the first time, a woman is chosen to make the Commemorative Speech over the National Dead – not soldiers – but *women* – who gave their lives for their country.[233]

> ...the great array of the women and children – the weak and the young. Wholly innocent of the war, yet called upon to bear its brunt, nobly they rose to meet the trial that awaited them. Sympathy indeed they craved and did receive, but they towered above our pity… what these women, so simple that they did not know that they were heroines, valued and died for, *all other human beings desire with equal fervour*.[234]

> ...these dead women were not great as the world counts greatness; some of them were quite poor women who had laboured much. Yet they have become a moral force in your land. They will enrich your history. As the diamonds and the gold glitter in the bedrock of your soil, so their stories, written or handed down, will shine like jewels in the dark annals of that time.[235]

The last issue that Hobhouse viewed as part of the barbaric acts was the vile treatment of the women. Sometimes it is hard to picture someone outside a certain sphere or to separate that person from one telling event that they were part of. This is true of Hobhouse. She was so

[229] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 45; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 83: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 4 March 1901.
[230] *Ibid.*
[231] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 271: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 30 August 1903.
[232] *Ibid.*, p. 294: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 20 September 1903, accompanied by an article from the *Rand Daily Mail*.
[233] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[234] *Ibid.*
[235] *Ibid.*

prominent in her fight against the circumstances in the concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War, that it is the only part of her that people remember or are aware of.

Even before the war, Hobhouse was known to show strong feminist traits. Her struggle to receive the same education as her brother was evident from a very young age. It was so clear that she wanted herself to be noticed that her family gave her the nickname, the "Missus". She certainly lived up to the name. She was the missus who refused to break down and stood up to several people, especially highly ranked men. After the war, she threw herself into the fight for women's voting rights and even became part of the suffragette movement: "I hoped that women might bring higher and purer standards into public life, less personal ambition…"[236]

But her fight for women's rights during the Anglo-Boer War cannot be overlooked. Hobhouse stood up for the Boer women and children, and sensing their fire, warned Milner: "I described to him the attitude and spirit of all the deported women I had met and asked him how he thought he was going to govern thousands of Joan of Arcs?"[237] The Boer women's fighting spirit was clear from the moment she rubbed shoulders with some of them in the Cape.[238] Without having met the women in the camps, she was already drawn to them and their spirit and character greatly appealed to her. She respected the Boer women, and in a great way, they embodied a certain ideal and yearning in Hobhouse's heart.

When President Steyn first told Hobhouse about his plans for a women's memorial, she was amid her fight for the suffrage movement. Although her participation was cut short by illness, forcing her to retire temporarily to Italy, she kept up to date with everything happening in Britain regarding the suffrage. This cause was something very close to Hobhouse's heart, as she had always been a fervent fighter for women and their rights. She could not stand male arrogance and throughout her life, she always found ways to challenge their authority. She later stated that she might have judged some men too harshly,[239] and that she "wrote so sharply" because her "feminine desire to speak my mind was strong".[240] She remained critical about men's ability to make major decisions when it mattered most.

[236] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 298–299.
[237] *Ibid.*, p. 37: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse on 8 January 1901. Miss Betty Molteno wrote a similar letter to her brother: "The women are magnificent. Numbers of them are literally Joan of Arcs, exulting in the thought of death and the most agonizing suffering, if it can benefit their country."
[238] *Ibid*, p. 33.
[239] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[240] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

As the daughter of an elderly minister, Hobhouse grew up in a very protected environment.[241] Their household functioned strictly to the prescribed conventions of those days. Leonard, the only remaining son, was educated in the best schools the Hobhouses could afford, but the girls had to be satisfied with a few years of schooling followed by finishing school. For Hobhouse, her time at the finishing school only lasted a short while, as the necessary funds lacked.[242] From then on, she received a limited education at home.

It was her heart's desire to be educated like her brother. She loved reading and spent hours in their library at home, searching for new and interesting information that might satisfy her hunger for knowledge. When looking at her brother and seeing what he learned and studied, she stated: "I envied the boys the special tutors they had, people whose brains they had the right to pick; of whom they might ask questions. I never had anyone to cut my mental teeth upon. School lessons always bored me… They never taught me the things I wanted to know."[243] Instead, Hobhouse was taken from school at the age of 14 to be home-schooled on how to be a good wife and mother. She had to learn to be a sensible young lady through embroidery, playing piano and knowing when to keep quiet.[244] She yearned for a university education, but that was not to be. Instead, she had to listen to her brother's tales of all the interesting things he encountered at university. Because of Hobhouse's inquisitiveness, she made sure that she was nearby whenever the rest of her family was debating the various political situations, both in England and in the global context. Coming from a well-known, but also notorious family, she had enough access to political conversations to shape her own ideas and beliefs.[245] Luckily, her mother also made sure that Hobhouse and her siblings were well-informed. Slowly, her indignation about women's fates in England was accumulating in her mind and heart, and slowly this feeling was playing its part in shaping who Hobhouse turned out to be as a woman in her own right, standing up for so many people in need, but most specifically women and children.

After her father died, Hobhouse left St Ive and continued her journey in becoming an independent and strong woman. Her time in Virginia did not evolve as she anticipated, but this too was key in shaping her mind. When her engagement to John C. Jackson was broken, her trust in men and their abilities received yet another blow:[246] "While it would be wrong to think

[241] Van Reenen p. 13.
[242] Hobhouse Balme, p. 8.
[243] Fry, p. 27.
[244] *Ibid.*
[245] Van Reenen, p. 13.
[246] Fisher, p. 42.

of her as embittered, she no longer trusted people unreservedly, and was certainly not the 'naïve do-gooder' that some of her opponents imagined her to be."[247] She realised that there would not always be a man ready to save her from difficulty. She had to pull herself together and take whatever life threw at her, but keeping the softer approach and sensitivity that she definitely felt men lacked.

Returning to England, she was just in time to experience the initial excitement about the pending war with South Africa. She was appalled by this excitement and when Lord Leonard Courtney asked her to become the honorary secretary of the South African Conciliation Committee,[248] she immediately accepted. As part of this committee, she also attended a Liberal Party congress, and although she admired their viewpoints and was a Liberal supporter herself, she was very disappointed that they did not invite women to participate.[249] In reaction to this, she decided that she would implement the Liberal Party's strongest ally, as she felt the women were, and that she would organise a women's protest meeting against the war. One of the resolutions of the meeting was:

> That this meeting desires to express its sympathy with the women of the Transvaal and Orange Free State and begs them to remember that thousands of English women are filled with profound sorrow at the thought of their suffering, and with deep regret for the action of their own Government…[250]

Although Hobhouse felt that the meeting was successful, she could not get the image of the thousands of desolate women and children from her mind.[251] At last, she felt that her calling as a woman was not only to organise meetings and to write letters. She knew that she had to go to South Africa, to see for herself what was really going on.[252]

Another reason why Hobhouse might have felt it necessary that she should go, was because Kitchener was just appointed as Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, and he was notorious for his dislike in women.[253] Someone had to address the needs of the South African women and children, because Kitchener would definitely not do that. If the Boers did not want to surrender, he would simply use their wives and children to force them to surrender, or worse he would punish the women and children for the frustration the Boers caused him.[254] For him

[247] Roberts, p. 131.
[248] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[249] Hobhouse, First draft chapter, p. 8; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 17: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Courtney.
[250] Hobhouse, First draft chapter, pp. 8–9.
[251] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[252] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[253] A. Grundlingh and B. Nasson, *The war at home: Women and families in the Anglo-Boer War*, p. 37; R. van Reenen (ed.), pp. 36–38: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 8 January 1901.
[254] Brits, p. 54; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 318: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.

it was just another war tactic.

In South Africa, Hobhouse was further appalled by the conditions the women had to live in. Near Warrenton, Hobhouse witnessed the following scene:

> Those truckloads of women and children unsheltered and unfed – bereft of home, bearing the vivid recollection of their possessions in the flames – and that mass of the 'sweepings' of a wide military 'drive' – flocks and herds of frightened animals bellowing and baaing for food and drink – tangled up with wagons and vehicles of all sorts and a dense crowd of human beings – combined to give a picture of war in all its destructiveness, cruelty, stupidity and nakedness such as not even the misery of the camps (with their external appearance of order) could do.[255]

Conditions like these became a common sight, but Hobhouse never became used to them. The "external appearance of order" in the camps quickly showed their cracks and Hobhouse was there to judge and evaluate the cracks. Mostly, she blamed the poor conditions in the camps on "crass male ignorance, stupidity, helplessness and muddling. I rub as much salt into the sore places of their minds as I possibly can, because it is so good for them; but I can't help melting a little when they are very humble and confess that the whole thing is a grievous and gigantic blunder and presents an almost insoluble problem, and they don't know how to face it."[256] Although she was furious at the army, the soldiers and the superintendents, she also learned that most of them did not enjoy this and that they were flung into the situation by a disorganised and poorly administrated system. However, she blamed the men for making poor and rash conclusions about the Boer women and not doing their utmost to provide proper living conditions for these people. They rather accused the Boer women of old and dirty habits instead of using their intuition to provide the most basic supplies that might have made their situation much more bearable. For this, Hobhouse gave them no leniency and stated that a woman would intuitively know what the basic needs were. In contrast, Hobhouse admired the strength of the Boer women and noticed that they never cried and rarely complained. The only time she saw them react, was when they were talking about their children, whose suffering they could not bear."[257]

This admiration that Hobhouse had for the Afrikaner women was evident throughout her contact with them. She saw a strength in the women, something that was a common characteristic of Afrikaner women, which can be traced back to when the Afrikaner was first called by this name.

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[255] Brits, p. 57.
[256] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 5; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 49: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 26 January 1901.
[257] Hobhouse, The Camps, pp. 6–7; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 50: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 26 January 1901.

When the Natherlands was still in control of the Cape, they made use of the Roman-Dutch law system, which stated that in a marriage, the man and women had equal rights, also concerning shared property.[258] This was also relevant regarding inheritance. By law, children had to inherit equally from their parents. This meant that farms sometimes had to be divided, because not only the eldest son could inherit it. The girls in the family had to inherit an equal part of the farm, or its monetary value.[259]

In England, the situation was not the same, and women were little more than slaves.[260] They had little or no say in public affairs and no claim to their husbands' assets. Her identity was being his wife, and any property she owned automatically became his when they married.[261] Although they did not have unlimited control and freedom, the women in the Cape were much more liberated than those in England. Thus, the Afrikaner women had a certain amount of power in their households and country and they also taught their daughters to think and act in the same manner. Once, a very agitated man wrote to Governor Adriaan van der Stel that the "the women is just as dangerous as the men and do not remain silent".[262] On the other hand, a German living in the Cape, O.F. Mentzel, was very impressed by Afrikaner women. He observed that the girls were not pampered and that they looked everyone squarely in the eyes. He also observed that the women were not shy and sometimes knew more about their home affairs than their husbands. According to Mentzel, the women were intelligent and excellent mothers and they did not participate in debates over trivial matters.[263]

This character blossomed when the Afrikaners felt that they were deemed subservient when the British took over the Cape, and it eventually resulted in the Great Trek.[264] Some opinions state that the women played key roles in the decisions to undertake this long and crucial journey.[265] In this same context, it was also Susanna Smit who led other women in Natal to stand up against the British control as it was their "firm intention never to give in to British authority…would rather walk barefoot over the Draaksberg [Drakensberg] to die free, as death would be better than the loss of freedom."[266]

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[258] H. Giliomee, "Die Afrikanervrou en die Nasionale Vrouemonument" in M. van Bart (ed.), *Die Nasionale Vrouemonument: Honderdjarige herdenking, verlede – hede – toekoms*, p. 50.
[259] *Ibid*., p. 51.
[260] *Ibid*., p. 50.
[261] *Ibid*.: E. Morgan.
[262] G.D. Scholtz, *Die ontwikkeling van die politieke denke van die Afrikaner* 1, p. 241.
[263] Giliomee, "Die Afrikanervrou en die Nasionale Vrouemonument", p. 54: O.F. Mentzel, Description of the Cape of Good Hope.
[264] *Ibid*., p. 61.
[265] *Ibid*.
[266] *Ibid*., p. 62: Susanna Smit [English translation].

On their farms, the Afrikaner women pulled their weight and shared in the planning, organisation and execution of everything concerning the households and farms. Olive Schreiner commented that a Boer woman:

> holds an equal right over the material things of life… [and] takes an equally large and valuable share in the common work of life… the Boer woman's condition is even more happy yet, being one of intellectual equality with her male companions.[267]

Another aspect that impressed Schreiner was the Boer women's bravery and that they stood by their husbands and supported them in matters of life and death, and even had the influence over war and peace.[268] In 1900, G.M. Theal observed that it was the women that were the fierce advocates for war to the bitter end. He also stated that the Boer women would send their husbands and sons to war to fight for their independence.[269] In the concentration camps, the Boer women experienced terrible things, but for them, their freedom and their country was more important. When asked to surrender, Mrs Maria Fischer declared, "Wat my betref, is dit nie net onmoontlik nie, maar ook onwenslik." [270] [As far as I am concerned, it is not only impossible but also undesirable.] The Boer women, strongly refused to let their struggle be for nothing and to be forced to return to the situation in the Cape before the Great Trek. Later, in 1910, J.B.M. Hertzog honoured the Afrikaner women for the role they played in South Africa's becoming a Union and the struggle for Afrikaans as an official language, "[hulle] het vas gestaan om "taal, lewe, morele waardes en tradisies te handhaaf…veel meer as die mans." [271] [They stood firm to maintain language, life, moral values and traditions... much more than men.] He later also declared that "As jy die stem van Afrikanervroue ignoreer, sal jy hierdie land in 'n politieke hel laat beland." [272] [If you ignore the voice of Afrikaner women, this country will land in a political hell.]

These were the women that Hobhouse got to know in the concentration camps. She did not necessarily know their entire history, but she spent time with them and noticed how controlled and strong they were. She also noticed the role they played in their households and the cooperative relationship they had with their husbands and how their husbands valued their opinions, "for no Boer acts without consent of Mrs Boer".[273] This could have been one of the

[267] O. Schreiner, "The Boer women and the modern woman's question", *Thoughts on Africa*, pp. 202–203.
[268] *Ibid.*, p. 201
[269] Giliomee, "Die Afrikanervrou en die Nasionale Vrouemonument", p. 49: G.M. Theal, 1900.
[270] *Ibid.*, p. 66: M.A. Fischer, Tant Miem se kampdagboek, 1901–1902, p. 32.
[271] *Ibid.*, p. 65: Hertzog-toesprake, 1900–1942.
[272] *Ibid.*
[273] Free State Provincial Archive (Bloemfontein), Adv. Gladys Steyn and Mrs M.T. Steyn Collection, A156/3/11: E. Hobhouse, Unpublished Autobiography, Chapter XI, O.R.C. Once More, p. 3; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 193.

reasons why Hobhouse respected the Boer women so greatly. In them, she saw an embodiment of something she, as a woman, yearned for. It was something not known in England at that time; these women's suffering was terrible. Not only did they suffer physically, but their pride and identity were also affected.[274]

As retaliation, the superintendents in the camps called Hobhouse a liar and stated that she exaggerated about the conditions. One such a superintendent, Major-General Pretyman, stated that Hobhouse influenced the Afrikaner women and that she planted ideas of bad treatment in their heads.[275] However, Hobhouse did not allow herself to be upset about these comments, and in response to Major Hamilton Goold-Adams's accusation of being sent to the camps by the Liberal Party, she blamed his ignorance on being a man, energetic but handicapped intellectually: "too much riding and shooting and picnicking and golf playing for war to have much place… All those Tommies asleep upon the line and all the badly kept offices. Oh dear it is dreadful… it is remarked as a surprise when an officer does behave like a gentleman."[276] At another camp in Kimberley, Hobhouse harshly judged the superintendent as being lazy with no interest in his surroundings.[277] And amid these terrible conditions, she noticed that the women were still strong; it seemed that some of them "glow with pride because they were kept prisoner for the sake of their country".[278]

When Hobhouse returned to England after her first visit in South Africa, and was omitted from the Ladies' Commission, she was furious when she realised who the ladies on the commission were. A member of the commission, Dr Jane Waterston,[279] wrote in an article in the *Cape Times* that:

> We ordinary Colonial women who have been through the stress and strain of these last two years are not favourably impressed by the hysterical whining going on in England… It would seem as if we might neglect or starve our faithful soldiers… as long as we fed and pampered people who have not even the grace to say thank you for the care bestowed upon them… This war has been remarkable for two things – first the small regard that the Boers from the highest to the lowest have had for their womenkind, and secondly, the great care and consideration the victors had for the same, very often, ungrateful women."[280]

It angered Hobhouse because she had the opportunity to get to know the women and had experienced their gratefulness for the smallest gesture. In addition, she also knew about the

[274] Giliomee, "Die Afrikanervrou en die Nasionale Vrouemonument", pp. 63–65.
[275] Hobhouse Balme, p. 97.
[276] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 37.
[277] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[278] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[279] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 452.
[280] *Ibid.*

high regard that the Boer men had for their wives and how they respected and loved them. Thirdly, she had also experienced how many of the British soldiers treated the inhabitants of the camps and that there was not "great care and consideration". However, the women were strong and therefore when she asked the British government for help, she acknowledged the women's strength: "For the men of either side I say nothing. They have chosen their part and must abide by it. For the women also, I do not now plead, they are always strong to endure. But I do ask in the name of the innocent and helpless children that England's humanity may triumph over the policy so that the sacrifice of the children may be stayed."[281]

Although it was always evident that Hobhouse was an ardent supporter of women's rights, it became clearer when she returned to South Africa for the second time amid the war. She was prohibited by the British government to go,[282] but Hobhouse could not stay in England, pretending that everything was all right now that the Ladies' Commission was sent to South Africa to inspect the camps. As previously discussed, Hobhouse planned to visit the coastal camps, but was instantly deported after a journalist published false information. Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, did not see any real threat in Hobhouse. He knew how much trouble she had already caused, but for him, she was just another woman, trying to make an emotional impression: "The Empire was not threatened by a hysterical spinster of mature age… It was foolish to take any note of her."[283] For him, Hobhouse was just "a hysterical spinster", but he was in for a big surprise at how she could still threaten his position and his power. This "hysterical spinster" still had enough fight in her. When she realised that she would be arrested and deported, Hobhouse strongly reacted: "The shock was to find oneself – a law-abiding, free Englishwoman – arrested and imprisoned."[284] When she was threatened with a forceful deportation, she once again directed her wrath at the British men's ways of treating women, "I can't believe that any English gentleman would carry out such an order."[285] She also hinted at their military ability and identities: "Sir, the lunacy is on your side and with those whose commands you obey. If you have any manhood in you, you will go and leave me alone…I took the opportunity of appealing to them to afford me the same respect as they would like shown to their own wives and mothers in similar condition[286]…You are disgracing your uniforms by obeying such an order. A Higher Law forbids you. The laws of God and humanity

[281] E. Hobhouse Pamphlet: "Appeal of Miss Emily Hobhouse to Mr Brodrick."
[282] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 137.
[283] Hobhouse Balme, p. 333.
[284] Hobhouse, Arrest & deportation, p. 2; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 142: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.
[285] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 411–417: B. Molteno, On E.H.'s arrest and deportation.
[286] *Ibid.*, pp. 147–149.

forbid you."[287] On her way back on the *Roslin Castle*, she once again hinted at the dirty conditions and compared it to what the Boer women and children must have endured: "The dirt and disorder were indescribable, and the smell sickening… We heard later that it had carried a cargo of rotten onions… The cold was dreadful as we came north, for we had no winter clothes with us… This was a slight realization in my own person of what tens of thousands of your countrywomen endured and still were enduring torn by military force from home, belongings and comforts to meet exposure unprepared."[288]

The British government twisted her words and accused her of lying: "No sewing-machine agent ever lied like she did, and if notoriety was her object she certainly succeeded for her falsehoods were printed in all the civilised languages of the world."[289] Prior to these events, Hobhouse did not like Kitchener. But now, she could not stand him! The incident was hotly discussed in the House of Commons, but nothing more came of it. Brodrick fully supported Kitchener on the matter.[290]

After the war and her endeavours with the weaving, she returned to England once more to become part of another endeavour close to her heart, namely women's voting rights. This issue was not yet resolved in England and she decided to apply her skills and passion in that field.[291] She did not agree with the violent suffrage movement in England, but she also struggled to abide with Millicent Fawcett, her old "rival", and her movement that supported only partial voting rights for women and had no problem with militarianism and war.[292] With her brother Leonard and a few other people, she established a separate suffrage movement, the People's Suffrage Federation (PSF).[293] This group believed in equal voting rights, regardless of sex, marriage status, or financial security.[294] With this movement, Hobhouse wanted to show that it was not necessary to be violent in order to get complete voting rights for women and other people who were previously disadvantaged in terms of voting rights. She wrote: "Society cannot be free if the woman is not completely free."[295] Her struggle for women's rights in England was not consoled by news from South Africa. There, the government also left women

[287] *Ibid.*, pp. 142–150: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to the Committee of the Distress fund.
[288] Hobhouse, Arrest & deportation, p. 10.
[289] Brits, p. 102: Letter from Caroline Murray, 28 February 1902.
[290] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 156–157: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Mrs Caroline Murray, December 1901.
[291] Hobhouse Balme, p. 525.
[292] Brits, p. 197.
[293] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[294] *Ibid.*
[295] *Ibid.*

and black voters from their voting lists.[296] In addition, certain decisions made by the newly established Union government under Louis Botha, upset Hobhouse and she stated in a letter to Jan Smuts:

> Nothing makes me so angry…why is it so? Because you men let it be and because you won't or don't lift it out of the rut. That has been from the beginning of history the fault with men's management of politics and public affairs – and I look above all to the entrance of women into politics to purify them and lift them to a higher level… Oh! It makes me mad to think what great issues lie in the hands of a few stupid and obstinate men![297]

Women's rights were very much in the forefront of Hobhouse's mind when Steyn asked her to write the speech. This is also evident in the amount of references regarding women's rights in her speech. She wanted the South African government and people to remember how important the women had always been to them in their history and that they should not lose that now.

5.4.2.4 Other human rights endeavours

In 1902, Hobhouse wrote a book, *The brunt of the war and where it fell,* which she used as a tool to make people aware of the inhumane acts she witnessed. After reading the book, Olive Schreiner wrote to Hobhouse: "I consider you did more effective and useful work in the cause of humanity and justice in South Africa than any other individual has been able to do. You saved not hundreds but undoubtedly thousands of lives."[298]

If Hobhouse thought that her work for justice and humanity in South Africa was over, she was mistaken. Hobhouse's humanitarian work did not end with the Peace of Vereeniging. She soon noticed that a depressing reality was starting to occur. A very poor class of people was created, due to the many destroyed farms[299] Apart from this depressing poverty, another issue was looming. The British government wanted to import Chinese labourers, since they would work for much lower tariffs and much longer hours. Some people, Hobhouse included, fought against this, as they felt that it was "Chinese Slavery."[300] In addition, it would then mean that other people, and not South Africans would work in the mines, resulting in fewer work opportunities for South Africans.

She also became involved with Mahatma Gandhi's fight for Indian voting rights in South Africa. She acted as a liaison between Jan Smuts and Gandhi.[301] Whether it was because of

[296] Free State Provincial Archive (Bloemfontein), Adv. Gladys Steyn and Mrs M.T. Steyn Collection, A156/3/11: E. Hobhouse, Unpublished Autobiography, Chapter XXVI, Bellevue 1906–1907.
[297] Hobhouse Balme, p. 532.
[298] Schreiner Letters Online, Letters/456: Letter from Olive Schreiner to Emily Hobhouse, 3 April 1903.
[299] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 250, 254.
[300] Brits, p. 154.
[301] E. Truter, *Rachel Isabella Steyn 1905–1955,* p. 144.

Hobhouse's influence or not, Smuts and Gandhi cooperated to a certain degree, which alleviated Indian circumstances in South Africa to a limited extent. Once again, Hobhouse mediated in situations where the leaders of different groups could not see their way around their differences and needed a "human bridge to help facilitate."[302] Now, it is important to remember that some of Gandhi's views can be regarded as racist in nature with regard to black people and that by helping him in his endeavours Hobhouse did not distance herself from the Afrikaners. As previously mentioned, she was still a child of her times and regarded people from different ethnic groups in different categories, but had a coloured girl as a servant, who "taught me the intricacies of etiquette amongst the varying degrees of colour".[303] She was beyond her times by addressing the issue of racial matters in her speech.

Hobhouse had a very soft spot for the Boer people, but she also had a keen sense of fairness and responsibility. Although she knew that the people were very needy and that they had suffered a great deal, she also felt very strongly about working hard and that they should take on the responsibility of working their own lands and building up their own country. She agreed that England had to supply the repatriation funds and accept responsibility for their part in the desolation, but she expected the Boer people to use what was provided and do their best with it. Thus, Hobhouse noticed that some of the people almost gave up hope, or were just too lazy to do honest work. She could not stand this sight and proclaimed, "These people I wholly refuse to help, because I am sure their old customs must be altered owing to the great upheaval the country has undergone and the pressure of circumstances must drive them to take service…"[304] She was furious that some of the Boer people felt that certain kinds of work was below them and that they would rather sit around, doing nothing and falling further into despair than do this work.

Hobhouse used this speech to tell people whom she has learned to love dearly as friends that they had to make sure that they do not do the exact thing that was done to them. She wanted them to take pity on people below them, their labourers, poor people and people of other races. It was almost as if Hobhouse predicted what would in future happen in South Africa and wanted to use her influence to try and prevent it.

[302] Hancock and Van der Poel (eds), p. 155.
[303] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 371.
[304] Hobhouse, Chapter XI, pp. 16–17; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 211: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, undated.

5.4.3 Forgiveness and reconciliation

> No one is too humble or unknown; each one counts.[305]

Unlike some of the other themes, forgiveness and reconciliation only emerged later in Hobhouse's life. From a very young age, she had to learn to sacrifice, and fighting for human rights and helping people in need was something she aspired to very early in life. But it was only when she started getting involved with the South African issue that she encountered emotions and situations that necessitated forgiveness and reconciliation.

When she became the secretary of the South African Distress Committee, she realised that her help was severely needed to make the English people aware of women and children whose farms were burned down and who were left in the veld to fend for themselves. She had no idea about the concentration camps, but the defenceless civilians were enough to jerk her to action. She immediately started to organise several meetings to show both the Afrikaner people and English people that not everyone in England agreed with the measures implemented by the British Army. She also wanted the British people to look at situations with open hearts and minds and not judge it with previous contexts in mind. She wanted them to see the situation as it was; innocent people suffering because of a war that had nothing to do with them. She wanted the Boer people to avoid unforgiveness and stubbornness.

In 1913, Hobhouse wanted to convey the same sentiment. They knew that she shared and understood their pain and that she sympathised with them. Now, she wanted them to see the situation from her point of view. She reminded them that they still had a sense of pride in the way they conducted themselves throughout the war, but that Britain had to carry the burden of international criticism and feeling of shame about the manner in which they conducted the war. In the following quote, Hobhouse referred to "the tents that whitened the hillsides"[306] and how the sight wrenched her heart, especially knowing that her country was responsible for it:

> The sight was one to call forth pity, yet pity did not predominate. Quite other feelings swallowed that. Even throughout the deepest misery the greater pity was needed elsewhere. "Christ," I have read, "had pity for the poor, the lowly, the imprisoned, the suffering, and so have we, but remember that He had far more pity for the rich, the hard, those who are slaves to their goods, who wear soft raiment, and live in kings' houses. To Him riches and pleasures seemed greater tragedies than poverty and sorrow."[307]

While visiting the concentration camps, she saw many images that were engraved in her heart and mind. She saw numerous small children, emaciated and dying of hunger and other

[305] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[306] *Ibid*.; Bekker, 7–127. Not sure where this quote inside the quotation from the inauguration speech is from. Similar to some lines in *De Profundis*, but not exactly the same.
[307] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

preventable causes. But she reminded the Afrikaners of their strong religious views. She wanted them to follow Christ's example of how to act towards the English people, and especially the army and the soldiers. Hobhouse reminded the Boer people that the soldiers were actors in a war that was controlled far away where people did not witness its true effects.

In the previous sections on sacrifice and human rights, it is clear that Hobhouse was not always very positive about the army and how they conducted the war. She despised the British soldiers and had no good word for Kitchener. Her indignation towards the British soldiers was very fierce, but the quote below shows that she could not help but to feel sorry for them and her passion to care for people in need was always prioritised:

> Yet if you have pity and to spare, give it even now to those, who, still alive, must ever carry in their hearts the heavy memories of the blundering wrong by which they wrought that war.[308]

Later on, when Jan Smuts complained about the South African situation and the difficulties in running the Union, Hobhouse strongly reprimanded him, "You think it is bad to be an Afrikaner at this moment – believe me it is far worse to be an English person. Your defeat is material, ours is moral."[309] She urged the Afrikaners to forgive the wrongs done to them:

> Alongside of the honour we pay the Sainted Dead, forgiveness must find a place… To harbour hate is fatal to your own self-development, it makes a flaw; for hatred, like rust, eats into the soul of a nation as of an individual. As your tribute to the Dead, bury unforgiveness and bitterness at the foot of this Monument forever… [310]

While touring South Africa after the war in order to assess the damage and devise a plan to help people, Hobhouse noticed that the Afrikaner people were very bitter and that they harboured severe hatred against the British nation.[311] What astounded Hobhouse was their way of showing their bitterness. These people did not lash out at the British or organise riots. Instead, they made jokes and laughed at their predicaments. But it was not a joyful laughter, but rather one where Hobhouse could hear the bitterness, and for her, it was worse than someone who unleashed a torrent of bad language at a situation, or at another person.[312]

This quiet resolute was evident even during the war. When the superintendents of the camps were cruel towards her or the Boer people, Hobhouse wanted to set them straight and tell them what she thought about the way they ran the camps: "One fine day my tongue will get the better of me and I shall burst out very sharply. I am beginning to realize all the Dutch have felt all

[308] *Ibid.*
[309] Hancock and Van der Poel (eds), pp. 185–186.
[310] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[311] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 180: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, 25 May 1903.
[312] *Ibid.*, p. 210: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, undated.

this time, but their way is to endure silently, and I don't think they ever relieve themselves by a torrent of language."[313]

Hobhouse sympathised with this hatred and bitterness, but she wanted to warn the Afrikaners against allowing these emotions to set the tone for their future. In the quote below, she encouraged them to remember the events as inspiration for greatness rather than resentment:

> Therefore, many may and do say it is useless to perpetuate as we do today memories so drear... but so long as we who saw those things still live, they will live within us not as memories of sorrow, but of heroic inspiration.[314]

Hobhouse did not want the Afrikaners to dwell on what lay in the past. She agreed with President Steyn that the Women's memorial was not supposed to fuel any bitterness and cause people to dwell on the painful past. Both Hobhouse and President Steyn wanted the monument to be a reminder that some people were willing to risk everything, including their lives, for their country and liberty. This was to remind the people that they had to forget the wrongs done to them and rather build on the legacy of people willing to give all for their country, and that they now had to do anything and everything in their power to continue building up a country:

> When you remember the ill done, remember also the atonement made. Dwell also upon all you have gained through this great episode, in the legacy left you by the Dead.[315]

With the Peace of Vereeniging, the British government stated that as a token of goodwill, an amount of £3 million be allocated for the Boer people to rebuild the former Boer republics. This was to be part of a reconciliation campaign, but instead, Hobhouse, felt the Boer people's bitterness: "I could not forget how bitterly the brave women in the camps would feel its terms and the crushing hopes that had borne them up through loss and pain. For them it contained sorrow…"[316] These poorly administered funds only deepened the Boers animosity towards the British. Instead of becoming loyal British subjects, their hostility grew. To make matters worse, when Generals Botha, De la Rey and De Wet travelled to England (and other countries) after the war to ask for funds and assistance to rebuild the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, the cool reception they received was humiliating.[317] Although Joseph Chamberlain visited South Africa as part of a reconciliation move, it only deepened the Boers' bitterness.[318] The British government felt that they were on track with reconciliation, but the Boers felt differently:

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[313] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 11; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 57.
[314] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[315] *Ibid*.
[316] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 164.
[317] Free State Provincial Archive (Bloemfontein), Adv. Gladys Steyn and Mrs M.T. Steyn Collection, A156/3/11: E. Hobhouse, Unpublished Autobiography, Chapter VIII, 1902, p. 9.
[318] Hancock and Van der Poel (eds), p. 173.

> Knowing as I do, that England is comfortably feeling that the Boers have now realized their mistake and are rejoicing in the peace and the flag and the good rule and forgetting the camps and singing 'God save the King' and are also thinking how generous a conqueror she has been with her millions…It is too curious to find how different the attitude here really is and that the Boers, silent to the outer world, are shaking their sides with laughter at England, her complacency and her mistakes. So, they let her go her own way and out of these mistakes will come their opportunity…For one thing, they know perfectly well they are not conquered…[319]

Part of the Boer bitterness was the struggle with regard to forgiveness among the group that regarded themselves as the unconquered people in the quote above. They were known as the Bittereinders. As discussed in the background history, they were the group of Boers that fought until the very end. They also did not want to reconcile with or trust the other groups, the Handsuppers and the Joiners, who they branded as traitors.[320] The great feud between the groups existed because each of them felt that they did the best for their country.[321] The Bittereinders, led by people such as President Steyn and General Koos de la Rey,[322] felt betrayed and deserted by the other two groups, who in turn felt that the Bittereinders foolishly prolonged the war.[323]

Another issue that Hobhouse knew the Afrikaners were struggling with regarding forgiveness and reconciliation, was the racial tension:

> In your hands and those of your children lie the power and freedom won; you must not merely maintain but increase the sacred gift. Be merciful towards the weak, the down-trodden, the stranger.[324]

In the quote above, Hobhouse touched on showing kindness to other people. Hobhouse was very much aware of South Africa's racial history. For years, there had been struggle after struggle between the Afrikaners and many of the native tribes in South Africa. One of the reasons why the Afrikaners left the Cape Colony was because of new slavery laws, but also because of tension that existed between native tribes and the frontier farmers.

When the Voortrekkers came to the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal during the Great Trek, their journeys were riddled with various struggles with the native tribes in the areas. Several skirmishes and sometimes full-scale battles took place between the Afrikaners and these tribes. By the time of the Anglo-Boer War, the situation was far from peaceful and great animosity was evident between the different racial groups. When the British troops landed, the

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[319] Hobhouse, Chapter XI, p. 3.
[320] V.E. Solomon, "The Hands-Uppers", *Military History Journal* 3(1), 1974, <http://rapidttp.co.za/milhist/vol031vs.html>, accessed on 30.11.2017.
[321] *Ibid.*
[322] H. Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, p. 252.
[323] *Ibid.*, pp. 252–253.
[324] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

black people were convinced that their struggle was over and that the British have come to save them.[325] Many, though not all, of the black people joined the British forces, first as cargo bearers and livestock carers, but eventually also as weapon-carrying soldiers. Some of the black soldiers therefore also took part in the farm burnings. This in turn angered the Afrikaners. When Hobhouse arrived, she heard various accounts of how the British used the black people against the Afrikaners.[326] She also saw big groups of black people with the British soldiers, not believing how anyone else could think that the black people were not part of this war.[327] What started out as a white man's war between Britain and the Afrikaners in the Transvaal and Free State, soon developed into a war that engulfed not only Afrikaner women and children, but also black people, whose civilians also suffered greatly, [328] and whose men and boys were used by both Afrikaners and the British Army.[329]

After the war, Hobhouse then continued to criticise South Africa's policies regarding the racial matter. And finally, when she had her last and biggest opportunity to address as much of the Afrikaner people as possible, and not only a select few with whom she regularly exchanged letters, she made sure that they knew where she stood and what her opinions were:

> We meet on Dingaan's Day, your memorial of victory over a barbarous race. We too, the great civilised nations of the world, are still but barbarians in our degree, so long as we continue to spend vast sums in killing or planning to kill each other… Does not justice bid us remember to-day how many thousands of the dark race perished also in Concentration Camps in a quarrel that was not theirs… Was it not an instance of that community of interest, which binding all in one, roots out racial animosity?[330]

Hobhouse wanted the Afrikaners to consider other people as much as she considered them; she wanted them to utilise the noble characters she has come to know. She wanted them to forgive the wrongs done to them and atone for the wrongs they had themselves committed. She begged the Afrikaner people to prevent the rust of unforgiveness and alienation from spreading among them. Once again, she reminded them to follow in Jesus's example:

> I have read that when Christ said, "Forgive your enemies," it is not only for the sake of the enemy He say so, but for one's own sake, "because love is more beautiful than hate." Surely your Dead, with the wisdom that now is theirs, know this. To harbour hate is fatal to your own self-development, it makes a flaw, for hatred, like rust, eats into the soul of a nation as of an individual.[331]

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[325] Giliomee, p. 251.
[326] Brits, p. 72.
[327] *Ibid.*
[328] S. Kessler, *The black concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902.*
[329] *Ibid.*
[330] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[331] *Ibid.*

She constantly begged for forgiveness on behalf of and for the sake of the whole of England and asked them not to harbour hate in their hearts: "I crave your forgiveness. No adequate reparation can we make, only we should be humbly grateful if you could accept as a token of our sorrow and our shame such small sacrifices as we have here and there made. Forget you never can. These things are laid as sacred memories in your hearts. But I ask it of you here and now – forgive us if you can."[332] Hobhouse wanted the Afrikaners to forgive the British, but she struggled with forgiveness herself. She could not forgive the British government for arresting and deporting her: "I have never forgotten it and I shall never forgive it… the time to forgive will come when public apology has been made…"[333] However, she must have taken her own message to heart, when she confessed, years later, that she had judged some of the men in her life and even the British soldiers too harshly. [334]

Numerous accounts of British soldiers writing home telling their families of the wrongs and sad sights they beheld give insight into some of these soldiers' hearts.[335] They were also men with families, wives and children, and to see another family driven from their home was terrible. Hobhouse placed herself in their shoes and imagined what it must have felt like to live with that kind of regret in your heart for the rest of your life, and for that pity and forgiveness was crucial. However, there were some of the soldiers who showed no regret, nor any sympathy; for them, Hobhouse wanted pity, because for some reason, they had lost their emotional human kindness. Of course, the sight of children dying was heartbreaking, but the sight of soldiers' emotional decline and lack of kindness was worse. But, she now knew that with time, her memories of certain events grew dimmer and she realised that "To harbour hate is fatal to your own self-development, it makes a flaw; for hatred, like rust, eats into the soul of a nation as of an individual."[336]

5.4.4 Power and identity

> Do not open your gates to those worst foes of freedom – tyranny and selfishness.[337]

As seen in the narrative thus far, Hobhouse loved to be in control of situations, but she despised people and institutions that wanted to control things without considering other people and their well-being. In her childhood years, girls were not considered to be of very much worth, and

[332] *Ibid.*, pp. 318–320: Emily Hobhouse speech at the Synod in Cape Town.
[333] *Ibid.*
[334] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 8.
[335] Fisher, pp. 91–92; Pakenham, p. 440: Letter of Lieutenant Phillips, of the Tigers.
[336] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[337] *Ibid.*

they were moved aside to give credit to and develop young boys. Hobhouse's family noticed that she was not to be placed in one of the typical "girl boxes". People always regarded her as the "Missus", whether they were aware of the nickname or not, and Hobhouse made sure that people noticed her when she used this trait to fight for causes close to her heart. As a British citizen, she always looked to her country and its leadership with a kind of awe and she was proud to be part of a great nation. But she very quickly realised that also this great nation had feet of clay, and was appalled by what they did in South Africa.

Patriotism sometimes has the ability to cloud judgement in such a way that common sense goes out the window. This is what happened during the Anglo-Boer War. As discussed in the background history chapter, the Boers and the British were never able to sit around the same table. The Afrikaners had a strong sense of nationalism and a desire for freedom, and Britain had their imperialistic quest to conquer more land for the British crown. For Hobhouse, this war was about Britain's "appetite for gold and land"[338] and this appetite was fed by the British government, newspapers and sometimes even churches:[339]

> The rich and highly-placed, the financiers who wanted war, the incompetent Statesmen who were their tools, the men who sat in the seats of the mighty, the blundering politicians of that dark story – all the miserable authorities incapable of dealing with the terrible conditions they themselves had brought about – these needed and still need our deeper pity… Beware lest you forget what caused that struggle in the past. We died without a murmur to bear our part in saving our country from those who loved her not but only desired her riches… for greed of land and gold.[340]

Very early on, Hobhouse sensed that newspapers and their propaganda were playing a significant role in how people regarded and judged the Anglo-Boer War and the Boers, and later, also herself. Hobhouse realised that she also had to make use of the press to spread her message and counteract some of the false information spread by the government. In this way, she discovered that the English people's view of the war and of the ZAR and the Free State was far from accurate. She was also shocked when she realised that most English people had one of four attitudes towards the war. Although some people, mostly Liberals, were against the war and supported Hobhouse, there were others who felt differently. The jingoists fully supported the war. They believed the concentration camps were a way to care for people and were necessary to win a war. Then, there were people who just did not care. If they were comfortable, they were happy. Lastly, there were people who had no idea of what was going

[338] Hobhouse, First draft chapter, pp. 3–4.
[339] *Ibid*., p. 4; Van Reenen (ed.), p. 16: According to Hobhouse, this became more evident after the siege of Mafeking was lifted on 18 May 1900.
[340] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

on. These last three groups all believed that they were truly patriotic, and that Hobhouse was abusing her position and goodwill to spread lies about the British Army and government. She wanted both the Afrikaner and British people to know what she regarded as patriotic:

> In this South Africa of ours, true patriotism lies in the unity of those who live *in* her and *love* her as opposed to those who live *on* her but *out* of her. The Patriots and the Parasites… For it is not the rich and prosperous who matter most, but you who live the simplest lives, and upon whom in the last resort, if trial comes, falls the test of the national character… Lay hold of and cherish this ideal of liberty then – "should your statesmen be hostile or coldly neutral, should your rich men be corrupt, should your press which ought to instruct and defend the liberties of all sections of the people, only betray – never mind – they do not constitute the nation. "The nation," said John Bright, "is in the cottage."… You are your nation's very soul.[341]

Hobhouse admired the Afrikaners for their strength and character and did not want them to become influenced by the greed that had already poisoned the rest of the world. The Afrikaners yearned for their independence,[342] and reflecting on the circumstances in the Cape Colony, they wanted to prevent the same things from happening again. They did not want to be oppressed and wanted their own country, where they would be free. This implied that they would not give up this freedom very easily; the women and the children were driven by this passion.[343] Hobhouse wanted them to stay true to themselves and to "Go back, go back, to simpler lives, to nobler principles."[344] She did not see the Afrikaners as backwards and primitive. Rather, she saw them as better and stronger and when she realised that Jan Smuts and Louis Botha aspired to improve cooperation between the new Union of South Africa and Britain, strongly objected and criticised both these men.

Hobhouse neither supported Afrikaner nationalism, nor British imperialism, and longed for peace between them and did everything in her power to convince Smuts that his ideals of South Africa being part of Great Britain was a bad idea. She wanted to remind the Afrikaners that the suffering they now felt was nothing compared to what they still possessed, and she wanted Smuts and Botha to lead them with this example:

> Sorrow draws individuals together. And that is why studying your people, I made friends with them, for then I learned the noble character they have developed which is of a far greater value than the gold in your country… I came back to South Africa to renew my acquaintance with your people, for whom I have great sympathy. I have now been from ruin to ruin and from stable to stable, and I can state that I have eaten and slept with the people… We in the towns have no idea how it is getting on outside. These people can't suffer any longer… Good is born out of evil – that good is the completeness of character. But suffering can sometimes last too long, when the spirit lacks and becomes weak and then all is lost… We can't forget the

[341] *Ibid*. John Bright, Quaker and parliamentarian 1811–1889. He referred to the farmhouse as a cottage.
[342] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 218.
[343] Fisher, pp. 91–92.
[344] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

> suffering. Those who live in happiness have to help in these dark days. When life lasts there is hope and it is our duty to cheer them up and maintain hope… For those in the far outlying districts the English people at home have collected money and given to me to distribute, and this is the reason I am passing through your town. This was an unlooked for and hearty welcome."[345]

Hobhouse had a very interesting relationship with Smuts, and had, to a certain degree, a great influence over him. Although it is evident that Hobhouse was sincere in her concern for the Afrikaners, she often acted from a position of superiority. This can be seen when she wrote to her brother about Smuts:

> I wish you could meet him [General Smuts]; he is so cultivated and clever and full of fun…Having been so long in Cambridge and London he is entirely like one ourselves… I prophesy a great future for Smuts… But Smuts will work, not only side by side with, but behind Botha loyally, till someday I think his superior education will force him to the front… [his] "high thinking" is most enjoyable…[346]

She also wanted to send some of the more capable girls she encountered to England for education: "the girl to whom the Committee gave a year's schooling because our troops shot her through her arm…came to see me. She was much improved and spoke very pretty English. Now she is able to earn her living…"[347] She felt that to be able to speak "pretty" English was an improvement and necessary for development and success. In addition, she was always quick with advice and criticism, even in politics and other affairs that she had nothing to do with. She especially tried to influence Jan Smuts and regularly advised and criticised his decisions. Smuts did not always heed Hobhouse's advice, but he respected her greatly and, to a certain degree, she was responsible for introducing him to the international audience.

Hobhouse also criticised Jan Smuts and Louis Botha for supporting another war that was looming in Europe. Smuts and Botha were negotiating greater cooperation with Britain. She wanted South Africa to learn from the hardship and suffering the Anglo-Boer War caused in their own country, and refrain from causing the same suffering in other countries. She wanted them to remain the simple and romantic country that she thought them to be and keep their national character that she had come to admire:

> Statesmen who aim at material prosperity as if it were an end in itself, forget or have not recognised that too often great national prosperity is accompanied by deterioration of national character and the highest well-being of the people.[348]

Hobhouse was just as disappointed by the Liberal Party after they won the election in England after the war. Hobhouse was confident that once the Liberals were in power, they would turn

[345] Brits, p. 139: E. Hobhouse speech in Klerksdorp, 22 August 1903.
[346] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 237–238: letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, undated.
[347] *Ibid.*, p. 212: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.
[348] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

everything around. Unfortunately, this did not happen, and the Liberals continued almost in the same fashion as the Conservatives. Hobhouse was devastated, because it was now clear that they had not necessarily opposed the war and its consequences, but had exploited the situation to gain the votes and support of pro-Boers and other sympathetic groups.[349]

In the end, it was easier to give South Africa and her problems back to the Afrikaners, but only calling on them when they needed help with wars and other troubles:

> forgive for you can afford it, the rich who were greedy of more riches, the statesmen who could not guide affairs, the bad generalship that warred on weaklings and babes - forgive - because so only can you rise to full nobility of character and a broad and noble national life.
>
> …And surely, the honour of a country is not determined by the blundering acts of some passing administration or weak generalship, but lies in the sum-total of her best traditions which the people at large will rise up to maintain…
>
> …Do not open your gates to those worst foes of freedom – tyranny and selfishness.[350]

Hobhouse lamented this "tyranny and selfishness" to Smuts and wanted him to realise that a hunger and drive for power was not as rewarding as people thought it would be:

> The consciousness of power, the sense of justice and the impossibility of composure when one knows things are going wrong, would not allow you to rest in rural peace… I suppose we have to accept the disadvantages of our powers as well as their advantages and amongst those disadvantages are to be reckoned, a long strife against evil in its endless forms – a hydra-headed monster – and the inability to share the rest that lesser folk enjoy until one's very last scrap of fighting power is exhausted.[351]

Under this regime of tyranny and selfishness, Hobhouse also included the British Army and the different commanding generals. Hobhouse often read newspapers and was up to date about everything that had happened in England. This meant that she was completely aware of who was in charge of the British Army in South Africa, and she was not very positive. General Sir Redvers Buller did not last very long, and about him Hobhouse did not say too much, but then Lord Roberts took over. He had already left by the time Hobhouse came to South Africa, but was key in everything that transpired in South Africa.

Lord Roberts was an interesting and well-liked general. All the soldiers who served under him genuinely liked him and he was known to be kind to them. For him, the war in South Africa was just a stepping stone to become the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army at the War Office in England. He also had a record to set straight with Afrikaners. He relentlessly pushed his soldiers and sometimes they went hungry and thirsty for days on Roberts's great flank

[349] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 367.
[350] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[351] Hancock and Van der Poel (eds), p. 166.

march. [352] Hobhouse did not ever communicate with him about the Anglo-Boer War and his scorched earth policy, but while in England, she must have heard the rumours of the so-called petticoat government. As well-liked and lenient as Roberts was, his wife was another matter. It was common knowledge that his wife was very opinionated and very much part of Lord Roberts's official business, and even though Queen Victoria preferred that soldiers' wives did not accompany them on tours, she often went with Lord Roberts, meddling in affairs that had nothing to do with her. Unfortunately, their son, Frederik Roberts, died in the battle of Colenso when he tried to prevent some of the weapons from falling in the Boers' hands. Lady Roberts despised the Boers and although it cannot be proved beyond a doubt, the scorched earth policy drastically increased in intensity when Lady Roberts joined Lord Roberts in Pretoria.[353] By the time Hobhouse became involved in the war affairs,[354] Lord Roberts was already on his way back to a hero's welcome and Lord Kitchener was appointed as Commander-in-Chief in South Africa.

Kitchener, Hobhouse's great agitator and a notorious women hater[355] was now in command, and with him, Hobhouse often corresponded and had very strong views about him and his all-but-favourable reputation.[356] Kitchener made it clear that he was in control and had no time for Hobhouse and her so-called petty requests. For Kitchener, this war was about fast-tracking his career and he abused his position in order to accelerate things so that he could be appointed to that long sought-after position of Commander-in-Chief in India. He was not about to let a mere middle-aged woman stand in his way. When he first heard about Hobhouse, it was when she asked permission to visit the concentration camps. Of course, he then had to show who was in control, and only allowed Hobhouse to go as far as Bloemfontein.[357] Although he could not anticipate all the trouble she would cause him, he took no chances in letting her go further north to the ZAR. Later, when their struggle became fiercer, Hobhouse came to despise Kitchener and had no good word for him. What was known to be his strong suits were subject to Hobhouse's sharp tongue: "I thought Lord Kitchener was considered such a great organizer to have so little forethought and make so little preparation that thousands of people find themselves dumped down in strange places where there is nothing ready for their reception?...

[352] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 87: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, 8 March 1901.
[353] A. Wessels, "Frederick Roberts" in S.J. Corvi and I.F.W. Beckett (eds), *Victoria's generals*, pp. 171–173.
[354] Brits, pp. 37–54.
[355] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 37–38: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 8 January 1901.
[356] *Ibid.*, p. 443.
[357] Brits, p. 53.

Lord Kitchener is in my black books…"[358] Kitchener, on the other hand, had to defend his decisions and tactics and often slandered Hobhouse's image to appear in control and on top of things.

Hobhouse's mission was to convince people of two truths she felt very strongly about, and she wanted both the Afrikaners and British to know and understand that she acted in accordance with her love and passion for her country. She also wanted to make people understand that she was against this war, and any other war for that matter.

5.4.4.1 Patriotism

Hobhouse was a proud Englishwoman and joined the South African Conciliation Committee to clear her country's name of the blemishes caused by the Anglo-Boer War. Her uncle, Lord Hobhouse, had similar beliefs, and felt that he had to warn England of their blunders:

> Patriotism is the readiness of man to sacrifice himself for his country and not his readiness to exalt his country at the expense of others; that the truest and bravest patriots are those who dare to warn their countrymen when hurrying in ignorance or passion to do wrong… that to admit an error and to make reparation for a wrong is just as wise for a nation as for man.[359]

Although Hobhouse greatly honoured and admired the Afrikaner people, she was first and foremost an English citizen, and knowing the atrocities her country was committing, had to do everything in her power to to restore their reputation. She wanted Afrikaners to know that not all English people were as bad as they thought, and she wanted English people to be aware of the situation so that they could act against it: "Our protest was more largely due to our proud desire for England's honour and our horror lest her rectitude be marred by an unjust act."[360]

Mostly, her desires to convince both these groups of people fell on deaf ears. The Afrikaners were not convinced that the government and army only represented a small minority of the people in Britain and Hobhouse noticed it: "no words of mine can portray the attitude of mind towards England. Every atom of respect and love has vanished. It is a deep disdain both for the policy and the methods by which the policy has been carried out."[361] The Afrikaners instead viewed her as a British woman who was now one of them.[362]

[358] Hobhouse, The Camps, p. 43; Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 82–83: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 4 March 1901.
[359] Van Reenen (ed.), pp. 13–14: Lord Hobhouse wrote this as part of an article for the *London Journal*.
[360] Hobhouse, First draft chapter, p. 11.
[361] Hobhouse, Chapter XI: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Aunt Mary.
[362] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 180: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, 25 May 1903.

Likewise, the British press portrayed Hobhouse as a traitor and she and her friends were often branded as pro-Boer: “You know we were called pro-Boers. It was purely a nickname and never seemed to fit though for convenience we adopted it ourselves. From the first, and indeed all whom I knew had been concerned primarily about our own country and whether or not she was acting upon the highest principles of justice and humanity. We had thought comparatively little of the Boer side.”[363] Of this, Hobhouse was very straightforward. Yes, she sympathised with the Boer people and she often strongly criticised the British government and army, but she remained a patriotic Englishwoman who yearned to rectify her country’s honour and wanted to help them repair the damage their actions did to their name in South Africa.

Unfortunately, their reaction to Hobhouse and her ventures only aggravated the feeling that the Afrikaners had towards them. In addition, Hobhouse sometimes had to convince herself to keep her British identity, as their actions often shamed her.[364] The British methods and policies in South Africa further convinced Hobhouse that the root of all the evil was war and that if people could be convinced to stop making war, many of the world’s problems would be at an end.

5.4.4.2 Pacifism

If nothing else, Hobhouse was an ardent pacifist who believed that most of the world’s problems would not have existed if wars did not happen and that war was barbaric. She strongly felt that war stole people’s identities and individualities with deception, destruction, “suspicion, contempt, unfair dealing, illegality of every kind” and that these traits became acceptable in war. Once again, Hobhouse blamed men for war and unrest and according to her, "Till women have an equal voice in the guidance of the world's affairs men will go on with their mad destruction of all that makes life precious."[365] She did not exclude the Afrikaner people from the accusations:

> …the grounds for my Pacifism lie deep and can never be moved by the passing policies of my own or other nations, such as induce them suddenly to think they must fight another people or perish. Mixed wrong and right there always is on both sides, and only misery comes of fighting about it. Fighting kills of the best in a nation. Victory is of no value because it is then won by Might instead of Right – whereas if the dispute were submitted to arbitration Right has a chance of gaining the victory. I believe this the only way to guard Civilization, and the views of both sides will obtain consideration.[366]

[363] Brits, p. 82.
[364] *Ibid*., p. 70; S.B. Spies, “Heropbou en unifikasie, 1902–1910” in C.F.J. Muller (ed.), *500 Jaar Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis*, p. 368.
[365] Truter, p. 107.
[366] Van Reenen (ed.), p. 173.

As seen in the quote above, Hobhouse viewed war as just another way for incompetent people to exert their power in an attempt to fuel their own selfish greed: "…Governments as poor things more careful of their own prestige than of justice and right… when the conduct of war is in question, devoid of conscience."[367] For her, arbitration was the answer to disagreements. She felt so strongly about this that she later defied the British government during the First World War, and attempted to act as a mediator between certain key players in the war.[368]

Hobhouse was a proud Englishwoman, but she could not stand by unsympathetically when her country was involved in such a blunder as the Anglo-Boer War. When the opportunity presented itself to conduct the inauguration of the Women's Memorial, she pertinently addressed the issues she felt that both South Africa and England had to hear. Her entire life's work rested on showing people how strongly she felt about sacrifice, human rights, forgiveness and reconciliation, and the abuse of power. She made sure that the Afrikaner people would clearly understand her message and commissioned the translation of the speech that she wrote for the inauguration of the monument.

[367] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[368] Brits, pp. 253–263.

CHAPTER 6
TARGET TEXT: EMILY HOBHOUSE AND SANNI METELERKAMP

In the previous chapter, Hobhouse's life was evaluated according to certain themes or frames that were identified in the speech at the inauguration of the Women's Memorial. A narrative of Hobhouse's life, based on these different frames, was constructed to gain a clear understanding of Hobhouse, her agency regarding the speech and the consequent translation decisions.[1] The narrative provides Hobhouse's history, social context and personal viewpoints, without which it would be impossible to fully grasp the speech, its translation and whatever motivated it.[2]

The translation of the speech done by Metelerkamp and discussed in this chapter can also be analysed according to these frames, but it is first important to notice how the translation was influenced mostly by contextual factors and how the most important and most influential translation decisions were made outside the speech's text. The decisions Hobhouse made had a remarkable impact on the translation and how it was received. Certain key events, big and small, motivated Hobhouse, and various role players also influenced her, shaping her to be the person she was when she wrote the speech. These key events and role players provided a specific context, which made Hobhouse the ideal person to influence the Afrikaners and other people in South Africa.[3] One event gave rise to another, which then caused another, creating a domino effect, and leading to the eventual speech at the inauguration of the Women's Memorial.

Hobhouse's childhood and time spent in St Ive and Minnesota exposed her to various hardships people faced. Her parents taught her to take note and respond to these hardships and her sense for comforting people's emotional and social needs was established. It is also during this time that she became acutely aware that women were treated with inferiority and her indignation regarding human rights started to develop. Her broken engagement damaged her naïve trust, causing her to view people, especially men, with suspicion. Finally, the time spent in South Africa and the Anglo-Boer War with its consequences further formed her view of people and life. By the time Hobhouse was writing her speech, all the events mentioned above and

[1] S.C. Kung, "Translation agents and networks, with reference to the translation of contemporary Taiwanese novels" in A. Pym and A. Perekrestenko (eds), *Translation research pojects* 2, p. 125.
[2] M. Tymoczko, *Enlarging translation, empowering translators*, p. 34; L. Stanley, *Documents of life revisited: Narrative and biographical methodology for a 21st century critical humanism*, p. 7.
[3] J. Marais, ""Effects causing effects": Considering constraints in semiotranslation" in J. Marais and R. Meylaerts (eds), *Complexity thinking in translation studies: Methodological considerations*.

discussed in the previous chapter's narrative had woven together an ideal context for the speech, its translation and both texts' reception. Hobhouse struggled to trust men and therefore noticed the "crass male ignorance".[4] She did not receive the same education her brother did, which enhanced her sensitivity to women's rights issues. And, when she was deported from Cape Town, she learned much about forgiveness and reconciliation.

This course of events also played a role in the way that various people reacted to Hobhouse, either supporting or rejecting her. One such a person was President Steyn. Although it is not clear whether he specifically asked Hobhouse to commission the translation or whether she decided to do it herself, he played a great role in Hobhouse's decisions, resulting in an interesting patronage relationship.

This chapter will discuss the patronage relationship between Hobhouse and President Steyn, and how their relationship differs from patronage relationships in previous studies. This chapter will also discuss another patronage relationship, namely between Hobhouse and Metelerkamp, the commissioned translator of Hobhouse's speech, and how Metelerkamp was also indirectly under President Steyn's patronage. The target text will then be analysed according to the frames identified in the source text, but keeping the patronage relationships in mind.

6.1 Patronage

As discussed in the literature review chapter, patronage is a relationship between two parties where one in a power position uses that power to encourage or prevent certain actions from happening.[5] Usually this patronage goes hand in hand with ideology and the patron exerts power to motivate or influence the agent to act according to these ideologies.[6] The patron cannot convey a certain message to a specific audience and needs a mediator, the agent, to fulfil that role. The patron then provides compensation for the agency.[7] The condition for this compensation is that the agent is limited to perform within a very structured context in order to safeguard a specific situation or "social system".[8] The agent is supposed to follow set orders and guidelines and is continuously subject to scrutiny and criticism from the patron. In other words, patronage is in an "exchange relationship between men [or women] of unequal social

[4] Free State Provincial Archive (Bloemfontein), Adv. Gladys Steyn and Mrs M.T. Steyn Collection, A156/3/11: E. Hobhouse, Unpublished Autobiography, Chapter IV, The Camps, p. 5; R. van Reenen (ed.), *Boer War letters*, p. 49: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 26 January 1901.
[5] A. Lefevere, *Translation, rewriting, and the manipulation of literary fame*, p. 15.
[6] *Ibid*.
[7] *Ibid*., p. 13.
[8] *Ibid*., p. 14.

status", where the patron is in the higher social status, and provides the standing for the agent in the lower status in order to accomplish certain goals.[9] According to Saller, without this "inequality of status", patronage is not possible.[10]

What is interesting about the patronage relationship regarding the speech and its translation, between Steyn and Hobhouse, and eventually Metelerkamp, the translator, is that it does not follow the lines of patronage as explained and discussed by Lefevere and Saller in that it did not consist of only one person in a superior position, commissioning a person in a lower position to do something in return for certain compensation. This patronage relationship developed over time and shows that patronage is complex and that different situations have different patronage relationships. When Hobhouse arrived in Cape Town for the first time, she knew no one. Strangers welcomed her, and she had no real idea of what to expect of the place and people. Without delay, the Afrikaner and other pro-Boer people informed her of the situation in the Transvaal and the Free State. By the time she arrived in Bloemfontein, she already had a clear idea of her feelings and convictions and about what she was to expect. Steyn did not contact Hobhouse to come to South Africa to witness the horrors of the concentration camps, act on it and then become an agent in conveying a message that he wanted a certain audience to receive. Nor did Hobhouse decide to go to South Africa and ask for Steyn's support and patronage in her philanthropic endeavours. Nevertheless, as the Anglo-Boer War unfolded and Hobhouse's standing and relationship with the Afrikaner people evolved, the value and opportunity of a patronage relationship presented itself.

Steyn and Hobhouse were unaware of each other, but as time progressed, their ideologies and beliefs started to overlap, and developed into an intricate relationship of patronage. In the case of Steyn, Hobhouse and Metelerkamp, the patronage acted as motivation for specific translation choices, and the complexities of patronage relationships become clear. Firstly, the patronage between Steyn and Hobhouse can be described as a reciprocal relationship, where Steyn not only influenced Hobhouse, but Hobhouse also influenced Steyn. Then, the pairs' relationship with Metelerkamp can be seen as double patronage. Here, Hobhouse acts as patron towards Metelerkamp, but under Steyn's patronage. By acting under Hobhouse's patronage, Metelerkamp also indirectly acted under Steyn's patronage, resulting in double patronage.

[9] R.P. Saller, *Personal patronage under the Early Empire*, p.8.
[10] *Ibid*., p. 22.

6.1.1 Reciprocal patronage

The patronage relationship between Steyn and Hobhouse deviates from patronage as discussed by Lefevere. President Steyn asked Hobhouse to do the unveiling of the Women's Memorial, knowing what influence she had over the Afrikaner people and how highly they regarded her. Hobhouse, on the other hand, was an agent in her own right and had very strong opinions and her own set of ideologies, which she bestowed on President Steyn, and planned to convey in her speech.

An interesting component of the relationship between Steyn and Hobhouse is that it was mostly conducted through correspondence between Hobhouse and not President Steyn himself, but rather his wife, Tibbie Steyn. To many people, Mrs Steyn was an extension of President Steyn,[11] with President Steyn ensuring that his wife was well-informed about everything, including political matters.[12] In turn, she conducted many of his correspondences since he had a "weakness in [his] hands" and had difficulty writing.[13] Mrs Steyn loved writing letters[14] and therefore she acted as President Steyn's writing hands and often served as a messenger of things that he wanted to convey.[15]

This formidable lady was from Scottish descent, but when she married Steyn, she accepted the Afrikaner culture as her own and worked hard to develop and uplift the people, culture and language.[16] She completely supported her husband and side by side they campaigned for various Afrikaner issues, especially the Afrikaans language cause after the war. When President Steyn died in 1916, she continued with the work and was fondly called "'n Volksmoeder" (Mother of the nation).[17] However, for her, it was not about her own honour and ideas, but rather keeping President Steyn's legacy alive to remind people of what he stood and fought for and to motivate them with his memory.[18] Before his death, she worked hard for his causes, which she embraced as her own. Thus, she acted as a link between President Steyn and her correspondents, especially Hobhouse, fulfilling the role as mediator, or patronage carrier,

[11] E. Truter, *Rachel Isabella Steyn 1905–1955*, p. 115; Archive for Contemporary Affairs (ARCA) (Bloemfontein), Sen. I.G. Visser Collection, PVI81 4/1/2/2: Vrede (Tibbie Steyn's narrative of the Peace of Vereeniging), p. 25.
[12] Truter, p. 16; ARCA PV181 2/7/1/1/9: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 27 Augustus 1923.
[13] Truter, p. 11; Free State Provincial Archive (Bloemfontein), Steyn Collection, A156 1/1/35: Letter from M.T. Steyn to J.X. Merriman, 29 January 1912.
[14] Truter, p. 11; Van Reenen, p. 437.
[15] Truter, p. 115; ARCA, PVI81 4/1/2/2: Vrede, p. 25.
[16] Truter, pp. 40, 42; L.M. Thompson, *The unification of South Africa 1902–1910*, p. 196; R.I. Steyn, "Emily Hobhouse", *Die Huisgenoot*, 25 Junie 1926; ARCA, PVI81 2/7/1/1/10: Letter from Kate Courtney to Tibbie Steyn, 2 July 1909.
[17] Truter, p. 71.
[18] *Ibid*., p. 27.

between the two parties in the patronage relationship. Through Mrs Steyn's letters, Hobhouse became acquainted with President Steyn and his passions and beliefs, and the other way around.[19]

President Steyn and Hobhouse only met officially in Europe in 1903 after the war, when he was there for medical treatment.[20] However, she met Mrs Steyn in 1901 when she first visited the concentration camp in Bloemfontein.[21] The two ladies shared similar backgrounds and passions, resulting in a very intimate friendship.[22] This friendship was predominantly based on their correspondence,[23] and through letters, the two ladies could share the most confidential information, to such a degree that they sometimes had to ask one another to destroy a letter after reading it, for fear that confidential information might leak out.[24]

The relationship between Hobhouse and the Steyn couple became stronger when they travelled on the same ship to South Africa in 1905.[25] They discussed the politics and other issues in South Africa and this is where President Steyn first shared his vision about the Women's Memorial with Hobhouse.[26] While she was in South Africa after the war, Hobhouse became a frequent visitor at Onze Rust, the Steyn farm near Bloemfontein. [27] Here, she was in close contact with the Steyn family and attended several weddings of the Steyn children and other family gatherings. True to her nature, she became intricately involved in their lives and was very vocal about their decisions, especially when it came to their appearances and spouses.[28]

Hobhouse and Mrs Steyn shared a strong sense of duty for public service[29] and a love for politics and history, especially that of South Africa.[30] Hobhouse made sure that Mrs Steyn was aware of global happenings by subscribing her to several British publications, including the *Manchester Guardian*[31] and encouraging her to read as wide as possible. Mrs Steyn thus read

[19] Truter, pp. 115–116; ARCA, PV181 2/7/1/1/1: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 21 February 1901; Free State Archive, A156 1/1/14: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, c. 1901; ARCA, PVI81 4/1/2/2: Vrede, p. 25.
[20] Van Reenen, p. 324.
[21] *Ibid*., p. 53.
[22] Truter, p. 16.
[23] *Ibid*., p. 71.
[24] *Ibid*., p. 11; Free State Archive, FAK Collection, A90/8: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Jaap de Villiers, 1 March 1903.
[25] Truter, p. 116.
[26] Van Reenen, pp. 363, 383.
[27] Steyn, "Emily Hobhouse".
[28] Free State Archive, A156 1/1/17: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 19 Mei 1906.
[29] *Ibid*., A156 1/1/12: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 3 Augustus 1924.
[30] Truter, p. 115.
[31] *Ibid*, p. 265; ARCA, PV181 2/7/1/1/6: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 19 June 1922; Free State Archive, A156 1/l/10: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 22 May 1922.

magazines and newspapers like *Foreign Affairs*, *The Nation*,[32] *Die Vaderland*, *The Weekly Guardian*, *Die Kerkbode*, etc.[33] The Steyn women embraced Hobhouse's strong feminist and suffragist opinions and their opinions regarding women's voting rights[34] were shaped and influenced by Hobhouse.[35] President Steyn also supported the issue of women's voting rights,[36] something that might be attributed to Hobhouse's influence.[37] In addition, Mrs Steyn's view of the concentration camps was influenced and directed by Hobhouse. As neither she nor President Steyn ever resided in these camps, they had to depend on Hobhouse's accounts of them.[38] Mrs Steyn had very strong convictions, and was able to stand her ground against fierce opposition, but some scholars state that many of these convictions were influenced and conveyed by Hobhouse.[39] During Hobhouse's visits at Onze Rust, she discussed the Women's Memorial, what it meant and the message it had to portray with Steyn and his wife.[40]

Hobhouse had great respect for President Steyn and the thought of disappointing him was unbearable.[41] During the political unrest in South Africa, as discussed in the background and narrative, she sided with President Steyn when Smuts and Botha opposed the idea of a Women's Memorial. Smuts and Botha were afraid that it would fuel Afrikaner bitterness, but Hobhouse was adamant that "I cannot think it either should or could arouse racial animosity; should it do so in anyone, that person must be of a type of mind so mean as to be best disregarded".[42] President Steyn had very clear ideas, and Hobhouse supported it. However, she did not support his political opinions blindly. One issue on which they disagreed was the native question. Hobhouse felt that the political segregation had to be a matter of "political outlook and principle, and not one of colour, and wrote as much to Mrs Steyn.[43] For her, the monument had to be for the "whole nation".[44] However, when speaking to the outside world, President

[32] ARCA, PVI81 2/7/1/1/7: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 2 March 1923; ARCA, PV181 2/7/1/1/12: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 12 October 1924; Free State Archive, A156 1/1/12: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 24 June 1923.
[33] Free State Archive, A156 1/1/10: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 13 Julie 1924; Free State Archive, A156 1/1/12: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 21 October 1923; ARCA, PV181 2/7/1/1/9: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 25 September 1923; Free State Archive, A156 1/1/10: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 24 December 1921.
[34] Truter, p. 55.
[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55; A.H. Jacobs, *Reisbrieven uit Afrika en Azië*, p. 118.
[36] Truter, p. 54; C. Walker, "The women's suffrage movement in South Africa", *Communications* 2, p.4.
[37] Van Reenen, p. 336: Emily Hobhouse diary, 27 January – 6 April 1905.
[38] Truter, p. 59.
[39] *Ibid*., pp. 77, 140.
[40] Van Reenen, p. 378.
[41] *Ibid*., p. 399: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Tibbie Steyn, 1 December 1913.
[42] *Ibid*., p. 389: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to J.C. Smuts, 6 March 1913.
[43] Free State Archive, A156 1/1/10: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 14 Mei 1922.
[44] Van Reenen, p. 390: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Mrs Charles Murray, 9 June 1913.

Steyn and Hobhouse set aside their differences and spoke as a united front, which can be attributed to the reciprocal influence and patronage they had on each other. President Steyn thus stated that he did not want the monument to cause anyone bitterness but rather wanted it to be out of pure piety,[45] and Hobhouse completely agreed with him.

This reciprocal patronage, however, would not have been possible without Mrs Steyn. President Steyn heavily relied on his wife to help him with his political endeavours and his correspondence and her views and beliefs also influenced his own.[46] She was constantly at his side,[47] and had an exceptional way of mediating intense fights between the various Afrikaner political parties.[48] With regard to the Women's Memorial, Mrs Steyn also played a great part. President Steyn was often too ill to attend the various planning meetings, and Mrs Steyn acted on his behalf,[49] corresponding with the rest of the monument committee[50] and making final decisions and checks regarding the sculpture done by Van Wouw.[51] Mrs Steyn also wrote President Steyn's inauguration speech,[52] and her influence was evident when the committee had to decide who they would ask to do the unveiling. Mrs Steyn told Hobhouse that the decision was easy and that they never doubted that Hobhouse had to do the unveiling.[53] She also assured Hobhouse that she was to be the most important person at the inauguration.[54]

Hobhouse's influence on the Afrikaner people and on the Steyns could not be ignored, and she regarded the invitation to do the unveiling as proof of the acknowledgement and gratitude from the Afrikaner people: "It seems to me the invitation to unveil their monument is in itself a token (official if not general) that they deem gratitude and appreciation are due to me".[55] And gratitude the Afrikaners definitely wanted to display. For them, Hobhouse was a hero and they completely trusted her and regarded her as a Good Samaritan.[56] For them, she was a stranger who helped them and became part of them in the process. For years after the inauguration, the Afrikaners supported Hobhouse financially[57] and she regarded the Steyn couple as family:

[45] N.J. van der Merwe, *Marthinus Theunis Steyn, 'n lewensbeskrywing*, p. 165.
[46] Truter, pp. 59, 60, 62.
[47] Free State Archive, A156 4/2, *De Goede Hoop*, 8 February 1907.
[48] Truter, pp. 65, 66, 76, 269.
[49] *Ibid*., p. 63.
[50] *Ibid*., p. 66–68.
[51] *Ibid*., p. 63.
[52] *Ibid*., p. 68.
[53] Van Reenen, p. 378.
[54] N. Kruger, *Rachel Isabella Steyn: Presidentsvrou*, pp. 96–97: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 1 December 1913.
[55] Van Reenen, p. 391: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Mrs Charles Murray, 9 June 1913.
[56] *Ibid*., p. 94: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, 8 March 1901.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

"With you… I have a kindred belief that your heart and sympathy is open to me at all times and on all questions… you have done more than anyone else to solace the loneliness of my declining years".[58]

President Steyn acted as patron towards Hobhouse by utilising her reputation with the Afrikaner people and using the high regard the people had for her to convey a message of Afrikaner unity. He counted on her influence to bring the nation together and advance the Afrikaans movement. In return, he bestowed a certain measure of power on Hobhouse by supporting her various endeavours,[59] supporting her financially and bestowing his goodwill on her, naturally influenced by his wife. President Steyn and Hobhouse's reciprocal patronage then took form when she acted as patron towards him,through Mrs Steyn, by writing the speech in order to convey her own message, which she wanted the entire Afrikaner nation to hear, including President Steyn and his wife. She influenced their judgement on various matters and where they disagreed, did not falter, but strongly stated her different opinions and beliefs. However, she also used the speech to support and advocate President Steyn's vision for Afrikaans.

When Hobhouse was invited to do the unveiling of the monument, the Afrikaans language movement was blossoming; but, a political cloud hung over the work and the danger was that it would extinguish the new fire of nationalism. Hobhouse, acting under President Steyn's patronage, not only addressed these issues in her speech, but also commissioned the translation of the speech not into Dutch, but into the very young Afrikaans.

Having only a very basic command of Afrikaans and realising that President Steyn highly valued the Women's Memorial as part of the Afrikaans movement, Hobhouse decided to commission the translation of her speech into Afrikaans.

Through their mutual ideologies and beliefs, President Steyn and Hobhouse influenced each other and played important roles in subsequent decisions they both made. In addition, they also influenced each other's judgement regarding various global and South African issues. Although they also corresponded with each other directly, their communication was mostly done through Mrs Steyn, who played the role of mediator, or patronage carrier, between Hobhouse and President Steyn. Therefore, Hobhouse and President Steyn had a reciprocal patronage relationship, with Mrs Steyn being the patronage carrier.

[58] Free State Archive, A156 1/1/13: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 11 April 1926.
[59] Truter, p. 267.

6.1.2 Double patronage

By commissioning the translation, Hobhouse transferred her own identity and agendas by acting as a patron towards Metelerkamp, the translator. However, she did not act as patron of only her own ideologies. President Steyn's influence had to be in both the speech and the translation since Hobhouse was acting under his patronage. This means that not only is this a case of a reciprocal patronage, but also of double patronage.

In other words, Hobhouse's patronage over Metelerkamp is influenced by Steyn's patronage over herself. Steyn commissioned Hobhouse to unveil the monument and write the speech. Hobhouse then acted on his commission and, knowing his reasons, made key decisions and commissioned the translation. A translation and patronage relationship requires a person in authority.[60] Steyn was the ultimate person in authority and Hobhouse, in turn, used his authority to act as a patron towards Metelerkamp to become the person in authority over Metelerkamp, but at the same time also influencing President Steyn. However, she only partly accepted President Steyn's patronage by resisting some of his ideologies and instead proclaiming her own. Figure 1 illustrates that President Steyn influenced Hobhouse through Mrs Steyn, but Hobhouse in turn influenced Mrs Steyn, which also had an impact on President Steyn. Both President Steyn and Hobhouse had a great amount of influence over the Afrikaner people and with the Women's Memorial, they both used Hobhouse's influence to encourage people to take part and attend the inauguration. Hobhouse, specifically trusted her influence over the people to convey the message that she planned. She exerted her "power" and relied on the "conducive environment" and knew that the people would listen to her.[61]

[60] Lefevere, p. 14.
[61] K. Marais, "The representation of agents of translation in South Africa: Encountering Gentzler and Madonella", *Translation and Interpreting Studies* 6(2), 2011, p. 192.

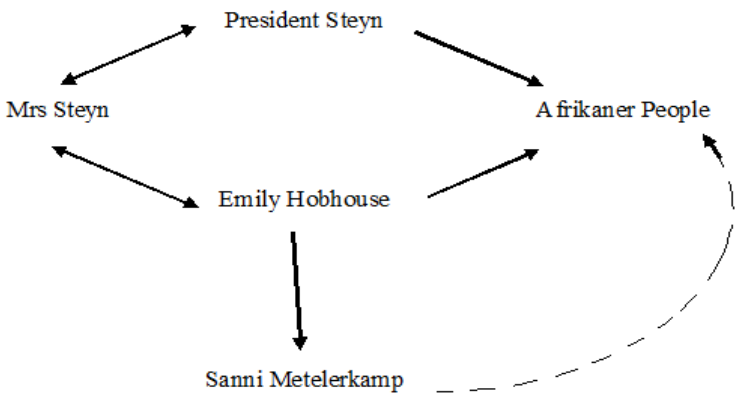

Figure 1: Solid lines showing reciprocal patronage between President Steyn and Hobhouse with Mrs Steyn being the patronage carrier.

By using this influence and her own identity and convictions, Hobhouse wrote the speech and commissioned Metelerkamp to do the translation; however, the Afrikaner people did not necessarily know Metelerkamp. The danger now was that the people would see a stranger's name on the translation and would then assume that Hobhouse did not write it. In addition, they knew that Hobhouse understood Afrikaans and would then ask questions as to why she did not do the translation herself. Therefore, she commissioned the translation and asked Metelerkamp to do the translation, but when she published it, Metelerkamp's name was omitted from the speech. She was kept completely invisible.

The translator's invisibility, as discussed in the literature review, refers to Venuti's research, stating that the translator usually acts without being noticed. The translator's responsibility is to translate in such a way that the target text presents itself as an original. This is a good example of a translator acting in the shadows. Metelerkamp had the power to convey Hobhouse's thoughts and Hobhouse used Metelerkamp specifically because she was pro-Boer,[62] and very much part of the Afrikaans movement.[63] Hobhouse wanted a woman to display women's rights, as evident in the speech, but she also wanted the people to know that she wrote the speech.

Metelerkamp was a journalist and was able to translate the work. But the people did not know her, or, they might have known about her very liberal views[64] and on that grounds, would not have accepted her translation. Hobhouse, on the other hand, was aware of the people's trust in

[62] Van Reenen, p. 401: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to J.C. Smuts, 7 December 1913.
[63] S.B. Davies, *History in the literary imagination: The telling of Nongqawuse and the Xhosa cattle-killing in South African literature and culture (1891–1937)* (doctoral thesis) <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.16188>, accessed on 4.9.2017, p. 46.
[64] *Ibid*., p. 69.

her. They felt that she had their interest at heart and that she fully supported them. Hobhouse, who was known for wanting to be in control, also wanted to control the translation and its reception.

Hobhouse advocated the Afrikaans cause, and wanted the venture of their language to succeed motivated the people. Metelerkamp's name was not printed on the Afrikaans pamphlet as the translator. Instead, Hobhouse's name was printed on both the English and Afrikaans versions of the pamphlet. In the Afrikaners' eyes, Hobhouse wrote the Afrikaans speech especially for them, which implied that this speech and its translation also showed that she wanted the people to know that she took the trouble to translate this speech into their own language, a language that she had learned and come to respect. They trusted her, which resulted in that they automatically trusted the translation as well.[65]

Hobhouse empowered a woman, and a suffragette and pacifist at that,[66] but at the same time, kept the power in her own hands and kept the Afrikaners' trust by giving the impression that she translated her own speech. She cleverly addressed both the women's rights and the power and identity frames in that one translation decision as Figure 2 shows. When Metelerkamp translated the speech, she was speaking as Hobhouse and not as herself.[67] Through Metelerkamp, Hobhouse still had influence over the people as if she had translated the speech herself.

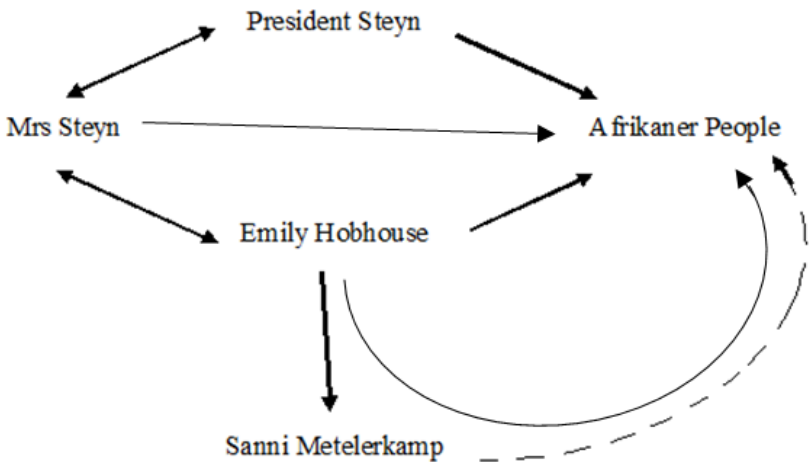

Figure 2: Solid lines showing reciprocal and double patronage and dotted line shows both Metelerkamp's invisibility and patronage.

[65] S. Bassnett and A. Lefevere, *Translation, history and culture*, p. 2.
[66] Davies, p. 69.
[67] T. Hermans, *The conference of the tongues*.

The patron cannot emphasise both their patronage and the translator's visibility. One of these must give way, and for Hobhouse, her patronage was more important and more valuable than allowing Metelerkamp's visibility. She had to compromise Metelerkamp's visibility as an agent in order to keep the patronage intact. In that way, her agency through her particular translation choices became clear. She fought for women's rights and women's empowerment, but in this case, her patronage's impression would be the lasting impression, and not that of making the translator, a woman, visible and bestowing some power on Metelerkamp as well. Here, Hobhouse acted as both agent and patron. As agent, she made several translation choices in order to convey her message at the inauguration. Her patronage served as motivation for the agency, and at the same time, served to allow but limit Metelerkamp's agency.

These limitations did not hinder Metelerkamp from applying her own agency albeit in a limited capacity. Metelerkamp had her own ideals and strong convictions and in the translation wanted to convey some of these convictions. She could not adapt too much of the text, but managed to include subtle differences, making her own agency clear. By inserting some of her own adaptations, the people trusted her translation, thinking that it was done by Hobhouse. Therefore, although Metelerkamp was invisible, she managed to convey her own message under the double patronage of Hobhouse and Steyn.

6.2 Translation choices

The translation implied certain crucial translation decisions that Hobhouse had to make in order to influence the readers and, in that way, continue to exert her patronage power over the target audience.[68] These decisions had an immense impact on the translation, the target audience and to a certain degree the source text audience. By first looking at Hobhouse's translation decisions, she acted as an agent[69] in the social context of the Afrikaner nation. She used her power[70] and the identity that was built around her and her personality[71] by the Afrikaner people to convey the message that she wanted to. This allowed her to convey a difficult message under this trust, knowing that they would listen.

The first major translation decision that Hobhouse made was to have the speech translated. Everyone, including the Afrikaners, knew that Hobhouse was English and apart from her very basic command of Afrikaans, she mostly communicated with people in English. However, by

[68] Tymoczko, pp. 200–216.
[69] M. Wolf, The sociology of translation and its "activist turn", *American Translation and Interpreting Studies* 7(2), p. 34; Kung, p. 125.
[70] Tymoczko, p. 209.
[71] Marais, "The representation of agents of translation in South Africa", p. 194.

translating the speech, she showed her support for the Afrikaans movement. Although Hobhouse was a proud and patriotic Englishwoman, she did not support imperialism. She wanted South Africa to be an independent nation and saw the value of Afrikaans as a means as a method to acquire this independence.

Afrikaans had always been a language of opposition,[72] especially to colonialism, and Hobhouse realised its value. In addition, President Steyn and his wife were also very closely involved with the language movement and thus influenced Hobhouse towards Afrikaans.

6.2.1 Afrikaans movement

After the war, the country was flung into despair, and the internal strife between Afrikaner leaders chasing different goals worsened the situation. In order to counter a total breakdown of the Afrikaner, several leaders started working desperately on ways to encourage cohesion. Since the leaders could not agree on political matters, culture and language, instead of politics, were the answer. President Steyn and his wife threw themselves into this venture.

Hobhouse's first contact with this language was when she took Afrikaans lessons in London before her journey to South Africa in 1901, and again, on board the ship to South Africa.[73] Hobhouse realised that the language would be a barrier and started learning the Taal, as Afrikaans was then known. She did everything in her power to be able to understand the people without having to use an interpreter. This she did because misunderstandings happen easily, and she wanted to hear the people's own perspectives. From the first time she heard the language, Hobhouse felt a certain connection to it and grabbed every possible opportunity she got to better her ability in this very animate language.[74]

The lessons gave her only a basic command of the language,[75] but proved to be very valuable in the concentration camps and other situations where she had to communicate with the Afrikaners.[76] Hobhouse could understand the Boer women and children; she could find better solutions or reach more accurate conclusions. In addition, by taking pains to learn the language, she gave the impression that she went above and beyond to sympathise with and help the Afrikaners in their need.[77] She also made sure that the people knew that she understood the

[72] *Ibid*.
[73] Van Reenen, p. 30.
[74] *Ibid*., pp. 30, 338–342.
[75] *Ibid*., p. 217: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 1 July 1903.
[76] *Ibid*., p. 35: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, 6 January 1901.
[77] *Ibid*.

language, and enjoyed the people's reactions when they realised that she could understand.[78] In this way, she further solidified the Afrikaner's impression of her. She knew that the language was an important part of their identity and that, "you love the foreigner to recognize your language above all things".[79]

Mrs Steyn often confided in Hobhouse about the language issue, and consequently, she shared with Hobhouse that they had made several big sacrifices, not for Dutch Afrikaans, but for Afrikaans.[80] These sacrifices were intensified by the utmost disregard that people had for Afrikaans, "To place the Taal on an equal footing with English connotes a subservience and degration [sic] of the English language and an unwarranted exaltation of the Dutch patois…"[81] Other people associated "Afrikaans with cultural backwardness, and hoped and assumed that in the course of time English would oust it from South Africa".[82] For the British, Afrikaans was a language of lower status and could not be compared to or placed in the same ranks as English.

But England did not foresee the effect that the Afrikaner would have, and as a vehicle for the nationalism and imperial resistance, they used their language, Afrikaans, and based much of the literature used for language upliftment on the war and concentration camps.[83] Nobody could predict "the immense influence the language movement was to exercise on the political development of the country".[84] To support and defend Afrikaans, President Steyn delivered an English speech at a gathering on 19 October 1908, begging people to allow his language its rightful place.[85] Throughout this struggle, Mrs Steyn kept Hobhouse informed, and Hobhouse supported it:

> It is slowly, since that war, that efforts have been concentrated upon stabilizing grammar and spelling. And a literature in the language of the People is being built up and yearly added to… It is such a relief to the People to be able to write as they speak. It has given fresh impetus to literary expression, full of promise for the future.[86]

Hobhouse did not stop at the translation. When it was finished, she ordered 4 000 copies of both languages to be printed and distributed among the people on the day of the inauguration.[87]

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[78] *Ibid*., p. 222: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Lady Hobhouse, 4 July 1903.
[79] *Ibid*., p. 223: Emily Hobhouse Memoir.
[80] Free State Archive, A156 1/1/40: Letter from Tibbie Steyn to Emily Hobhouse, 28 December 1903.
[81] Truter., p. 22; G.D. Scholtz, *Die ontwikkeling van die politieke denke van die Afrikaner* VI, p. 43.
[82] Truter, p. 40; M. Wilson and L.M. Thompson, *The Oxford history of South Africa* II, p. 361.
[83] E. van Heyningen, "Women and gender in the South African War, 1899–1902", in N. Gasa (ed.), *Women in South African history*, p. 106.
[84] Truter, p. 23; D.W. Kruger, *The making of a nation*, p. 58.
[85] Truter, p. 40; Thompson, p. 196.
[86] Van Reenen, p. 30.
[87] *Ibid*., pp. 400–401: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Tibbie Steyn, 9 December 1913.

This not only meant that she ensured that everyone understood the message, but she also equated Afrikaans with English. Through translation, she elevated Afrikaans, a language that the British viewed as a low, second-class language, to stand equal to the language of the conqueror, the mighty imperial English. In doing so, she joined the venture of Afrikaans as resistance against English, and everything it represented. The speech was intended for the Afrikaans audience, but Hobhouse also wanted the English audience to acknowledge the mistakes they made in the war, and to take note of Afrikaans as a language and South Africa as a nation in its own right.

The second crucial translation decision that Hobhouse made was to decide who she wanted as translator. As already mentioned, Hobhouse had some knowledge of Afrikaans, and conducted a few translations between the two languages,[88] but her command was still limited. She wanted the speech, and later, the book, *The brunt of the war and where it fell*, to be done professionally as she hoped that it would reach international audiences. She wanted newspapers to publish the speech.[89] Therefore, she could not risk translating it herself and, in doing so, possibly blemishing the translation.

The translator she decided on was Metelerkamp, a journalist who was not only a Boer sympathiser, but also a fervent feminist and enthusiastic suffragette in the Cape.[90] Although it is not clear how Hobhouse heard of Metelerkamp, it is known that Metelerkamp and Hobhouse had a mutual friend, Olive Schreiner. Some scholars also suggest that it was Schreiner rather than Hobhouse who wrote the speech,[91] but looking at Hobhouse's narrative in the previous chapter, she clearly valued her power and authenticity too much. The message she wanted to deliver to the Afrikaners was too specific and personal to allow someone else to write the speech. The fact that she also kept a close watch on the translation[92] is further proof that she was not about to trust anyone else with this precious message. True to herself, she could not distance herself completely from the translation and made sure that she was kept up to date

[88] E. Hobhouse, *War without glamour*; A. Badenhorst and E. Hobhouse, *Tant Alie of Transvaal, her diary*.
[89] Free State Archive, A156 1/1/11: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Tibbie Steyn, 27 December 1913.
[90] Davies, p. 69.
[91] The Olive Schreiner Letters Online (online archive), Olive Schreiner BC16/Box5/Fold2/1913/47: Letter from Olive Schreiner to William Philip Schreiner, November 1913. In this letter, Schreiner writes that Hobhouse asked her to "revise, alter and if necessary re-write the whole!" However, in the same letter she acknowledged that Hobhouse "must rule and dominate absolutely...her word is law".
[92] E. Brits Private Collection (Cape Town): Letters between Emily Hobhouse and Sanni Metelerkamp during the translation process.

with every step of the translation process.[93] In addition, she also felt that Schreiner "mixed imagination with facts…one learnt not to rely on her statements…"[94]

6.3 The translated speech

Just like the source text, the target text analysis also uses the same frames, which were apparent in Hobhouse's life. These frames are applicable to Hobhouse and shows the influence in her life to write the speech and make specific translation choices. Since Hobhouse was so closely involved with the entire translation process, the target text is structured in the same manner in order to evaluate the different influences in the translation as well. In addition, since Hobhouse acted as a patron towards Metelerkamp, she had to make sure that her message was correctly conveyed in the translation. This means that on the surface, no significant differences exist between the source and target texts. However, by following the pattern of the frames, several small, but possibly significant changes appear.

In the translation, Metelerkamp, a largely unknown journalist, received the opportunity, through Hobhouse's patronage, to become an agent in translation in order to convey her own very specific message. She was much more liberal than Hobhouse and was very outspoken about various aspects of liberalism. Translating Hobhouse's speech gave her the opportunity to change some of Hobhouse's words in subtle ways in order to conduct her own agency.

Throughout the analysis of Hobhouse's speech and its translation, the same structure will be used. The English speech, i.e. the source text, will be given first, as seen below. After that, the target text, the Afrikaans translation, will be given, followed by the discussion. In some instances, where appropriate, the discussion will precede the source text excerpt to discuss the following quotes from the speech.

Hobhouse specifically asked that the speech be translated into Afrikaans, but when Afrikaans was standardised, the relevant language committees decided that Dutch would be used as the written basis of Afrikaans.[95] This means that the speech was written in Dutch or Old Afrikaans. As part of the language movement, everyone was encouraged to use the language as often as possible, also in all official statements, etc.[96] Although it took some getting used to and Mrs

[93] *Ibid*.
[94] Van Reenen, p. 188.
[95] H. Willemse, "The hidden histories of Afrikaans," <http://www.up.ac.za/en/faculty-of-humanities/news/post_2235567-the-hidden-histories-of-afrikaans>, accessed on 20.9.2017.
[96] *Ibid.*

Steyn stated that she often struggled and made several mistakes, the people eventually got used to the new language and used it more often with greater self-confidence.

However, in this translation, it is clear that some of the language rules were not yet consolidated and that Metelerkamp might have suffered the same fate as Mrs Steyn. Metelerkamp was a journalist with the *Cape Argus* and usually wrote in English. However, her knowledge of Afrikaans was excellent, and she had won several prizes for Afrikaans writing and translation.[97] However, this newly standardised language had new rules that had to be learned. For example, the use of the personal pronoun "U" and possessive pronoun, "uw" is not used consistently throughout the entire speech. The rule would be that "U" is capitalised and used as the pronoun, "you". The term "uw" is used as a possessive pronoun and is not capitalised. However, as seen in some of the examples below, Metelerkamp used them interchangeably:

> Nochtans, daar ik op Uw verzoek van zo verre gekomen ben om deel te nemen aan deze plechtige wijding, en daar ik ten nauwste betrokken was...[98]
>
> ... "Bedwing uw stem van geween en uw ogen van tranen; zy zullen uit des vijands land wederkomenen; uw kinderen zullen wederkomen tot hun eigen landpalen."[99]
>
> ... Hebt U ooit uzelve afgevraagd, waarom ik U ter hulp kwam in die donkere dagen van strijd? Ik was nooit in uw land geweest...[100]
>
> ... Klemt u vast aan dit ideal van vrijheid en liefkoost het...[101]

More of these examples exist in the text, but as they point out the same issue, it is unnecessary to include them. However, another example of this would be the way Metelerkamp translated "South African". On both occasions, she translated the term as "Zuidafrikaanse", instead of "Zuid-Afrikaanse" as various other publications in that same time were writing it.[102] This could also be attributed to the novelty of writing Afrikaans. As part of her involvement in the Afrikaans movement, Metelerkamp had to get used to the writing conventions. By aiming to use the language correctly, she advocated her support to the cause.

Another translation difference is seen in underlined words in the following paragraph of the target text. In Hobhouse's speech, she used the capitalisation for the unveiling of the Women's Memorial inconsistently:

> Sedert onheugelike tijden waren het mannen, die men begeerde om lofspraken te houden over de graven van hun krijgsmakkers, die gevallen waren voor hun land. Op heden is het, maar ik

[97] Davies, p. 73; Walker, p. 97.
[98] Document Collection, File 4709/171: Emily Hobhouse Women's Memorial inauguration speech: Vrouwen-dag, 16 December 1913 (Afrikaans version, translated by S. Metelerkamp).
[99] *Ibid*.
[100] *Ibid.*
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] W.K. Hancock and J. van der Poel (eds), *Selections from the Smuts Papers* 4: November 1918 to August 1919.

> meen, voor de eerste maal dat een vrouw gekozen is om de herinneringsrede te houden over de Nationale Doden—niet soldaten, doch vrouwen – die hun leven gegeven hebben voor hun land.
>
> [From ancient times men have pronounced eulogies over the graves of their fellow-men who had fallen for their country. To-day, I think for the first time, a woman is chosen to make the Commemorative Speech over the National Dead – not soldiers – but *women*[103] – who gave their lives for their country.][104]

Another, similar case is evident later in the speech:

> Eerbiedige sympathie wordt met U gevoeld bij deze herinnering en in uw begeerte om volle eer te bewijzen aan uw Doden.[105]
>
> [Reverent sympathy is felt with you in this Commemoration and in your desire to accord full honour to your Dead.][106]

In the abovementioned excerpts, Hobhouse capitalised the words "commemorative speech", but Metelerkamp wrote the translation, "herinneringsrede" in lower case. Although there might have been different rules of capitalisation in Dutch and English, it is also true that, for Hobhouse, this speech was an important part of her identity that she wanted to impress on the Afrikaner people. She felt that this day was sacred. Metelerkamp, on the other hand, evaluated the speech from a journalistic viewpoint. Hobhouse requested that the speech be published in several newspapers afterwards. Unfortunately, English newspapers were not willing to publish the speech.[107] Metelerkamp, working at the *Cape Argus*, might have been able to see that although the speech would mean a great deal to the Afrikaners, Hobhouse and the people close to her, it would have no real important value for newspapers at that time. The same reason might be true for the following difference in capitalisation (underlined):

> Mijn Vrienden: Deze dag, deze "Vrouwen-Dag" is goed.[108] Gelijk de Sabbath in de week, brengt het een tussenruimte in de voortsnellende jaren, en in die rustpoze kan men zich kalm het verledene weder voor de geest roepen, wordt, de inspiratie daarvan opnieuw ingeademd, worden zijn lessen opnieuw ingeprent.
>
> [My Friends, This Day, This Vrouwen-Dag Is *Good*.[109] Like the Sabbath in the week, it breaks into the hurrying years, and in the pause, the past can calmly be recalled, its inspiration breathed afresh, its lessons conned once more.]

Metelerkamp was a fervent fighter for women's rights and had a great amount of respect for Hobhouse, and throughout the entire translation process kept Hobhouse involved and up to

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[103] Hobhouse constantly used italics to highlight certain words. Metelerkamp never used italics. She did, however, sometimes use punctuation or capitalisation where Hobhouse used italics in order to highlight the term.
[104] E. Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech, Vrouwen-dag, 16 December 1913 (English version). Original document available at the Anglo-Boer War Museum (Bloemfontein), Document collection, File 4709/171 (own underline).
[105] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[106] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[107] Free State Archive, A156 1/1/11: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Tibbie Steyn, 27 December 1913.
[108] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[109] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

date.[110] However, she might have been part of the political faction that felt that the Women's Memorial would fuel Afrikaner bitterness and resentment towards the British rather than tying the Afrikaners together. For similar political reasons, John X. Merriman, Cape prime minister before South Africa became a union and a close friend of Hobhouse's, could not deliver her speech at the inauguration of the Women's Memorial. When she realised that she would not be able to do it herself, she asked him to do it, but because of the tense political situation, he had to decline.[111]

Metelerkamp could simply have deemed the capitalisation unnecessary, but what is true is that the Vrouwen-Dag was like the Sabbath for Hobhouse, and therefore she capitalised any reference to the day. Although Hobhouse was not very vocal about religion, she knew that the Afrikaners were very religious. It also seems that she was more religious than Metelerkamp, who openly embraced a very liberal view and lifestyle.[112] Hobhouse acknowledged religion in her speech by captialising any reference to religion and faith. Metelerkamp did not, as can be seen in the quote above, and several other examples in the text.

For Hobhouse, the greatest problem with the war was that people acted out of greed and selfishness. She also saw this as England's greatest downfall. On the other hand, she was aware of the Afrikaners' ideal of a land of their own. For them it was a fight for freedom. However, she did not feel as strongly about this freedom as Metelerkamp. Metelerkamp, although not an Afrikaner by birth, felt the urge for this freedom much closer than Hobhouse did. For Hobhouse, an Englishwoman, England's greed for material prosperity was the biggest issue. For Metelerkamp, the freedom was the most important issue to address, as can be seen with the underlined words in the following excerpts:

> Op heden zijn de hoofden op vreemdsoortige wijze verward, zijn de ogen verblind, en is het de bijna algemene gedachte, dat het allergewichtigste voor een land is <u>stoffelike welvaart.</u> Dit is vals.[113]
>
> [In the present day, minds are strangely confused, eyes are blinded, and it is the almost universal idea that the all-important thing for a country is <u>Material Prosperity</u>. It is false.][114]
>
> Zij stierven voor <u>Vrijheid</u>.[115]

[110] Brits Private Collection: Letters between Emily Hobhouse and Sanni Metelerkamp.
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Davies, p. 69.
[113] S Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[114] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[115] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.

> [They died for freedom…][116]

Apart from the capitalisation differences in the source and target texts, Metelerkamp also uses more vivid words throughout the translation when writing about the situation in the concentration camps. A "burning" sun gives the impression of sunburn you experience while spending too much time in the sun, but a "scorching" sun creates a much more vivid image, which is an overall more emotional connotation:

> Myne Vrienden—Herinneringen en aandoeningen dringen zich op. Dertien jare zijn voorbijgegaan, sedert ik onder de verzengende Januarie-zon dageliks voortstrompelde uit uw met draad omvlochte stad naar dat kopje van vele tranen.
>
> [Thirteen years have passed since under the burning January sun I trudged daily forth from your wire-girt town to that kopje of many tears.][117]

Another example where Metelerkamp evokes more emotion, is where she refers to the internal Afrikaner struggle regarding the Bittereinders and the Handsuppers and Joiners:

> Dageliks ging ik in dat kamp, zoals later in andere, van tent tot tent, was ik getuige van onuitgesproken lijden, doch werd steeds mijn bewondering gewekt voor die verheven moed, welke geopenbaard werd door kinderen zowel als door de moeders van uw land. Zo snel leert het lijden, dat zelfs kinderen van een nog tedere leeftijd de moed deelden van de strijd, en uitgehongerd, naakt en stervend, steeds baden om "geen overgave. ("Nie hands op nie.")
>
> [Daily in that camp, as later in others, I moved from tent to tent, witness of untold sufferings, yet marvelling ever at the lofty spirit which animated the Childhood as well as the Motherhood of your land. So quickly does suffering educate, that even children of quite tender years shared the spirit of the struggle, and sick, hungry, naked or dying prayed ever for "no surrender".][118]

In the target text, as seen in the excerpts above, Metelerkamp added another phrase in brackets, "Nie hands op nie". This phrase immediately reminds the audience of "Hensoppers", or handsuppers, as also discussed in the historical background and narrative of Hobhouse previously in this study. These people were Afrikaners who surrendered to the British and, in some cases, started to fight on their side. The "Bittereinders" were the people that fought to the bitter end. After the war, a great amount of animosity was evident between these two groups. Metelerkamp, displaying her translation agency, ignored President Steyn's wish that the monument should fuel no bitterness. Here, she reminds the people of the terrible fight among themselves, but she likens the small children in the camps to the group that stayed true until the very last. The children fought for freedom until their deathbeds, just like the "Bittereinders" persevered and even when defeat was inevitable, they were driven by an intense desire for independence. Although Hobhouse referred to this struggle,[119] it did not enjoy priority in her

[116] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[117] *Ibid.*
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] Van Reenen, p. 200.

view, as she was not as intricately involved, and it did not influence her that much. For her, this was not the most important issue. Metelerkamp on the other hand, was a South African and very much felt the effects of this struggle. She understood that this was a sensitive topic and that it would cause reaction and bring the message home. It is not included in the source text, as it would not draw the same reaction from the source audience. However, Hobhouse knew about the insertion, and still allowed it, which meant she also slightly defied President Steyn's wishes. True to her nature, she only accepted the patronage partially and would never have admitted that she was under President Steyn's patronage.

6.4 Frames

The frames in the previous chapter are relevant to Hobhouse's life, and it is improbable that the exact frames are evident and have the same impact in someone else's life. These frames are evident in Hobhouse's life, and under this influence, she also wrote the speech for the unveiling of the Women's Memorial, decided to have it translated, and commissioned Metelerkamp to do the translation. By using the frames from the previous chapter, this part of the chapter discusses how the frames point to different translation choices made by Hobhouse, but also how Metelerkamp and her translation choices fit into the borders of these frames.

6.4.1 Sacrifice

Not much personal information about Metelerkamp is available.[120] Born in 1867, Metelerkamp was seven years younger than Hobhouse. Her life, as far as the available information can tell, did not carry the same theme of lifelong sacrifice the way Hobhouse's did. However, she stated that to sacrifice, was part of every woman's life and that it was a "peculiarly—and natural—female phenomenon".[121] This she said under the influence of Olive Schreiner who had a great impact on her political views.[122] Schreiner stated, "…only a woman knows how hard it is for a woman to fight or seem to fight for herself. Because deep in our nature is something that makes us feel as if we should always fight for others…"[123] Thus, Metelerkamp followed Schreiner's lead and consequently stated that this kind of sacrifice is not only a "female tendency but a

[120] Davies, p. 70. The only known biographical information about Metelerkamp is found in Pauline Smith's journal of South Africa, which has been published as *Secret fire: The 1913–14 South African journal of Pauline Smith*, H. Scheub (ed.).
[121] *Ibid.*
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[123] Schreiner Letters Online, MSC 26/2.16/343: Letter from Olive Schreiner to S.C. Cronwright-Schreiner, 16 February 1907.

necessity…. [and that] there is emancipation in sacrifice".[124] Metelerkamp agreed with Hobhouse on the integral part that sacrifice played in women's lives.[125]

In the translation, it is clear that Metelerkamp emphasises the fact that the women sacrificed everything they had. In the following quote, Hobhouse wrote that the women and children were torn from familiar lives and sent to the camps. Metelerkamp, knowing the Afrikaner people much more intimately than Hobhouse did, changed "familiar" to "gezinsleven", making the translation more intimate and personal:

> Weggerukt uit hun eenvoudige gezinsleven, gedompeld in ziekte en armoede, omringel door vreemdelingen, waren deze arme zielen van alles ontbloot.[126]
>
> [Torn from familiar simple life, plunged into sickness and destitution, surrounded by strangers, were those poor souls – stripped bare.][127]

Metelerkamp could have mistaken the term "familiar" for "family" and translated it as "gezinsleven", but the following excerpts instead show that she wanted to showcase that the Afrikaners not only lost familiarity and comfort. According to her translation, they lost everything they held dear, their very sense of being, their intimate familial life:

> Gij zijt hier uit alle delen samen gekomen om deze plek te wijden aan vrouwen en kinderen, die van alles beroofd warden. Ik zeg dit met opzet—van alles—echtgenoten en zonen, huis en haard, have en goed, huisraad en zelfs klederen.[128]
>
> [You are gathered here from all parts to consecrate this spot to women and children who were stripped of all – I say it advisedly – of all. Husbands and sons, houses and lands, flocks and herds, household goods and even clothing. Denuded, it was good to watch how yet they "possessed their souls".][129]

The translation, "huis en haard" for "houses and lands", is a Dutch, and Afrikaans, idiom, which means having a home, rather than just a house, where you feel safe and where family values are present.[130] Similarly, "have en goed", which Metelerkamp uses to translate "flocks and herds" is another Dutch idiom meaning everything you have.[131] By using these idioms, Metelerkamp did not convey only the information as presented in the source text. She used idioms to add emotional connection. Not only did she use language that the Afrikaners could understand, she also illustrated the immensity of the women's loss. For them, the war was more than material gain. They did not only lose all their material possessions, they also lost

[124] Davies, p. 88.
[125] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[126] S. Metelerkamp, Translated speech.
[127] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[128] Metelerkamp, Translated Speech. Underline added.
[129] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech. Underline added.
[130] *Handboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* (6th ed.).
[131] Woorden.org: Nederlands Woordenboek, <http://www.woorden.org/spreekwoord.php?woord=Have+en+goed>, accessed on 28.11.2017.

everything they held dear, including a place to call home and family values. Their right to living together as families was torn from them.

6.4.2 Human rights

Hobhouse's fight for human rights was a philantrophic mission that she embarked on and she embraced this mission with her English identity intact. Although she sympathised with the Afrikaner people, she was not about to give up her identity as an Englishwoman. In fact, as seen in the narrative, she still regarded England and her society as having a higher status than the Afrikaners. She told her brother that she thought highly of Smuts, and that he was "like one ourselves".[132] In addition, she wrote to Mrs Steyn, stating that, "Your language always attracted me, dear Mrs. Steyn, it seemed to me such a perfect vehicle for all primitive and delightful things... How suited to intimate family life!"[133] Hobhouse still regarded Afrikaans as a primitive language and wanted to play her part to uplift Afrikaans; the translation could be seen as a way for Hobhouse to lift a "lower", inferior, language to a status equal to English. Even to her, England was the superior country and Afrikaners were inferior, a nation that had to be educated in English ways in order to be uplifted. In the following quote, she speaks of England as a "great civilised nation":

> Ook wij, de grote, beschaafde naties der wereld, zijn nog slechts—op onze hoogte—barbaren...[134]
>
> [We too, the great civilised nations of the world, are still but barbarians in our degree…][135]

In another part of the speech, Hobhouse also hinted at this superiority of her culture:

> Want, als de samenleving geschokt wordt tot in haar grondvesten, dan is het dat de diepte een beroep doet op de diepte, dan komt het onderliggend eenheidsgevoel van onze aard boven, wij leren dat "gans de wereld één verwantschap is".[136]
>
> [For when Society is shaken to its foundations, then deep calleth unto deep, the underlying oneness of our nature appears, we learn that "all the world is kin".][137]

Here, Hobhouse wrote "Society" in capital letters, most likely referring to the British Society. In the previous paragraph she quoted, "I came – quite simply – in obedience to the solidarity of our Womanhood and to those nobler traditions of English life in which I was nurtured, and

[132] Van Reenen, pp. 237–238: Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Leonard Hobhouse, undated.
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[134] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech. It should be noted that some copies of the speech have omitted the term "beschaafd", suggesting the possibility that Metelerkamp could not see the British as civilised. However, in this version, the term "beschaafde" was inserted.
[135] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[136] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[137] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

which by long inheritance are mine".[138] For Metelerkamp, the "samenleving" referred to a common society, and not necessarily one where people regarded themselves higher than other people. She wrote about the "edeler tradities" (nobler traditions) of this society and that it was shocked when they heard of the horrors done in their name. For Hobhouse, a patriotic Englishwomen, the British Society was still an upscale and superior country that had to respond to the "calling from the deep", a far-away country where people needed a higher society's help.

For Hobhouse, a society, or community, was an important part of a culture, and she felt that human rights were important to uphold certain standards in that community. For Metelerkamp, human rights were not as important to her as the subcategory, women's rights. However, some of her writings pointed to a measure of consciousness for human rights.[139] For example, in one of her works, she "avoids issues of race... [and] prefers... the concept of a pan-racial sisterhood founded on a common biological condition and experience".[140] She was therefore very aware of the racial tension in South Africa. In the following quote, Hobhouse speaks out against "racial animosity". As the narrative shows, Hobhouse was not a racist and strongly disagreed with President Steyn and many other Afrikaners about the native question. However, she was under President Steyn's patronage and had to keep his vision for the Women's Memorial in mind. She used the term "animosity" when speaking about the racial differences in South Africa:

> Eist de rechtvaardigheid niet dat wij ons heden zullen herinneren hoeveel duizenden van het donkere ras eveneens zijn omgekomen in de Konsentratiekampen, in een strijd welke niet de hunne was... Was het niet een voorbeeld van die gemeenskap van belangen, welke allen aaneenbindend, de rassehaat uitroeit?[141]
>
> [Does not justice bid us remember today how many thousands of the dark race perished also in Concentration Camps in a quarrel that was not theirs…Was it not an instance of that community of interest, which binding all in one, roots out racial animosity?][142]

In this way, Hobhouse addressed the issue, but used softer language in her admonishings. Meterlerkamp translated "animosity" with "rassehaat", implying the more hostile attitude that was evident in many households. Once again, she uses more emotional language when addressing certain issues. Her own agency required her to translate a softer term more harshly, as she knew how volatile the situation was and how relevant this quote was to the South African context.

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[138] *Ibid.*
[139] Davies, p. 29.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[142] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

6.4.2.1 Women's rights

Just like Hobhouse, Metelerkamp felt very strongly about women's rights and fervently supported the suffrage movement in the Cape. She was the first woman in South Africa to be appointed as a parliamentary reporter and was one of the founding members of the Women's Enfranchisement League (WEL) Cape branch.[143] This organisation was first established in Durban in 1902 and its aim was "to promote an intelligent interest in the question of Political Enfranchisement of Women in Cape Colony and to advocate the granting of the Vote of Women on the same terms of men".[144]

During the process of South Africa becoming a union, the National Convention was established in order to discuss important matters that might influence the union. One of these issues was voting rights for black people. However, women's voting rights were scarcely mentioned. The WEL, together with other women's rights organisations, campaigned for the cause, but several highly placed figures like J.X. Merriman and C.J. Langenhoven still opposed the notion of women as full-scale citizens.[145] Metelerkamp supported the women's voting rights, but admitted that she still believed that "…a true woman would never abandon what she refers to as her sacred duties… it is part of duty to strive to have a voice in all that affects her".[146] She defended women as wives and mothers, but also stated that:

> A better and more equitable society… can never be till men and women labour side by side in the… home, and the State, on a footing of absolute equality; and this, again, can never be until woman is recognised by law as the political equal of man.[147]

In the following quote from the speech, Metelerkamp shows that she shares Hobhouse's feelings about women having equal rights as citizens. In addition, Metelerkamp also supports Hobhouse's pacifist ideals and therefore both the source and target text deny that it is war that qualifies men to be citizens of a country:

> En hun invloed zal steeds verder gaan. Zij hebben aan de wereld getoond dat het nooit weder gezegd kan worden, dat de vrouw geen staatsburgerlike rechten verdient, omdat zij geen deel neemt aan de oorlog. Dit standbeeld staat daar al seen tegenspraak van die bewering. Vrouwen, in een grote aantallen als de mannen, hebben zich het recht waardig gemaakt op zulke woorden…[148]

[143] Davies, p. 69.
[144] M.G. Fernandes, "The transnational factor: The beginnings of South Africa's women's movement" (academic paper).
[145] Davies, p. 71.
[146] *Ibid*., p. 72: S. Metelerkamp, as quoted in *The Suffrage Simplified*, 1908, pp. 4, 6.
[147] *Ibid*., p. 73: S. Metelerkamp, as quoted in *The Suffrage Simplified*, 1908, p.7.
[148] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.

> [They have shown *the world* that never again can it be said that woman deserves no rights as Citizen because she takes no part in war. This statue stands as a denial of that assertion. Women in equal numbers to the men earned the right.][149]

Although Metelerkamp was sympathetic of the Boer cause, she was not an Afrikaner by birth and her suffragette struggles were not only for South African women. She was based in South Africa, but for her, as for Hobhouse, the fight was aimed at and in cooperation with a global fight for women's rights. In many of her writings and short stories, Metelerkamp thus also advocated a "universal womanhood founded on a common biological condition and experience".[150] In the excerpts below, she emphasised "Universal Womanhood", which Hobhouse capitalised, by repeating the phrase, "waarop alle vrouwens der wereld" with "de vrouwens van gans de wereld". In the latter, Metelerkamp paraphrased universal by writing "the women of all over the world". By doing this, Metelerkamp made sure that people understood what "Universal" means and thus highlights the immensity of women's rights:

> Wij maken er aanspraak op als een Wereld-Monument, waarop alle vrouwen der wereld trots behoren te zijn; want uw Doden hebben, door hun dappere eenvoud, tot de vrouwen van gans de wereld gesproken, en van "geweven in de stof" heden af zijn zij van het leven van elke vrouw.[151]

> [We claim it as a WORLD-MONUMENT, of which all the World's Women should be proud; for your dead by their brave simplicity have spoken to Universal Womanhood, and henceforth they are "woven into the stuff" of every woman's life][152]

6.4.3 Forgiveness and reconciliation

> Ik heb gelezen, dat toen Christus zeide "Vergeef uw vijanden," het niet slechts was ter wille van de vijand dat Hij zo sprak, doch om ieders zelfs wil, "omdat liefde schooner is dan haat." Voorzeker, met de wetenschap welke tans de hunne is, weten Uw Doden dit. Haat te koesteren is dodelik voor uw eigen zelfontwikkeling. Het wekt een scheuring, want haat vreet evenals roest in de ziel, zowel van volkeren als van individuen.[153]

> [I have read that when Christ said, "Forgive your enemies," it is not only for the sake of the enemy He say so, but for one's own sake, "because love is more beautiful than hate." Surely your Dead, with the wisdom that now is theirs, know this. To harbour hate is fatal to your own self-development, it makes a flaw, for hatred, like rust, eats into the soul of a nation as of an individual.][154]

Metelerkamp's work focused greatly on women's rights and therefore her short stories, pamphlets, etc. mostly revolved around these issues. Issues about the war and the consequent situation in the country did not occupy her thoughts and thus the idea of forgiveness and reconciliation did not feature too much in her life. In this way, she differed from Hobhouse.

[149] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[150] Davies, p. 83.
[151] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech. Underline added.
[152] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech. Underline added.
[153] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[154] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

Although Hobhouse was a proud Englishwoman, she had some resentment against her country after her deportation. She was also under President Steyn's patronage, and he struggled to adapt in the country after the war.[155] Both of them struggled to forgive their enemies. In addition, President Steyn and Hobhouse's goal with the Women's Memorial was to honour the women and children who died in the concentration camps. Metelerkamp's struggle was more about women's rights and her translation of this frame in Hobhouse's life does not show any noteworthy differences or proof of Metelerkamp's agency.

Metelerkamp struggled to accept her background, and here, she found some common ground with Hobhouse. In the following excerpt, Hobhouse referred to women and children from every class of life that suffered in the concentration camps. Metelerkamp's humble background was one that she struggled to accept, and she translated "humble", which could be seen as a positive characteristic, with "laag", a term referring to be of little worth:

> Niemand is daarvoor te laag of te onbekend; ieder telt mede.[156]
>
> [No one is too humble or unknown; each one counts.][157]

Metelerkamp's great-grandfather was George Rex, the founder of the town of Knysna and who some researchers have claimed to be the illegitimate son of King George III.[158] Metelerkamp, who also grew up in Knysna, did not like her small-town upbringing and stated that she had wasted years in the small town, and many of her decisions in life were made to rebel against her upbringing. According to Pauline Smith, "[Metelerkamp] gave me the impression of having plunged wildly into vegetarianism and suffragism and politics in a sort of spite against this little unknown village".[159] However, since she grew up in South Africa and knew the intricate situations, she was pro-Boer[160] and translated the speech from an Afrikaner point of view, as the following excerpt also shows:

> Nochtans, indien gij nog enig medelijden te sparen hebt, geef dan zelfs nu nog aan diegenen, die, nog in leven zijnde, steeds in hun harten de zware herinneringen moeten ronddragen aan het misdadig onrecht, waardoor die oorlog werd uitgelokt.[161]
>
> [Yet if you have pity and to spare, give it even now to those, who, still alive, must ever carry in their hearts the heavy memories of the blundering wrong by which they wrought that war.][162]

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[155] Truter, p. 9.
[156] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[157] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[158] P. Storrar, George Rex: Remarkable but not Royal <http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/george-rex-remarkable-not-royal> accessed on 24.10.2017.
[159] Davies, p. 69: P. Smith. As quoted in *Secret fire: The 1913–14 South African journal of Pauline Smith*, H. Scheub (ed.).
[160] Van Reenen, p. 401; Letter from Emily Hobhouse to Tibbie Steyn, 9 December 1913.
[161] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[162] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

For Hobhouse, an Englishwoman, the concentration camps and everything else that went wrong in South Africa, was a careless mistake on England's part. Metelerkamp regarded this as a crime, which resulted in war. In the separate sentences, the same message is portrayed, but given the two different contexts, can be read with completely different emotions. The Dutch version, which is meant for the Afrikaners is harsher, and the source text, meant for English readers is stated softer and justifies an excuse. A mistake is understandable, but a crime must be punished. In the same fashion, she continued in the following part of the speech:

> Geslacht na geslacht zal hier staan, om in stille welsprekendheid deze grote denkbeelden te uiten:—In uw handel en in die van uw kinderen liggen die gewonnen macht en vrijheid; gij moet de heilige gift niet slechts handhaven, doch vermeerderen. Wees barmhartig jegens de zwakke, de terneder getrapte, de vreemdeling. Open uw poorte niet voor de ergste vijanden van de vrijdom—tyrannie en zeflzucht. Zijn zij het niet, die aan anderen dezelfde vrijhheden en rechten onthouden, welke gij zo gewaardeerd hebt en welke gij voor uzelve gewonnen hebt?
>
> In deze geest zal het Monument tot u spreken.
>
> Vele volkeren zijn vergaan op deze rotsen—tyrannie en zelfzucht.[163]
> [Generation after generation it will stand here, pressing home in silent eloquence these great thoughts: In your hands and those of your children lie the power and freedom won; you must not merely maintain but increase the sacred gift. Be merciful towards the weak, the down-trodden, the stranger.[164]
>
> Do not open your gates to those worst foes of freedom—tyranny and selfishness. Are not these the withholding from others in your control, the very liberties and rights which you have valued and won for yourselves? So will the monument speak to you.
>
> Many nations have foundered on this rock.][165]

Metelerkamp added the same phrase "tyrannie en zelfzucht" to the sentence, "vele volkeren zijn vergaan op deze rotsen". Hobhouse, on the other hand only wrote "many nations have foundered on this rock". By repeating something that Hobhouse states the Afrikaners must guard against, Metelerkamp takes it upon herself to emphasise the importance of this matter.

6.4.4 Power and identity

> En, voorzeker, de eer van een land wordt niet bepaald door de stomme daden van een of andere voorbijgaande administratie of zwak veldheerschap, doch ze is gelegen in de totale som van haar beste tradities, waarvoor gans het volk zal opstaan om ze te handhaven.[166]
>
> [And surely, the honour of a country is not determined by the blundering acts of some passing administration or weak generalship, but lies in the sum-total of her best traditions which the people at large will rise up to maintain.][167]

[163] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[164] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.
[165] *Ibid.*
[166] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[167] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

Unlike forgiveness and reconciliation, power and identity played a distinct role in Metelerkamp's life. She had a very definite interest in politics and supported various liberal and ideological causes, including feminism, vegetarianism, socialism and pacifism.[168] As a member and honorary secretary of WEL, she enthusiastically took part in the suffragette cause and also wrote a pamphlet, *The suffrage simplified*, which was published in 1908 as "propagandising tool for the political emancipation of women".[169] She worked as a parliamentary journalist for the *Cape Argus.*[170] But unlike many suffragettes, Metelerkamp was, like Hobhouse, a pacifist and did not participate in any violent protests. She did, however, support Olive Schreiner in her statement regarding women's rights as "common human duty and right".[171] She was a passionate woman who believed strongly in women's capabilities in the public sphere. Therefore, when she translated Hobhouse's speech, she replaced any reference that might portray women as being helpless:

> Dat enorme treurspel kwam uiteindelik, naarmate het zich over zijn bloedige weg verbreidde door uw land, van aangezich tot aangezicht te staan tegenover de grote schare van vrouwen en kinderen—de zwakken en de jeugdigen. Algeheel onschuldich aan de oorlog, nochtans geroepen om de hitte ervan te dragen, maakten zij zich op nobele wijze gereed om de beproeving, welke hen wachtte, ten ondergaan. Ja, waarlik sympathie dwongen zij af, doch hun lijden steeg tot op een hoogte, waar ons een edelijden het niet bereiken kon.[172]
>
> [That vast tragedy as it rolled through your land upon its bloody way, came at length face to face with the great array of the women and children—the weak and the young. Wholly innocent of the war, yet called upon to bear its brunt, nobly they rose to meet the trial that awaited them. Sympathy indeed they craved and did receive, but they towered above our pity.][173]

In the last sentence above, Metelerkamp translates "Sympathy indeed they craved and did receive" with "sympathie dwongen zij af". In her speech, Hobhouse seems to depicts the women and children as hopeless and helpless beings, waiting passively for attention and sympathy. This was however not the case; Hobhouse commented on how strong the women were and how they sometimes reacted to certain wrongs done to them. This could be because Hobhouse had started to live up to her reputation among the Afrikaners, giving the impression that she was the saviour of people, sympathising with them when no one else was willing to. Metelerkamp corrected this inaccuracy, by giving some power to the women themselves and stating that they rather demanded sympathy in how they acted and conducted themselves. They

[168] Davies, p. 69.
[169] *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 76.
[170] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[171] Schreiner Letters Online, BC16/Box3/Fold6/1907/10: Letter from Olive Schreiner to Betty Molteno, 20 April 1907.
[172] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[173] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

did not necessarily demand it verbally, but rather with their actions. The Afrikaner women were not helpless women waiting for someone to make their decisions for them and fight their battles for them. For this reason, Metelerkamp also criticised the possibility of uneducated (coloured) men being allowed to vote, while women were not allowed, and consequently voting "for the wrong man!"[174] These "wrong men" were called "incompetent Statesmen" and "blundering politicians" by Hobhouse, and translated as "onbekwame staatsmannen' and "dwalende politici".[175] For Metelerkamp, the wrong men were wandering and incompetent, and thus she shared Hobhouse's distrust in politicians, although Hobhouse's mistrust was mostly directed at English politicians, whereas Metelerkamp directed her outrage at South African politicians:

> De rijken en hooggeplaatsen, de vermogende financiers die oorlog begeerden, de onbekwame staatsmannen di hun werktuigen waren, de mannen die in de zetels der machthebenden geplaatst waren, de dwalende politici van die donkere geschiedenis—alle ellendige autoriteiten die onbekwaam waren om deze verschrikkelike toestanden te behandelen welke zijzelf in het leven geroepen hadden—zij hadden en hebben nog behoefte aan ons diepste medelijden... Past op, opdat gij niet moogt vergeten wat de oorzaak van die strijd in't van ons land van diegenen, die het niet liefhadden, doch die slechts op zijn schatten belust waren...uit begeerte naar land en grond.[176]
>
> [The rich and highly-placed, the financiers who wanted war, the incompetent Statesmen who were their tools, the men who sat in the seats of the mighty, the blundering politicians of that dark story – all the miserable authorities incapable of dealing with the terrible conditions they themselves had brought about – these needed and still need our deeper pity… Beware lest you forget what caused that struggle in the past. We died without a murmur to bear our part in saving our country from those who loved her not but only desired her riches… for greed of land and gold.][177]

In the same paragraph above, the motivation for the incompetent and blundering politicians were provided. More than the struggle for gold in the Transvaal, Afrikaners regarded this war as one that took their freedom and stole their land. For them it was more about having their own place to stay and call their own, and Britain stole that privilege from them. Metelerkamp changed "gold" to "grond" to emphasise the loss of their own home and land rather than the loss of riches:

> Want het is niet de rijke en welvarende, waarmede de meeste rekening gehouden moet worden, doch gij zijt het, die de eenvoudigste levens leidt en die uiteindelik, als de dag van beproeving komt, de toets van het national karakter zult moeten doorstaan.[178]
>
> [For it is not the rich and prosperous who matter most, but you who live the simplest lives, and upon whom in the last resort, if trial comes, falls the test of the national character.][179]

[174] Davies, p. 75.
[175] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech; Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[176] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[177] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech. Underline added.
[178] Metelerkamp, Translation of Speech.
[179] Hobhouse, Inauguration Speech.

For Metelerkamp, the inauguration speech was a way to remind people that women did not just "matter" as Hobhouse stated, but that they were powerful forces who had to be taken into account. Metelerkamp wanted to motivate South Africa's women to keep on acting as forces to be reckoned with, and to stay true to the women who were not shy and looked everybody in the eyes.

Metelerkamp's translation of Hobhouse's speech shows that Metelerkamp mostly translated the speech very closely to that of Hobhouse, since she acted under Hobhouse's patronage, and thus indirectly under the patronage of President Steyn. It also shows that many of the issues that Hobhouse addressed were issues relevant in Metelerkamp's own life as well, which means that the few differences in the speech were inserted where Metelerkamp deemed it necessary. On this point, however, it is important to note that some decisions do not necessarily have ideological motivations. Some of the decisions might have been made with no clear vision of what it should achieve.[180] On the other hand, it should also be kept in mind that a translation is "never innocent… [and that] there is always a context in which the translation takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed".[181] Metelerkamp acted under Hobhouse's patronage, but her agency caused her to deviate slightly where she deemed it necessary. But, because her name was not included on the pamphlet that was distributed, the Afrikaner people could not recognise or acknowledge her voice and message. Instead, the people regarded Hobhouse as the author of the source text and as the translator of the target text, allowing her to retain the powerful influence she had on the Afrikaner people.

[180] Marais, "The representation of agents of translation in South Africa", p. 196.
[181] Bassnett and Lefevere, p. 11.

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

By using Ken Plummer's Documents of life, this study set out to examine the factors that influenced Hobhouse to write and translate into Afrikaans the speech she wrote in English for the inauguration of the Women's Memorial in Bloemfontein in 1913. The aim was to determine whether certain crucial events in a translator's life influence their translation choices when translating specific texts.

By combining history and translation studies in an interdisciplinary study, and using Hobhouse's speech at the inauguration of the Women's Memorial, this study first examined Hobhouse's original speech in English on the hand of key themes in Hobhouse's life. Based on these key themes, documents of life were used to pinpoint the events that might have influenced the translation process and then to construct a life story, or narrative, of Hobhouse's life. The narrative was then used to explain certain choices Hobhouse made to write the English speech. The documents of life pointed out certain events in Hobhouse's life. Although it cannot be claimed with certainty that these specific events influenced and motivated Hobhouse to structure her speech the way she did and to use the specific references in the speech, it shows how certain themes were dominant in her life and thus supports the themes or frames upon which the narrative is based. These frames are also prominent in the speech. Therefore, the study used the frames to structure the narrative, supporting it with excerpts from the speech. Based on this, it was possible to deduce that this speech was a very personal and intimate message that Hobhouse wanted to convey, based on key events and issues or frames throughout her life.

After the source text analysis and the consequent narrative, the study then moved on to the target text, the speech's Afrikaans translation. When it became clear that Hobhouse did not translate the speech herself, the study had to examine her motivations for translation choices that Hobhouse made. She decided to have the speech translated from English, a major global language, to Afrikaans, a very young language, which had its roots in rebellion. The Afrikaners used it to rebel against Britain and to promote their culture and interests. Although it became clear that it was not the first time that Afrikaans was used for these reasons, a renewed Afrikaner nationalism blossomed after the Anglo-Boer War, causing many prominent people to become involved.

This then led to Hobhouse's decision to have the speech translated and she commissioned Metelerkamp, a pro-Boer and feminist journalist, to do the translation. Hobhouse kept a close watch on the entire translation process.

This encouraged me to examine the notion of patronage in translation. During the research, I however, discovered that the patronage relationships as normally discussed in other translation studies were not entirely applicable to the patronage relationships in this study.

President Steyn played a significant role in Hobhouse's life and was the key figure in the Women's Memorial and Hobhouse's unveiling of the monument, thus acting as patron towards Hobhouse. However, he greatly depended on his wife, Tibbie Steyn, for various tasks, including most of his correspondence. This meant that President Steyn's patronage over Hobhouse was conveyed by his wife, making Mrs Steyn a patronage carrier. In turn, Hobhouse had an enormous impact on Mrs Steyn, which was then conveyed to her husband, also influencing him. In that way, Hobhouse also acted as patron towards President Steyn, once again through Mrs Steyn. This resulted in a reciprocal patronage relationship.

Another patronage relationship that became evident during the research for this study was a double patronage relationship. President Steyn's patronage over Hobhouse influenced her to have the speech translated to aid in the Afrikaans movement. Hobhouse, instead of attempting to do the translation herself, commissioned Metelerkamp to do it, but making sure that she was constantly updated about the contents and progress of the translation by keeping in touch with Meterlerkamp. This implies that Metelerkamp acted under Hobhouse's patronage, who acted under president Steyn's patronage, resulting in a double patronage relationship. This double patronage guided Metelerkamp to convey Steyn and Hobhouse's message. However, being an agent of translation in her own right, Metelerkamp also conveyed her own message, which subtly shone through the invisibility of her as translator.

As with any new concept being introduced, this study only scratched on the surface of the idea of a reciprocal and/or double patronage relationship, and also the concept of having a patronage carrier. Although the study attempted to explain the concepts sufficiently, further study would be necessary to uncover the full extent of these patronage relationships.

Other possibilities for further study also emerged during the research process. These possibilities extend beyond translation from text to text and touches on, say for instance, translation from the text to the design and final result of the sculptures of the Women's Memorial and how both reciprocal and double patronage played a role.

Another interesting study would be to see how reciprocal and double patronage are evident in present translations, where the translator and patron are interviewed, and a narrative is constructed based on the interviews. The researcher would then be able to determine through the narrative whether the abovementioned patronage relationships are also relevant in other translation processes, and not only limited to the one in this study.

This interdisciplinary study made it clear that history, in particular a single agent's history, is a tool to explain and evaluate current issues. It also showed that Translation Studies and particularly patronage relationships in translation are complex concepts and that it plays a noteworthy role in both the translation process and the target text. A translator's history has a definite impact on their translation. Translations cannot be read without first determining how the translator's life has been influenced by various events and how this influence will be evident in the translation choices. The value of using history is that it helps us to understand that certain issues do not only have present implications, but that they can be traced back. If we are willing to admit this, it would be possible to learn from history, and to prevent us from making the same mistakes over and over.

South Africa's history and Hobhouse's life provided an ideal canvas to examine documents of life and the complexity of patronage relationships emerging from this narrative. A complicated history interwoven with a single women's aim to be of service and help other people has proven that history is indeed complex, and that context should always be considered in order to provide proper perspectives of any historical event.

APPENDICES

Timeline

Date	Emily Hobhouse	World Events	South Africa
1652			
		England declares war on the Netherlands	Dutch East India Company finds shipping station at Cape
1779-1780			
			First Border War
1780			
20 December		Britain declares war on Holland	
1781			
29 April		French fleet stops Britain from seizing the Cape of Good Hope	
1788			
9 May		British parliament accepts abolition of slave trade	
1792-1793			
			Second Border War
1795			
			Border farmers revolt against magistrates
15 September			Cape Colony surrenders to Britain
16 September			British captures Cape Town from the Dutch
1799			
30 August		Batavian fleet surrenders to British	
9 November		Bonaparte becomes dictator of France	
1799-1803			
			Third Border War – farmers move back to colony
1800			
		Portuguese strengthens grip in Delagoa Bay	
1803			
			Dutch (Batavian Republic) resume control
18 May		Britain declares war on France after Napoleon	

	continues interfering in Italy and Switzerland	
1804		
2 December	Napoleon crowned Emperor of France	
1805		
26 May	Napoleon crowned king of Italy	
1806		
8 January		Second British occupation begins
10 January		Dutch in Cape Town surrender to British
19 January		Britain occupies Cape of Good Hope
1807		
25 March	Britain abolishes slavery	
1811-1812		
		Fourth Border War
1814		
11 April	Napoleon abdicates unconditionally, exiled to Elba	
13 Augustus		Cape of Good Hope formally ceded to British by the Dutch
1815		
		British rule at Cape confirmed
26 February	Napoleon and supporters leave Elba to start re-conquest of France	
1819-1820		
		Fifth Border War
1820		
		4 000 British settlers arrive at Cape
1824		
		Port Natal established as trade post
1834		
1 August		Slavery abolished throughout the British Empire

1834-1853		
		Sixth Border War
1835-38		
		The Great Trek
1838		
16 December		Battle of Blood River
1839		
		Republic of Natalia established
1843		
4 May		Britain annexes Natal as colony
8 August		Natal (in South Africa) is made a British colony
1847		
		Sir Harry Smith appointed as governor in Cape – moves border of Cape up to Orange River
1848		
		Transorangia annexed as Orange River Colony
1850		
		Eighth Border War
1852		
17 January		Sand River Convention
1854		
23 February		Bloemfontein Convention
1860		
9 April	Birth	
1861		
1 January		Abraham Lincoln declares slavery in Confederate states unlawful (US Civil War)
4 March		Abraham Lincoln inaugurated as 16th USA President
1863		
1 January		Emancipation Proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln to free slaves
1867		
		First diamond discovered in Hopetown

20 May		British parliament rejects John Stuart Mills' proposals on women's suffrage
15 August		The Representation of the People Act (1867) extends suffrage in the UK
1868		
12 March		British annexes Basutoland as Crown Colony at request of King Moshoeshoe
1870-1		
		Diamonds are discovered in Kimberley
1871		
17 October		Britain annexes Griqualand
		Annexation of Kimberley to Cape Colony; Cecil Rhodes, aged 18, joins diamond rush
1876		
	One term at school terminated by ill health	Establishment ZAR and OFS
		Pedi kingdom invaded by ZAR
1877		
12 April		Annexation of ZAR by Theophilus Shepstone
	Sister, Blanche dies	
1880		
April		Boers establish Parliament at Paardekraal
	Mother dies	Transvaal War of Independence (1880-1881)
	Father becomes chronically ill	Rhodes establishes De Beers Mining Company
8 December		5,000 armed Boers gather at Paardekraal
1881		
27 February		Battle of Majuba
4 March		Paul Kruger accepts ceasefire
23 March		Boers and Britain sign peace accord to end 1st Boer War
3 August		Pretoria Convention – limited independence to Transvaal

			Afrikaner Bond founded by S.J. du Toit
1883			
16 April			Paul Kruger becomes president of ZAR
1884			
			London Convention - Transvaal obtains greater independence
1886			
			Discovery of gold on Witwatersrand
1889			
	Sister, Maude marries		
	Takes care of sick father		
1890			
23 June			President Paul Kruger institutes a Second Volksraad to solve "Uitlander" grievances
17 July		Rhodes occupies Rhodesia	Rhodes becomes prime minister of Cape Colony
1893			
1 January			The railway line from Germiston to Pretoria opened to traffic
22 April			Paul Kruger elected President of Transvaal for 3rd time
Spring		J.C. Jackson goes to Virginia, USA	
1894			
25 June			Paul Kruger meets the British High Commissioner, Sir Henry Loch, to discuss the grievances of the Uitlanders
28 June			The Natal Legislature plans to introduce the Indian Franchise Bill
22 August			Mahatma Gandhi fights discrimination against Indian traders in Natal
1895			
			M.T. Steyn becomes president of Orange Free State
27 January	Father dies		

	Leaves St Ive		
June		Joseph Chamberlain becomes Colonial Secretary	
8 July			Delagoa Bay Railway opens
14 August	Arrives in Virginia, USA		
October		John C. Jackson takes over store	
29 December			Jameson Raid
1896			
2 January			Jameson surrenders
6 January			Rhodes resigns as Prime Minister after the Cape Enquiry into Raid
10 April	Jackson elected as mayor of Virginia		
	Engagement		
	Virginia mine closes		
September	Resigns in Virginia		
21 September		General Kitchener's army occupies Dongola, Sudan	
	Goes to Mexico to marry J.C. Jackson; buys property		
1897			
		London Enquiry into Raid	Sir Alfred Milner takes over as British High Commissioner at the Cape
	Visits England		Milner arrives in the Cape
8/9 April	John C. Jackson leaves Virginia		
23 April	Jackson declared insolvent		
	Loses money in investment		
16 July			Report finds that Jameson Raid was conducted under the support of Rhodes
31 August		General Kitchener occupies Berber, North of Khartoum	

1898

			Kruger elected for fourth term as President of the Transvaal
10 February	Returns to Mexico		
11 March	Engagement broken off		
	Returns to England		
	Works in Women's Industrial Committee		
2 September		Battle of Omdurman; Kitchener retakes Sudan for Britain	

1899

		Milner back in London for 'holiday'	
24 April			Transvaal British Uitlanders ask Queen Victoria for help
31 May – 5 June			Bloemfontein Conference fails
1 June			British troops start disembarking in Cape Town
	Moves to Rosetta Mansions in Chelsea, London	Liberal Party in England against war	
13 June	Hires Queen's Hall to protest war		
15 June			Women's Protest Action in Cape Town, Graaff-Reinet and Worcester
29 July		Signing of Hague Convention by Britain and 23 other parties	
8 September		British Cabinet decides to send 100 000 men to defend Natal	
27/28 September			Kruger calls up Transvaal burghers; persuades Steyn to follow suit in Free State
2 October			Orange Free State mobilizes
7 October			White lands at Durban
9 October			Ultimatum from ZAR and OFS
11 October			Anglo-Boer War breaks out
30 October			Mournful Monday
31 October			Sir Redvers Buller arrives in Cape Town
1 November	South African Conciliation Committee		

	is formed; honorary secretary		
Black Week			
10 December			Gatacre's mishap at Stormberg
11 December			Magersfontein
15 December			Buller's first reverse, Colenso
18 December			Roberts appointed to as C-in-C; Kitchener as Chief of Staff
1900			
10 January			Lord Roberts and Kitchener arrive in South Africa
24 January			Spioenkop
11 February			Roberts launches great flank march
11 March		British Prime Minister rejects peace request from Paul Kruger	
13 March			Bloemfontein falls – Pres Steyn flees
15 March			Roberts's amnesty except for leaders
17 March			Boer Council of War at Kroonstad
3 May			Roberts starts march from Bloemfontein to Pretoria
28 May			Annexation of Orange Free State; Paul Kruger flees Pretoria to evade the British
13 June	Organises big women's protest meeting against war	Reports of farm burnings reach England	
16 June			Roberts proclamation about scorched earth
September	Feels called to help Boer women		
1 September			Transvaal declared British Colony
2 September			Roberts announces that all women and children be moved to commandos
15 September		Boer delegation issues appeal to The Hague	
	Finds South African women and children distress fund		

25 October		Formal annexation of ZAR
November	First "Boer Dutch" lessons	
29 November		Roberts hands over to Kitchener
December		Kitchener orders implemented – influx of 'refugees'
7 December	Leaves for South Africa on *S.S. Avondale*	
19 December		Kitchener offers protections to all Boers who will surrender
27 December	Arrives in Table Bay	
1901		
January		Kitchener 'drives' to starve commandos
	Learns of existence of "refugee" camps	
26 January	First visit to Bloemfontein camp	
26/28 February		Abortive Middelburg peace talks between Kitchener and Botha
4 March	Visits Springfontein Camp	
23 April	Wish to visit Transvaal camps not granted	
7/8 May	Sails for England	Milner sails for leave in England
24 May	Arrives in Southampton	
June		576 children die
4 June	Interview with John Brodrick (minister of war)	
14 June	Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman: "When is a war not a war?"	
22 June	Meeting in Scarborough cancelled	
1 week later	Meeting at Royal Institute cancelled	
25 June	Meeting at Oxford	
29 June	Meeting at Scarborough	
July		1124 children die
1 July	Meeting at Leeds	
3 July	Meeting at Southport	
8 July	Meeting at Bristol	
16 July	Fawcett Commission	

17 July	Meeting at Northampton		
18 July	Conversation with Brodrick about return to SA		
21 July	Meeting at Darlington		
August			1545 children die
3 August			Kitchener telegraph – satisfied with camps
7 August			Kitchener's proclamation of banishment for Boer leaders captured armed after 15 September
20 August			The Fawcett Commission visits Mafeking concentration camp
		Chamberlain takes over as minister of the colonies and the camp administration	
19 September			Ladies' Commission leaves Bloemfontein for Pretoria
5 October?	Leaves for South Africa again		
9 October			Martial law extended to include Cape Town and all other ports
October	Not allowed to go on land in Cape Town		
October	Forcefully removed to the Rosslyn to return to England		
November			Ladies' Commission asks for better sanitation, hospitals, tents, rations
15 December			Kitchener orders that no more women and children to be taken to concentration camps, sends them to commandos instead
1902			
	Retires to France to write first book *The brunt of the war and where it fell*		
26 March			Cecil Rhodes dies
15-18 May			First meeting of Boer delegates at Vereeniging

31 May			Final meeting at Vereeniging; surrender terms signed at Pretoria
11 July		British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury resigns	
	Returns to England; Starts fund for South Africa		
December	Publishes *The brunt of the war and where it fell*		
1903			
April	Returns to South Africa		
10 October		The Women's Social and Political Union fights for women's rights in Britain.	
22 December	Leaves South Africa		
1904			
	Back in England; plans Boer Home Industries		
	Uncle, Lord Hobhouse dies		
1905			
25 January	Sails to South Africa with spinning wheels		
11 March	First six spinning students		
13 March	First spinning and weaving school in Philippolis		
May	Aunt Mary dies		
August	Second school in Langlaagte		
4 December		British government of Arthur Balfour resigns	
11 December		British government of Campbell-Bannerman forms	
1906			
	Builds cottage in Bellevue, Johannesburg		
April	Visits England		
11 September			Mahatma Gandhi Non-Violence movement
6 December			Britain grants ZAR self-government

1907

12 January			Britain grants responsible government to ZAR
13 February		English suffragettes storm British Parliament	
26 February			Louis Botha Het Volk Party wins a majority in the election in ZAR
2 March			General Louis Botha named premier of ZAR
14 June			Government of ZAR sends home 50,000 Chinese workers
1 July			Britain grants Orange River Colony self-government
	Johannesburg school moves to Pretoria		
	Appointed adviser of schools' board		

1908-1914

			Mohandas Ghandi leads passive resistance against discrimination against Indians

1908

5 April		British Prime Minister Henry Campbell-Bannerman resigns	
August	Resigns as adviser at schools		
October	Leaves South Africa		
	Lives mainly in Italy but visits England		

1909

		Black and brown leaders travel to London to oppose exclusion from draft bills in South Africa	
20 September		The British Parliament calls for English and Dutch as official languages	

1910

			Unification of South Africa – Louis Botha prime minister

1911

		South African Party founded with Louis Botha as leader
27 April		J.C. Smuts negotiates with Mahatma Gandhi
1912		
8 January		ANC (SANNC) founded
1913		
7 May	British House of Commons rejects women's right to vote	
14 June		Immigration Act restricts the entry and free movement of Asians
16 June		Government passes the segregationist Native Land Act, restricts purchase or lease of land by native Africans
16 December		Unveiling of Women's Memorial

English speech

VROUWEN-DAG,

December 16, 1913.

"Would ye be wise, ye cities, fly from war!
Yet if war come, there is a crown in death
For her that striveth well and perisheth
Unstained."

EURIPIDES, "TROJAN WOMAN,"
Translated by Prof Gilbert Murray.

Friends,-

From far and near we are gathered to-day to commemorate those who suffered bravely and died nobly in the past.

Of old a great man said :- "Acts deserve acts, and not words in their honour," and this is true. Yet having come so far at your request to share in this solemn dedication, and having been most closely bound with the last hours of their lives, I feel constrained to offer my tribute to the memory of those women and those little children who perished in the Concentration Camps.

Many of them it was my privilege to know. How strange a thought that from their memory today - flows a more vital influence for good than can be found amongst those who have lived and prospered. In this way, perhaps, is the prophetic vision fulfilled: "Refrain thy voice from weeping and thine eyes from tears; they shall come again from the land of the enemy; thy children shall come again to their own border."

Do we not in a very real sense meet them again this day ?

Yet another thought urges me to offer this tribute of words.

From ancient times men have pronounced eulogies over the graves of their fellow-men who had fallen for their country. To-day, I think for the first time, a woman is chosen to make the Commemorative Speech over the National Dead - not soldiers - but *women* - who gave their lives for their country.

My Friends, - This day, this Vrouwen-Dag is *Good*. Like the Sabbath in the week, it breaks into the hurrying years, and in the pause, the past can calmly be recalled, its inspiration breathed afresh, its lessons conned once more.

Let us take this moment to consider, where we now stand and what these lessons are.

You are gathered here from all parts to consecrate this spot to women and children who were stripped of all - I say it advisedly - of *all*. Husbands and sons, houses and lands, flocks and herds, household goods and even clothing. Denuded, it was good to watch how yet they "possessed their souls." "It is tragic," says a writer, "how few people ever possess their souls before they die." That these did I know, because I saw. I bridge in mind the years, the thirteen

years, and move once more amid the tents that whitened the hillsides. Torn from familiar simple life, plunged into sickness and destitution, surrounded by strangers, were those poor souls, - stripped bare. The sight was one to call forth pity, yet pity did not predominate. Quite other feelings swallowed that. Even throughout the deepest misery the greater pity was needed elsewhere. "Christ," I have read, "had pity for the poor, the lowly, the imprisoned, the suffering, and so have we, but remember that He had far more pity for the rich, the hard, those who are slaves to their goods, who wear soft raiment, and live in kings' houses. To Him riches and pleasures seemed greater tragedies than poverty and sorrow." So, as we turn our minds back thirteen years to dwell on the stormy past, pity enters in, but whom is it that we pity ? Surely, had you watched the inward and spiritual graces that shone forth from that outward and visible squalor you yourselves might have felt that it was not the captives in those foul camps that were most in need of pity. The rich and highly-placed, the financiers who wanted war, the incompetent Statesmen who were their tools, the men who sat in the seats of the mighty, the blundering politicians of that dark story - all the miserable authorities incapable of dealing with the terrible conditions they themselves had brought about - these needed and still need our deeper pity. That vast tragedy as it rolled through your land upon its bloody way, came at length face to face with the great array of the women and children - the weak and the young. Wholly innocent of the war, yet called upon to bear its brunt, nobly they rose to meet the trial that awaited them. Sympathy indeed they craved and did receive, but they towered above our pity.

And so to-day. What gave the impetus to this movement? What stirred you to gather pence for this monument ? What brought you here from far and wide ? It was not pity, it was Honour.

Yet if you have pity and to spare, give it even now to those, who, still alive, must ever carry in their hearts the heavy memories of the blundering wrong by which they wrought that war. You and I are here to-day filled only with honour for those, their heroic and innocent victims, who passed through the fire.

For this monument is a symbol.

Far away in Rome I have been privileged to watch its creation. I noted its conception in the Sculptor's thought. I saw it first issue in the common clay; moulded by his hand it passed into the pure white plaster; at length chastened to his mind and meet for the supreme ordeal it was cast into the pit of burning metal whence issued the perfected work.

Even so did Destiny, the mighty Sculptor, - like clay in his hands-take those simple women and children from their quiet homes, mould and chasten them through the successive stages of their suffering, till at length, purified and perfected to the Master-mind by the fierce fire of their trial, they passed from human sight to live forever a sacred memory in your land.

Their spirit which we feel so near to us to-day warns ever :- "Beware lest you forget what caused that struggle in the past. We died without a murmur to bear our part in saving our country from those who loved her not but only desired her riches. Do not confuse the issues and join hands with those who look on her with eyes of greed and not with eyes of love."

Is it not the glory of those weak sufferers to have laid down this principle :- In this South Africa of ours, true patriotism lies in the unity of those who live *in* her and *love* her as opposed to those who live *on* her but *out* of her. The Patriots and the Parasites.

This issue though fought out of old is ever with you, it is alive to-day; voices of the dead call to you, their spirits lay a restraining hold upon you as they plead : "Here is the true division beside which all other cleavages are meaningless." There can be no permanent separation betwixt those who *love* our country, live *in* her and are bound up *with* her. At bottom such are one."

Alongside of the honour we pay the Sainted Dead, forgiveness must find a place. I have read that when Christ said, "Forgive your enemies," it is not only for the sake of the enemy He say so, but for one's own sake, "because love is more beautiful than hate." Surely your Dead, with the wisdom that now is theirs, know this. To harbour hate is fatal to your own self-development, it makes a flaw, for hatred, like rust, eats into the soul of a nation as of an individual.

As your tribute to the Dead, bury unforgiveness and bitterness at the foot of this Monument forever. Instead, forgive for you can afford it, the rich who were greedy of more riches, the statesmen who could not guide affairs, the bad generalship that warred on weaklings and babes - forgive - because so only can you rise to full nobility of character and a broad and noble national life.

For what really matters is *character*. History clearly teaches this.

In the present day, minds are strangely confused, eyes are blinded, and it is the almost universal idea that the all-important thing for a country is Material Prosperity. It is false.

Noble Character forms a great nation. Statesmen who aim at material prosperity as if it were an end in itself, forget or have not recognised, that too often great national prosperity is accompanied by deterioration of national character and the highest well-being of the people.

For it is not the rich and prosperous who matter most, but you who live the simplest lives, and upon whom in the last resort, if trial comes, falls the test of the national character.

This thought ennobles the humblest life. The Dead we now honour met that test and did not shrink. They died for freedom; they clung to it with unfaltering trust that God would make it the heritage of their children. The years have brought changes they little dreamed, but South Africa is one and it is free. Its freedom is based on all they did; they suffered; they died; they could do no more. The supreme offering was made, the supreme price paid. Their sacrifice still bears fruit. Even could the graves open and give up their Dead, we would not wish those women back, nor have them relinquish the great position they have won. Not even the children would we recall, the children, who - counting the vanished years -, would stand before us now, some 20 000 youths and maidens, fair and comely, - a noble array - peopling the too solitary veld. For who does not feel their spirit move amongst us here to-day ? Who fails to recognise the noble example by which they still live ?

In this vast throng can there be found one unresponsive soul ? One heart that will not go hence filled with high resolve to live more worthy of the Dead

My Friends,- Memories and emotions throng.

Thirteen years have passed since under the burning January sun I trudged daily forth from your wire-girt town to that kopje of many tears. Daily in that camp, as later in others, I

moved from tent to tent, witness of untold sufferings, yet marvelling ever at the lofty spirit which animated the Childhood as well as the Motherhood of your land. So quickly does suffering educate, that even children of quite tender years shared the spirit of the struggle, and sick, hungry, naked or dying prayed ever for "no surrender."

Think what it meant for an Englishwoman to watch such things.

Did you ever ask yourselves why I came to your aid in those dark days of strife ? I had never seen your country nor ever known anyone of you. Hence it was no personal link that brought me hither. Neither did political sympathy of any kind prompt my journey.

I came - quite simply - in obedience to the solidarity of our Womanhood and to those nobler traditions of English life in which I was nurtured, and which by long inheritance are mine.

For when Society is shaken to its foundations, then deep calleth unto deep, the underlying oneness of our nature appears, we learn that "all the world is kin".

And surely, the honour of a country is not determined by the blundering acts of some passing administration or weak generalship, but lies in the sum-total of her best traditions which the people at large will rise up to maintain.

Even as the noblest men are ever ready to admit and remedy an error, so England as soon as she was convinced of the wrong being done in her name to the weak and defenceless confessed it in *very deed*, and by thorough reformation of those camps, rendered them fit for human habitation.

Thus she atoned.

I stand here as an Englishwoman, and I am confident that all that is best and most humane in England is with you also in heart to-day. Reverent sympathy is felt with you in this Commemoration and in your desire to accord full honour to your Dead.

You and I were linked together by the strange decrees of fate at the dark hour; we stand now face to face for the last time.

One thing I would ask of you.

When you remember the ill done, remember also the atonement made.

Dwell also upon all you have gained through this great episode, in the legacy left you by the Dead.

Let me explain. It is not mainly sorrow that fills your heart to-day; time has already softened personal grief. Therefore many may and do say it is useless to perpetuate as we do to-day memories so drear. But these very memories are needful because they embody that precious legacy from the past. My own face now is turned towards the West, and soon each one of us who witnessed the sufferings of the Concentration Camps will have passed to our own rest; but so long as we who saw those things still live, they will live within us *not* as memories of sorrow, but of *heroic inspiration*. For what never dies and never should die is a

great example. True is it of your Dead that which Pericles said of his countrymen : "The grandest of all sepulchres they have, not that in which mortal bones are laid, but a home in the minds of men; their story lives on far away, without visible symbol, woven into the stuff of other men's lives."

Your visible Monument will serve to this great end - becoming an inspiration to all South Africans and to the women in particular. Generation after generation it will stand here, pressing home in silent eloquence these great thoughts :- In your hands and those of your children lie the power and freedom won; you must not merely maintain but increase the sacred gift. Be merciful towards the weak, the down-trodden, the stranger. Do not open your gates to those worst foes of freedom – tyranny and selfishness. Are not these the withholding from others in your control, the very liberties and rights which you have valued and won for yourselves ? So will the monument speak to you.

Many nations have foundered on this rock. We in England are ourselves still but dunces in the great world-school, our leaders still struggling with the unlearned lesson, that liberty is the equal right and heritage of every child of man, without distinction of race, colour or sex. A community that lacks the courage to found its citizenship on this broad base, becomes "a city divided against itself, which cannot stand."

Lay hold of and cherish this ideal of liberty then – “should your statesmen be hostile or coldly neutral, should your rich men be corrupt, should your press which ought to instruct and defend the liberties of all sections of the people, only betray - never mind - they do not constitute the nation. "The nation," said John Bright, "is in the cottage." You are the nation, you whom I see here to-day, you, most of whom live in remote villages and silent farms leading simple hard-working lives. You are your nation's very soul and on you lies the responsibility of maintaining her ideals by the perfecting of your own character.

The old old watchword "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality" cries from the tomb; what these women, so simple that they did not know that they were heroines, valued and died for, *all other human beings desire with equal fervour*. Should not the justice and liberties you love so well, extend to all within your borders ? The old Greeks taught that not until power was given to men could it be known what was in them.

This testing time now has come to you.

For ponder a moment.

We meet on Dingaan's Day, your memorial of victory over a barbarous race. We too, the great civilised nations of the world, are still but barbarians in our degree, so long as we continue to spend vast sums in killing or planning to kill each other for greed of land and gold. Does not justice bid us remember to-day how many thousands of the dark race perished also in Concentration Camps in a quarrel that was not theirs ? Did they not thus redeem the past ? Was it not an instance of that community of interest, which binding all in one, roots out racial animosity ? And may it not come about that the associations linked with this day will change, merging into nobler thoughts as year by year you celebrate the more inspiring “Vrouwen-Dag” we now inaugurate. The plea of Abraham Lincoln for the black comes echoing back to me :- "They will probably help you in some trying time to come to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom."

Still more intimately will this Monument speak to the Womanhood of South Africa, and beyond to a yet wider range.

To you, women, it should cry ever, "Go back, go back, to simpler lives, to nobler principles; from these martyrs learn the grandeur of character that chooses rather to suffer to the uttermost than to win life by weakness." Women, high or low, rich or poor, who have met in your thousands to-day; do not go empty away. You cannot be as if these Dead had not died. Your country demands your lives and your powers in another way. As the national life broadens, difficulties appear little dreamed of in a simpler state. Complicated problems arise which seriously affect the well-being of your sons and daughters. It is for you to think out these problems in your homes, for you to be the purifying element in the body politic, for you to help guide the helm of state.

The Dead have won for you a lofty place in the life of your nation, and the right to a voice in her counsels. From this sacred duty you surely dare not flinch. No one is too humble or unknown; each one counts.

For remember, these dead women were not great as the world counts greatness; some of them were quite poor women who had laboured much. Yet they have become a moral force in your land. They will enrich your history. As the diamonds and the gold glitter in the bedrock of your soil, so their stories, written or handed down, will shine like jewels in the dark annals of that time.

And their influence will travel further. They have shown *the world* that never again can it be said that woman deserves no rights as Citizen because she takes no part in war. This statue stands as a denial of that assertion. Women in equal numbers to the men earned the right to such words as the famous Athenian uttered at the grave of his soldiers : "They gave their bodies to the commonwealth, receiving each for her own memory, praise that will never die."

Nay, more - for they gave themselves, not borne on by the excitement and joy of active battle, as men do; but passively, with open eyes, in the long-drawn agony of painful months and days.

My Friends :- Throughout the world the Woman's day approaches; her era dawns. Proudly I unveil this Monument to the brave South African Women, who sharing the danger that beset their land and dying for it, affirmed for all times and for all peoples the power of Woman to sacrifice life and more than life for their commonweal.

This is your South African Monument; but it is more; for "their story is not graven only on stone, over their native earth."

We claim it as a WORLD-MONUMENT, of which all the World's Women should be proud; for your Dead by their brave simplicity have spoken to Universal Womanhood, and, henceforth they are "woven into the stuff" of every woman's life.

Emily Hobhouse

Afrikaans speech

VROUWEN-DAG,
December 16, 1913.

"Zo ge wij, wilt zijn, gij Steden, ontvliedt dan de oorlog!
Nochtans, ds de oorlog komt, is er een kroon in 't sterven
Voor haar, die wel strijdt en onbesmet de dood
Ingaat."

Euripides "Trojaanse Vrouwen,"
Vertaald naar Gilbert Murray

Vrienden—

Van verre en nabij zijn wij heden saamgekomen om diegene te gedenken die in het verledene dapper geleden hebben en op edele wijze gestorven zijn.

Een groot man heft eens gezegd:—"Daden verdienen daden en iet woorden ter hunner eer," en dit is waar. Nochtans, daar ik op Uw verzoek van zo verre gekomen ben om deel te nemen aan deze plechtige wijding, en daar ik ten nauwste betrokken was bij re laatste uren van haar levens, gevoel ik mij gedrongen mijn hulde te bieden aan de nagedachtenis van die vrouwen en die kindertjies, die in de Koncentratiekampen zijn omgekomen.

Velen hunner heb ik het voorrecht gehad te kennen. Hoe vreemd toch is het denkbeeld, dat van hun nagedachtenis op heden een krachtiger invloed ten goede vloeit, dan men vinden kan onder diegenen, de zijn blijven leven en die welvaart genoten hebben

Wellicht is op deze wijze de profetie vervuld:—"Bedwing uw stem van geween en uw ogen van tranen; zy zullen uit des vijands land wederkomen; uw kinderen zullen wederkomen tot hun eigen landpalen."

Ontmoeten wij ze op heden niet weder in de volle zin des words?

Nochtans dringt zich aan mij een andere gedachte op, om deze hulde van woorden aan te bieden:—

Sedert onheugelike tijden waren het mannen, die men begeerde om lofspraken te houden over de graven van hun krijgsmakkers, die gevallen waren voor hun land. Op heden is het, maar ik meen, voor de eerste maal dat een vrouw gekozen is om de herinneringsrede te houden over de Nationale Doden—niet soldaten, doch vrouwen—die hun leven gegeven hebben voor hun land.

Mijn Vrienden: Deze dag, deze "Vrouwen-Dag" is goed. Gelijk de Sabbath in de week, brengt het een tussenruimte in de voortsnellende jaren, en in die rustpoze kan men zich kalm het verledene weder voor de geest roepen, wordt, de inspiratie daarvan opnieuw ingeademd, worden zijn lessen opnieuw ingeprent.

Laten wij voordeel trekken van deze rustpoze, om na te gaan waar wij tans staan en wat deze lessen zijn.

Gij zijt hier uit alle delen samen gekomen om deze plek te wijden aan vrouwen en kinderen, die van alles beroofd warden. Ik zeg dit met opzet—van alles—echtgenoten en zonen, huis en haard, have en goed, huisraad en zelfs klederen. Van alles ontbloot deel het echter iemand goed te zien hoe zij nochtans hun zielen behouden hadden. "Het is tragies," zegt een Schrijver, "hoe weinig mensen ooit hun zielen bezitten voordat zij sterven," dat zij die bezatten, weet ik, omdat ik het gezien heb.

In mijn gedachte ga ik in de jaren terug, de dertien jaren, en beweeg ik mij wederom tussen de tenten, die wit afstaken tegen de heuvelhellingen. Weggerukt uit hun eenvoudige gezinsleven, gedompeld in ziekte en armoede, omringed door vreemdelingen, waren deze arme

zielen van alles ontbloot. De aanblik was er een om medelijden te wekken, nochtans kreeg het medelijden niet die overhand. Dat werd verdrongen door gans andere gevoelens. Zelfs bij de diepste ellende was het groter medelijden elders benodigd. “Christus,” zo heb ik gelezen, “had medelijden met die armen, de laaggezonkenen, de gevangenen, de lijdenden, en dat hebben ook wij, doch bedenkt dat Hij veel groter medelijden had met de rijken, de verharden, met diegenen die de slaven zijn van hun aardse goederen, die fijne klederen dragen en in koningshuizen wonen. Voor Hem waren rijkdom en vermaken grotere oorzaken voor droefenis dan armoede en ellende.”

Als wij dan in onze gedachte dertien Jaren teruggaan en stilstaan bij het stromachtig verleden, treedt er medelijden in, doch met wie is het dat wij medelijden gevoelen? Voorzeker, indien gij de inwendige en geestelike schoonheden hadt gadegeslagen, welke schitterden uit die uitwendige en zichtbare vuilheid, gij zoudt voor uzelf de overtuiging hebben kunnen krijgen, dat het niet de gevangenen in die vuile kampen waren, die de grootste behoefte hadden aan medelijden. De rijken en hooggeplaatsen, de vermogende financiers die oorlog begeerden, de onbekwame staatsmannen di hun werktuigen waren, de mannen die in de zetels der machthebenden geplaatst waren, de dwalende politici van die donkere geschiedenis—alle ellendige autoriteiten die onbekwaam waren om deze verschrikkelike toestanden te behandelen welke zijzelf in het levven geroepen hadden—zij hadden en hebben nog behoefte aan ons diepste medelijden. Dat enorme treurspel kwam uiteindelik, naarmate het zich over zijn bloedige weg verbreidde door uw land, van aangezich tot aangezicht te staan tegenover de grote schare van vrouwen en kinderen—de zwakken en de jeugdigen. Algeheel onschuldig aan de oorlog, nochtans geroepen om de hitte ervan te dragen, maakten zij zich op nobele wijze gereed om de beproeving, welke hen wachtte, ten ondergaan. Ja, waarlik sympathie dwongen zij af, doch hun lijden steeg tot op een hoogte, waar ons n edelijden het niet bereiken kon.

En tans! Wat heeft de stoot gegeven aan deze beweging? Wat bewoog U ertoe om pennies te verzamelen voor dit Monument? Wat was het, dat U hier heeft gebracht van wijd en zijd? Het was niet medelijden; het was Eerbewijzing.

Nochtans, indien gij nog enig medelijden te sparen hebt, geef dan zelfs nu nog aan diegenen, die, nog in leven zijnde, steeds in hun harten de zware herinneringen moeten ronddragen aan het misdadig onrecht, waardoor die oorlog werd uitgelokt. Gij en ik, wij staan hier heden, bezield slechts met verering voor hen, hun heldhaftige en onschuldige slachtoffers, die door dat vuur zijn gegaan.

Want dit Monument is een symbool.

Ver van hier, te Rome, heb ik het voorrecht gehad het te zien scheppen. Ik sloeg de opvatting ervan gade in de gedachte van de beeldhouwer ik zag de eerste schepping ervan in de ruwe klei; gevormd door zijn hand, ging het daarna over in het helderwitte pleister; nadat het uiteindelik afgewerkt was volgens zijn opvatting en denkwijze en gereed was om de laatste bewerking te ondergaan, werd het gegoten in de kroes met brandend metaal, waaruit het te voorschijn kwam als een volmaakt werk.

Zo ook werkte het Noodlot, die machtige beeldhouwer, velke—als klei in zijn handen—die eenvoudige vrouwen en kinderen wegnam uit hun stille huizen, ze vormde en bewerkte door de opeenvolgende stadiums van hun lijden, tot ze uiteindelik, gezuiverd en volmaakt, overeenkomstig de opvatting van de Meester uit des mensen oog verdwenen om voor eeuwig in heilige herinnering te blijven voortleven in uw land.

Hun geest, welke wij op heden zo nabij ons gevoelen, roept ons steeds waarschuwend toe: “Past op, opdat gij niet moogt vergeten wat de oorzaak van die strijd in ’t verleden geweest is; wij stierven zonder te morren om ons deel te dragen in de redding van ons land van diegenen, die het niet liefhadden, doch die slechts op zijn schatten belust waren. Laat U door de gevolgen niet verblinden en reikt niet de handen aan diegenen, die hetzelve beschouwen met ogen van begeerte en niet met ogen van liefde.”

Is het niet de glorie van de zwakke lijderessen, dat ze dit beginsel hebben neergelegd? In dit, ons Zuid-Afrika, ligt het ware patriotism in de eenheid van hen, die erin wonen en die het liefhebben, tegenover hen, die wel erop doch buiten hetzelve wonen—de Patriotten en de Parasieten.

Dit vraagstuk, alhoewel reeds sedert lang uitgevochten, is steeds met U; het leeft op heden; stemmen van de Doden doen een beroep op U, haar geesten houden U omklemd, als zij pleiten: "Hier is de ware scheidslijn, buiten welke alle andere kloven van geen betekenis zijn."

Er kan geen blijvende scheiding zijn tussen diegenen, die ons land liefhebben, erin wonen en aan hetzelve verbonden zijn.

In de grond, zijn dezulken een. Naast de eer, welke wij bewijzen aan onze geheiligde Doden, moet ook vergiffenis een plaats vinden.

Ik heb gelezen, dat toen Christus zeide "Vergeef uw vijanden," het niet slechts was ter wille van de vijand dat Hij zo sprak, doch om ieders zelfs wil, "omdat liefde schooner is dan haat."

Voorzeker, met de wetenschap welke tans de hunne is, weten Uw Doden dit. Haat te koesteren is dodelik voor uw eigen zelfontwikkeling. Het wekt een scheuring, want haat vreet evenals roest in de ziel, zowel van volkeren als van individuen.

Zoals gij hulde brengt aan de Doden, begraaft dan op dezelfde wijze voor eeuwig onvergevensgezindheid en bitterheid aan de voet van dit Monument. Weest in plaats daarvan vergevensgezind, want gij kunt het zijn, en vergeeft de rijken, die meer rijkdommen begeerden, de staatsmannen, die de zaken niet konden leiden, de slechte generaalschap, die oorlog voerde met zwakken en zuigelingen. Vergeeft—omdat gij daardoor alleen u zult kunnen verheffen tot de volle adeldom van karakter en tot een ruim en nobel nationaal leven.

Want, waar het in werkelikheid op aan komt, is: Karakter. De geschiedenis leert zulks duidelik.

Op heden zijn de hoofden op vreemdsoortige wijze verward, zijn de ogen verblind, en is het de bijna algemene gedachte, dat het allergewichtigste voor een land is stoffelike welvaart. Dat is vals.

Het is het edel karakter dat een grote natie vormt. Staatslieden, die striven naar stoffelike welvaart, alsof dit een einddoel op zichzelf ware, vergeten of hebben verzuimd te erkennen, dat grote nationale welvaart te vaak vergezeld gaat van ontaarding van nationaal karakter en het hoogste welzijn van de mensheid.

Want het is niet de rijke en welvarende, waarmede de meeste rekening gehouden moet worden, doch gij zijt het, die de eenvoudigste levens leidt en die uiteindelik, als de dag van beproeving komt, de toets van het nationaal karakter zult moeten doorstaan.

Deze gedachte veredelt het meest eenvoudige leven. De Doden, die wij tans eren, doorstonden die toets en ze deinsden er niet voor terug. Zij stierven voor Vrijheid. Zij klemden zich daaraan vast in het onwankelbaar vertrouwen dat God het zou maken tot een erfenis voor hun kinderen De jaren hebben veranderingen gebracht, als waarvan zij weinig droomden, doch Zuid-Afrika is een, en het is vrij! Zijn vrijheid is gebaseerd op al wat zij deden; zij hebben geleden; zij zijn gestorven; zij konden niet meer doen. Het hoogste offer werd gebracht, de hoogste prijs werd betaald. Hun offer draagt nog vruchten. Zelfs als de graven zich konden openen en hun doden teruggeven, dan nog zouden we niet wensen die vrouwen terug te hebben, noch dat ze afstand zouden doen van de grote plaats, die zij zich gewonnen hebben. Zelfs de kinderen zouden wij niet willen terugroepen—de kinderen, die, als we de voorbijgegane jaren in aanmerking nemen, tans voor ons zouden staan als ongeveer 20,000 jongelingen en

jongedochters, schoon en bevallig, een nobele schare als bevolking van dit zo eenzame veld. Want wie gevoelt niet hoe hun geest op heden onder ons rondwaart? Wie erkent niet het grote voorbeeld, waardoor zij nog voortleven?

Kan er onder deze grote schare ook maar één verantwoordelike ziel, ook maar één hart gevonden worden, dat niet van hier zal gaan met het verheven besluit om een leven te leden dat de Doden meer waardig zal zijn!

Myne Vrienden—Herinneringen en aandoeningen dringen zich op. Dertien jare zijn voorbijgegaan, sedert ik onder de verzengende Januarie-zon dageliks voortstrompelde uit uw met draad omvlochte stad naar dat kopje van vele tranen. Dageliks ging ik in dat kamp, zoals later in andere, van tent tot tent, was ik getuige van onuitgesproken lijden, doch werd steeds mijn bewondering gewekt voor die verheven moed, welke geopenbaard werd door de kinderen zowel als door de moeders van uw land. Zo snel leert het lijden, dat zelfs kinderen van een nog tedere leeftijd de moed deelden van de strijd, en uitgehongerd, naakt en stervend, steeds baden om "geen overgave." ("Nie hands op nie.")

Bedenkte wat het zeggen wil voor een Engelse vrouw om zulke dingen gade te slaan. Hebt U ooit uzelve afgevraagd, waarom ik U ter hulp kwam in die donkere dagen van strijd? Ik was nooit in uw land geweest, noch had ik ooit iemand uwer gezien. Het was dus niet een persoonlike schakel welke mij naar hier bracht. Noch was het politieke sympathie van enige soort welke mij dreef tot mijn reis.

Ik kwam—heel eenvoudig—omdat ik gehoor gaf aan de solidariteit van ons vrouw-zijn, en uit gehoorzaamheid aan edeler tradities van het Engelse leven, in welke ik was opgekweekt en welke volgens een langdurige overerving de mijne zijn.

Want, als de samenleving geschokt wordt tot in haar grondvesten, dan is het dat de diepte een beroep doet op de diepte, dan komt het onderliggend eenheidsgevoel van onze aard boven, wij leren dat "gans de wereld één verwantschap is."

En, voorzeker, de eer van een land wordt niet bepaald door de stomme daden van een of andere voorbijgaande administratie of zwak veldheerschap, doch ze is gelegen in de totale som van haar beste tradities, waarvoor gans het volk zal opstaan om ze te handhaven.

Zoals de edelste mannen steeds bereid zijn om een dwaling te erkennen en te herstellen, zo ook erkende Engeland het, zo spoedig het ten volle overtuigd was van het onrecht dat in zijn naam gedaan werd jegens de zwakken en weerlozen, op daadwerklike wijze en door een algehele hervorming van die kampen, door ze geschikt te maken als menselike woonplaatsen.

Zo heeft het verzoening gedaan.

Ik sta hier als een Engelse vrouw, en ik ben er zeker van dat al, wat het beste en meest humane is in Engeland, ook heden in hun hart met U is. Eerbiedige sympathie wordt met U gevoeld bij deze herinnering en in uw begeerte om volle eer te bewijzen aan uw Doden.

Gij en ik, wij waren op dat donkere tijdstip aaneengeschakeld door de vreemde beslissingen van het Noodlot; wij staan tans voor de laatste maal van aangezicht tot aangezicht.

Een ding zou ik U willen vragen. Als gij U het kwaad, dat gedaan is, zult herinneren, herinnert U dan ook de verzoening, die gedaan is.

.....

Weidt ook uit over al wat gij gewonnen hebt door deze grote episode, over het legaat u nagelaten door de Doden.

Laat mij toe het te verduideliken. Het is niet in hoofdzaak droefenis welke heden uw harten vult; de tijd heeft reeds persoonlik leed verzacht. Daarom mogen velen zeggen—en zeggen velen het ook—dat het nutteloos is om zulke droevige herinneringen te vereeuwigen als wij op heden doen. Doch het zijn juist dese herinneringen, die nodig zijn, omday zij dat kostbaar legaat van het verledene belichamen. Mijn eigen gelaat is tans westwaarts gekeerd, en spoedig zal ieder onzer, die het lijden van de Konsentratiekampen aanschouwd heeft, de eeuwige rust zijn ingegaan; doch zolang wij, die deze dingen zagen, nog in leven zijn, zullen zij met ons voortleven, niet als herinneringen van smart doch van heldhaftige inspiratie.

Want datgene, wat nooit sterft en nooit mag sterven, is een groot voorbeeld. Het geldt voor uw Doden, wat pericles eens gezegd heeft van zijn landslieden:—

"Het schoonste van alle graven hebben zij, niet dat waarin sterfelike beenderen zijn weggelegd, doch een tehuis in de herinnering van mensen; hun geschiedenis leeft voort—in het verre verschiet—zonder dat een zichtbaar symbool geweven is in de stof der levens van andere mensen."

Uw zichtbaar monument zal dienen tot dat grote doel—zal een inspiratie worden voor alle Zuid-Afrikaners en in 't biezonder voor de vrouwen. Geslacht na geslacht zal hier staan, om in stille welsprekendheid deze grote denkbeelden te uiten:—In uw handen en in die van uw kinderen liggen die gewonnen macht en vrijheid; gij moet de heilige gift niet slechts handhaven, doch vermeerderen. Wees barmhartig jegens de zwakke, de ter neder getrapte, de vreemdeling. Open uw poorten niet voor de ergste vijanden van de vrijdom—tyrannie en zelfzucht. Zijn zij het niet, die aan anderen dezelfde vrijhheden en rechten onthouden, welke gij zo gewaardeerd hebt en welke gij voor uzelve gewonnen hebt ten onthouden, welke gij so gewaardeerd hebt en welke gij voor uzelve gewonnen hebt?

In deze geest zal het Monument tot u spreken.

Vele volkeren zijn vergaan op deze rotsen—tyrannie en zelfzucht. Wij, in Engeland, zijn nog onszelven, doch domoren in de grote Wereldschool, onze leiders hebben nog moeite de nog niet geleerde les te verstaan, dat vrijheid het gelijkte recht en die erfenis is van elk mensekind zonder onderscheid van ras, kleur of sekse. Een samenleving, welke het ontbreekt aan de moed om haar burgerschap te grondvesten op deze brede grondslag, wordt "een stad verdeeld tegen zichzelve, welke niet kan blijven bestaan."

Klemt u vast aan dit ideal van vrijheid en liefkoost het; dan—"al zouden ook uw staatsmannen vijandig of koud neutral zijn, zal souden uw rijken verdoren zijn, al zou uw pers welke behoort te onderwijzen en welke de vrijheden van alle delen der bevolking behoort te verdedigen, slechts verraad plegen—het zal u niet deren—zij vormen niet de Natie. "De Natie," zo zeide John Bright, "bevind zich in de hut." Gij zijt de Natie; gij, die ik hier heden zie; gij, de meesten waarvan woonachtig zijt in verafgelegen dorpen en die op stille plaatsen een eenvoudig, hardwerkend leven leidt. Gij zijt de kern en de ziel van een natie en op u rust de verantwoordelikheid om haar idealen te handhaven door de volmaking van uw eigen karakter.

De oude, oude leuze "Vrijheid, Gelijkheid, Broederschap," klink uit het graf. Datgene, wat deze vrouwen, die zo eenvoudig waren dat zij niet wisten dat zij heldinnen waren, waardeerden en waarvoor ze stierven, begeren alle andere menselike wezens met gelijke hartstocht.

Moeten dan niet de rechtvaardigheid en vrijheden, die gij zo Lief hebt, zich uitstrekken tot allen binnen uw grenzen?

De oude Grieken leerden, dat niet voordat macht aan mensen gegeven was, konden zij weten wat in hen was.

Deze tijd van beproeving is tans tot u gekomen.

Denkt daarover een ogenblik na.

Wij komen tezamen op Dingaansdag, uw herinneringsdag aan de oorwinning op een barbaarse ras. Ook wij, de grote, beschaafde naties der wereld, zijn nog slechts—op onze hoogte—barbaren, zolang wij blijven voortgaan grote sommen te besteden om elkander te doden of plannen maken om zulks te doen, uit begeerte naar land en grond. Eist de rechtvaardigheid niet dat wij ons heden zullen herinneren hoeveel duizenden van het donkere ras eveneens zijn omgekomen in de Konsentratiekampen, in een strijd welke niet de hunne was? Hebben zij dus niet in zekere mate voor het verledene geboet? Was het niet een voorbeeld van die gemeenskap van belangen, welke allen aaneenbindend, de rassehaat uitroeit? En zal het niet kunnen gebeuren dat juist deze verbindingen, aaneengeschakeld met deze dag, zullen veranderen en opgaan in hogere gedachten, naarmate gij jaar op jaar de meer inspirerende "Vrouwen-Dag" zult vieren, welke wij op heden wijden? Het pleit van Abraham Lincoln voor de zwarten klinkt mij als een echo in de oren: "Zij zullen u waarschijnlik in een of andere zware tijd ter hulp komen, om het vrijheids-juweel te behouden in de vrijdoms-familei."

Inniger nog zal dit Monument spreken tot de vrouwen van Zuid-Afrika en bovendien tot een nog verdere kring. U, vrouwen, behoort het eeuwig toe te roepen: "Keert terug, keert terug tot eenvoudiger levens, tot edeler beginselen; van deze martelaren leert de grootheid van karakter "welke veeleer verkiest te lijden tot het uiterste dan het leven te winnen door zwakheid."

Vrouwen! Hoog—of laaggeplaatst, rijk of arm, die hier heden in duizendtallen bijeen gekomen zijt, gaat niet ledig van hier. Gij kunt niet zo zijn alsof deze Doden niet gestorven waren. Uw land eist ook uw levens en uw karakter, hoewel opeen andere wijze. Naarmate het nationale leven zich verbreidt, doemen moeilikheden op, waarvan men in een eenvoudiger staat nauwliks droomde. Ingewikkelde vraagstukken rijzen, welke van ernstige invloed zijn op het welzijn van uw zonen en dochteren. Het is uw taak over deze vraagstukken in uw huizen na te denken, uw taak, het staatslichaam te zuiveren, uw taak om te helpen het roer van staat te sturen. De Doden hebben voor u een hoge plaats gewonnen in het leven van uw volk en het recht op een stem in zijn raden. Voor deze heilige plicht zult gij zeker niet durven terugdeinzen. Niemand is daarvoor te laag of te onbekend; ieder telt mede.

Want bedenkt, deze dode vrouwen waren niet groot in die zin als de wereld grootheid telt; sommigen hunner waren slechts arme vrouwen, die veel gearbeid hadden. Nochtans zijn zij een morele kracht geworden in uw land. Zij zullen uw geschiedenis verrijken. Evenals de diamanten en het goud schitteren in de diepste lagen van uw bodem, zo zullen hun geschiedenissen, hetzij geschreven of overgeleverd, schitteren als juwelen in de donkere annalen van die tijd.

En hun invloed zal steeds verder gaan. Zij hebben aan de wereld getoond dat het nooit weder gezegd kan worden, dat de vrouw geen staatsburgerlike rechten verdient, omdat zij geen deel neemt aan de oorlog. Dit standbeeld staat daar als een tegenspraak van die bewering. Vrouwen, in even grote aantallen als de mannen, hebben zich het recht waardig gemaakt op zulke woorden, als de beroemde Athener uitsprak bij het graf van zijn soldaten: "Zij, gaven

hun lichamen aan het Gemenebest, terwijl ieder ter zijner herinnering lof ontving, welke nooit zal sterven."

Neen, meer nog—want zij offerden zich op, niet opgedreven door de opgewondenheid en vreugde van de aktiewe veldslag, zoals met mannen het geval is, doch lijdelik en met open ogen, gedurende de langgerekte doodstrijd van smartvolle maanden en dagen.

Vrienden! over gans de wereld nadert de Vrouwen-Dag; dat tijdperk breekt aan.

Met trots onthul ik dit Monument ter ere van de dappere Zuidafrikaanse vrouwen, die delend in de gevaren welke hun land overstelpten en stervend voor hetzelve, voor eeuwig en voor gans de mensheid de macht van die vrouw hebben bevestigd, om het leven en meer dan het leven op te offeren voor het algemeen welzijn.

Dit is uw Zuidafrikaanse Monument; doch het is meer dan dat, want "hun geschiedenis is niet slechts uitgehouwen op steen over hun geboortegrond."

Wij maken er aanspraak op als een Wereld-Monument, waarop alle vrouwen der wereld trots behoren te zijn; want uw Doden hebben, door hun dappere eenvoud, tot de vrouwen van gans de wereld gesproken, en van "geweven in de stof" heden af zijn zij van het leven van elke vrouw.

Emily Hobhouse

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