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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ETHEL TAWSE JOLLIE:
A CASE STUDY OF THE TRANSFERENCE AND ADAPTATION
OF BRITISH SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF THE
EDWARDIAN ERA TO A COLONIAL SOCIETY

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Abstract

This is an appraisal of the career of Ethel Tawse Jollie (1876-1950), the first woman parliamentarian in Southern Rhodesia, and the British Empire overseas, prolific writer and leading intellectual of her political generation who played a key role in the achievement of responsible government in Southern Rhodesia in 1923. As the founder and principal organiser of the Responsible Government Association she imported from Britain a singular political philosophy which made a lasting impression on Rhodesia's political character and social identity. She was an influential figure in British imperialist circles and in the women's suffrage controversy. No other Rhodesian politician had achieved such prominence in the metropole, or possessed such a thoroughly formed, comprehensive ideology, and the propaganda skills necessary to give it effect.

The study traces the formation of her ideas within the intellectual milieu of pre-1914 Britain and - through her - its subsequent adaptation in Rhodesia; how, through her marriage to Archibald Colquhoun - explorer, writer and Cecil Rhodes's first Administrator of Mashonaland - she became steeped in the ideology of the Edwardian Radical Right - that reaction to imperial decline denoted by the slogan 'National Efficiency'.

By 1915, when she arrived in Rhodesia, she had come to believe that the salvation of the Empire lay in its 'patriotic' periphery where it was possible to create new societies on Radical Right principles. Both in and out of parliament she gave to Rhodesian public policy and

identity a distinct Radical Right hue, which she further enhanced by her involvement in various extra parliamentary pressure groups.

It is a life and times study and considerable use is made of contemporary ballads and novels in the belief that immersion in the atmosphere of the period is particularly useful in an intellectual biography of this kind. Comparisons are also made with other British peripheries notably Ulster, Canada and New Zealand. The study challenges the traditional view of Rhodesia as a neo-Victorian intellectual backwater; seeing it rather as a society which continued to import selectively ideas from elsewhere in the Empire. It should interest Commonwealth and - because of its central character - women's historians.

INTRODUCTION

The writer's initial contact with Rhodesian history began in 1983 as an inquiry into the phenomenon of white Rhodesian identity which, he felt, merited a disinterested and dispassionate description by an historian now that the era of colonial Rhodesia had passed irrevocably, along with the potential for political controversy inherent in such an enquiry. He was interested to examine the reason for the phrase so often applied to the white Rhodesians: "More British than, the British"; whether they were simply expatriated Britons or whether they had mutated. Because of the diffuse and nebulous character of this question there were inherent difficulties in defining the parameters of the study so he began to search for some central point around which he could consolidate his findings.

The answer came in the course of the writer's research into the campaign for Responsible Government (RG) of the early 1920s which ended the rule of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and finally set Southern Rhodesia's course as a separate political entity outside the Union of South Africa. He was naturally drawn to a book entitled The Real Rhodesia (London 1924), written by Mrs Ethel Tawse Jollie, which was both the first authoritative history of the RG movement by a leading participant¹ as well as the first work to assert the existence of, and attempt a definition of a Rhodesian identity which was distinct from both metropolitan Britishness and the identity of English-speaking South Africans, whence most Rhodesian settlers of her

1. H C Hummel, "[The Growth of] White Rhodesian Nationalism/[a critical appraisal]", Zimbabwean History, Vol.11, 1980, p.75.

generation derived. Tawse Jollie herself (called "Ethel" throughout this study for reasons of brevity and clarity as she had two husbands and three surnames in the course of her life) seemed to warrant closer attention in her own right. She was the first woman parliamentarian in the British Empire overseas.² A contemporary described her as one "who possesses quite a unique position of authority in Southern Rhodesia",³ and she has been variously described by historians as "the leading intellectual of early Rhodesia";⁴ as "the ideologue" of the Responsible Government Association (RGA),⁵ as one who "played a very important role in the political history of Rhodesia";⁶ "a very prominent part[icipant] in Rhodesian politics";⁷ "a prominent woman",⁸ "one of a loyal little band of supporters" at the head of the RGA,⁹ "as acute an observer of the Rhodesian scene as any";¹⁰ and an 'indefatigable' organiser.¹¹ J P R Wallis, in a biography of the

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2. See L W Bolze's Introduction E Tawse Jollie, MLA, The Real Rhodesia ([London 1924] Bulawayo, 1971) (hereafter cited as RR), p.i.
 3. J Harris, The Chartered Millions[: Rhodesia and the Challenge to the British Commonwealth], (London, 1920), p.290.
 4. L H Gann, [A History of] Southern Rhodesia [to 1934], (London, 1965), p.236.
 5. R Blake, A History of Rhodesia, (London, 1977), p.179.
 6. A Di Perna, A Right to be Proud[: The Struggle for Self-government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia], (Bulawayo, 1978), p.62.
 7. W D Gale, One Man's Vision [The Story of Rhodesia], (London, 1935), p.283.
 8. L Vambe, From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe, (London, 1976), p.110.
 9. N S Kane, The World's View: The Story of Southern Rhodesia, (London, 1954), p.219.
 10. D K Kennedy, "[A Tale of] Two Colonies[: The Social Origins and Cultural Consequences of White Settlement in Kenya and Rhodesia]", (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1981), p.185.
 11. R Hodder-Williams, White Farmers in Rhodesia [1890-1965. A History of the Marandellas District], (London, 1983), p.127. Her importance is also noted in L T Kapungu, Rhodesia: The Struggle for Freedom, (Maryknoll, New York, 1974), p.27 and J A C Mutambirwa, The Rise of Settler Power in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) 1898-1923, (Cranbury, New Jersey, 1980), pp.11, 25, 86, 155, 202, 205, 207.

Colony's first premier, Sir Charles Coghlan, depicted her as an heroic prophetess of RG, a voice crying in the wilderness of a settler community which lacked adequate leadership before the advent of Coghlan at the helm of the RGA in 1919.¹²

H C Hummel, Coghlan's later biographer, concluded that a key factor in Coghlan's success was "the drive, energy and organising ability of Mrs Jollie",¹³ while M E Lee, the authority on the RG movement¹⁴ told the writer that "[Ethel] was an interesting phenomenon in the somewhat macho [Rhodesian] society of 1918", and [Lee had] no doubt that some of the success of the RG campaign could be attributed to her organising ability".¹⁵

What all of these writers failed to notice - though Wallis implied it - was that Ethel was effectively the foundress of the RGA in 1917, the vehicle for the campaign which she launched with her trumpet blast The Future of Rhodesia (Bulawayo, 1917) and subsequently steered as Organising Secretary and principal propagandist. In this position, and, later, as a vociferous figure in parliamentary and public life, she was able to influence the character of her community and stamp it with the hallmark of her peculiar political and social philosophy. Apart from the fact that she was the widow of Archibald Ross Colquhoun, the territory's first Administrator and a distinguished writer and explorer, very little was known about Ethel's life in

12. J P R Wallis, One Man's Hand [The Story of Sir Charles Coghlan and the Liberation of Southern Rhodesia], (London, 1950), p.147.

13. H C Hummel, "[A Political Biography of] Sir Charles Coghlan", (Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1974), p.504.

14. M E Lee, "[Politics and] Pressure Groups [in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1923]", (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1974).

15. M E Lee to the author, 12.1.87.

Britain prior to her arrival in Rhodesia at the end of 1916. The few biographical articles extant make only scant reference to it.¹⁶ Research into this aspect of Ethel's life was greatly hampered by the unfortunate but unintentional destruction of her private papers and newspaper cuttings in the late 1970s.¹⁷ In spite of this a reconstruction of her early career was possible and this provided both a new understanding of the roots of her philosophy and a profound insight into the origins of white Rhodesian identity. This research revealed that Ethel was intimately involved with a number of pressure groups on the imperialist end of the political spectrum in Edwardian Britain. This involvement made an indelible impression on Ethel's political outlook. Historians have generally categorised these

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16. See P Berlyn, "On Ethel Colquhoun Tawse Jollie", *Rhodesiana*, No.15, 1966, pp.68-70, and "Ahead of her Time", *Illustrated Life Rhodesia*, 3.7.1969; P Vickery, "Mrs E Tawse Jollie", *Rhodesiana* No.29, 1973, pp.76-81; N S Kane, "Ethel Maude Tawse Jollie", *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, (12 Vols, Cape Town, 1970), Vol.6, p.234; I F Johnstone, "Ethel Maude Tawse Jollie", in C J Beyers (ed) *Dictionary of South African Biography*, Vol.5, (Pretoria, 1987), p.263.
17. Mrs Reneira Fleming of Chegutu, Zimbabwe, Ethel's great-niece and custodian of the Jollie Papers, managed to save two of Ethel's monographs and two albums, which she kindly passed on to me.

pressure groups as the Edwardian Radical Right.¹⁸ These movements were products of reaction against Britain's relative decline as a great power made apparent by the Empire's poor performance in the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). They spoke a common language of national regeneration signified by the all-embracing slogan: "National Efficiency".

There has been some controversy among historians over the application of the epithet, "Radical" to elements within Edwardian conservatism. As Ethel's own ideology makes too narrow a definition of the various substrata of the Radical Right impossible a broader view will be taken in this study.¹⁹ Radical Right movements were of the 'Right' in the

18. For an examination of this movement the most important works are: B Semmel's *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social Imperialist Thought 1895-1914*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960); G R Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and British Political Thought, 1899-1914*, (Oxford, 1971); R J Scally, *The Origins of the Lloyd George Coalition: The Politics of Social Imperialism 1900-1918*, (Princeton, New Jersey, 1975); G R Searle, "Critics of Edwardian Society: The Case of the Radical Right", in A O Day (ed), *The Edwardian Age: Conflict and Stability 1900-1914*, (London, 1979); K Lunn, "Political Anti-Semitism before 1914: Fascism's Heritage?" in K C Lunn and R C Thurlow (eds), *British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-war Britain*, (London, 1980); P Kennedy, "The Pre-war Right [in Britain and Germany]"; G R Searle, "The 'Revolt from the Right' [in Edwardian Britain]", and A Summers, "[The Character of Edwardian Nationalism:] Three Popular Leagues", in P Kennedy and A J Nicholls (eds), *Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany before World War I*, (Oxford, 1981); G D Phillips, "Lord Willoughby de Broke [and the Politics of Radical Toryism, 1909-1914]", *Journal of British Studies*, Vols.19-20, 1980-81, pp.205-224; A Sykes, "The Radical Right [and the crisis of Conservatism before the First World War]", *Historical Journal*, Vol.26(13), 1983, pp.661-676.

19. In the last mentioned article Sykes took Phillips to task for the latter's alleged failure to define sufficiently what he meant by 'Radical Toryism'. Sykes takes a more categorised view of the Radical Right to the point of being almost pedantic. As this study shall demonstrate, Ethel for one spanned all of Sykes's categories, so that they do not seem so watertight. Though the Edwardian Right was diffuse, its elements held in common a sense of alienation from the political system and a sense of urgency about the precarious position of the Empire.

sense that they were nationalist, as opposed to the internationalism of the Radical Left; and 'Radical' in that their various remedies for national decline embodied a radical departure from the established norms of British political culture. One specialist of the Radical Right has described it as reflecting "an extraordinary and quite illogical amalgam of modernising and anti-modernising attitudes".²⁰ Radical Right movements were not simply reactionary tools of an old order which was hostile to social, political and economic change. On the contrary, they reflected new and often anti-traditional ideas which were manifested in a peculiar recklessness and a willingness to bring about the collapse of the existing order if necessary to achieve their objective of National Efficiency.²¹

Radical Right pressure groups comprised an imperialist rescue attempt with "National Efficiency" as their battle-cry and no aspect of national life escaped their scrutiny. They called for a comprehensive transformation of British society ranging from educational reform to imperial unity, from the birthrate and health to compulsory military service and naval expansion.^{21B} As a prominent personality in these movements, and in the women's suffrage controversy, as a world

20. Searle, "The 'Revolt from the Right' ", p.34.

21. *Ibid.*, p.29, et seq, P Kennedy, "The Pre-war Right in Britain and Germany", p.3. D W Lowry, "... [T]he revolt of the Radical Right in the closing decades of pre-1914 Britain ...", (Unpub. Mss [Milner Memorial Prize Essay], Rhodes University, October, 1986).

21B. See J H Grainger, Patriotisms[: Britain 1900-1939], (London, 1986); G C Weber, The Ideology of the British Right, 1918-1939, (London and Sydney, 1986), and for the imperial angle: J M Mackenzie, Propaganda and Empire[:The manifestation of British public opinion, 1880-1960], (Manchester, 1984) and J M Mackenzie (ed), Imperialism and/ Popular Culture, (Manchester, 1986); P Rich, Race and Empire [in British Politics], (Cambridge, 1986).

traveller, writer and former editor of United Empire, the journal of the Royal Colonial Institute (RCI), Ethel brought to Rhodesia a political expertise and a degree of commitment to an advanced socio-political programme which was unrivalled among her generation of Rhodesian politicians.

In choosing Ethel as a central figure or measuring stick the writer was not unaware that among many members of his discipline in recent decades biography had come to be derided as intellectually infra dig and 'unscientific', if not a branch of antiquarianism; in contrast to the study of inexorable economic forces which, they believed, comprised the secret of history. Whether history possesses such secrets or laws is a metaphysical question beyond the writer's capabilities. As a methodological tool the materialist approach has undoubtedly done the discipline a great service in widening its horizons to include in-depth studies of the crucial role of hitherto voiceless "common people" in history; but, adopted as a dogma, it has also tended to reduce human beings to automatons or puppets of impersonal material forces, and the study of history to the selection of facts to fit a hackneyed theory. Quite apart from the baneful effect this doctrinaire approach has had on the popularity - indeed credibility - of the subject, the writer cannot agree with the view of human nature it conveys in its conclusions, a determinist - almost Calvinist - view, though its proponents would be loath to accept such a non-materialist analogy. Fortunately, many writers of the Marxist school have revised the cruder aspects of their theory in a search for new permutations, shedding, at least to some degree, their sense of intellectual inadequacy vis à vis the methodology of the natural

sciences.

Happily, then, the discipline has progressed far from Thomas Carlyle's belief that "[t]he history of world [was but] the Biography of Great Men",²² since it is now recognized that no figure, however 'great' can be separated from his or her social and economic environment. Happily the discipline is outgrowing the influence of crudely determinist historians, political economists and social scientists who had virtually dismissed the role of the individual completely, concentrating instead on competing classes and inexorable economic forces. Few would now contend, say, that had not King Leonidas rallied his Spartans at the pass of Thermopylae in 480 BC, some other member of his socio-economic class would have done so in his stead; or that Europe was not dramatically affected by the personality of Napoleon Bonaparte and that his defeat at Waterloo was definitely due less to his illness on the day than to the bourgeois forces of industrial production which spurred the Royal Scots Greys into action! Perhaps that is why materialist historians have shied away from military history: it involves too much uncertainty, too much of the human factor. Yet politics, too, was, and is, a form of warfare where many of the same uncertainties operate. That is what makes it worthy of study.

Anne Scott and the late Ruth First, both Marxist historians, recognised the importance of the individual human factor in their

22. T Carlyle, Heroes and Hero Worship, (London, 1840 edn), p.4. (The Hero as Divinity, Lecture 1, Tuesday 5 May 1840.)

biography of Olive Schreiner,²³ whom they used as a 'refract[or]' of the social radicalism and proto-feminism of the Victorian and Edwardian eras.²⁴ Virago Press, the radical feminist publishing house, has also recognised this in their series of monographs on women of historical note. This is a belated acknowledgement that the general dismissal of biography by the Left had left women as voiceless as ever by preventing them from making their own contribution to a branch of history which was virtually as old as recorded history itself. Though no feminist, the historian Barbara Tuchman recognised this neglected historical source. Writing about the difficulties of conveying the ideas of an age, Tuchman found that women were a particularly good source for physical characteristics because they seemed to notice such details and record them more than men.²⁵ Perhaps her description of the usefulness of biography is less debatable:

Insofar as I have used biography in my work, it has been less for the sake of the individual subject than as a vehicle for exhibiting an age ... I do not think of myself as a biographer ... [but] I have used [it] once or twice to encapsulate history ... As a prism of history biography attracts and holds the reader's interest in the larger subject ... [It] is useful because it encompasses the universal in the particular. It is a focus that allows both the writer to narrow his field to manageable dimensions and the reader to more easily comprehend the subject. Given too wide a scope the central theme wanders, becomes diffuse and loses shape. One does not try for the whole but what is truly representative. (26)

A life and times biography, then, is an historical exercise which is both legitimate and indispensable to a study of this kind, covering as it does the intellectual background to Ethel's philosophy in the

23. R First and A Scott, Olive Schreiner, (London, 1980).

24. Ibid., p.17.

25. B W Tuchman, Practising History, (London, 1982), p.43.

26. "Biography as a Prism of History", ibid., pp.80-81.

centre of the Empire and, through her, its adoption and adaptation in the colonial periphery. As far as possible there is an attempt to indicate other influences on the character of the white community which were not of her making and where she was not representative of her community. Where Tuchman has been introduced as a defender of biography generally, the following passage from L S Amery's foreword to a biography of Lord Milner gives more specific support to the validity of this study:

Whatever part economic or technical factors may have played in shaping human history, the supreme creative and destructive forces have been ideas. Nor is there any kind of historical study more interesting, or more worthwhile than that which traces the growth of an idea, its transmission from individual to individual or from nation to nation, and, above all, the shape and power given to it at some critical moment by the inspiration of some exceptional personality. (27)

Here, the 'idea' is National Efficiency as interpreted by the Edwardian Radical Right; the 'exceptional personality' is Ethel Tawse Jollie, and the reader should bear in mind that this study has a two-fold purpose throughout. Firstly, to show Ethel as a period personality in Edwardian Britain. For this reason there is considerable detail in this study about the political, social and intellectual movements of pre-1914 Britain so that the evolution of her own Weltanschauung may be understood more clearly. The detail includes a study of Joseph Chamberlain, the radical Mayor of Birmingham who dominated the English Midlands of Ethel's youth and went on to transform British attitudes to their Empire. It includes

27. L S Amery, Foreword to V S Halperin, Lord Milner and the Empire, (London, 1952), p.8

Lord Milner for largely the same reason. Similarly, Ethel's preoccupation with the women's suffrage movement merits an examination of the latter, not merely because she was a protagonist of national importance,²⁸ but because her writings on the subject reveal attitudes to society and the state which transcend the question of feminism alone.

Also highlighted are two key events in the divergence of the periphery of Empire from the metropolitan centre: the Jameson Raid of 1895, and the Ulster Crisis over the Irish Home Rule Bill in 1911-14. The first event was a portentous pivotal point in the decline of the Empire, marking the increasing frustration of colonial leaders with what they regarded as the timidity of the mother country. The naked aggression of the raid, the rumours of Imperial Government complicity and the international opprobrium which followed it, heightened the latent British sense of insecurity. It also had its effects in England where the Raid was greeted with equivocation by those who believed that violent action - even illegal action - might be justified in defence of the Empire, not only against external foes, but against internal opponents as well. "I date the beginning of these violent times in our country from the Jameson Raid", wrote Winston Churchill a generation later.²⁹

28. E Colquhoun [Ethel Tawse Jollie], The Vocation of Woman, (London, 1913). Ethel's role is noted in C Rover, Women's Suffrage [and Party Politics in Britain, 1886-1914], (Toronto, 1967), pp.114, 143 and M Vicinus, Independent Women/: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920/, (London, 1985), pp.206-208.

29. Quoted in E Longford, Jameson's Raid, (Johannesburg, [1983]), p.25.

The "violent times" reached a climax in the second of these events; the Ulster crisis, the first occasion of rebellion by a people of British descent against a British government since the American War of Independence (1776-83) and the most serious threat to the survival of the British state itself, at least since the Great Reform Act agitation in the early nineteenth century, if not the English Civil War of 1642-49. The Ulster Crisis was the rallying point of the Edwardian Radical Right and Ethel, like many of her patriotic persuasion within the ranks of the Conservative establishment, backed the Ulster Unionists in their armed defiance of the Liberal government's Irish Home Rule Bill.

Both events demonstrated that the loyalty of British subjects, even of the most xenophobically patriotic variety, was never unconditional but contractual, an underlying feature of British political culture which only became apparent when British governments were not seen to be "doing their duty" of either rescuing kith and kin from, or preserving them against the rule of alleged enemies of Empire. This concept of conditional loyalty, intrinsic to both crises, was also more generally evident to varying degrees in British colonies of settlement before the Great War.

The second function of this study is to examine the adaptation of Ethel's Radical Right philosophy in the very different environment of Southern Rhodesia where the white community was overwhelmingly outnumbered by the indigenous population and whose political future was still uncertain at the time of Ethel's arrival in the territory in 1915. In this context Ethel is used as a representative figure, a

"clothes hanger" to which other recognisable manifestations of Radical Right ideas are added, in an endeavour to demonstrate that, however much they reflected a confidence which was reminiscent of the Empire's Victorian heyday, the white Rhodesians' social organisation and identity were far more products of the post Anglo-Boer War angst and the Edwardian right-wing reaction to imperial decline, a reaction which became the core ethos of their community. Nevertheless, white Rhodesia continued to draw ideas from Britain and elsewhere in the white Empire - Commonwealth which were compatible with the Radical Right tradition.

This "centre and periphery" approach to Rhodesian identity has already been used by Barry Schutz,³⁰ an American political scientist who developed his thesis from the theory of Louis Hartz's seminal The Founding of New Societies (New York, 1964). Put briefly, Hartz's thesis proposed that settler or 'new' societies continued to reflect the political and social character of their parent societies and founders at the time of their foundation. On this basis, for example, seventeenth and eighteenth century British Whig thought was held to have left its mark on the USA, seventeenth century Catholic, pre-revolutionary France on Quebec, eighteenth century British Toryism on anglophone Canada, seventeenth century Calvinist Holland on South Africa, sixteenth century Spain and Portugal on Latin America, and so on. David Miller used a similar 'fragment' approach in his convincing

30. B M Schutz, "[The Theory of Fragment and the Political Development of] White Settler Society [in Rhodesia]", (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1972).

analysis of the concept of conditional loyalty in the Ulster Protestant community which he traced to social contract theories current at the time of Ulster's colonization from England and Scotland in the seventeenth century.³¹

In Schutz's application of this theory to Rhodesia, he argued that white Rhodesia was a fragment of British South Africa and that the Rhodesian settlers inherited an expectation of self-government along the lines of the Durham Formula which the Imperial Government applied in Canada in 1867.³² This was a novel way of looking at white Rhodesia, and his statistical studies of the impermanence of many settlers and the limitations of their 'nationalism' are particularly useful.³³ But the study is limited by Schutz's concentration on the settlers' political ambitions in the narrow sense - the Durham Formula for self-government - and, apart from immigration policy, he virtually ignored the character of other social legislation which would have shown that white Rhodesia was intellectually more dynamic and less myopic than the Victorian-British South African fragment would have suggested. Unfortunately, Schutz regarded the first Victorian pioneer generation of settlers as the effective social founders of the community.³⁴ While the pioneers certainly left their

31. D W Miller, Queen's Rebels/: Ulster Loyalism in Historical Perspective/, (Dublin and New York, 1978).

32. Schutz, op cit., esp. ch.6.

33. B M Schutz, "European Population Patterns, Cultural Persistence, and Political Change in Rhodesia", Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol.7(1), 1973, pp.3-25 and "Homeward Bound? A Survey and Study of the limits of White Rhodesian Nationalism and Permanence", Ufahanu, Vol.5(3), 1975, pp.81-117. I am indebted to Professor P R Warhurst for alerting me to Schutz's writings.

34. Schutz, "White Settler Society", chs.2-3.

mark as the national legend, more recent research by D K Kennedy³⁵ has shown that a very high proportion of the first generation of settlers left Rhodesia before the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), and that the first substantial wave of settlers arrived in the Edwardian era when agriculture and the economy generally were put on a sounder footing and the "get-rich-quick" mining camp atmosphere of the early years had gone.³⁶ This first wave of family-orientated immigrants comprised the effective social founders of white Rhodesia. Kennedy's superb comparison of the social origins and cultural consequences of white settlement in Kenya and Rhodesia, as well as the difficulties posed by an alien host environment, has offered a much more penetrating insight into this question, relying, as he does, on the memoirs and some of the novels of the settlers concerned, as well as taking into account social and political developments in the metropole. Kennedy also clearly contrasted the outlook of Kenyan settlers, who were largely upper class, with that of Rhodesian settlers who were mainly though not exclusively drawn from lower middle and artisan classes. Other very useful perspectives have been provided by A J Chennells in his analysis of settler myths and the Rhodesian novel,³⁷ and R J Challis's examination of the European educational system in which he looks at the role of schools in fostering a local patriotism.³⁸ What is lacking is a synthesis of these perspectives, an attempt to trace the philosophical sources of the Rhodesians' perceptive of themselves and

35. Kennedy, *op cit.*

36. *Ibid.*, ch.3.

37. A J Chennells, "Settler Myths [and the Southern Rhodesian Novel]", (Unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1981).

38. R J Challis, The European Educational System in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1930, (Salisbury, 1980).

of their position in the world. It is hoped this study will go some way towards filling that void.

The picture which emerges from this study differs greatly from the conclusion of Anthony Di Perna's "The Struggle for Self-Government and the Roots of White Nationalism in Rhodesia 1890-1922" (unpublished Ph.D thesis, St John's University, New York, 1972). Though he writes well, Di Perna was out of touch with major studies of the self-government movement completed since the late 1960s. The most glaring defect is his determinist attitude to Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 which clouded his view of earlier Rhodesian history.³⁹ He is a conservative-minded American who made explicit his admiration for white Rhodesia in the published version of his thesis A Right to Be Proud, (Bulawayo 1977). He saw UDI as the culmination of a longstanding Rhodesian desire for nationhood free from British interference, with its declaration of independence consciously couched in the tones of the American Founding Fathers. Certainly, in an era when the right to self-determination had come to be seen as synonymous with nationality, the white Rhodesians were anxious to appeal to these sentiments in the most powerful champion of the Western world, just as in the 1920s they appealed to the sentiments of imperialism in Britain. What Di Perna failed to recognise was that the Rhodesians never had a desire to be culturally separated from Britain, though, like most settlers they wished to govern themselves free from metropolitan interference. Insofar as

39. For a detailed critique of Di Perna, see Hummel, "White Rhodesian Nationalism".

they had aspirations to nationality, it was as one of Britain's 'daughter nations', proud of their Anglo-Saxon character and linked inextricably to the panoramic heritage of the British Empire. If Di Perna wished to understand this dual identity, instead of projecting the ethos of the American War of Independence into the Rhodesians, he need only have looked north of the border to the Canadians who reflected this same dual identity in the nineteenth century, an ambiguity so well described by Kipling:

A Nation spoke to a Nation,
A Queen sent word to a Throne:
'Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own.
The gates are mine to open,
As the gates are mine to close,
And I set my house in order',
Said our Lady of the Snows. (40)

UDI was not a rejection of Britishness, but an attempt now that the Empire was gone - or, as they saw it, culpably abandoned - to preserve Britishness as they interpreted it. Di Perna was obviously misled by the latent anglophobic born of a sense of betrayal which he encountered in Rhodesia in the later 1960s.⁴¹ To an infinitely greater degree than the USA, white Rhodesia could never credibly assert an identity which was entirely divorced from Britishness. To do so would have involved a denial of its own origins and culture, indeed its very raison d'être. The "Rhodesian way of life" which the proponents of UDI

40. "Our Lady of the Snows, 1897", (Canadian Preferential Tariff, 1897) in T S Eliot (ed), A Choice of Kipling's Verse, (London, 1976), p.100.

41. Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, pp.xiii-xvii, 209-214.

sought to defend was essentially a British way of life in its colonial context, a lifestyle which, in the 1960s, had all but disappeared from other former colonial territories. The anglophobia of post-UDI Rhodesians differed little from that of their contemporary Ulster Unionists who also displayed this sentiment when they felt that the British Government wished to dispense with their loyalty and deprive them of their traditional privileges; it was an anglophobia of despair.

As well as attempting to offer a new insight on Rhodesian identity, this is a pioneering study in the biographical sense in the importance it attaches to the subject's career in the metropole, a particularly important aspect in the case of a subject who was born into and intellectually formed in one society and went to live in another very different environment. In his life of Coghlan, Hummel took this into account in his discussion of the influence of nineteenth century Liberalism on his subject,⁴² though Coghlan as a colonial-born politician from the same sub-continent as his subsequent sphere of operations, Rhodesia, did not lend himself to the same treatment as Ethel whose ideas had been shaped in the metropole and who, unlike Coghlan, was an ideologue. The sole biography of Godfrey Huggins, the Rhodesian prime minister, by Gann and Gelfand⁴³ made little attempt to explore the intellectual influences on their subject during his youth in Britain. On the other hand, though Huggins was a shrewd and cunning politician, he was no intellectual, so the influence of Edwardian

42. Hummel, 'Coghlan', pp. 20, 418-419, 430, 507.

43. L H Gann and P Gelfand, Huggins of Rhodesia, (London, 1964).

ideas may have been minimal. Looking further afield, Keith Sinclair's life of William Pember Reeves, the New Zealand statesman,⁴⁴ was unfortunately lacking in an examination of the influence of metropolitan ideas on Reeve's outlook. Had he had the benefit of recent studies of the Radical Right, Sinclair would have found that Reeves was heavily influenced by the ideas of National Efficiency and that he was not simply an example of a progressive, reformist New Zealand politician. This point was made by one of Sinclair's compatriots, W H Oliver, in an article calling for a more realistic examination of the New Zealand's pioneering welfare state, in particular the influence of Edwardian Radical Right/National Efficiency ideas in its creation.⁴⁵ This is the approach used in this study and it is one which, it is suggested, could be profitably followed by biographers of other migrant politicians.

In short, then, this study reflects neither Di Perna's determinism nor Schutz's straitjacketed fragments. It does not pretend to tell the whole story of white Rhodesian identity, but, one hopes, it will widen our understanding of it.

As to structure, the thesis is divided into two parts; the first dealing with Ethel's career in Britain, and the second with her life in Rhodesia. Part I consists of a Prologue which introduces Ethel and her environment up to 1900, leading into Chapter One which is a

44. K Sinclair, William Pember Reeves. New Zealand Fabian, (Oxford, 1965).

45. W H Oliver, "Social Welfare or Social Efficiency", New Zealand Journal of History, Vol.13(1), 1979, pp.25-33.

description of late Victorian and Edwardian Britain and it introduces those movements in which Ethel became prominent. Chapter Two opens with Ethel's marriage to Archibald Colquhoun and the personal and intellectual odyssey which followed, through the currents of Edwardian politics, Archibald's death and her departure for Rhodesia in 1915.

Similarly, Part II opens with a Prologue which introduces Ethel on her arrival in Rhodesia, and which gives a social portrait of the territory, leading to Chapter Three, which traces Ethel's entry into active politics over the amalgamation issue of 1916 and her role in the formation of the RGA in the following year. Chapters Four to Six deal with her moulding of the movement into a credible political force up to the RGA victory in the referendum of 1922. Chapters Seven and Eight describe her career and influence in parliament against the backdrop of a developing Rhodesian identity. Chapter Nine deals with her ambitions for an expanded settler role in Central Africa. Chapter Ten traces her years of war service, up to her death in 1950. The Conclusion assesses her influence on Rhodesia.

Lastly, this thesis attempts throughout to evoke the atmosphere of Ethel's world with the aid of an anecdote here and a ballad there, in a fashion, which, one hopes, does not jar as self-indulgent or whimsical. This has been done to throw the subject into relief and to enable the colours and the mood, and the stark contrasts between centre and periphery to be partially recaptured.

PART I:

The dark satanic mills.

.../F/or the world which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams,
So various, so beautiful, so new,
Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light,
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help from pain;
And we are here on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night.

(Matthew Arnold, "Dover Beach", 1867)

What is the use of Empire if it does not breed and maintain in the fullest sense of the word an Imperial Race? What is the use of talking about Empire if here, at its very centre, there is always to be found a mass of people, stunted in education, a prey to intemperance, huddled and congested beyond the possibility of realising in any true sense either social or domestic life?

(Sidney Webb, Fabian socialist, 1901)

Prologue: Origins

"... England in little, lost in the midst of
England, unsung by searchers after the extreme".

(Arnold Bennett, The Old Wives' Tale)

The town of Stafford lies on the banks of the River Sow in a pleasant well-wooded region of the English West Midlands. To the north, the hilly moorlands rise to a height of over 500 metres, forming the southern tip of the Pennines; to the south, the landscape is gently undulating, with the upland of Cannock Chase in the centre. From the middle of the eighteenth century, a great movement began with Josiah Wedgwood's potteries and Lord Dartmouth's coalfields, which transformed Staffordshire's moors and barren heaths into one of the great nerve centres of industrial Britain.¹ Arterial canals advanced across the shire, carving through rocky uplands and traversing deeply-cut valleys over grand aqueducts, symbolic of industrial man's contemptuous conquest of the elements. In the nineteenth century, the railways forged their way through, linking Birmingham and Wolverhampton with the great ports of Merseyside, coalescing the industrial settlements of the Potteries into what was to become the city of Stoke-on-Trent. Towering bottle-shaped kilns and the chimneys of the iron works belched smoke from behind rising slag heaps, earning the southern districts the name of 'The Black Country'. By 1871, the shire ranked alongside London, Warwickshire, Lancashire and Durham as one of the most heavily urbanised counties in the Kingdom.² No other district illustrated more vividly and dramatically the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution. "England can show nothing more

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1. G M Trevelyan, English Social History, (London, 1948 edn.), pp.320-321, 392-393; E G Hobsbawn, Industry and Empire, (Hammondsworth, 1969), pp.25-26. See also W Allen, The Black Country, (London, 1947) and W H Warbuton, A History of Trade Union Organisation in the North Staffordshire Potteries, (London, 1931), ch.1.
 2. D Read, England [1868-1914: The Age of Urban Democracy], (London, 1979), pp.48-49.

beautiful and nothing uglier than the works of nature and the works of man to be seen within the limits of the county", wrote Arnold Bennett, the famous novelist of the Potteries: "It is England in little, lost in the midst of England, unsung by searchers after the extreme".³

Still surrounded by seemingly timeless farming districts and dominated by old castles, churches and picturesque half-timbered houses, Stafford town seemed to escape many of these changes. It was here that Ethel was born on 8th March 1875, the daughter of Dr Samuel Cookson, a prominent local surgeon and general practitioner.⁴ Christened Ethel Maude in the parish church of St Mary, she was the eldest girl in a family of seven children: four brothers and two sisters, all born within nine years.⁵ In addition she had three step-brothers and two step-sisters from her mother's previous marriage, bringing the total number of children to twelve. When Ethel was six years old, both parents were already in their mid-forties (while the youngest child was under a year old), and her step-sisters and step-brothers ranged from ten to fourteen years her senior, so the young Ethel must have grown up in a very adult and varied atmosphere.⁶

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3. Quoted in M W Greenslade and D G Stuart, A History of Staffordshire, (Beaconsfield, 1965), p.1. For an additional flavour of the area see Arnold Bennett's novel Clayhanger (London, 1910), and M Drabble, Arnold Bennett: a biography, (London, 1974).
 4. F B Stitt, (Staffordshire County Activist) to the author 4.10.83; Census [for the Borough of Stafford], 1881, Public Record Office London, RG.11/2687, p.3.
 5. Stitt, op cit. Isaac Walton, the first English biographer of stature and author of the classic The Compleat Angler, was also baptised in St Mary's, Greengate Street in 1593.
 6. Stitt, op cit.

Ethel's father was "a fat man who looked more like a farmer than a doctor".⁷ But he was a good one, and a ward at Stafford Hospital in Foregate Street was subsequently named in his memory. He wore a beard without a moustache, Victorian fashion, and photographs in Ethel's album reveal both him and her mother as parents to whom affectionate smiles came more readily than the Victorian stereotype would suggest.⁸ Ethel's step-brother, Charles John Gibson, an Edinburgh University-educated surgeon, was already in practice in the town at the age of 22.⁹ Her natural brother, Frederick Cookson, also became one of the principal consultants at Stafford Infirmary. Both Frederick and his father were active in the field of public preventative medicine and were vaccinators for their area.¹⁰ The practice was located in 9, Lichfield Road, the family home, in the south-eastern district of the town on the way to Cannock Chase. The house was large and handsome with ivy-covered walls and spacious bay windows, a balcony and conservatory facing the well-tended back garden.¹¹ The family was prosperous, having four servants, above the national middle-class average of the time.¹²

After attending King Edward VI's Grammar School in the town, all of Ethel's brothers went on to Eton College, one of them a King's scholar.¹³ The education of the Cookson girls is less clear as no

7. Ibid.

8. Ethel's surviving photograph album/sketch book contains two photographs of her father.

9. Census, op cit; Stitt, op cit.

10. Ibid.

11. Stitt, op cit.

12. Census, op cit. For statistics on domestic service in 19th Century England see Read, op cit., p.10.

13. Mrs D Randall, (Assistant Staffordshire County Archivist) to the author 7.6.84. Captain Claude Edward Cookson, Who's Who 1916, (London, 1961), p.647.

school records survive. It is likely that they were educated privately at a local dame school; Miss Robart's school at Greenhall, three doors from the Cookson home, seems the most likely.¹⁴ However, it is obvious from Ethel's writings that she received the quintessential education of a Victorian lady necessary for entry into Society, the 'upper-ten thousand' whose lives revolved around fashionable engagements and the cultivation of "good taste".¹⁵ Years later Ethel recalled the "patient and hard-working governesses, [who] knocked a little French and German into [her] head greatly against [her] will".¹⁶ The typical young girl of her background had a strictly regulated day. Apart from etiquette, elocution, dancing, music and drawing, there was French, sometimes Latin or Greek, History, Literature - mostly Sir Walter Scott and Jane Austen - and perhaps a little Mathematics or Botany, which was less risqué than Biology. This was heavily underscored with Christian Doctrine. The only relief from this schedule was the occasional afternoon visit to an art gallery or a museum followed by "moderate exercise".¹⁷

In its ideal, this was a system which sought to prepare the young woman for her social role as wife and mother who would honour and obey

14. Randall, *op cit.*

15. See L Davidoff, The Best Circles: Social Etiquette and the Season, (London, 1973), esp. ch.3; J S Pederson, "Some Victorian Headmistresses: A Conservative Tradition of Social Reform", Victorian Studies, Vol.24(4), 1981, pp.463-488; M Lockhead, Young Victorians, (London, 1959), pp.32, 52, 93; C Dyhouse, Girls Growing Up in Victorian and Edwardian England, (Boston and London, 1981), esp. pp.40-44. For a revisionist view see M J Peterson, "No Angels in the House: The Victorian Myth and the Paget Women", American Historical Review, Vol.89(3), pp.677-708.

16. E Colquhoun, [Two on Their] Travels (London, 1902), p.236.

17. Lockhead, *op cit.*, p.49.

her husband, promote his spiritual and physical well-being and those of their children, and supervise the servants and his household. In short, an acquiescent, pious, 'Angel in the House'.¹⁸ Writers from Dickens to Ruskin celebrated this stereotype. But, in reality, many Victorian ladies were not so passive and unintellectual.¹⁹ Ethel was a keen huntswoman. She was an accomplished artist, having studied at studios in Paris, at the pre-eminent Slade School of Art in the University of London, and, also in London, at the studio of Anthony Ludovici, one time secretary to the sculptor, Rodin, and translator of Nietzsche.²⁰ Ethel exhibited watercolours in London and other parts of Britain. Her sole surviving sketchbook, dating from 1889, reveals a keen eye for detail, with subjects ranging from historical characters to scenes from everyday life, to the storybook characters of Lewis Carroll.²¹ On the front page she wrote down her guiding principle, a quotation from Longfellow:

Believe me, the talent of success is nothing more than doing what you can do well, and doing well whatever you can do, without a thought of fame. If it comes at all it will come because it is well deserved, and not because it is sought after. (22)

18. Peterson, *op cit.*, p.678.

19. *Ibid.*, p.679.

20. Sybil Cookson (Ethel's sister-in-law) to the author 7.10.87. A R Colquhoun, *[From Dan to] Beersheba*, (London, 1908), p.295. The Slade School of Art records from the 1890s are no longer extant.

21. Ethel's sketches (in the author's possession) are similar in style and subject to those of her fellow Midlander and near contemporary, Edith Holden. See E Holden, *The Country Diary of an Edwardian Lady*, (London, 1977) and I Taylor, *The Edwardian Lady: The Story of Edith Holden*, (London, 1980).

22. Quoted in Ethel's sketchbook. (The quotation comes from Longfellow's 'Hyperion' bk 1 ch.8).

Although (in Ethel's phrase) "an old-fashioned town",²³ Stafford provided inspiration, not only artistic, but historical and literary as well. Bronze Age burial mounds, Iron Age hill forts, and ruined castles and monasteries testified to the district's varied history. The nearby town of Lichfield had been the religious centre of the ninth century Kingdom of Mercia, once led by Ethel's namesake 'Ethelfleda', who played a prominent part in the reconquest of the Danelaw. Samuel Johnson and James Boswell lived in Lichfield in the eighteenth century. The district of Longnor in north Staffordshire was associated with William Congreve, George Eliot and Jean Jacques Rousseau (who began his Confessions at Wooton). In Stafford itself, Isaac Walton, the first English biographer of stature, had been baptised in St Mary's in 1593. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the dramatist, was MP for the borough from 1780 to 1806, and the Swan Hotel in Bridge Street had associations with Charles Dickens. The town had a very fine library, the William Salt, opened in the 1860s.²⁴

Young Ethel would have been more aware than most of her class of the world which lay beyond the spires and fine houses of the town. The Industrial Revolution brought in its wake great poverty and disease. The death rate in the 1870s was higher than the national average of 22.9 per 1000.²⁵ One of the chief reasons for this was poor sanitation. In 1866, the Stafford water supply "was taken from wells

23. E Colquhoun, [The] Vocation [of Woman], (London, 1913), p.10.

24. See Greenslade op cit., passim. (The author is familiar with Stafford and its environs having spent two months' vacation there in 1973.)

25. Read, op cit.

close to receptacles of filth" and it was said - 'only half in jest' - that "the persons living at No 6 drink the water that is made at No 7".²⁶ There had been several cholera epidemics well within living memory.²⁷ The situation was made worse in the 1860s when Birmingham began to wrest prosperity from Staffordshire and the Black Country.²⁸ Public health must have been a prominent topic of conversation in the Cookson household, given Dr Cookson's involvement with preventative medicine. Ethel later recalled the "hard and uncongenial surroundings [of the working class that gave rise to a] feeling of impotence which seizes all of us at times".²⁹

Before she was out of her teens Ethel trained as a secretary for the Charity Organisation Society (COS) and went to work for a year in the slum areas of London.³⁰ The COS had been founded in 1869 by Octavia Hill, the philanthropist and housing reformer, and it was designed to co-ordinate charitable enterprise and smooth class tensions, largely because the Church of England, the traditional dispenser of charity, had failed to keep pace with expanding urban populations.³¹ Employers had begun to move to sequestered suburban homes, where reminders of poverty rarely intruded, leaving relief largely in the hands of the

26. Ibid.

27. E W Page, Victorian History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Stafford, Vol. 1, (London, 1908), pp.307, 310-313.

28. H Brown, Joseph Chamberlain: Radical and Imperialist, (London, 1974), p.3.

29. Vocation, p.16.

30. Who's Who 1916, (London, 1916), p.230; Vocation, pp.10-98; E Tawse Jollie's autobiographical notes in N[ational] A[rchives of] Z[imbabwe] RH.8/1/6.

31. C L Mowat, The Charity Organisation Society 1869-1913: Its Ideas and Work, (London, 1980), ch.I; A S Wohl, "Octavia Hill and the Homes of the London Poor", JBS, Vol.10(2), 1971, pp.114-115; Read op cit, pp.56, 294.

workhouses from whose 'corrupting influences' members of the COS sought to protect the poor.³² The COS believed in fostering a greater sense of responsibility and a work ethic and thus opposed the practice of indiscriminate alms-giving.³³ COS activists underwent courses in the operation of the Poor Law, theories of duties to the state, sanitation, education, the maintenance of individualism and the encouragement of a sense of responsibility in the newly enfranchised working man. Staunchly anti-socialist, they believed that the best way to help the poor was to transform them into efficient wage earners: the greater the level of work, the greater the consumption of products, all to the benefit of society and the state.³⁴

Charitable work had several attractions for the middle and upper classes on whose patronage charities depended. It affirmed their 'unquestioned right' to enter working class homes albeit for charitable purposes; it provided girls of the leisured classes with one of the few outside contacts which their protective parents would allow or encourage.³⁵ Moreover the private committees which administered most charities afforded considerable social prestige, particularly to the nouveaux riches who took the opportunity to mix with a higher social strata at charity bazaars and garden parties.³⁶ Actual charity work, however, was considered too arduous, degrading,

32. A Summers, "A Home from Home - Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century", in S Burham (ed), Fit Work for Women, (London and Canberra, 1979), pp.33-63, 37-38.

33. Ibid., p.46.

34. C G Hanson, "Welfare before the Welfare State", in A R Seldon (ed), The Long Debate on Poverty, (London, 1972), p.148.

35. Davidoff, op cit., p.51.

36. Ibid., pp.53-63.

and 'contaminating' for young ladies. Those women who, like Ethel, participated to that degree were regarded as carrying charity to excess.³⁷

The COS was part of a more general response to the social dislocation consequent on the Industrial Revolution, a reaction that had strong religious roots. The Evangelical Revival of the late eighteenth century ushered in an era of 'vital Christianity' which challenged the evils of society wherever they were to be found: prison and factory reform, the abolition of slavery and child labour, capital and corporal punishment, temperance and cruelty to animals became national issues. This was accompanied by a revolution in manners and morals, known erroneously as Victorianism, for it pre-dated Victoria's accession by at least a generation.³⁸ Reform became a fixed purpose - like the imperial instinct - essential to the building of that "sceptred isle, for all the world a source of light, a centre of peace; mistress of learning and of the Arts, faithful guardian of time-honoured principles" anticipated by John Ruskin in his famous Oxford lecture of 1873.³⁹ It was strengthened by the Christian Socialist movement of the 1850s led by Frederick Maurice and Charles Kingsley, who sought to develop industrial co-operatives and workingmen's colleges.⁴⁰ The Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England, the product of the Oxford Movement, began in 1833 against great

37. Mowat, *op cit.*, p.130.

38. See G Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds*, (London, 1968), ch.1.

39. Read, *op cit.*, p.56. (Ruskin personally financed the construction of workers' houses in London in 1864.)

40. R N Price, "The Working Man's Club Movement and Victorian Social Reform Ideology", *VS*, Vol.15(32), 1971, pp.161-184.

opposition from traditional Protestants within the church, placed great emphasis on charitable work among the poor, largely in the Lambeth district in the East End of London, where Ethel was active as a social worker.⁴¹ Here churchmen and laywomen combined sacramental Catholicism with charity, consciously modelled on the pre-Reformation church. It is likely that Ethel's admiration for Roman Catholicism apparent in her later writings originated from her time at this mission.⁴² The Anglo-Catholic conception of the 'Ages of Faith' was largely romantic, more akin to the medievalist chivalric tales of Sir Walter Scott than the reality, but they believed that they could elevate the poor from their material and 'moral' poverty, just as the spires of the Gothic Revival reached high above the squalor at their base.⁴³

However, it was not as straightforward as that. Economic change had resulted in a general separation of home and workplace. The reformers emphasized the role of the home, now almost exclusively the sphere of woman, in combating sin and the degenerate effects of the outside world. There was plenty of sin about, not least in London's East End - "worse than the lowest quarters of Marseilles, Antwerp and Paris", one French visitor described it in the 1870s.⁴⁴ It was a hotbed of prostitution, alcoholism, vice and murder.⁴⁵ When the 'Jack-the-

41. Lockhead, *op cit.*, p.178.

42. See *Vocation*, pp.96, 123-129, 330-331.

43. See *Himmelfarb op cit.*, *passim*, and for a vivid description of the influence of medievalism on British culture in the 19th century, see M Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*, (New Haven, 1981).

44. R Persall, *The Worm in the Bud: The World of Victorian Sexuality*, (Harmondsworth, 1983), p.349.

45. *Ibid.*, pp.307-357, 388-403, 430-446.

Ripper' murders occurred in 1888-89 there was not one mortuary in the whole of Whitechapel and the victims' remains had to be taken to a shed adjoining the workhouse.⁴⁶ Promiscuity was an integral part of working-class childhood with an average of five to thirteen children to a bed:⁴⁷ "I do not choose to put on paper the disgusting scenes I have known to occur from the promiscuous crowding of the sexes together", one clergyman recalled.⁴⁸ Such scenes also made an impression on the young Ethel who, years later, remembered one Dickensian scene of a school she used to visit regularly in Lambeth:

... [T]he teacher was one of those splendid unmarried women whose maternal instinct found room for hundreds of little ones in her heart. Questioned on their neglected appearance she said, 'It is the immorality of their homes. Not half of their parents are married and they are always changing partners. The children hardly even have a secure home and are constantly 'step-children' to one or other of the partner they live with'. (49)

Like the teacher, Ethel failed to make the connection between this immorality and economic circumstances, taking, as she did, a spiritual rather than an economic or material view of humanity. This experience combined with her religious outlook underlined for her the importance of family life, a concern which formed the linch pin of her subsequent social and political ideas.

The paternalism - or, rather, maternalism - which lay behind the COS and other philanthropic movements functioned as an intellectual theory

46. Ibid., p.383.

47. Ibid., p.353.

48. Ibid., See also E Gauldie, Cruel Habitations: A history of Working Class housing, 1780-1914, (London, 1974).

49. Vocation, p.16.

that attempted to make sense of a society which was experiencing bewildering social changes. It drew heavily on the intellectual trends of the era: romanticism, evangelism and the cult of the medieval.⁵⁰ Its popularisers and theorists gave them a relevance and a sense of urgency which enabled members of the upper classes to meet any doubts about the basic structure of their society, assuring each a place in its hierarchy.⁵¹ Control, superintendence and guidance were as much a part of this philosophy as benevolence, but it did make life for the poor a little more bearable.⁵² As the nineteenth century progressed, paternalism came under attack from several quarters: free trade economics, trade unionism, socialism, collectivism, the radical press, all of which were contemptuous of the tradition of deference. It had almost disappeared in Britain by 1914⁵³, but, as we shall see in Part II, it gained a new lease of life when it was transferred to the periphery of Empire.^{53A}

So Ethel lived in two worlds: the lanes of Lambeth, and the balls, garden parties and studios of London Society. In the spring of 1892, she met the man who was to transform her life: Archibald Ross Colquhoun, colonial administrator, writer, engineer and explorer, scion of one of the most distinguished Scottish families, the Colquhouns of Luss on the banks of Loch Lomond.⁵⁴ The season was on

50. See D Roberts, Paternalism in Early Victorian England, (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1974), pp.275-276.

51. Ibid., p.275.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid., p.276; Davidoff op cit., p.168; A W Vincent, "The Poor Law Reports of 1909 and the Charity Organisation Society", VS, Vol.27(3), 1984, pp.343-364.

53A. Infra pp.462-70.

54. See Colquhoun's autobiography [From Dan to] Beersheba, (London, 1908); E Colquhoun, "[Archibald] Colquhoun: A Memoir", U[nited] E[m]pire, Vol.6, 1915, pp.99-108; T Tanser, "The Forgotten Pioneer", I[llustrated] L[ife] R[hodesia], 24.9.70; "Archibald R Colquhoun", Who was Who 1897-1916, (London, 1906), p.150.

and Ethel was studying at the studio of Ludovici with Colquhoun's younger sister, whose family Ethel had known for over a year.⁵⁵ At 44 Colquhoun had thought himself too old for marriage, both in spirit and in years, but the 17-year old Ethel "in a red [artist's] overall, ... succeeded in impressing (sic) herself on [his] not very susceptible heart".⁵⁶ Ethel later recalled how "flattering [it was] to be the object of his attentions".⁵⁷ For Victorians generally - and girls particularly - idolised and lionised explorers as the personification of the highest ideals of imperial intrepidity, men who ventured where no Briton - and hopefully no other white man - had ventured before, braving 'marauding savages' and desolate deserts, discovering river sources, clearing exotic hinterlands of slave traders and setting still wider the bounds of the Empire. Indeed, 'doing your bit' as a trailblazer could atone or compensate for many indiscretions. Henry Morton Stanley, illegitimate son of a Welsh scullery maid and a naturalised American (more unforgivable), was hailed as a noble example of the imperial race and rewarded with a knighthood on resuming his nationality.⁵⁸ The devoutly Catholic Isabel Arundell fell in love with and married the fiery, promiscuous, pornographic Richard Burton, the eminent explorer.⁵⁹ Women made their mark too: Anna Leonowens became tutor to the Court of Siam; Mary Slessor brought Christianity to the hinterland of West Africa through malarial swamps, snakes and hostile witchdoctors; Mary Kingsley - another doctor's daughter - followed with imperial trade, complete with umbrella; hot-

55. Colquhoun, *Beersheba*, p.295.

56. *Ibid.*, pp.300-301.

57. EC "Colquhoun: A Memoir", p.102.

58. A Moorhead, *The White Nile*, (Revised edn., Harmondsworth, 1973), p.312.

59. *Ibid.*, pp.28-30.

tempered Daisy O'Dwyer-Bates crossed 1300 kilometres of Australia in six months, mastering the varied aboriginal dialects en route; Gertrude Bell, the first woman to take a first in Modern History at Oxford explored the Valley of the Euphrates, penetrating the Arabian interior as far as the desert city of Hail.⁶⁰ But for most, exploration was a spectacular sport, viewed through sketches in the Illustrated London News, the vivid texts of the well-bound travelogues that crowded their bookshelves, or, sometimes, from the pews of the Abbey, paying homage to imperial martyrs like Livingstone and Gordon of Khartoum, with the choir singing 'He Who Would Valiant Be'. By the 1890s, those parts of the world that still eluded the imperial cartographers were few; still fewer were the number of bachelor explorers left around. Small wonder, then, that young Ethel was flattered by the attentions of one such gallant.

Archibald Colquhoun was a man of considerable stature, both by reputation and in physique. Like his acquaintance, Sir Richard Burton, he was powerfully built, with a military moustache almost as wide, and hot-tempered. By this time his hair had turned grey and was receding, but his bearing was still military.⁶¹ But he had none of Burton's amorous idiosyncracies, for even ladies' exposed ankles, such as those he encountered in Java, were too much for his Scots Presbyterian temperament.⁶²

He and Ethel had something in common. Like her father he was born at

60. See C B Stevenson, Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa, (Boston, 1982) and J Trollope, Britannia's Daughters, (London, 1983).

61. EC, "Colquhoun: A Memoir", p.100.

62. EC, Travels, p.27.

sea off the Cape of Good Hope, the middle child of thirteen children. His father also was a doctor - an army surgeon-major and a strict disciplinarian, a veteran of years of campaigning in India. Archibald was educated in Scotland and at an academy in Germany, returning to work in an office for two years.⁶³ Excited by tales of the Indian Mutiny, then raging, he decided on a life of adventure and escaped from the office stool, his martinet father and his inheritance to Central Europe. There he journeyed through the Black Forest, Austria and Northern Italy, living in peasants' huts and taking odd jobs.⁶⁴ Then he headed for India where he had a married sister and joined the Indian Public Works Department as an engineer. He was stationed in Burma where he quickly 'made good'. In 1879 he was secretary and second-in-command of the Indian Government Mission in Siam. Early the next decade, on his own initiative, he explored the best route for connecting Burma with China, hoping to beat the French in their drive from the Gulf of Tonkin. Travelling in disguise with a Burmese companion, he left Canton for Yunnan Province of southern China and the jungles of northern Vietnam and Laos. After a spell of imprisonment and other deprivations, and with a headhunter's price on his head, he reached Bhamo on the Upper Irrawady, the first European to complete the journey.⁶⁵ He was hailed as a national hero, congratulated by the Viceroy of India and his financial secretary, Evelyn Baring, (the future Lord Cromer of Egypt).⁶⁶ At home he was awarded the Founder's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society - a

63. ARC, Beersheba, ch.4.

64. EC, "Colquhoun: A Memoir", p.101.

65. Beersheba, ch.8.

66. Ibid., p.161.

coveted prize in the explorer's world - and the Silver Medal of the Royal Society of the Arts.⁶⁷ Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, personally congratulated him. Henry Morton Stanley offered him the post of second-in-command of his Congo expedition.⁶⁸ The Times appointed him its Far East correspondent where he covered the Tonkin Campaign in the Franco-Chinese War of 1883.⁶⁹ He published a number of monographs on his exotic experiences,⁷⁰ as well as numerous articles in The Times. He was hailed by British Chambers of Commerce which were anxious to gain new markets in the Orient and his campaign was instrumental in the annexation of Upper Burma in 1885.⁷¹

Thereafter his star began to decline. From 1885 to 1889 he was Deputy Commissioner in Upper Burma where, offended by newspaper criticism of his campaigns against dacoit bandits, he wrote a letter highly critical of his superiors to his attorney, who was also a Times correspondent.⁷² However, he enclosed his letter in the wrong envelope destined for the India Office. This led to his rapid departure from Burma, though he remained in the service until 1894.⁷³ Back in London he encountered Rochfort Maguire, an Irish lawyer and MP whom he had known previously as secretary to the Governor of Hong Kong. Maguire introduced him to Alfred Beit, the South African magnate, who in turn introduced him to Cecil Rhodes. Colquhoun's

67. Beersheba, ch.8.

68. Ibid., pp.161-162.

69. Ibid., ch.9.

70. Among them: Across Chryse (2 Vols, London, 1883); Amongst the Shans, (London, 1995); (with H Hallett) Report on the Railway Connections Burma and China, (London, 1888).

71. W G Hynes, [The] Economics of Empire[: Britain, Africa and the New Imperialism 1870-95], (London, 1979), pp.46, 48-50.

72. Beersheba, ch.9.

73. Ibid., pp.237-246.

literary error appealed to Rhodes, who selected him as his first Administrator of Mashonaland, Rhodes's all consuming passion, his North.⁷⁴ In 1890, Colquhoun accompanied the Pioneer Column as far as Fort Charter. There he departed with Selous the tracker to secure as much of Manicaland as possible for Rhodes's British South Africa Company, and to ascertain the eastern extent of the domains of Lobengula the Ndebele king more precisely than the king's own definition: "Where my warriors dip their assegais in blood, there is my country".⁷⁵ But the Mocambique Company was also in the race for Manicaland. Narrowly avoiding a diplomatic breach between Britain and Portugal, Colquhoun succeeded in establishing the eastern frontier of the future Rhodesia through a treaty with the Manyika chieftain, Mutasa, also known as 'Mafamba Basukos' - 'the lion who walks by night'.⁷⁶ Back at Fort Salisbury, however, he was less successful. He found himself constantly insubordinated by the impertinent Frank Johnson, the 23 year old organiser of the expedition,⁷⁷ and Rhodes's confidant, Leander Starr Jameson, who regarded him as a pedantic bureaucrat, because he tried to exercise strict controls over land settlement to avoid clashes with the African population.⁷⁸ Regarded as one of 'Rhodes's mistakes', he found his position untenable and retired with a good pension on the grounds of ill-health. Rhodes

74. Beersheba, pp.246-247.

75. See J A Edwards, "Colquhoun in Mashonaland: A Portrait of Failure", *Rhodesiana*, No.4, 1963, pp.1-17.

76. E Tawse/Jollie "The Race for Manica: The Lion Who Walks by Night", *UE.*, Vol.23, 1932, pp.442-448. Blake *op cit.*, pp. 81, 83-87; J S Galbraith, *Crown and Charter: The Early Years of the British South Africa Company*, (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1974), p.148. Edwards, *op cit.*, pp.6-8.

77. See F Johnson, *Great Days: The Autobiography of an Empire Pioneer*, (London, 1940), p.117.

78. Edwards, *op cit.*, pp. 14-15.

replaced him with the swashbuckling Jameson, a man of few scruples who was much more to the liking of the settlers.⁷⁹

Back in London in 1892 Colquhoun was scarcely more successful in his initial courtship of Ethel. He "failed to make the most of his opportunities".⁸⁰ At an evening concert in Earl's Court, under the fairy lights and to the waltzes of Strauss, he bored her with talk of German unification and the works of von Stein, "his idea of light conversation".⁸¹ He might have excited her with the daring deeds of his oriental exploits, but an expedition to Henley also ended in fiasco. She was nearly suffocated in the carriage by his relatives who insisted on coming, he bored her with German unification again on the banks of the Thames strolling in a downpour, at lunch he was in a temper and had a liver attack, and on reaching London Ethel asked a friend to escort her home.⁸² They were not to meet again for over seven years.

Ethel returned to sketching and philanthropy; Archibald to his geopolitical writings⁸³ and quixotic quests: as agent for the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank at Peking. There he travelled on the Trans-Siberian Railway to Irkutsk where he caught a camel across the Gobi Desert back to Peking, thence up the Yangtse to Tonkin, and then

79. Blake, *op cit.*, p.97.

80. Beersheba, p.300.

81. "Colquhoun: A Memoir", p.102.

82. *Ibid.*, Beersheba, p.300.

83. Including: The key of the Pacific, (London and New York, 1895); China in Transformation, (London 1898); Russia against India, (London, 1900); The Overland to China, (London, 1900); The Renaissance of South Africa, (London, 1900).

across Australia and Canada.⁸⁴

While Ethel laboured in Lambeth, other members of her family also took the Empire route. Her step-sister married and settled in Canada and her step-brother settled in the Cape Colony,⁸⁵ while her younger brother Claude (Ted), the former King's Scholar at Eton, served in the army all over the Empire and ended with a most distinguished career in the Gold Coast and Sierre Leone where he became Acting Governor (1932).⁸⁶ Another step-sister, Agnes, married a distinguished Exmouth physician and inventor. Agnes's son was the famous Cambridge University miler, E L Gary-Roberts, who subsequently became a mining engineer in Rhodesia.⁸⁷ Foreshadowing her younger step-sister, Ethel, Agnes achieved national fame as a philanthropist and a campaigner on behalf of the 'educated gentlewoman' who was unable to make ends meet or provide for her old age and maintain her dignity. This was a very real problem in Victorian and Edwardian England (and one to which Ethel later addressed herself strongly). Agnes later became secretary of the Society of Women Journalists (1909-12) and was an active member of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association and the Primrose League. She assisted the Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour, in the General Election of 1906 while she herself was an ardent supporter of women's suffrage. Her chief interest was art, however, and she was a connoisseur of china and a 'pioneer of ceramics' and sold thousands of

84. Beersheba, pp.340-341.

85. Details from Ethel's Family Tree, in the author's possession.

86. Asst. Commissioner, Gold Coast Police, 1911-15; Asst. Colonial Secretary, Gold Coast, 1915-20; Temp Major of Gold Coast Regiment in German West Africa 1917; Inspector General of Prisons 1920-26; Barrister 1920; Colonial Secretary and Acting Governor, Sierre Leone 1930-34. (Who's Who 1961), p.647.

87. Mrs R Fleming, (Ethel's great-niece) Interview 26.7.84.

copies of her books on the subject. She was also an authority on Freemasonry and apparently knew more about its history and symbolism than most members of the craft. The sky was the limit to Agnes, for she was a member of the council of the Women's Aerial League. She must have been an important formative influence on Ethel who remained close to her throughout her life.⁸⁸

In October 1899, Archibald Colquhoun returned from his travels. He was 51 by now, she was 25 and, though handsome, was reaching the upper limits of marriageability. She may have been waiting for him, impressed by accounts of his recent travels in The Times, or perhaps his style had improved, for they were engaged in a mere nine days and married in a "cold church" in March 1900, with her "attired in an absurd white dress" and grateful that he was not a "modern youth".⁸⁹

But while Archibald and Ethel were putting their friendship on a sounder footing, the very foundations of their Empire were being shaken by Britain's poor performance in the Anglo-Boer War which had begun the previous year, bringing to a head the doubts and fears of a generation of British imperialists. It is to this, the crisis of Empire and the all-embracing panacea offered by advanced imperialists to arrest it, that we now turn.

88. Obituary, Mrs Willoughby Hodgson, FRSA, "Exmouth Link Broken". Undated Exmouth newspaper cutting in Jollie Papers; "Mrs Willoughby Hodgson: An Energetic Woman Worker in the Field of Journalism and Philanthropy", The Gentlewoman, 13.11.09; F Mackenna "Obituary Mrs Willoughby Hodgson FRSA, Apollo, February 1949, p.53. Mrs Hodgson published a great number of articles in The Connoisseur, The Ladies' Field, Evening Standard, Primrose League Gazette and The Gentlewoman. Her monographs included: How to Identify Old China, (1903); Old English China, (1913) and The Quest of the Antique, (1924).

89. EC, Travels, p.3.

CHAPTER ONE

The centre cannot hold:
The Philosophy of National Efficiency

Oh, God will save her, fear you not:
Be you the men you've been,
Get you the sons your fathers got,
And God will save the Queen.

(A E Houseman)

I suppose we were wrong, were madmen,
Still I think at the Judgement Day,
When God sifts the good from the bad men,
There'll be something more to say,
We were wrong, but we aren't half sorry,
And as one of the baffled band,
I would rather have had that foray,
Than the crushings of all the Rand.

(Alfred Austin, [Poet Laureate]
"Jameson's Ride", Stanza 8)

Will the Empire live? What will hold such an
Empire as the British together?

(H G Wells, 1914)

These [are] anarchical days.

(Ethel Colquhoun,
The Vocation of Woman, 1913)

Back in the Halls of Pleasure
The years are clattering down,
Languid ladies of leisure
Ogling fops of the town ...
The cost of a silken gown
Would build a desert-road ...
But who cares aught for the Outposts,
or cares for the frontier-load?

Grimly, wearily building
Out in the wilds are we
While these at Home, are gilding
Lilies for men to see,
Feasting in vapid glee,
Scattering gold in the breeze
(Men run African districts for
the price of a Pekinese)

Blind and deaf to their function,
Asking nor 'How?' nor 'Why?'
They scan the news with unctious
And raise their parrot-cry,
'Look ye, the years go by
And England's unprepared ...!'
Till the markets claim their wits again,
with nothing done or dared.

(H Cullen Gouldsbury,
"To England: From the Outposts")

"I like knowing that it rests solely with me, in the last resort, to change the course of the war in South Africa", Tsar Nicholas II wrote proudly his sister in 1899. "The means are very simple - to telegraph an order for the whole Turkestan army to mobilise and march to the frontier [of British India]. That's all!"(1)

This was largely an empty boast, for the Tsar had serious problems of his own. Yet it is indicative of the general awareness that the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) marked a watershed in British imperial power, exposing, as it did, alarming weaknesses both in military organisation and in national physique. The death of Queen Victoria in 1901, in the midst of the war seemed to mark the passing of a more secure era, and the dawning of a new unfamiliar one, full of foreboding and fraught with danger. One observer wrote of the Queen's funeral:

It was impossible not to sense, in that stately procession, the passing of an epoch, and a great one; a period in which England had been supreme, and had attained the height of her national wealth and power: There were many ... who read in the failures of the early part of the Boer War a sign of decadence ... I felt I was witnessing the funeral procession of England's greatness - and glory.(2)

A significant section of British political opinion was not so fatalistic. The war had been for them a dramatic illustration of the defects they had discerned. Rudyard Kipling, the 'bard of Empire' was their poet:

We have had forty million reasons for failure,
but not a single excuse,
So the more we work and the less we talk
the better results we shall get -
We have had an imperial lesson, it may
make us an Empire yet.(3)

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1. Quoted in J Morris, Farewell the Trumpets[: An Imperial Retreat], (Harmondsworth, 1978), p.91.
 2. Quoted in S Hynes [The] Edwardian [Turn of] Mind, (Princeton, 1968), p.17.
 3. Quoted in Read, op cit., p.367.

Lord Rosebery, a former Liberal prime minister, was their prophet. In 1901, he took the lead in the campaign to find an all-embracing answer to an "all-embracing inadequacy"; to make "the condition of national fitness equal to the demands of our Empire - administrative, parliamentary, commercial, educational, physical, moral, naval and military".⁴ Under the catchcry of 'National Efficiency', these aims dominated British imperial thought before the First World War. For a time they transcended the traditional party distinctions of Conservative-Unionist, Liberal and Labour but they became the peculiar embodiment of the Right.⁵ As the pre-war decade progressed, elements within the Right became more radical, more alienated, not only from those in power but from the political system itself. The Right became so desperate that it came to threaten the very existence of that system. This is what historians have called the Revolt of the Radical Right.⁶

The Radical Right had a complex intellectual ancestry deeply rooted in Britain's relative decline. No power had dared to threaten her naval supremacy since the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. Shielded by her seapower, she had become the world's first and foremost industrial power, a position so confidently demonstrated in the Great Exhibition

4. Quoted in A Sykes, Tariff Reform [and British Politics], (London, 1979), p.21.

5. See Searle, Quest, for the most comprehensive study of National Efficiency.

6. See Supra, Introduction, fn.18 for a bibliography of the Radical Right.

of 1851.⁷ This complacency was soon shattered by the exposure of appalling blunders in the Crimean War (1854-56). In the following decade Britain began to feel for the first time the serious competition of other powers for foreign markets.⁸ In 1886, the collapse of the cotton industry - one of the pillars of the Industrial Revolution - led to the worst financial crisis in living memory. Serious rioting broke out in the centre of London, and, in 1867, Irish Fenian revolutionaries committed acts of violence in Ireland and England and even attempted to invade Canada.⁹ While Britain was preoccupied with domestic unrest over the extension of the franchise, all of the great powers were extending their frontiers.¹⁰ Although Britain prided herself on her 'splendid isolation' from foreign alliances, she could not afford to ignore these developments. Russia's conquests in Central Asia brought her closer to India; the French conquest of Indo-China and her construction of the Suez Canal further threatened British control of the subcontinent; America was recovering from her Civil War (1861-65) and constituted a growing military and economic rival. As one by one the European states adopted conscription the confident assumptions that had shaped Lord Palmerston's foreign policy between the 1830s and 1860s were eroded and finally destroyed by Prussia's lightning victory over France in 1870 and the subsequent unification of the German states in 1871. Britain was reduced to the position of spectator, no longer the conductor of the 'Concert of Europe'.¹¹

7. F. Harcourt, "Disraeli's Imperialism, 1866-1868: A Question of Timing", *HJ*, Vol.23(1), 1980, p.88.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, p.94.

10. *Ibid.*, p.94.

11. *Ibid.*

It was paradoxical that Britain, still the most advanced industrial power in the 1870s, was the least capable of waging a modern war. Her red line was thin indeed, just a volunteer army of less than 300 000 men, of which a quarter were tied down in India. The remainder was ill-equipped, poorly organised and scattered across the globe from Tasmania to Jamaica. It had no general staff and no war plans, and, until the 1870s, commissions were purchased, ordinary ranks joined for 21 years, and branding and flogging of deserters were commonplace. As late as 1887, Sir Charles Dilke, an ardent imperialist, warned that Britain could not land in Europe a force larger than the Belgian or Serbian armies, and smaller (and not certainly more efficient) than the Roumanian army.¹² Of course, naval power was Britain's traditional forte, the envy of all other navies, but even that had its limitations. As one prime minister, Lord Salisbury, realised in 1897, it was impossible for the navy to bombard Paris.¹³ Its chief role was to protect the flow of foreign trade, particularly crucial in the late nineteenth century when Britain imported up to four-fifths of its grain consumption, chiefly from North America. The British became aware that a single naval battle could decide the security of their island. Beginning with George Chesney's Battle of Dorking (1871), a succession of invasion stories, many whipped up by popular newspapers, confronted the British public with the spectre of foreign troops looting their way through the English countryside. In the decade

12. See Searle, Quest, ch.1 for an analysis of Britain's weakness in the 1870s.

13. Searle, Quest, pp.144-5.

before the First World War the outcome of such scenarios became more and more gloomy.¹⁴ Britain tried to maintain a 'two-power standard': the Royal Navy was at all times to match the next two most powerful naval forces. This was more difficult to maintain in practice, not least because of the huge expenditure involved, as wooden ships gave way to ironclads. Here too Britain's technological lead was threatened, following the launching of the French ironclad, La Gloire, in 1858. In 1887, a new class of 24 torpedo boats went on a trial cruise. At the end of the first day, eight had broken down with parted wire cables, leaking valves and broken boilers and propellers, resulting in the death of three seamen, a fiasco which greatly amused an observer from the New York Times.¹⁵ Added to these defects the navy persisted in its belief that planning was the personal prerogative of the admirals, and a naval war staff was only created formally in 1912.¹⁶

In an age of mechanised warfare, these defects reflected the level of British efficiency in the wider industrial arena. In the 1890s Andrew Carnegie told British steel manufacturers that they were using equipment that was 20 years out of date, while the Americans forged ahead in steel technology.¹⁷ Industry still largely comprised

14. See Hynes, Edwardian Mind, p.34; Read, op cit., pp.199-200; I F Clarke, "The Battle of Dorking, 1871-1911", VS, Vol.8, 1965, pp.304-327.

15. P Johnson, A History of the English People, (London, 1985), p.334.

16. C Dandeker, "Bureaucracy, Planning and the Royal Navy, 1880-1914", Armed Forces and Society, Vol.2(1), 1984, pp.130-146.

17. R Hyam and G Martin, Reappraisals in British Imperial History, (London, 1978), p.4.

small to medium firms, usually family owned, wedded to outmoded ideas and complacently managed. Alone among the great powers, and in contrast with Germany in particular, British governments played no direct role in national industry and they remained dogmatically attached to Free Trade and minimum government interference at home and abroad.¹⁸

Nowhere was the decline more evident than in the science-based industries. As early as 1851, Prince Albert warned the Commissioner of the Great Exhibition that Britain's rivals were "continually economising and perfecting production by the applications of science". Matthew Arnold's Report on the Higher Schools and Universities (1868) and the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science (1869) echoed these fears, but to no avail.¹⁹ The public schools taught the sons and grandsons of English industrial pioneers, entrepreneurs and inventors to despise the applied sciences as 'ungentlemanly' and tainted with commercialism.²⁰ Instead they emphasized a 'liberal education', based chiefly on the classics which, they believed, produced a 'good all-rounder' rather than a narrow specialist. Many of the rising middle classes - those traditionally endowed with initiative - were assimilated into this anti-industrial culture, a culture which was repelled by urbanisation and smoky factories. Heavily influenced by the European-wide Romantic Movement,

18. Johnson, op cit., p.335.

19. Searle, Quest, ch.1.

20. For a comprehensive examination of anti-industrialism in British culture see M Wiener, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, (Cambridge, 1981), esp. pp.3-16, 41-72.

it longed for a return to a rustic idyllic past of village greens, old churches, symbolised by slow but stately shire horses, as though the English themselves were but temporary sojourners from 'Merrie England'. This recoil from the factory age could be seen most clearly in the fashionable architectural style of the nineteenth century Gothic Revival. Where the previous classical style represented mathematical symmetry and pagan rationalism, gothic represented life, mission and the Ages of Faith in an age of doubt and unprecedented social change. This anti-industrial ethos was reinforced by notions of revived chivalry, propagated chiefly by the public schools.

Such a medievalist world-view offered no concrete answer to Britain's deepening social problems. Despite the introduction of competitive examinations in the 1860s the civil service continued to be recruited mainly from the public schools and reflected their antipathy to specialised courses of study. This seriously undermined government attempts to curb poverty since all attempts to centralise local government administration were resisted as "too Germanic".²¹ The central government itself tended to regard with suspicion any scheme which might involve it in 'unnecessary' expenditure. While it remained wedded to the dogmas of mid-Victorian liberalism - free trade abroad and minimum, parsimonious government at home - the country underwent great social changes, among them, the rise of socialism, increasing

21. Searle, Quest, ch.1.

religious indifference, the rise of literacy and a popular press, the Irish Home Rule issue and mass emigration. Most telling of all was Britain's relative decline in manpower resources. In every decade from 1870 to 1914 the British population increased more slowly than that of any other European state except France. When Germany first united in 1871 its population numbered 41 million, 10 million more than Britain. By 1914 this gap had doubled because of a serious decline in the British birthrate, while the USA's population approached 100 million by 1914.²² In an age when size and numbers were important determinants of national strength, these figures were viewed with alarm. To those who wished to keep her foremost among the nations it seemed that Britain might go the way of Holland, drifting in a dangerous and unfamiliar sea of new powers, lacking direction and mismanaged by William Gladstone, (Liberal prime minister, 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886, 1892-4) whom they held responsible for the general state of decline.²³

Beginning in the 1860s there were signs of a reaction against Britain's apparent weaknesses on an internal and external level and led on both fronts by erstwhile radicals who were rank outsiders to the political system, who both came to recognise that internal fitness and external power were two sides of the same coin: Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) and Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914). Between them they came to dominate the imperialist counter-attack in the middle and late Victorian eras.

22. Read, *op cit.*, pp.383-385.

23. Searle, Quest, ch.1 deals with the anti-Gladstone reaction.

Disraeli was the prime mover in Lord Derby's Conservative government (1866-67). As a former radical turned romantic Tory, he sought no unattainable return to a pre-industrial past but recognised the reality of urbanised Britain and sought to ameliorate its worst defects. As Chancellor of the Exchequer (1866-7) Disraeli was acutely aware of the country's serious economic problems, and as the author of the Second Reform Act (1867), which enfranchised a million town labourers, he recognised the depth of class conflict.²⁴ He came to realise that an aggressive imperialist foreign policy would enhance Britain's status as a world power and provide a focal point for national unity. Class and provincial allegiances could be submerged in national and imperial loyalties. The American Civil War (1861-65) in particular had demonstrated how war could bind the working class in a common patriotic cause.²⁵ He found such a cause in 1868 by going to war with the Emperor of Abyssinia on the pretext that the latter had cruelly imprisoned British subjects. Armed with a new rifle, the British were quickly victorious. The popular press and significant sections of British society hailed Britain's restoration to her 'natural place' in the world.²⁶ The working class were becoming increasingly attracted by emigration to the colonies and its newspapers were in the forefront of the emigration campaign. In 1867, the Metropolitan Working Man's Association was founded to lure workers away from socialism and teach them "to oppose the spirit which tends to set class against class".²⁷

24. Harcourt, *op cit.*, pp.105-106.

25. *Ibid.*, p.105.

26. *Ibid.*, p.104.

27. *Ibid.*, p.106.

Thus Disraeli managed to steer Britain peacefully through her internal political and social crises, cushioning class differences with a more vigorous foreign policy.²⁸ His major success was his careful stage-management of the monarchy into a focal point for national unity for newly enfranchised working men. Through his judicious use of flattery, he transformed Victoria from the secluded 'Widow of Windsor' into the 'Empress of India', the matriarch of Europe and the icon of Empire. Britain's relatively peaceful transition to a more liberal and open society at home was in marked contrast to the growing authoritarianism, military aggression and hardening of racial attitudes in British policy in Africa and Asia. "Imperialism not only allowed for social integration", explains an historian of the period, "it enabled unassimilable elements to be projected outwards, so preserving the liberal idea at home".²⁹ In other words, the Empire was a safety valve for aspiring working classes and declining upper classes - elements which might otherwise have strengthened the extreme Left and extreme Right.

After Disraeli, not even the supposedly 'Little Englander' Liberal Party could afford to ignore the Empire. No longer would colonies be seen as "millstones around our necks" whose markets would be in any case dominated by British goods.³⁰ Disraeli's Crystal Palace Speech (1872), Sir Charles Dilke's Greater Britain (1868), J A Froude's England's War (1871) and John Ruskin's Inaugural Lecture at Oxford

28. Harcourt, op cit., p.107.

29. Ibid., p.108.

30. Ibid., p.107.

University in 1870 signalled the imperial rescue attempt of those who advocated an assertive foreign policy and closer ties with the colonies of settlement.³¹ An historian, J R Seeley, added to this in his Expansion of England (1883) in which he argued that the British must federate with the white colonies if she were not to be eclipsed by such new super-states as the USA and Russia.³²

The focal point for various schemes of 'Imperial Federation' was the Royal Colonial Institute (RCI), founded in 1868 as a meeting place for advanced imperialists from Britain and the colonies.³³ Its membership included members of the Royal Family, former prime ministers and cabinet ministers, MPs, aristocrats and influential military men both serving and retired. Nearly a third of its governing board belonged to royalty or the peerage, another third were knights, and almost 10% of its fellows belonged to the most distinguished clubs in London: the Carlton, Athenaeum, Oriental, United Services and the like.³⁴ Many members also belonged to other expansionist societies such as the Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Anthropological Society.

31. See G Martin, "Anti-imperialism in the mid-nineteenth century and the nature of the British Empire, 1820-70" in Hyam and Martin, op cit., pp.80-120; H Cunningham, "The Language of Patriotism: From Chartism to Jingoism", H/istory/ W/orkshop/ J/ournal/, Issue 12, 1981, pp.18-33; and G Eley, "Defining Social Imperialism: use and abuse of an idea", Social History, Vol.1, 1976, pp.265-290.

32. P Burroughs, "John Robert Seeley and British Imperial History", J/ournal of/ I/mperial and/ C/ommonwealth/ H/istory/, Vol I, No. 2, 1973, pp.191-211.

33. See T R Reese, The History of the Royal Commonwealth Society 1868-1968, (Oxford, 1968).

34. L H Gann and P Duignan, [The/ Rulers /of British Africa/, (London, 1968), p.26; R Hyam, [Britain's/ Imperial Century/, (London, 1976), pp.109-111.

Situated centrally in Northumberland Avenue, London, it conveyed a sense of Britain's imperial destiny, with a great library full of imperial books and maps of distant colonies, with paintings of imperial epics and Empire builders decorating its walls; it was a very influential society. Here, in its lecture theatres and smoking rooms, imperialists from lands of palm and pine met to discuss the fate of their Empire.³⁵ With their unique contacts with colonial statesmen RCI members were quick to realise that colonials were not 'simply Britons', but that they had local patriotisms of their own which could be harnessed to the cause of imperial unity.³⁶ For them overseas expansion was a matter of life and death. Their classical education inculcated the analogy of modern empires with those of classical antiquity and they thus divided the world into 'living' and 'dying' empires. Turkey and Portugal were obviously in decline; Germany and the USA were in the ascendant. To which group, they asked themselves, did Britain belong?³⁷ The point was made forcefully at the RCI's Inaugural Dinner in 1869, when the US Ambassador to London made an improper joke about Canada's destined incorporation in the USA.³⁸ The RCI took it seriously and proposed, in the wake of the successful union of Canada (1867) and Germany (1871), some form of Imperial Federation.³⁹

35. J Morris, [By] Heaven's Command[: An Imperial Progress], (Harmondsworth, 1978), p.360.

36. C A Bodelson, Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism, (London, 1924), p.141.

37. Hyam, Imperial Century, pp.31, 98.

38. Morris, Heaven's Command, p.360.

39. See J D B Miller, "[The] Utopia [of Imperial Federation]", P[olitical] S[tudies], Vol.4, 1956, pp.195-197; G Martin, "[The Idea of] Imperial Federation" in Hyam and Martin, op cit, p.128; G Martin "Empire Federalism [and Imperial Parliamentary Union, 1820-1870]", HJ, Vol.16(1), 1973, pp.65-72; Reese op cit, pp.76-85.

'Some form' was the keynote, for Imperial Federation was a vague term used to describe almost any scheme which aimed at strengthening inter-imperial bonds, particularly in the area of defence.

A prime mover in the movement was Sir George Parkin (1846-1922), a Canadian teacher from New Brunswick of staunch United Empire Loyalist forbears.⁴⁰ Six feet tall, blue-eyed, loose-limbed, energetic churchman, reared in the backwoods, Parkin seemed to embody all the reputed qualities of colonial manhood.⁴¹ As a teacher who fostered the English public school ideal in its Canadian setting, Parkin became an ideologue of Empire and one of Canada's foremost patriots.⁴² In the metropole and throughout the Empire he became "the prince of Imperialists and their first missionary",⁴³ "[who made] the English-speaking world his parish",⁴⁴ a "peripatetic apostle of Federation"⁴⁵ - in his own words "a wandering Evangelist of Empire".⁴⁶ As Secretary of the Oxford Union in the 1870s he became the imperialist mentor of the young Alfred Milner, future British proconsul in South Africa, and an associate of Sir John Seeley, professor of modern history at Cambridge and virtually all the dramatis personae of late-Victorian and Edwardian imperialism.⁴⁷ Archibald Colquhoun regarded Parkin as

40. C Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, (Toronto, 1970), p.23.

41. Ibid., pp.33-34.

42. See T Cook, "George R Parkin and the Concept of Britannic Idealism", J[ournal of] C[anadian] S[tudies], Vol.10(3), 1975, pp.15-31.

43. Ibid., p.15.

44. Ibid., p.16.

45. Ibid.,

46. Ibid., p.17.

47. Berger, op cit., p.35.

the best Canadian speaker he had heard, "with a capacity for 'orating' on anything at the shortest notice".⁴⁸ The two became soul-mates. Of similar stature and outlook, Parkin had a more developed ideology of Empire, of social reform and, particularly, the role of the school and the home in fostering imperialism at the grass roots.⁴⁹ He was a dominant influence on Colquhoun and to an even great degree after the latter's marriage, on Ethel herself.⁵⁰ Another Canadian confidant of Colquhoun, with a similar outlook to Parkin was William Grant, sometime history master at Upper Canada College - the 'Eton of Canada' - like Colquhoun a Fellow of the RCI and subsequently Beit professor of Colonial History at Oxford (1906-1910).⁵¹

But Parkin was the authority on Imperial Federation. In 1892 he published his Imperial Federation: The Problem of National Unity, and Round the Empire, a geopolitical study of the Empire's resources.⁵² Though he recognised that commerce had been instrumental in building up the Empire, he did not see it in economic terms. On the contrary, he believed it was a spiritual construction, a vehicle for social reform and redemption, for the liberation of the British from industrialism, excessive affluence and individualism, decadence and disease, anarchy and materialism.⁵³ For him, federation of the Empire was only the first stage in the ultimate upliftment and unification of

48. ARC, Beersheba, p.221.

49. Ibid., pp.38-39, 186-189; Cook op cit. passim.

50. See infra pp.96 and 110

51. Berger, op cit., pp.29, 39-40, 47, 244-245; EC "Colquhoun": A Memoir", pp.105-108.

52. Berger, op cit., pp.35-36.

53. ibid, pp.218-219, 229-230; Cook, op cit., pp.24-25.

the entire human race.⁵⁴ It was this 'spiritual' vision which sustained him in the critique of Empire which he formed in the closing decades of pre-1914 Britain. He was chiefly concerned with the White Empire, seeing it as one pan-Britannic or Anglo-Saxon nation reinforced by strong local patriotisms of Britons reared in the tougher, adverse climates and conditions of the various colonies of settlement.⁵⁵ Like Ethel he was genuinely concerned about "the swarms of pale looking operatives going home at meal times", scarcely more than children, such as those he saw in the jute factories of Britain.⁵⁶ Imperial power depended on "the welfare and contentedness of the mass of the people".⁵⁷ Every emigrant ship that left Britain, he explained "carrie[d] the seed of nations".⁵⁸ How important it was, then, for the stamina of the imperial race to be improved. He blamed degeneracy not on the poor but on the idle rich "who place[d] pleasure before public service, ... content to enjoy the advantages of wealth without its responsibilities ... 'parasites' who inhabit[ed] the West Ends of [British] cities".⁵⁹ He recoiled from "the fierce race for wealth, for pleasures, for material surroundings".⁶⁰ This he contrasted with the virtues of duty, discipline and service, which he held as crucial since the right of the British to govern in Africa and Asia depended on their just government and steady upliftment of their people.⁶¹ Though 'Anglo-Saxon patriots', Parkin and Grant did not

54. Berger, *op cit.*, pp.229-230.

55. *Ibid.*, pp.130-131.

56. *Ibid.*, p.187.

57. *Ibid.*, p.188.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*, p.219.

61. *Ibid.*

regard the racial attributes of non-white peoples as unalterably fixed for all time. For them, the British were simply the best governing people 'so far' and - by implication - for some time to come.⁶² This was a belief which Ethel was to echo later on.⁶³

From the 1880s other Imperial Federalist societies proliferated. In 1884 the Imperial Federation League was founded with Lord Rosebery as president. Rosebery, then Lord Privy Seal in Gladstone's Liberal Government, made a special effort to enlist the support of the working classes, emphasizing the benefits of peace, security and easier emigration.⁶⁴ In 1891, the United Empire Trade League was established. It advocated an imperial zollverein or imperial customs union on the German pattern, a scheme that was also put forward by the British Empire League (1894).⁶⁵ The critique of such movements was strengthened by the publication of Benjamin Kidd's popular Social Evolution (1894) - a book which 'captivate[d Parkin] more and more'⁶⁶ - and other neo-Darwinian theories of society,⁶⁷ as well as the proliferation of children's imperial adventure stories, notably the ripping yarns of G A Henty, which were often prefaced with warnings about the loss of Empire.⁶⁸

62. Berger, op cit.

63. See infra, pp.474, 480 and 498.

64. See M Burgess, 'Forgotten Centenary': The formation of the Imperial Federation League in the UK, 1884', Round Table, Vol.289, 1984, pp.76-85.

65. Semmel, op cit., pp.56-57.

66. Berger, op cit., p.187.

67. See Hyam, Imperial Century, pp.77-84; J A Rogers, "Darwinism and Social Darwinism", Journal of the History of Ideas, Vol.33(2), 1972, pp.265-80.

68. J O Springhall, "The Rise and Fall of [G A] Henty's Empire", The Times Literary Supplement, 3.10.68, pp.1-2; A P Thornton, The Imperial Idea and its Enemies, (London, 1959), pp.93-94.

However, Imperial Federation, remained a vague and controversial term. Free Trade critics pointed out that only a third of Britain's total trade was with her colonies. Her best customers were France, Germany and the USA (all protectionist powers).⁶⁹ The self-governing colonies themselves were reluctant to take an increased share of imperial defence costs without reciprocal British preferences for their goods, but this was anathema to a country still wedded to Free Trade.⁷⁰ Besides, the Imperial Federalists had no unified policy on whether the Empire should federate on defence, or trade, or both, and they had no clear idea of what kind of authority would constitute its government, whether it would be a truly Imperial Parliament with MPs from all over the colonies and Britain, or an imperial conference of prime ministers, and whether the colonies would be represented proportionate to population or to their constitutional status.⁷¹ Nevertheless, the ideal of an Anglo-Saxon federation proved resilient into the early 1920s.⁷²

All these movements indicated a growing dissatisfaction with the policies of William Gladstone. The imperialists held him responsible for the British defeat at Majuba in South Africa in 1881, for failing to rescue Gordon at Khartoum in 1885, for refusing to back the colony of Queensland in its annexation of New Guinea in 1886, and - most unforgivable of all - for introducing the Irish Home Rule Bill of

69. Reese, *op cit.*, pp.62-63.

70. Martin, "Imperial Federation", p.132.

71. Reese, *op cit.*, pp.70-71.

72. Miller, "Utopia", pp.195-197; Martin, "Imperial Federation", *passim*.

1886.⁷³ This last event forced the resignation of the President of the Local Government Board and Liberal MP for Birmingham, Joseph Chamberlain (1846-1914), together with twenty of his radical followers, a defection which transformed the nature of British politics for more than a generation.⁷⁴

Like Disraeli, who was of Jewish origin, Chamberlain was a rank outsider to the political system: radical, erstwhile republican, of artisan origins and a tribune of the people.⁷⁵ His heartland was the city of Birmingham, in whose shadow Ethel's town of Stafford lay. It was not a typical Victorian industrial city however. It was made up largely of small workshops and small craftsmen in a great diversity of trades, where the relationship between master and man - if not always harmonious - was close, unlike other industrial towns which were dominated by crowded impersonal factories.⁷⁶ The town had a long and distinguished radical tradition of extra-parliamentary reform movements, of non-conformity and of disrespect for any kind of privilege, sacred or secular - in short, the belief that a good man ought not to be kept down.⁷⁷ Out of this tradition Chamberlain emerged

73. Searle, *Quest*, p.189.

74. R Jay, *Joseph Chamberlain: A Political Study*, (Oxford, 1981), pp.123-125; R R James, "Radical Joe", *History Today*, 1957, p.624.

75. See D Judd, *Radical Joe: A Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, (London, 1977).

76. S G Checkland, *The Rise of Industrial Society in England*, (London, 1964), p.219. A Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, (London, 1963), pp.186-187; N Gash, *Aristocracy and People*, (London, 1979), p.15; F Bealey and H Pelling, *Labour and Politics 1900-1906*, (London, 1958), p.11; C Flick, *The Birmingham Political Union and the Movement for Reform in Britain 1830-39*, (Hamden Conn., 1978), esp. p.2.

77. H Brown, *Joseph Chamberlain: Radical and Imperialist*, (London, 1974), pp.3-7.

in the 1860s, a man whose shadow would fall, first on Birmingham, then on Britain, and eventually reach to the outer extremities of the Empire. He rose to national prominence as the leader of the National Education League (1869) - the strongest pressure group since the Anti-Corn Law League of the 1840s - which campaigned for free, compulsory and non-denominational education.⁷⁸ In 1873 he became mayor of the city and set about its radical transformation. Dingy slums, hotbeds of crime and vice, were cleared and drastic improvements were made in housing, health, sanitation and lighting. Streets were widened and grand public buildings and schoolhouses were built in keeping with 'Radical Joe's' belief that no facility was too good for the people.⁷⁹ The death rate decreased dramatically from 53,2 per 1000 in 1873-5 to 21,3 per 1000 in 1879-81.⁸⁰ By the 1880s Birmingham was the best governed city in Britain and, with its motto 'Progress', it pointed the way to cities elsewhere.⁸¹ Chamberlain challenged the smug orthodoxy of his day by laying the blame for poverty, disease, malnutrition and crime firmly at the door of the wealthy, and he acknowledged that he himself would very likely have ended up a criminal had he been forced to live in such conditions.⁸² The city became a great social and cultural centre and the only great industrial city with African interests to have its own branch of the

78. See P Auspos, "Radicalism, Pressure Groups and Party Politics: from the National Education League to the National Liberal Federation", *JBS*, Vol.20(1), pp.184-204.

79. See J L Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, (3 Vols. London, 1932), Vol.1, pp.193-211. P Fraser, *Joseph Chamberlain: Radicalism and Empire, 1868-1914*, (London, 1966), pp.24-25; Read, *op cit.*, p.347.

80. Garvin, *op cit.*, p.198.

81. Briggs, *op cit.*, p.187.

82. Garvin, *op cit.*, pp.195-196.

RCI, thus emphasizing Birmingham's link with imperial as well as world trade.⁸³ With Chamberlain as its hero the city was characterised by proud self-made men who doffed their cap to no hereditary aristocrat, in macrocosm, an ethos⁸⁴ which Ethel would later find in the settlers of Rhodesia. As one historian described the city:

The change from early to late Victorian England is symbolised by the names of two great cities: Manchester, solid, uniform, pacific ... [and] Birmingham, experimental, diverse, where old Radicalism might in one decade flower into lavish socialism, in another into pugnacious Imperialism.(85)

The Chamberlain experiment demonstrated that, once their grievances were seen to, erstwhile radicals, of the lower middle class particularly, made the most jingoistic imperialists of all, craving national respectability, proud of their commercial ability and anxious to have a decisive say in national affairs.⁸⁶

In 1886 Chamberlain served as President of the Board of Trade in Gladstone's ministry, but after his defection, the former radical moved to the right and led his disparate group of Liberal Unionists towards the Conservative Party.⁸⁷ By the 1890s he was no longer challenging the establishment and, increasingly, he took a national view of politics, declaring: 'We are all imperialists now'.⁸⁸ In 1895

83. Gann and Duignan, *Rulers*, p.26.

84. Briggs, *op cit.*, pp.218-219.

85. *Ibid.*, p.187.

86. See Hynes, *Economics of Empire*, p.42; and a series of essays edited by G Crossick: *The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870-1914*, (London, 1977).

87. See P Fraser, "The Liberal Unionist Alliance: Chamberlain, Hartington and the Conservatives, 1886-1904", *E[nglish] H[istorical] R[evue]*, Vol.77(302), 1962, pp.53-78.

88. Jay, *op cit.*, p.179.

he joined Lord Salisbury's Conservative government as Colonial Secretary, seeing in the Empire another slum-ridden Birmingham waiting for development.⁸⁹ He brought a new sense of urgency to the post and was in the cabinet "what Germany was among the nations: dynamic, ambitious, conscious of power and ability".⁹⁰ Unlike many of his cabinet colleagues who viewed the advance of democracy with alarm, he looked forward to it.⁹¹ He shared with many businessmen, not least in his native Birmingham, the belief that the colonies could help solve Britain's problems of overproduction and competition, overcome foreign tariffs, finance social reform, and so reduce unemployment and the dangers of revolution.⁹² He injected greater efficiency into the Colonial Office, rooting out nepotism and encouraged the Imperial Federalists by moving closer to the idea of preferential tariffs.⁹³ He fostered scientific research into tropical diseases which resulted in the founding of the London School of Tropical Medicine in 1900, and he restricted the use of flogging in the colonies.⁹⁴ His first foreign test as colonial secretary came soon after his appointment.

By the 1890s British predominance in South Africa was being challenged

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89. Ibid., pp.179-181; R V Kubiceck, The Administration of Imperialism: Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office, (Durham, North Carolina, 1969).
90. B Tuchman, The Proud Tower [A Portrait of the World before 1914], (London, 1980 edn), p.354.
91. R Robinson, J Gallagher, with A Denny, Africa and the Victorians, (London, 1961), p.396.
92. Hynes, Economics of Empire, p.139.
93. Ibid., pp.138-139. See also S H Zebel, "Joseph Chamberlain and the Genesis of Tariff Reform", JBS, Vol.7, 1967, pp.131-157.
94. Jay, op cit., pp.179-181. Kubiceck, op cit., pp.66-67, 141-158; J E Tyler, "The Development of the Imperial Conference, 1887-1914", in The Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol.3, (Cambridge, 1959), pp.406-429.

by the Boers. Strengthened by the discovery of gold in the Transvaal Republic in 1886, the Boers forged commercial and military links with the Germans, resisting attempts to integrate their state into a South African union.⁹⁵ This policy frustrated the ambitions of the Cape premier, Cecil John Rhodes, for an all-British route to Egypt, angered the mining and railway magnates and excluded the Uitlanders (miners of mainly British origin) from any political say in the Transvaal.⁹⁶ Rhodes plotted an uitlander uprising and in December 1895 his B.S.A. Company Police invaded the Transvaal, led by his loyal lieutenant, Dr Leander Starr Jameson. The raid ended in fiasco, with Jameson in prison and Rhodes's fall from power. The extent of Chamberlain's complicity was never uncovered, but the raid was symptomatic of a growing aggressiveness and recklessness that accompanied the Empire's decline; for though the action was illegal, the imperialists viewed the raid with equivocation. It was, to them, not in the category of an anti-imperial rebellion, but a loyal attempt to defend the Empire when the metropole itself was found lacking.⁹⁷ Their casuistry was well expressed by Alfred Austin, the Poet Laureate:

Let lawyers and statesmen addle
 Their pates over points of law;
 If sound be our sword and saddle,
 And gun-gear, who cares one straw?
 When men of our own blood pray us
 To ride to their kinsfolk's aid,
 Not heaven itself shall stay us
 From the rescue they call a raid.(98)

("Jameson's Ride", Stanza 2)

95. See J Benyon, Proconsul and Paramountcy in South Africa, (Pietermaritzburg, 1980).

96. See E Longford, op cit., for the most readable general account of the Jameson episode.

97. Ibid., ch.1.

98. Quoted ibid., p.77.

Winston Churchill discerned in the raid the beginning of 'violent times' for Britain.⁹⁹ In 1897, while the Empire celebrated Victoria's jubilee in a glittering spectacle, Kipling was full of foreboding. His 'Recessional' conjured up the spectre of the fire of Empire sinking on dune and headland as the Royal Navy melted away and the Empire itself faded into antiquity. But, in the same year, Chamberlain decided to take a strong line against the Boers by sending out Alfred Milner, disciple of Parkin, as High Commissioner at the Cape. Imperialist, quasi-socialist and conspiratorial, Milner admired Chamberlain for 'lov[ing] the forward game'.¹⁰⁰ He completely opposed compromise with the Boers, a policy which led to war in October 1899.

After a series of major setbacks, it took three years and half a million troops - almost Britain's entire land forces - to defeat the Boer republics, whose total population was only a quarter of the British forces ranged against them and whose forces never exceeded 30 000 mounted peasants of all ages. Almost a sixth of the entire Boer population - mostly women and children - died in concentration camps. Britain was isolated and pilloried in Europe and America, opinion was divided at home, while the vast frontiers of Canada and India were dangerously denuded of troops. With this record, many Britons questioned how Britain could ever hope to match the German or French armies.¹⁰¹

99. Quoted *ibid.*, p.25.

100. Benyon, *op cit.*, p.262.

101. Sykes, *Tariff Reform*, p.20; Tuchman, *Proud Tower*, p.354; C L Lowe and M L Dockrill, *The Mirage of Power: British Foreign Policy, 1902-14, Vol.1*, (London and Boston, 1972), pp.96-101; R A Preston, *Canada and Imperial Defence, 1867-1914*, (Durham, North Carolina, 1967), esp. pp.331-333.

As Britain's weaknesses became apparent the case of those who had long warned of decline became immeasurably strengthened. In Manchester in 1889 only 1 000 out of 11 000 potential recruits were accepted by the army, the remainder being categorised as 'virtual invalids', 565 per 1 000 examined were below the standard height of 5'6".¹⁰² In 1903 the British Medical Journal warned of the need to 'regenerate the race' to meet the need for 'stalwart sons to people the colonies and uphold the prestige of the nation'.¹⁰³ "How ... can we get an efficient army", asked the Fabian Socialist Sydney Webb, "out of the stunted, anaemic, demoralised denizens of the slum tenements of our great cities?"¹⁰⁴ The increasingly enfranchised but apparently unfit lower classes were the most prolific. If they came to dominate British society, the imperialists, applying the natural selection ideas of Charles Darwin, could see no future for the Empire.¹⁰⁵ The leading social Darwinians, Benjamin Kidd and Karl Pearson, advocated Eugenics - "the encouragement of high quality human breeding from good stock", by segregating and sterilising the 'unfit' and offering cash bonuses to the 'fit' to breed prolifically. The question of physique was so serious that the government appointed a Commission on Physical Deterioration in 1903.¹⁰⁶ It became one of the preoccupations of the Edwardian era.

The patriotic press took a pessimistic view of Britain's position with articles on 'Doomed British Shipping', the "Economic Decay of Great

102. Read, op cit., pp.296-297; Hyam, Imperial Century, p.131.

103. Hyam, Imperial Century, p.131.

104. Semmel, op cit., p.73.

105. Read, op cit., p.296-297.

106. Ibid.

Britain", the 'Growth of German Exports' and the like.¹⁰⁷ A series of invasion stories appeared in the press and in novel form with the theme of moral, physical, military and industrial unpreparedness, heavily influenced by Arnold White's Efficiency and Empire (1901).¹⁰⁸ Lord Northcliffe's Daily Mail announced in 1903 that henceforth it would support only candidates who "best fulfilled the demands of the great principle, 'Efficiency'."¹⁰⁹ Kipling was again to the fore castigating England for her decadence and praising the virility of the white colonies:

And ye vaunted your fathomless power and
 ye vaunted your iron pride,
 Ere - ye fawned on the younger nations for
 the men who could shoot and ride!
 Then ye returned to your trinkets: then
 ye contented your souls
 With the flannelled fools at the wickets and
 the muddied oafs at the goals.(110)

G K Chesterton shrewdly observed that Kipling loved England not because she was English, but because she was great.¹¹¹ As her greatness dissipated at the centre, his poetry grew more embittered and paranoid. He remained popular in the colonies because obsolete values died slowest at the edge of Empire.¹¹² It was his unfortunate destiny to live at the centre of Empire with his values concentrated at the periphery, on prairie, veld, outback and the far plains of

107. See J J Van Helten, "Milner and the Mind of Imperialism", I[nstitute of] C[ommonwealth] S[tudies] Collected Seminar Papers, Vol.10.(26), 1981, p.45.

108. Ibid., p.50; Hynes, Edwardian Mind, pp.34-53; Searle, Quest, ch.2.

109. Van Helten, op cit., p.50.

110. Quoted in Hynes, Edwardian Mind, p.21.

111. See, for example, the following Kipling poems: "City of Brass", (1909, against Lloyd George's 'People's Budget'); "The Female of the Species", (1911, against Women's Suffrage); and "Ulster", (1912, against Irish Home Rule).

112. Hynes, Edwardian Mind, p.18.

India.

At the South African edge of Empire Chamberlain's acolyte, Alfred Milner, was all too aware of imperial decline. "What the Empire needs now", he noted in 1900, 'is a man, if possible, who has thought, who has seen and who knows, a man with an iron will'.¹¹³ The prospect of a 'trifler' like the Liberal leader, Campbell-Bannerman, succeeding to the premiership revolted him as it did most imperialists, Liberal or Conservative.¹¹⁴ The Right began to look outside the metropole to the imperial pro-consuls - Lord Cromer in Egypt, Lord Curzon in India, Milner in South Africa - who might return to prevent the disintegration of the Empire at its centre, the fate of ancient Rome.¹¹⁵ They admired men of action like Rhodes: "Nations, not words, he linked to prove/His faith before the crowd".¹¹⁶ But the colossus went in 1902, entombed on a mountain in his eponymous 'North'. In this crisis of leadership the singing of 'Recessional' by British troops after taking Pretoria in 1900 proved all too-apposite: when the tumult ended many of the 'captains and kings' had indeed departed; Victoria's passing merely crowned their demise. As Chamberlain told colonial officials in 1900: "It is easier to conquer an Empire than to keep it".¹¹⁷ Who would keep it?

Lord Rosebery was first in the ring. He had long thought of rebuilding the Liberal Party on an imperialist platform.¹¹⁸ In a

113. Van Helten, *op cit.*, p.50.

114. *Ibid.*

115. Searle, *Quest*, pp.157-158; Burroughs, *op cit.*, p.191.

116. From Kipling's poem "The Burial [of Cecil Rhodes] 1902".

117. Quoted in V Pakenham, *The Noonday Sun: Edwardians in the Tropics*, (London, 1985), p.10.

118. Semmel, *op cit.*, p.62; Lord Rosebery, *Speech at Chesterfield, 1901*, (London, 1902); P D Jacobson, "Rosebery and Liberal Imperialism", *JBS*, Vol.13(1), 1983, pp.83-107.

seminal speech at Chesterfield in 1901 he suggested a national cross-party government to introduce efficiency at home and abroad. Like Parkin and Chamberlain he saw Empire and national strength as inseparable:

An Empire such as ours requires as its first condition an imperial race - a race vigorous and intrepid ... In the rookeries and slums which survive an imperial race cannot be reared ... Remember that where you promote health and arrest disease, ... you are doing your duty ... and working for the Empire".(119)

He distinguished this from mere jingoism:

... [T]he true policy of imperialism relates not to territory alone, but to race as well. The imperialism that, grasping after territory, ignores the conditions of an Imperial Race is a blind, a futile and a doomed imperialism.(120)

His overtures proved inept, but they were understandable; for, as Lord Salisbury had already observed, they were in a state of 'bloodless civil war', with no common principles, no respect for common institutions or traditions to unite the various groups competing for power.¹²¹ One of the groups which welcomed this state was the Fabian Society. Founded in 1884 to bring about a gradual movement towards Socialism, it had heavily influenced the trade union movement and helped to found the Labour Party in 1900. Its leaders included Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw and the author-scientist-visionary H G Wells.¹²² Now it became wholly devoted to the

119. Quoted in Semmel, op cit., p.62.

120. Quoted ibid., p.63.

121. Sykes, Tariff Reform, p.12.

122. Scally, op cit., p.81.

cause of National Efficiency, establishing links with a wide spectrum of politicians from Liberals to Milnerites, including such men as Leo Amery, Tory MP and former Fabian, J L Garvin, editor of The Observer, Bertrand Russell, the philosopher and William Pember Reeves, Fabian and New Zealand Agent-General in London.¹²³ These men had little respect for tradition when it stood in the way of Efficiency and they were willing to sacrifice parts of the traditional structure of society to reconstruct a stronger edifice. They advocated collectivist intervention in the economy, and social welfare to promote national fitness.¹²⁴ In 1902, the Webbs formed a 'dining club' of twelve experts known as the Co-Efficients, a sort of shadow cabinet drawn from Roseberyites, Milnerites and Fabians. The ethos of the group was summed up by one of H G Wells's books The Revolt of the Competent.¹²⁵

From this diverse group of idealists, both in and out of cabals, a clear set of principles was emerging. They admired and envied the efficiency of Germany, the USA and Japan, their country's ally since 1902. They agreed on the need to improve national physique through better diet, maternity care, school drill and some form of national military service. They advocated a new educational system which would stress patriotism and technical skills, and a Chamberlain-style reorganisation of national and municipal government to promote housing and health reforms. Like Chamberlain and Rhodes they tended to

123. Searle, Quest, pp.150-151; Semmel, op cit., pp.72-82.

124. Searle, Quest, pp.67-101.

125. Ibid., pp.80-93.

advocate some form of 'Teutonic' alliance with Germany or the USA. Their outlook was deeply infused with race, the 'survival of the fittest' and 'the struggle for existence', a concern which led many of them to the cause of Imperial Federation and Tariff Reform - the erection of tariff barriers to promote inter-imperial trade. Some saw a role for the churches in fostering loyalty, morality and family values. Most believed in a government of experts, of 'the fittest', as in Shaw's idea of a National Superman whose position did not depend on the votes of 'riff-raff', or in H G Wells's concept of an ideal state governed by an efficient, dedicated caste of 'samurai' (Japanese knights), not unlike the Kindergarten of imperialists groomed by Milner to reconstruct the Transvaal after the Boer War.¹²⁶

Their anxiety found expression in a host of movements. Of central concern was the declining birth-rate. The rate of infant mortality in London in 1899 was 279 per 1 000, or half the death rate in the Boer concentration camps.¹²⁷ The 1911 census warned of a decrease of workers at the most economically efficient ages, echoed by the Physical Education Committee: "Every year we lose by a wastage of child life what might have made an efficient British Army".¹²⁸ Contraception was widespread among the upper, middle and aspiring working classes, despite church opposition and Sidney Webb warned that birth-control had deprived England and Wales of 200 000 children per

126. Searle, Quest, pp.80-93.

127. Cited in J Grigg, Lloyd George: The People's Champion, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1978), p.18. See also Read, op cit., pp.382-383.

128. Quoted in A Summers, "Militarism in Britain before the Great War", HWJ, Issue 2, 1976, p.112.

year since 1887: "This can hardly result in anything but national deterioration, or, as an alternative, in this country gradually falling to the Irish or the Jews".¹²⁹ The sharp increase in the mentally defective gave rise to the eugenicist 'National Purity Crusades' and popularity of eugenics increased, not only among Conservatives, but among Marxists and Socialists as well.¹³⁰ Lord Willoughby de Broke, an arch Tory peer, was one of its most outspoken advocates. For the Tory journalist, Arnold White, it was a choice 'between state suicide and race improvement'.¹³¹

The most visible result of these anxieties was the cult of motherhood, with children acclaimed as 'national assets', the 'capital of the country' on whom depended the future of the Race.¹³² There was a distinct change from the woman's role of Wife to that of Mother of the Race, with her home the 'Cradle of the Race ... the Empire's first line of defence', providing future colonists to people the great open spaces of the colonies.¹³³ The Anglican Bishop of Down suggested granting the franchise only to mothers who had more than four children, noting that the birthrate for the 'efficient' upper classes was a little over two children, for the 'inefficient' working classes, a little over seven. "[R]ecent science has taught us that race is a

129. S Webb, 'The Decline of the Birth-Rate', (Fabian Tract No.131, 1907) quoted in Read, *op cit.*, p.384.

130. See D Paul, "Eugenics and the Left", *JHI*, Vol.45(4), 1984, pp.567-590.

131. Quoted in G Phillips, *[The] Diehards[: Aristocratic Society and Politics in Edwardian England]*, (Cambridge Mass. and London, 1979), pp.107-108 and A Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood", *HWJ*, Issue 5, 1978, pp.19-22.

132. Davin, *op cit.*, pp.10, 27, 55.

133. *Ibid.*, p.55.

possession of supreme value, and that ... a high racial type is a possession of the utmost importance", he argued: "If [inefficiency] goes on, all that is best in the race will disappear".¹³⁴ Generally however, with the notable exception of de Broke, most members of the Radical Right viewed the prospect of women's suffrage with alarm, as an attack on the Family, Race and Empire.¹³⁵ Similarly they opposed working wives and any physical or mental exertions which might 'impair' their childbearing capacity.¹³⁶ Speakers, like Ethel herself, were sent to local schools to encourage maternal hygiene, education for parenthood, cookery classes and pure food, school drill and temperance.¹³⁷

While social imperialists like Chamberlain attempted to reform the 'dark satanic mills' of British cities to produce a fit and expanding population,¹³⁸ organisations such as the British Women's Emigration Association (BWEA), the Colonial Intelligence League and the RCI sought to export the 'surplus' to the green and pleasant lands of the colonies, where they would strengthen ties of race, increase the local population, farm efficiently to feed the mother country, and so rejuvenate the Empire as a whole.¹³⁹ Such schemes encompassed the

134. Bishop of Down to Editor, *The Times*, 22.5.14.

135. Hynes, *Edwardian Mind*, p.211; B Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain*, (London, 1978), pp.75-76.

136. *Ibid.*

137. *EC, Vocation*, p.16; Davin, *op cit.*, *passim*.

138. J S Hurst, "Drill, discipline and the elementary school ethos", in P McCann (ed), *Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century*, (London, 1977), pp.167-191.

139. Van Helten, *op cit.*, pp.52-53; G Plant, *A Survey of Voluntary Efforts in Women's Empire Migration*, (London, 1950), esp. pp.46-47, 72-73; U Monk, *New Horizons - 100 Years of Women's Migration*, (London, 1963), ch.1; A J Hammerton, *Emigrant Gentlewomen*, (London, 1979).

'solid class of yeomen' ruined by the agricultural depression after 1870 - Thomas Hardy's England of empty fields - and the well-born sons of the nobility who were ill-fitted for survival in competitive industrial Britain,¹⁴⁰ as well as the large body of 'superfluous' unmarried women.¹⁴¹ For the lower orders emigration offered at least a greater chance of breaking out of their inherited class position and an escape to lands of wide horizons, fresh air and comparatively boundless possibilities, where 'a man was a man for all that'. One RCI official observed that in the overseas Empire Britons grew larger, stronger and healthier than their cousins in England.¹⁴² Milner regarded emigration 'of primary importance' while Sidney Webb asked in 1901:

What is the use of Empire if it does not breed an Imperial Race? ... [I]f here, at its very centre, there is always to be found a mass of people, stunted in education, a prey to intemperance, huddled and congested beyond the possibility of realising in any true sense either social or domestic life? (143)

Emigration reached unprecedented levels before 1914 when, for the

140. See T Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa" in E Hobsbawm and T Ranger (eds), The Invention of Tradition, (Cambridge, 1983), pp.101-164.

141. See Hammerton, op cit., for the best survey of the 'superfluous women' issue. The author is indebted to Mrs Cecilie Swaisland and Mrs Deborah Kirkwood, Oxford, for their assistance.

142. See R Jebb, Studies in Colonial Nationalism, (London, 1905), p.331. See also C Berger, "The True North Strong and Free" in P Russell (ed), Nationalism in Canada, (Toronto, 1966), pp.3-26; D Cole, "The 'Crimson Thread of Kinship': Ethnic Ideas in Australia, 1870-1914", H/istorical S/tudies (Australia), Vol.14(56), 1971, pp.511-525; R M Crawford, "The Australian National Character: Myth and Reality", J/ournal of W/orld H/istory, Vol.1, 1955, pp.19-40; J C Beaglemore, "The Development of New Zealand Nationality", JWH, Vol.2, 1954/5, pp.106-125.

143. Quoted in Van Helten, op cit., p.51.

the first time, the colonies overtook the USA as the main destination of British emigrants.¹⁴⁴

In the meantime those left at home were encouraged to join one of a number of popular imperialist leagues. Though conservative in spirit, they were innovative in style and organisation, with a firm grasp of the power of propaganda and with women's and junior sections to carry their gospels abroad among the people.¹⁴⁵ The Navy League (1895) included over 100 MPs and a number of serving admirals, whole schools and Boys' Naval Brigades. By 1900 it had 44 branches throughout the Empire and 15 000 members. It put pressure on governments of the day for a larger naval budget, more battleships and a naval war staff, and mounted lecture and slide campaigns in schools.¹⁴⁶ The National Service League (NSL) was founded in 1901 to campaign for 2 months' annual compulsory training for all youths aged 18 to 22. Its hierarchy was very patrician with the venerable Lord Roberts, ex C in C South Africa as its president after 1906. As well as strengthening national physique the NSL claimed that its programme would improve physique, sharpen a sense of citizenship and brotherhood and imbue the workforce with the soldierly values of efficiency, thereby increasing national wealth.¹⁴⁷ By 1912 the NSL claimed 200 000 members in Britain and the

144. Read, *op cit.*, p.385.

145. Summers, "Three Popular Leagues", pp.68-69.

146. *Ibid.*, p.169.

147. Searle, *Quest*, pp.65-66 citing: Sir H Birchenough, "Compulsory Education and Compulsory Military Training", *Nineteenth Century*, Vol.66, 1904, and "Military Training and Industrial Efficiency", *National Service Journal*, Vol.1(5), 1904; J L Garvin, "The Maintenance of Empire: a study of the economic basis of political power" in *The Empire and the Century*, (1905), quoted in G S Graham, "Imperial Finance, Trade and Communications" in *CHBE*, Vol.3, p.478; Summers, "Three Popular Leagues", p.71.

colonies, including prominent prelates and peers and 110 MPs.¹⁴⁸ Although a 'non-party movement' most of its members were Conservative and Anglican but it attempted to woo the working class, men of the outlook of Robert Blatchford, socialist editor of The Clarion, who admired patriotic and military values.¹⁴⁹

The Anti-Socialist Union was founded in 1908 to combat the rise of the Labour Party and the increase in strikes. At a more exclusive level there was Milner's Round Table movement (1909), a coterie of dedicated imperialists modelled on King Arthur's knights to foster closer links between Britain and the dominions.¹⁵⁰

The National League for opposing Women's Suffrage (NLOWS) was founded in 1908 to oppose Mrs Pankhurst's suffragettes. It included a number of distinguished women, notably Gertrude Bell, the distinguished orientalist, and Mrs Humphrey Ward, authoress and niece of Matthew Arnold. In the forefront of the 'Anti' campaign were Milner, Cromer, Curzon, Chamberlain, Kipling, F E Smith the Tory MP, and Sir Edward Elgar, the imperial composer.¹⁵¹ Curzon summed up their position:

For the discharge of great responsibilities in the dependencies of the Empire ... you want the qualities ... of the masculine mind ... /I/magine the women of England governing India! (152)

148. Summers, "Three Popular Leagues", p.70

149. Semmel, op cit., pp.222-223. For a flavour of working class militarism see R Blatchford, My Life in the Army, (London, 1915).

150. See W Nimocks, Milner's Young Men: The Kindergarten in Edwardian Imperial Affairs, (Durham, North Carolina, 1968).

151. See Harrison, op cit., pp.75-76.

152. Ibid., p.75.

However, NLOWS placed great emphasis on women's involvement in local government where their 'maternal qualities' could be of greatest service in promoting health, sanitation and education.¹⁵³

'The strength of the nation lies in its youth' was one of the maxims of the age.^{153A} Apostles of National Efficiency concerned themselves with the diffusion of the public school, frontiersman code of courage, endurance, loyalty and obedience.¹⁵⁴ The Moral Education League (1899) persuaded the government to institute civic instruction in schools.¹⁵⁵ The observance of Empire Day (May 24) in Canadian schools in the 1890s stirred the Earl of Meath into action. Like the boy's novelist, G A Henty, Meath hated 'moral decline' and he distributed Union Jacks, imperialist geography maps and history books in schools. His Empire Day Movement (EDM) joined the RCI, the Victoria League and the League of the Empire in fostering addresses on citizenship, recitations from Kipling, pageants, essay competitions, slide lectures and the practice of hoisting and saluting the flag.¹⁵⁶ Significantly Meath's campaign for the annual official observance of Empire Day only succeeded in 1916, long after it had been enthusiastically adopted

153. See Harrison, *op cit.*, pp.56-59.

153A G Best, "Militarism and the Victorian Public School" in B Simon and I Bradley (eds), The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution, (Dublin, 1975), p.129.

154. R H Wilkinson, "The Gentleman Ideal and the Maintenance of a Political Elite" in P Musgrave (ed), Sociology, History and Education, (London, 1970), p.136.

155. J O Springhall, "Lord Meath, Youth and Empire", J[ournal of] C[ontemporary] H[istory], Vol.5.(4), 1970, p.100.

156. Ibid., pp.97-111. For a more complete examination of the EDM see J M MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire, passim.

throughout the Empire.¹⁵⁷

Meath's campaign for physical fitness met with greater success. His Lads' Drill Association (1899) became affiliated to the NSL in 1907 with compulsory school drill as its platform.¹⁵⁸ In 1912 he founded the Duty and Discipline Movement to combat "slackness, indifference and ill-discipline and to stimulate ... a sense of duty and alertness ... especially during the formative period of home and school training".¹⁵⁹

He dreamt of a "drilled population accustomed from youth up to submit to authority, the rich serving the needs of the poor and all men serving the State - in fact a society in which obedience takes once more its medieval place in the hierarchy of virtues".¹⁶⁰ This was also the dream of the hero of Mafeking and founder of the Boy Scouts, Robert Baden-Powell.¹⁶¹

157. Springhall, *op cit.*, pp.109-111. For the colonial angle of the EDM see R M Stamp, "Empire day in the schools of Ontario: the training of young imperialists", *JCS*, Vol.8, 1973, pp.32-42; M French, "One People, One Destiny" - A Question of Loyalty: the origins of Empire Day in New South Wales, 1900-1905", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol.61(4), 1975, pp.236-246 and "The Ambiguity of Empire Day in New South Wales, 1901-21: Imperial Consensus or National Division", *Australian Journal of Politicals and History*, Vol 24(1), 1978, pp.61-74. "New Zealand and Patriotism", *The Times*, 20.10.06.

158. Springhall, *op cit.*, pp.100-101.

159. *Ibid.*, pp.103-104.

160. *Ibid.*, p.111.

161. See R H Kiernan, *Baden-Powell*, (London, 1939). For a critical view see M Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the origins of the Boy Scout movement*, (London, 1986). For criticisms of Rosenthal, see G Wheatcroft, "Eminent Edwardian", *New York Review of Books*, 26.6.86, and J Harris, "Edwardian Idealism", *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 10.10.86. And for a humorous satire on 'B.P.' see Piers Brendon's *Baden-Powell in his Eminent Edwardians*, (Harmondsworth, 1981).

'BP' identified a number of manifestations of British decline: welfare benefits and cinemas reminiscent of the free bread and circuses of ancient decadent Rome, urbanisation, juvenile crime, the habit of tipping, strikes, socialism, 'smutty' stories, the difficulty of obtaining servants, spies posing as German governesses, thousands of young men, pale, narrow-chested, ... smoking endless fag ends, like the ancient Romans, "wishy-washy slackers with no go in them", 'loafing' with girls and other 'filth'!¹⁶² All of this he contrasted with 'the plucky self-sacrifice of the Japs'.¹⁶³ Impressed by the adoption of his Aids to Scouting (1900) by schoolteachers, he set about forming a youth movement "to make the rising generation of whatever class or creed into good citizens and useful colonists";¹⁶⁴ an Eton and Harrow for the masses. The idea of fostering class unity attracted Arthur Pearson, a Canadian newspaper magnate and chairman of Chamberlain's Tariff Reform League who dissuaded BP from naming it 'Imperial Knights' and settled on the non-militarist Boy Scouts instead.¹⁶⁵ Launched in 1908, it was an instant success with 108 000 members by 1909.¹⁶⁶ In the early years the political bias of the movement was overt. In one section of his popular Scouting for Boys (1908) - "How an Empire must be held" - one 'campfire yarn' explained

162. Brendon, op cit., pp.239-240.

163. Ibid., p.240.

164. M Rosenthal, "Knights and Retainers: The Earliest Version of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Scheme", J[ournal of] C[ontemporary] H[istory], Vol.15(4), 1980, pp.604-605.

165. P Wilkinson, "English Youth Movements", JCH, Vol.4(2), 1969, p.9.

166. V Bailey, "Scouting for Empire", HT, July 1982, p.6. Scouting became so popular that one of P G Wodehouse's contemporary fictional characters remarked (on seeing boy scouts stalk a cat across the living-room carpet): "What this country needs is somebody like King Herod!" (Brendon, op cit., p.235.)

that Britain was confronted with many enemies who threatened her trade and colonial farmlands, as well as unpatriotic politicians who cut defence spending to gain popularity.¹⁶⁷ BP's sister wrote How girls can help build up the Empire (1909) to prepare girls for 'mothercraft' and colonial life and make them of use in time of invasion.¹⁶⁸ The Girl Guides were founded in the same year and soon thousands were undergoing 'Tuck in your Back' exercises designed to breed a healthy upright race.¹⁶⁹ It complemented the work of the Girls Friendly Society Junior Section (81 000 members by 1914) and the Mothers' Union in inculcating traditional family values to defeat socialism.¹⁷⁰ Though BP maintained a discreet distance from the other patriotic leagues, all the NSL chiefs were brought into the Scout Council, despite internal opposition.¹⁷¹ Richard Haldane, Co-efficient and Liberal War Secretary, personally approved the scheme while Lord Rosebery's highest ideal was the nation's manhood "entirely composed of former Boy Scouts".¹⁷² The movement echoed "the trumpeting [of the Navy League and NSL], ... the classic theme of right and radical right thinking: that the masses are patriotic, but parliamentary institutions are weak, selfish and corrupt".¹⁷³

167. Springhall *op cit.*, p.18; Hyam, *Imperial Century*, p.133. See also R Baden-Powell, *Young Knights of Empire*, (London, 1916).

168. Bailey, *op cit.*, p.7.

169. The presence of 6 000 girls among Boy Scout troops had led to 'a state of very undesirable excitement', which necessitated a separate movement for girls. Agnes Baden-Powell shared her famous brother's preoccupation with juvenile morality and warned guides that (unspecified) bad habits would lead to 'hysteria, blindness, paralysis and, ultimately, a lunatic asylum!' Hynes, *Edwardian Mind.*, pp.28-29.

170. B Harrison, "For Church, Queen and Family: the Girls Friendly Society 1874-1920", *Past and Present*, Vol.61, 1973, pp.107-138.

171. Springhall, *op cit.*, pp.126-127, 137 n.2.

172. Quoted in Kiernan, *op cit.*, p.254; Brendon, *op cit.*, p.243.

173. Summers, "Three Popular Leagues", p.77.

"It is in the classrooms", warned Sidney Webb in 1901, "that the future battle of the Empire for commercial prosperity is already being lost".¹⁷⁴ Kipling's 'muddled oafs at the goals' could not maintain Britain's industrial and military efficiency in the twentieth century. The London School of Economics (1895), the University of Birmingham (1900 - with Chamberlain as Chancellor), the National Physics Laboratory (1902), Imperial College London (1907) and the Medical Research Laboratory (1913) were among the attempts to produce greater industrial, scientific and commercial expertise.¹⁷⁵ In 1907 the Colonial Office took over the Imperial Institute in Kensington and employed more scientists to study colonial crop diseases.¹⁷⁶ Many of these reforms resulted from the Co-Efficients, particularly Haldane, disciple of Matthew Arnold and author of several books on the German educational system which he sought to emulate.¹⁷⁷ But it was an uphill battle. Elements within the Right could still not make up their minds whether England ought to be an efficient workshop of the world, or a rural arcadia.¹⁷⁸ G K Chesterton's What's Wrong with the World (1909) advocated a return to peasant proprietorship and the values of religion, ideas which he propagated through his League for Clean Government and the New Witness League. In 1910 the Tory Morning Post called for "the continuance of a sturdy, country-bred ... high-spirited and independent class of yeoman".¹⁷⁹

174. Quoted in Semmel, op cit., p.67.

175. Read, op cit., p.285; Searle, Quest, pp.72-80, 125, 190, 205.

176. P Knapland, The British Empire, 1815-1939, (London, 1942), p.583.

177. See R Haldane, Education and Empire, (London, 1902); Universities and National Life, (London, 1911); National Education, (London, 1913).

178. See Wiener, op cit., pp.3-16, 41-72.

179. Monthly Notes, [London], 3.9.10. See Sykes "The Radical Right" for an analysis of modernist and anti-modernist tensions within the Right.

Any hopes for a consensus of the Right were dashed by Chamberlain's foundation of the Tariff Reform League (TRL) in 1903, which carried on the campaign for preferential tariffs.¹⁸⁰ Like Imperial Federation it was impractical but it plunged British politics into a quagmire of competing factions. It dogged the Conservative Party for decades and was the major reason for its defeat in three elections between 1906 and 1910.¹⁸¹ But the Tories were desperate after their landslide defeat in 1906 and thereafter they latched on to almost any cause that might return them to power: naval defence and national service, strike threatened mine-owners, Welsh bishops threatened by disestablishment, 'diehard' peers who opposed the Liberals' introduction of income tax and the reform of the House of Lords, tariff reform (until 1913) and finally and most threatening of all, Ulster Loyalists who opposed Home Rule.¹⁸² This policy pushed the Liberal imperialists back into the Liberal fold and dashed the hopes of the Co-Efficients.¹⁸³ Despite conciliatory Liberal reforms in defence, the gulf widened between the two parties. Both believed in social reform, but whereas the Tories looked to tariff revenue to finance it, the Liberals looked to income tax and a redistribution of wealth.¹⁸⁴ This set the two parties on a collision course.

180. See Sykes, Tariff Reform for a comprehensive account of the campaign. For an analysis of the movement within the context of Edwardian nationalism, see Summers, "Three Popular Leagues", passim.

181. Searle, "Critics", p.79.

182. Read, op cit., p.475.

183. Searle, Quest, pp.157, 163, 165; G Bernstein, "Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman and the Liberal Imperialists", JBS, Vol.23(1), 1983, pp.105-124.

184. Sykes, Tariff Reform, p.227.

Meanwhile the Right had grown more pessimistic and paranoid. Following the spectacular Japanese naval victory over the Russians at Tsushima in 1905, Elliot Mills published his Decline and Fall of the British Empire (1905), set in the form of a Japanese school textbook published in 2005.¹⁸⁵ Arnold White in The Throne and Leo Maxse in The National Review warned readers of the malevolent 'Hidden Hand' of international Jewry.¹⁸⁶ There emerged what one historian has called "Country House Syndicalism",¹⁸⁷ a combination of two contradictory ultra patriotic groups. The first consisted of 'diehard' peers and their followers, anti-industrial in spirit, who hated the intellectualism of the Liberals, and sought to preserve intact the power of the House of Lords and recover the privileges of a landed elite.¹⁸⁸ Their archetype was Lord Willoughby de Broke, who "bore a pleasing resemblance to the horse" and was "known as one of the sternest avengers of hen-roosts that ever put spur to flank".¹⁸⁹ A close associate of Chamberlain, Milner, Maxse and Sir Edward Carson QC, the brilliant Irish Loyalist leader, de Broke was utterly opposed to a cross-party government, "a menagerie of all the talents" as he called it,¹⁹⁰ and his own unbounded energy and flair for oratory was always geared to his sole aim: the reconstruction of the Conservatives

185. Hynes, Edwardian Mind, pp.26-27.

186. See K Lunn, "Political Anti-Semitism before 1914: Fascism's Heritage?" in K Lunn and R C Thurlow (eds.), British Fascism: Essays on the Radical Right in Inter-War Britain, (London, 1980); G C Lebzelter, "Anti-Semitism - A Focal Point for the British Radical Right" in Kennedy and Nicholls, op cit., pp.88-105.

187. Searle, "The Revolt from the Right", p.27.

188. Ibid., pp.28-32.

189. G Dangerfield, The Strange Death of Liberal England, (London, 1935), pp.43-44.

190. Sykes, "The Radical Right", p.673.

to be Tories at heart.¹⁹¹

The second group, centred on Milner and his circle, was very different, despising the party system, yearning for a government of 'experts', and supporting socialism if it was of the imperialist, Blatchford variety.¹⁹² Milner admired the efficiency of Germany, the land of his birth and upbringing, but in spite of all temptations he remained "primarily an ... English Race Patriot". He regarded BP as an atavistic idiot.¹⁹³ More in his style were the devotees from his Transvaal kindergarten days: Lionel Curtis and the author, John Buchan, patriotic socialists like Robert Blatchford, efficient industrialists like Henry Birchenough and Phillip Lyttleton Gell (both directors of the BSA Co), action-men like Jameson, patriots like Kipling and broadminded young Tories like Leo Amery and F E 'Gallop' Smith.^{193A} While Milner remained aloof from the Tory front bench, the paladins of his Round Table set off on the quest for imperial unity, quietly lobbying dominion statesmen, appropriately financed by the Rhodes Trust.¹⁹⁴ Milner's hour had not yet come.

Together these two groups composed the Radical Right, sharing the same language of National Efficiency and a distinct political style, dogmatic, intransigent, reckless, rhetorically colourful and innovative. They met the Labour Party on its own terms with mass

191. Phillips, "Lord Willoughby de Broke", p.205. See also R Verney (Lord Willoughby de Broke), The Passing Years, (London, 1924).

192. Searle, "The Revolt from the Right", pp.32-33.

193. Ibid., p.33.

193A Ibid., p.32-33.

194. Hyam, Imperial Century, pp.150-156.

propaganda.¹⁹⁵ They believed in the use of that most radical of innovations, the Referendum, to enable the frustrated patriotism of the masses to be heard.¹⁹⁶ They deprecated traditional snobbery with their ideal society organised on merit and efficiency, not social status - the kind of national unity found in Kipling's novel, The Army of a Dream (1904), in its military manifestations an ideal already evident in the dominions and advocated in Britain by the NSL.¹⁹⁷

By the end of the Edwardian decade, the alienation of this hard core was apparent. To them, Labour was only a secondary enemy, a symptom of Liberal mismanagement.¹⁹⁸ When Liberalism had been destroyed, the fundamental patriotism of working men could be tapped at last.¹⁹⁹ Their enemy was personified by David Lloyd George, the "Welsh upstart" and erstwhile pro-Boer Chancellor of the Exchequer.²⁰⁰ Papers like The National Review concentrated their fire on rich Liberals whom they accused of corruption and hypocrisy, Winston Churchill throwing lavish parties on the Admiralty yacht and Lloyd George holidaying on the Riviera with his rich friends.²⁰¹ Leo Maxse, an ultra-Tory could exchange amicable letters on the subject with Henry Hyndman, the Marxist leader.²⁰² The Radical Right also pilloried the Tory front bench for high living and nepotism, criticism centring on Arthur Balfour, whose relationship to his uncle Robert, Lord Salisbury,

195. See Summers, "Three Popular Leagues", pp.82-85.

196. Searle, "The Revolt from the Right", p.30.

197. Ibid., p.31.

198. Ibid., p.32.

199. Ibid., p.30.

200. Ibid., pp.24-25.

201. Ibid., pp.25-27.

202. Ibid., p.25.

coined the phrase 'Bob's your uncle'.²⁰³ Not even the monarchy was sacred, with Edward VII regarded as a frivolous rake who spent too much time hob-nobbing with his German relatives, Jewish plutocrats and other parvenus.²⁰⁴ In 1908 de Broke broke away from the cross-party Navy League to form the ultra-Tory Imperial Maritime League (IML) which proceeded to hound from the Admiralty the brilliant Liberal First Lord, Sir John Fisher, because of his plan to build battleships rather than cruisers and to concentrate them in home waters.²⁰⁵ The attack on Fisher was led by Admiral Charles Beresford, who had lost favour with the king over the affections of the Countess of Warwick. Beresford capitalised on the slur that Fisher had Asian blood, and together with Horatio Bottomley, editor of John Bull (and later imprisoned for gross fraud) he whipped up Germanophobia against Prince Louis of Battenberg. This ultimately led to the latter's resignation from the Admiralty in 1914.²⁰⁶ Meanwhile Leo Maxse was exhilarated by labour unrest, seeing it as conclusive proof of the bankruptcy of Free Trade and a logical response to the demagogic ineptitude of the Liberals.²⁰⁷

The main battle came in 1909 when Lloyd George introduced a budget which embodied the radical principle of wealth redistribution. Defying

203. Searle, "The Revolt from the Right", p.30.

204. *Ibid.*, p.28.

205. A Marder, From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow: The Royal Navy in the Fisher Era 1904-1910, (Vol.1, London, 1961), p.141; H Wyatt and L G Horton-Smith, Britain's Imminent Danger, (London, 1912); Summers, "Three Popular Leagues", p.80.

206. R Hough, Louis and Victoria: The Family History of the Mountbattens, (London, 1984 edn.), pp.193-197, 292; R Cecil, Life in Edwardian England, (London and New York, 1969), pp.15-16.

207. Searle, "The Revolt of the Right", pp.26-27.

convention the House of Lords rejected the 'People's Budget', its inbuilt Conservative majority regarding it as an attack on property.²⁰⁸ After an abortive constitutional crisis and two election defeats in one year (1910) the Lords' veto was curbed in the Parliament Act of 1911, with only de Broke and his band of 'Ditchers' opposing it to the end.²⁰⁹ Lloyd George made some conciliatory gestures to the Tories but Milner would have none of it, and so, with the Liberal Government dependent on the votes of the Irish Home Rule Party and committed to an Irish Home Rule Act, tempers reached fever pitch.²¹⁰

Leo Maxse's National Review initiated the 'Balfour Must Go' movement, supported by the diehard peers, and the Irish Unionists led by Carson, who were now threatened by Home Rule.²¹¹ The Tory party machine was completely overhauled to make it a serious challenge to the Liberals and Labour.²¹² Balfour was replaced by Andrew Bonar Law, a single-minded Canadian-born son of an Ulster Presbyterian minister, who pursued a policy of 'pragmatic extremism' to ensure that the Radical Right never asserted itself independently of the party machine.²¹³

208. Searle, "The Revolt of the Right", pp.26-277.

209. See R Fanning, "'Rats' versus 'Ditchers': the diehard revolt and the Parliament Act of 1911", in A Cosgrave and J G McGuire (eds.), Historical Studies XIV, "Parliament and Community", (Belfast, 1983), pp.191-210.

210. See R Fanning, "The Unionist Party and Ireland, 1906-1910", Irish Historical Studies, Vol.15, 1966-67, pp.147-171. The most readable account is A T Q Stewart, The Ulster Crisis, (London, 1968).

211. Searle, "The Revolt from the Right", pp.31-32.

212. J Ramsden, The Age of Balfour and Baldwin, (London and New York, 1978), p.41.

213. Ibid., p.67.

Encouraged by successes in local government elections, he was anxious to find an issue which would bring the Tories back to power; an issue involving in de Broke's words, a 'return to first principles', a 'call of national duty'.²¹⁴ Such an issue was the union with Ireland. The 'People's Budget' and Welsh disestablishment were bad enough, but by introducing a Home Rule Bill, however limited in extent, the Liberals were going metaphorically and literally beyond the pale of British politics. "Nothing will save us except the sight of red blood flowing pretty freely", F S Oliver of the Round Table wrote ominously to Milner, "but whether British and German blood, or only British, I don't know, nor do I think it much matters".²¹⁵ The Edwardian era was no nostalgic 'golden afternoon' of the British aristocracy.

Such were the ferments, the movements and personalities which shaped Ethel's philosophy as she set off on her intellectual sojourn with Archibald Colquhoun in 1900, an odyssey which, in her words, prevented her from "vegetating in a small country town" and took her to the highest circles of influence in a country poised on the brink of civil war. Now we will look at her first encounter with this "Wide, Wide World".²¹⁶

214. Phillips, Diehards, p.69; Sykes, Tariff Reform, p.289; Sykes, "Radical Right", pp.672-673.

215. Quoted in Searle, "The Revolt from the Right", p.27.

216. EC, Travels, p.3.

CHAPTER TWO

'Two on their travels': An intellectual apprenticeship

... I will arise an' get 'ence -
 I will trek South and make sure,
 If it's only my fancy or not
 That the sunshine of England is pale,
 And the breezes of England are stale,
 An' there's something gone small with
 the lot, .../to go/
 Where there's neither a road nor a tree -
 But only my Maker an' me,
 And I think I will go there an' see.

(Rudyard Kipling, "Chant-Pagan")

Truly ye come of The Blood, slower to bless than to ban,
 Little used to lie down at the bidding of any man -
 Flesh of the flesh that I bred, bone of the bone that I bare;
 Stark as your sons shall be - stern as your fathers were ...
 Wards of the Outer March, Lords of the Lower Seas,
 Ay, talk to your grey mother that bore you on her knees! -
 That ye may talk together, brother to brother's face -
 Thus for the good of your peoples - thus for the Pride of the Race.
 Also, we will make promise. So long as The Blood endures,
 I shall know that your good is mine: Ye shall feel that my
 strength is yours:
 On the day of Armageddon, at the last great fight of all,
 That Our House stand together and the pillars do not fall ...
 The Law that ye make shall be law and I do not press my will,
 Because ye are Sons of the Blood and call me Mother still ...

(Rudyard Kipling, "England's Answer")

Ethel's introduction to the "Wide, Wide World" was dramatic enough. On the day they were engaged Archibald asked her whether she would like to take a run out to the East after they were married - he was the sort of man who always talked of 'taking a run' or 'going off' to places as far-flung as Central America or Canada, casually over breakfast.¹ In March 1909 they set off to Morocco for their honeymoon, returning to England in July to prepare for a trip to the East and allow Archibald time to compose an indignant letter to the Foreign Secretary, published in The Times calling on him "to redeem [British] honour" by working closely with the Japanese to clear the river route to Peking and attack the Boxer rebels there".² In November Archibald and Ethel set off for the Orient via Port Said, a journey which provided Ethel with her first book, Two on their Travels, published by Heinemann in 1902. It was, in the style of the time, a charming travelogue, which demonstrated no mean literary ability, filled with both verbal and illustrative vignettes of a high standard. The tour also provided her with her first glimpse of the workings of other colonial empires, beside which she could compare her own. For this reason, as well as the effect her travels had in the overall development of her character, it is invaluable to have some perspective on her journeys. She found Archibald an excellent travelling companion, a touch of heavy relief from flirting with unimaginative ship's officers on deck.³ They went on to Ceylon, where she was impressed by the exotic flora and the "strange dark faces of

1. EC, Travels, p.2.

2. A R Colquhoun to Editor, The Times, 14.7.00.

3. EC, Travels, p.4.

the inhabitants".⁴ Like Kipling, she found Singapore a "hothouse" and no less ethnocentric than Kipling when it came to prevailing views about racial traits:

The Malay, I take it, is distinctly related to the Chinese, in that he possesses a strain of Mongol blood ... The Malay is a gentleman, the Chinese a trader; the Malay is a fighter, the Chinese won't strike back even when he was struck - unless he feels certain of being paid for doing so ...(5)

She was struck by the commercial inroads of Germany in the colony.⁶ At this time a Briton could still regard the Pacific as a mare nostrum, though now rippled by the awakening German, Japanese and American giants. Like the pound sterling, 'Thomas Cook' was the name in travel agents, which required no further guarantee, the Pacific and Orient (P&O) shipping line sailed supreme, and the ocean's islands and peninsulas were dotted with the coaling stations and havens of the Royal Navy. Ethel also noted the surplus of unmarried Englishmen - "An English girl could have ... a good time ... in such a favoured spot", she observed,⁷ though she found Singapore society parochial and the club full of boring gossip, with all and sundry jostling for social position.⁸

From Singapore they set off for the Dutch East Indies, taking a train from Batavia to Sourabaya and cruised around the Spice Islands in a yacht.⁹ She observed the workings of the colony at close quarters and

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4. EC, Travels, p.6.
 5. Ibid., p.13.
 6. Ibid.
 7. Ibid., p.14.
 8. Ibid., p.15.
 9. Ibid., p.20.

found the colonial officials courteous, helpful but inefficient. Java provided good subjects for Ethel's artistic and descriptive abilities. She already had that exceptional clearness of expression which would stand her in good stead in the years to come, as this cameo of a Malay dancing girl demonstrates:

We see a slight girl of almost eleven ... with a pretty, mignonne little dark face, sleek black hair ... slender brown arms and bare shoulders, ... a blue and yellow sarong ... There is a quick step, the body turns, ... the outstretched hands with quivering little fingers are bent sharply up from the wrists ... She has supreme self-control, [she is] lithe and graceful, ... sleek, slender, dainty, ... full of the repose, the dignity, the colour of the East ...(10)

She already felt a sense of liberation from the conventional world she had known in Britain. "Life seemed almost too full of pleasure and beauty", she remembered, "and it was hard at times to realise the pain and suffering of the world".¹¹

Archibald managed to procure a yacht to show her the dark side of Dutch colonial rule in Borneo, despite the danger of sea-pirates "with the unenviable reputation as headhunters",¹² and at one point - when Archibald delayed in returning after one of his 'runs', she was sure he had lost his head, but needlessly so.¹³ Once ashore in Benjasserim, Ethel was impressed by the "sleepy, stagnant air" of the colony, where, despite enormous natural resources, "the European seems rather to wallow himself than to 'trail clouds of glory' before the benighted

10. EC, *Travels*, pp.45-46.

11. *Ibid.*, p.47.

12. *Ibid.*, p.53.

13. *Ibid.*, p.57.

Malay".¹⁴ She was scarcely more impressed by British North Borneo, run by a chartered company (BNB Co), approximating most closely, in constitutional terms, to Rhodesia. Like Rhodesia it was also founded by individual initiative, by Sir James Brook, the first Rajah of Sarawak, who hoped to make it rival Singapore. In 1883 the Imperial government made the territory the responsibility of the BNB Co, much to the disgust of the British residents there who, Ethel noted, refused at first to live under the 'Borneo Cat' (the BNB Co flag) and hauled it down after it was hoisted by the Company governor.¹⁵

From Borneo the Colquhouns set off for the Philippines, wrested so recently from Spain by the USA, with the exhortative approval of Kipling, who dedicated "The White Man's Burden" to America's awakening power (the 'lesser breeds' being non-Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic European powers, not indigenous peoples, as is popularly imagined). The Americans were now firmly in control, though there was still war with recalcitrant Filipino guerillas, who did not relish the exchange of one set of colonial masters for another.¹⁶ The Colquhouns were well received on the islands because of Archibald's friendship with William Taft, the US Civil Governor (and Secretary of War under Theodore Roosevelt 1904-08, 27th US President, 1908-12) and they were guests of the US government for six weeks.¹⁷ Ethel made some humorous impression on Taft. Once, when they were aboard ship, and Archibald was discussing some knotty point in the American administrative legal

14. EC, Travels, pp.83-84.

15. Ibid., pp.96-105.

16. Ibid., p.111.

17. ARC, Beersheba, pp.312-313.

code, Taft paused every now and then to shoot a joke over his shoulder at the group of ladies behind him: "Now then! Now then! Mrs Calhoon [sic], I can't have any treason to the United States talked aboard this ship - Oh yes, I heard you all right!"¹⁸

What surprised and saddened Ethel in the Philippines was the number of American spinsters; that "very noble army of martyrs - the poor, unattractive younger sisters of the female sex, with hearts full of love and no one to bestow it on".¹⁹ This was Ethel's first recorded encounter with the problem of 'superfluous women' which preoccupied her in after years. She thought it was pathetic that "a cultivated mind and beautiful soul shin[ing] through the plainest face" should go unrewarded.²⁰ She was impressed that American women, unlike Englishwomen, had no fear at all of being thought clever, and they were talkers, brighter and socially more amusing. On the other hand, she found them arrogant sometimes, adding that if Archibald had been married to one "there would have been battle, murder and sudden death before night!"²¹ Ethel deplored the habit of British women of sinking their individuality in that of their husband's, and limiting their interests to their spouses' horizons, but she was quite clear that "before marriage one's duty [was] to oneself, after marriage it [was] to one's husband".²² She was convinced that the domineering attitude of American wives accounted for their weakness for "neurotic

18. ARC, Beersheba, p.314.

19. EC, Travels, p.111.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid., p.113.

22. Ibid., p.117.

diseases".²³ Women's rights became one of the dominant issues of Ethel's early career,²⁴ but we must leave that for the time being and return to her travels.

The couple also visited the Sulu Archipelago, which was Muslim in religion and had never been successfully conquered by the Spanish, where Archibald went ashore to meet the local Sultan, while Ethel, bombarded by American accents, braved the dangers of rebels lurking in the woods.²⁵ Recalling this land of sunsets Ethel revealed herself as unquestionably romantic and quintessentially Tory in her attitude to history, which she voiced in a passage about the Age of Exploration:

I do hope no rational historian will ever set to work on that fascinating page of history which deals with early Portuguese and Spanish discoveries. I should hate to have all the romantic touches with which they are at present embellished explained away [or] ... resigned to the lumber room of fiction. How often have these oases in a sandy desert of historic facts helped me in that lengthy pilgrimage which began with the Ancient Druids and only ended with the Corn Laws! Well, no one can rob me of Magellan [the founder of the Phillipines] ... I can see a quaint, tall-masted ship with its crew of sun-burnt men and the little band of explorers in their rich medieval clothes ...(26)

In other words, she believed the primary role of historians was not to attempt to tell events as they happened, but to ennoble the reader with a pageant of medieval knights and the azure main, ancient days and glorious battles, in effect, Parkin's view of history exactly.²⁷

23. EC, Travels, p.116
 24. See infra, pp.101-6.
 25. EC, Travels, p.122.
 26. Ibid., pp.134-135.
 27. See Cook, op cit., passim.

From the Philippines the Colquhouns departed for Japan, satisfied that the Americans had brought Anglo-Saxon utilitarianism to succeed where Latin mediocrity had failed.²⁸ Ethel was impressed by the land of the Mikado. The doll-like children, superb clothes and beautiful gardens attracted her artist's eye, while the potters reminded her of her native Staffordshire. However, she found Japan like her home too man-made, too posed, too much the product of the ingenuity of man.²⁹ The country presented no challenge to Ethel's creative impulses, - one of the instincts of Empire itself; to take part in the ordering of 'chaotic wilderness'.

From Japan they went to Korea and then on to Vladivostock, where again Ethel noted the inroads made by German traders.³⁰ Archibald interviewed the governor of Siberia at Khabarovsk and then they caught the Trans-Siberian Railway through the Amur Valley, where Ethel noted the state-assisted settlements which were part of Tsarist Russia's internal colonisation drive, an example for state-assisted emigration schemes in Britain.³¹

After many adventures they crossed the Urals into European Russia, "one enormous cornfield ... in golden ear flecked with the bright scarlet and faded pinks of reaping peasants, who straighten[ed] their backs and shaded their eyes from the sun as the train rushed through ..." ³² Two days later they reached the gilded cupolas and

28. EC, *Travels*, p.157.

29. *Ibid.*, p.183.

30. *Ibid.*, pp.158-159.

31. *Ibid.*, p.231.

32. *Ibid.*, pp.231-232.

shining white edifices of Moscow, in all its 'barbaric splendour'.³³ Ethel delighted in this pious land of Tolstoy and Peter the Great, but all too soon she had to forsake it for the comparative dullness of Berlin, Hamburg and Home.

She welcomed the green lanes and villages of Kent, but not London, a "hideous ... great city, with rows on rows of mean streets, great ugly factories ... and a tangle of railway lines ..."³⁴ Once home in Kensington their maid could not grasp where they had been, except to tell her friends that they had come back from China "and isn't it a mercy them Boxers didn't have them!", adding that travelling was "all very well for such as 'ave decent homes" - she once went down to Margate and that was enough for her!³⁵

In contrast, Ethel had caught the travel bug and found England parochial, polluted and crowded, a "grey, narrow, walled-in world".³⁶ But these were happy days for her as 'a real playmate' for Archibald, and they became 'perfect comrades', even if he did get restless at times and had to 'go off' somewhere.³⁷ Nonetheless, the marriage was barren and, instead of a mother, she became his 'secretary and amanuensis'.³⁸

This too was a formative influence, for he was now a well respected

33. EC, Travels., pp.231-232.

34. Ibid., pp.240-241.

35. Ibid., p.241.

36. Ibid., p.vii.

37. EC, "Colquhoun: A Memoir", pp.102-103.

38. Ibid., p.103.

and prolific writer who gave her a firm grasp of geopolitics.³⁹ In 1902, she helped him write and illustrate The Mastery of the Pacific which dealt with the ambitions and policies of the various colonial powers in this highly strategic area. It was prophetic. The great struggle of the twentieth century, he argued would be decided by the great seafaring powers, citing the arguments of the US Admiral Mahon, whose Influence of Seapower upon History (1890) he greatly admired.⁴⁰ Already the Russians were advancing overland on the Pacific littoral, while the Americans were entering the arena too. "We may yet see the two great powers of the future", he wrote, "the Great Autocracy and the Great Democracy ... dominating the Far ... East as two gigantic trusts".⁴¹ Unlike many of his contemporaries he did not regard China as a weak and doomed empire, ripe for partition: "[T]hey may yet surprise us by unforeseen developments".⁴² The energy, drive and naval efficiency of the Japanese were, he held, noting their adoption of German-style technical schools, an example to the British.⁴³ Australia had vast resources but too small a population and was likely to move closer to the USA.⁴⁴ Spain had departed, the Dutch and Portuguese empires were stagnant, and the USA would be the dominant power in the new century owing to its unrivalled natural and human resources.⁴⁵ He held out little hope for Britain unless she could manage to federate the Empire and co-ordinate its defence.⁴⁶ "There can be no rest, no

39. Ibid., pp.102-103.

40. A R Colquhoun, The Mastery of the Pacific, (London, 1902), p.402.

41. Ibid., p.403.

42. Ibid., p.404.

43. Ibid., pp.348, 354.

44. Ibid., pp.156, 407.

45. Ibid., pp.27, 407.

46. Ibid., pp.407-408.

pause in the march of a great empire", he warned, "it must advance or decay - history has made that plain".⁴⁷

Through Archibald, Ethel was introduced to the influential circles of the RCI, and schooled in the doctrines of National Efficiency. On June 10, 1902, Archibald read a paper on "Our Future Colonial Policy" at a meeting presided over by the Earl of Jersey.⁴⁸ It was a catechism of Efficiency. Europe was "a series of military camps" protected by tariffs, subsidies and preferences which were hostile to British interests.⁴⁹ All were in a much higher state of efficiency, militarily, navally and commercially.⁵⁰ The Germans had grown particularly powerful since unification in 1871, largely because of "the two great features ... [of] compulsory military service and compulsory national education".⁵¹ In contrast the vulnerability of Britain was plain, dependent almost entirely as she was on supplies from abroad, while the dominions depended entirely on an overstretched Royal Navy.⁵² But without federation their 'great oceanic Empire' was weak.⁵³ The progressive policy was federation, the abandonment of Free Trade, and the fostering of emigration of the right sort from the congested motherland to the underpopulated colonies.⁵⁴ To facilitate this policy he advocated the buying out of the BSA Co in Central

47. Colquhoun, *op cit.*, pp.407-408.

48. A R Colquhoun, "Our Future Colonial Policy", *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, Vol.33, 1901-1902, pp.300-329.

49. *Ibid.*, pp.301, 303-304.

50. *Ibid.*, pp.303-304.

51. *Ibid.*, p.304.

52. *Ibid.*, p.305.

53. *Ibid.*, p.302.

54. *Ibid.*, p.312.

Africa so that colonisation there could be put on a sounder footing, while at home he wished to see schoolchildren made more patriotic and aware of the opportunities offered them in the colonies as adults.⁵⁵ It was a matter of the 'gravest urgency', "... the struggle for existence among nations [was] entering a fierce and desperate phase ... The British Empire [was] ill-equipped for that struggle":⁵⁶

[T]he Mother Country can no longer act in the capacity of protectress; her sons, according to their ability, must come into the councils of the House, contribute to its defence, and bear its burdens if that house is to endure ... [T]he South African War has taught us the lesson of our military inefficiency ... The next war will be a commercial and industrial one, and already the firing has begun from the opposite camps. (57)

"United we stand", he concluded, "divided we fall".⁵⁸

That the centre of Empire could not hold on its own was the theme of Ethel's debut as a public speaker in 1904 when she read a paper to the RCI entitled "Women and the Colonies".⁵⁹ "The natural destiny of the average man or woman", she promised, "was matrimony"; yet Britain was full of and its labour market overstocked with superfluous women.⁶⁰ She thought it ought to be impressed on them "the blessings of a woman's presence on the lonely prairie, her elevating effect on the ranchers, and the atmosphere of rude chivalry which would surround

55. A R Colquhoun, "Our Future Colonial Policy", PRCI, Vol.30, 1901-1902, p.313.

56. Ibid., p.313.

57. Ibid., p.315.

58. Ibid., p.316.

59. EC, "Women and the Colonies", PRCI Vol.35. 1903-1904, pp.326-344.

60. Ibid., p.327.

them".⁶¹ She thought it would be 'iniquitous to export women of the "fast-dwindling domestic class" ';⁶² what she had in mind were distressed gentlewomen, their 'poor relations', the "unendowed daughters of middle-class fathers" whom she desired to see "comfortably settled in a good situation or married to some promising colonist".⁶³ Thanks to the British Women's Emigration Association (BWEA), of whose executive she was a member, any girl could have all the necessary information, advice and assistance, as well as training homes and 'colonial courses' at schools and polytechnics.⁶⁴ But in 1903, out of 2000 applicants, only 400 went out.⁶⁵ Some women, apparently including herself in her younger years, liked to believe that they could do without marriage, but it was useless - "every normal healthy girl would like to be married",⁶⁶ but middle-class girls - the class where the disproportion between the sexes was most obvious - were becoming "too exacting in [their] demands on life, too much bent on [their] own pleasure, intellectual or athletic, and lacking in the spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion which would make light of difficulties or discomforts".⁶⁷

Typical of the Radical Right Ethel idealised the progressivism of the white colonies: in most of them women had municipal rights, were better protected by married women's property acts, and they had the

61. EC, "Women and the Colonies", PRCI, Vol.35, 1903-1904, p.327.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., p.328.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., pp.328-329.

67. Ibid., p.331.

vote in Australia and New Zealand, while most colleges, universities and professions were open to both sexes.⁶⁸ There was free education and many colonial cities were the height of culture.⁶⁹ There was, overall, "more variety, more companionship, a freer, wider life, more appreciation, and more chance of getting married or having a house of one's own. Having the vote had not "turned women's heads ... contrary to expectation".⁷⁰ Ethel called for a constructive policy of women's emigration, courses in 'colonies' for women, who could accompany their brothers and "try a few years in Canada".⁷¹ But unfortunately, the women of Britain seemed to have forgotten their patriotism in their provincial round of duties, interests and pleasures:

When we read the story of ancient colonisation we do not find that the women waited till all was made smooth for them. No! The mothers of our race went forward side by side with their men into the wilderness. ... inspired with the dauntless courage and self-devotion which has made the Anglo-Saxon peoples what they are. I am afraid we are but degenerate descendants of those women. It is not to everyone that comes the call from the wild ... but can we not rise beyond our environment to the conception that we are but a tiny speck in a great Empire? ... How few women are there to whom this great question of ... Federation ... is more than a series of phrases! [and] ... to whom the various parts of the Empires are little more than geographic names!(72)

Yet, she held, women had a crucial role, a duty, in imparting imperial pride to the future, the youth, and as teachers they could play a vital part in linking up the schools of the Empire.⁷³ She did not, at

68. EC, "Women and the Colonies", PRCI, Vol.35, 1903-1904, p.332.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., p.338.

72. Ibid., p.337.

73. Ibid.

this stage, wish to see more 'political women' because she believed that they were 'ill adapted' to party politics.⁷⁴ Imperialism was a far 'nobler' cause than the rival interests of parties because it affected so intimately the home, present and future:

A great proportion of our race as yet unborn must find its homes across the sea. Is not this enough to rouse the interest of the mothers of that race in everything that appertains to the welfare of those lands?(75)

The speech was generally well received.⁷⁶

Women were, as Ethel recognised, a powerful symbol of British imperialism. Passively, feminity was symbolised in the figure of Britannia which, in many a town square in Britain and the colonies, held wreaths of victory over statues of dying troopers; in her 'daughter nations' - in Kipling's Canadian 'Lady of the Snows' - in fact, at the height of its expansion, the Empire was feminine in its highest human form; Queen Victoria. She never visited the colonial Empire - not counting Ireland, where she was carried on and off like a portable icon - but, further afield, mystical contact could be made through her portrait, hung over many a colonial fireplace from the Rockies to the Outback and venerated like a hearth goddess for the multitudinous favours bestowed by the Pax Britannica. On a less exalted plane, women were active imperialists too, not just the women explorers we have met in the Prologue. In the siege of Cawnpore in

74. EC, "Women and the Colonies", PRCI, Vol.35, 1903-1904, p.338.

75. Ibid., pp.337-338.

76. Ibid., p.339.

1857, during the Indian Mutiny, women gave up their cherished underwear to improve the ordinance.⁷⁷ In Rhodesia there was Melina Rourke who eloped from a convent at 14, and hid her son and sister during the 'Matabele uprising' of 1896, killing a warrior in the process, and was later awarded the Royal Red Cross after the siege of Mafeking in 1900.⁷⁸ Baden Powell, in quasi-religious fashion, told Boy Scouts to regard his late mother as their universal grandmother.⁷⁹ In the Empire, women achieved a greater social prominence than ever, even if equality was denied them. The Empire offered 'distressed gentlewomen' the chance of renewed respectability as the 'fishing fleets' annually set off for India in search of lonely nabobs and army officers.⁸⁰ It also offered upward social mobility to maids and waifs alike, a successful example of whom was Mary Reiby, like Ethel, a native of Staffordshire, who was transported to Australia for horse-stealing at the age of 15 and ended up as one of the grand dames of Sydney, whose grandson later became premier of Tasmania.⁸¹ The Isle of Man was the first to grant the vote to women; New Zealand followed in 1893, and all the Australian colonies by 1902. In the Antipodes women had the advantage of belonging to a society that was 'born modern', without the traditional extended family network of the pre-industrial age, where their role as mothers, companions and domestic workers was more highly valued. In this largely drink-sodden, male-dominated

77. Morris, Heaven's Command, pp.232, 236.

78. M Rourke, Autobiography, (London, 1939).

79. Brendon, op cit., pp.246-247. For an unusual angle on the role of women in the Empire see R Hyam, "Empire and Sexual Opportunity", JICH, Vol.14(2), 1986, pp.34-89.

80. Morris, Farewell the Trumpets, p.402.

81. Morris, op cit., p.76.

society it was the arguments of the Australian Women's Christian Temperance Union that gained the vote for women, not the erudite treatises of feminists.⁸²

Just as they partook in the building of the Empire, some like the Irish Nationalists Maud Gonne and Countess Markievicz (Britain's first woman MP) though themselves from imperialist families, actively sought the Empire's destruction. Though at the opposite end of the political spectrum from Ethel, they shared with her a measure of confidence, courage and education.⁸³

The erection, in 1902, of Thornycroft's massive statue of Boadicea, the legendary British queen, on the Embankment in London, seemed to symbolise the arrival of this indomitable breed of woman on the political scene.⁸⁴

Meanwhile Ethel widened her horizons still further. In 1903 she and Archibald set off for the West Indies, Guatamala, Panama, Costa Rica and Nicaragua on behalf of the RCI.⁸⁵ Archibald had long believed in the linking of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans - his 'ruling passion' - via Nicaragua, a route he surveyed for a London syndicate in the 1890s which, though longer than the Panama route eventually chosen,

82. P Grimshaw, "Women and the Family in Australian History", HS, Vol.18(72), 1979, p.415.

83. Morris, op cit., p.402.

84. See A Summers, "Images of the Nineteenth Century Nurse", HT, Dec.1984, p.42.

85. Jollie photograph album, in the author's possession.

would have been easier to engineer, he believed.⁸⁶ There he was impressed by the cultural transformation wrought by the Spanish, chiefly because of their lack of racism, which he contrasted with the superficial cultural effect and "temporary makeshift appearance" of British cultural imperialism.⁸⁷ The tour ended 'unexpectedly' in a visit to the USA where Ethel's album shows her, armed with the latest Brownie box camera, in high spirits with Archibald and friends.⁸⁸ They had been keenly interested in America's rise to globalism, since their Philippines visit, an ascendancy which Archibald described in his Greater America (1904). In Washington D.C. Ethel was introduced to the highest level of American society, at glittering balls and concerts at the White House, hosted by President 'Teddy' Roosevelt and the vanishing hegemony of the Wasp establishment, culturally akin to Henry James and Louisa M. Alcott's Little Women.⁸⁹ Roosevelt and Colquhoun had known one another since the latter's Key of the Pacific (1895), which advocated a Central American canal, while Colquhoun admired Roosevelt as a fellow writer, explorer and imperialist, and for his exploits as a commander of the 'Rough Riders' in Cuba during the Spanish-American War of 1898.⁹⁰ Apart from Roosevelt and Taft, Colquhoun renewed other influential acquaintances in Washington, including John Hay, the Secretary of State, whom he had known as US Ambassador to London.⁹¹ For Ethel, the White House visit was one of

86. ARC, op cit., p.320.

87. Ibid., pp.323-324.

88. Jollie photograph album.

89. ARC, op cit., pp.312-313.

90. Ibid., p.312.

91. Ibid., p.314.

the highpoints of her life, and one she would never forget.⁹² A visit to the Deep South, where Archibald had relatives in Atlanta, Georgia, also provided Ethel with her first insight into black-white relations, one which, from the volume of Archibald's writings on the subject, must have been a formative influence on her.⁹³ He immediately noticed the contest between the enterprise and industrial efficiency of Northern merchants with the poor aristocracy of the South's refined but now shabby ante bellum mansions, who were more concerned with maintaining their 'honourable name and ancestry'.⁹⁴ Lower down there were the Poor Whites, pejoratively known as 'White Trash', in a pathetic state of degeneracy like those whom he later encountered in South Africa.⁹⁵ Below them there was a large population of emancipated negroes whose social elevation had regrettably taken second place to the reconstruction of internal unity among majority white Americans after the Civil War.⁹⁶ Though he generally subscribed to the notion that blacks had not yet proved themselves the equal of whites, he thought the Americans ought to be 'magnanimous' and treat them as "a self-respecting people" so long as they did not threaten the higher civilisation. On miscegenation he subscribed to the prevailing pseudo-scientific, pseudo-empirical race theories of the time: "despite brilliant exceptions, the half breed [was] as a class unreliable, superficial, inclined to be tricky, to reproduce the worst features of

92. Fleming interview, op cit.

93. ARC, op cit., p.302.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid., p.309.

96. Ibid., p.306.

97. A R Colquhoun, Greater America, (New York, 1904), pp.26-27.

both parents, and ... to degenerate in physique".⁹⁸ Unlike Spaniards, he claimed, the English had a 'natural repugnance' for the practice.⁹⁹ On universal franchise for non-whites he was adamant: if that principle was applied in the West Indies, the British planters - those responsible for 'progress' and 'civilisation' would depart immediately, allowing the islands to sink into barbarism.¹⁰⁰ Like Parkin, Colquhoun believed the Anglo-Saxon was specifically equipped to dispense justice and uplift 'backward' races without prejudice or cruelty, a quality he traced to the spartan discipline and administrative qualities fostered uniquely by the English public school system.¹⁰² Generally he admired America for its drive and efficiency and practical common sense, proof that "the Anglo-Saxon always [bred] true, whether in America, Australia or Great Britain".¹⁰³ Like Parkin, Rhodes and Chamberlain, Colquhoun advocated an Anglo-American alliance based on their bonds of mutual interest and ideals¹⁰⁴ and he was convinced that they should never clash. But also, like the Radical Right, he was repelled by American plutocracy, the "modern disease of millionarism ... The natural sequence ... in a country where certain people [were] inordinately rich [and] others excessively poor ... [M]oney, piled up million on million, [which] cease[d] [to be] an active power for good".¹⁰⁵ Monopolistic 'trusts' were artificially stimulating or depressing the market, sapping

98. A R Colquhoun, op cit., pp.118-119.

99. Ibid., p.121.

100. Ibid., p.183.

101. Ibid., p.399.

102. Ibid., p.297.

103. Ibid., pp.6-7, 48, 117.

104. Ibid., p.164.

105. Ibid., pp.32, 36.

individual liberty and "eating out the very heart of democracy".¹⁰⁶ Mammon was replacing Demos to such a degree that socialism was on the rise everywhere:

Titanic forces are ... meeting in this conflict of capital and labour ... Neither can do without the other but both are prepared to fight to the death for power.(107)

The Colquhouns also visited Parkin's homeland, the Dominion of Canada, larger in area than the USA but thinly populated and divided ethnically between British and French. Here Archibald demonstrated a typical Radical Right contempt for "selfish capitalists".¹⁰⁸ Archibald believed it could support a population of 100 million and take a much greater share of the imperial defence burden.¹⁰⁹ Totally dependent on the Royal Navy, the country could not yet stand on its own feet. The only alternative to Empire membership was absorption in the USA, though, he noted, "there [was] a great repugnance to [the USA] with [its] vast black problem - blacks with votes, ... instead of now, within the Empire, blacks without votes".¹¹⁰

Back in Britain in 1904 Colquhoun despaired of the localised questions of party politics and having to watch "the interests of whole communities of British overseas subordinated to some affair of the parish pump". "In short [he was] a convinced and rabid Imperialist", and his ambition was to educate the people to build a strong and safe Empire.¹¹¹

106. A R Colquhoun, op cit., p.32.

107. Ibid.

108. Searle, "The Revolt from the Right", p.26.

109. ARC, Greater America, p.243.

110. Ibid., p.241.

111. ARC, Beersheba, p.340.

In 1904, Ethel and Archibald embarked on their first African tour, circumnavigating the continent, and visiting every colony in South Africa, including Rhodesia which Ethel later recalled as a 'delightful' visit.¹¹² They saw all the sights: Rhodes's grave in the Matopo Hills, Victoria Falls and the Zimbabwe Ruins, then fancifully reputed to be the 'Land of Ophir' the source of the legendary mines of King Solomon. This gave the backveld community a sense of significance and glamour far above the meagre lifestyle of the settlers of that time.¹¹³ Like many of her generation, Ethel's imagination had been fired in her schooldays by Henry Rider-Haggard's King Solomon's Mines (1885)¹¹⁴ and she found that the reality "infinitely ... outstripp[ed] fiction".¹¹⁵ Touring the mines and remote districts in a lumbering Zeederberg coach she found the country enchanting, likewise the 'exotic' dress of the Africans, the rough and ready prospectors, the 'champagne quality' of the air and the exhilarating sense of liberation from convention, which she vividly described in the sentimental idiom of the time:

[The] vast spaces ... give one that feeling of freedom and newness which no civilised country can retain ... the broad spanning veld, with its blue, ocean like distances ... the romance of the prospectors' and hunters' camps, the romance of the transport rider and ... the trooper ... of gorgeous sunrises and sunsets ... cloudless skies ... the huge full moon flooding the country with an almost day-like light ... the Southern Cross, and other alien stars unknown to northern eyes. Any night in

112. EC, "Colquhoun: A Memoir", p.103.

113. See R Summers, One Hundred Years of Fact and Fantasy at Zimbabwe (Salisbury, 1966); and for other manifestations of the King Solomon's Mines in Rhodesian novels see Chennells, op cit, ch.1. "The Search for an Origin: The Myth of Great Zimbabwe", pp.1-77.

114. E Colquhoun, "A Visit to King Solomon's Mines", UE, Vol.5, 1914, pp.485-493.

115. Ibid., p.492

Rhodesia is a romance writ in the jewelled cypher of the stars.(116)

The Colquhouns returned home in late 1904, with Ethel transformed by her Rhodesian ramble. Her first impressions were important: "I fell in love with the country, but never expected to see it again", she recalled.¹¹⁷ Archibald set to work on a study of South Africa which he published in 1906 as The Afrikaner Land, dedicated to Ethel: "The Companion of my Journeys and Collaborator in my work".¹¹⁸ The purpose of the book was to call for the reconciliation of Boers and British to form one 'Afrikaner' nation, "a national type ... bound to their country by ties of race ... like the Australians and Canadians".¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, he noted the anglophobic Boers had given the term Afrikaner (Afrikaner) a narrow political meaning, reducing the British South Africans to a nameless condition, and weakening the white minority as a whole in a country where they were greatly outnumbered by blacks.¹²⁰ Here again, while not denying that some individual blacks could "rise above the general level of their race", Colquhoun argued that black tribes would have to be advanced but in such a way as not to threaten politically the white minority.¹²¹ This was bound up with the question of whether South Africa would remain a 'white man's country' or not. Part of the problem, he believed, was that democracy and religion had elevated respect for human life and

116. E Colquhoun, *op cit.*, pp.490-491. See also E Tawse Jollie, "Pre-Historic Rhodesia", New Rhodesia, Vol.14(760), 1947, p.8; RR, pp.160-164.

117. *Ibid.*, pp.490-491. See also E Tawse Jollie, "Pre-Historic Rhodesia, New Rhodesia, Vol.14(760), 1947, p.8;

118. A R Colquhoun, The Afrikaner Land, (London, 1906), p.iv.

119. *Ibid.*, p.xiii.

120. *Ibid.*, p.xiv.

121. *Ibid.*, p.4.

individual freedom to the extent that they became the end of all effort.¹²² He thought that the British could emulate the "patriotism, discipline, forethought, steadiness [and] reticence" of their allies, the Japanese, which ought to make them reconsider whether inequality was environmental rather than inborn.¹²³ To Colquhoun Race was a fact. He "would like to wave a wand" over the world and dispel all race and colour feeling and give equality and liberty to all, but that was impossible.¹²⁴ South Africa's white minority could not afford to emulate the political experiment of the USA where whites were in a majority. Like his friends at the RCI, Richard Jebb, Parkin and Grant, Colquhoun looked to a unified South Africa to take its place among the white dominions who would rescue the Empire.¹²⁵ Though he did "not wish to perpetuate injustice on the black races", he thought that their preponderating numbers would be an incentive to the whites to fuse into one people:

The goal in South Africa is to build a sound white nation, and the problem precedent which ought to and will help in creating a white nation on the best lines is the black. The blacks must be the means of strengthening the South African national character or they will destroy it.(126)

He unambiguously opposed the extension of a fully fledged democracy to the Africans, and his racial outlook is worth noting, since it informed and influenced Ethel in her subsequent career in Rhodesia:

122. A R Colquhoun, op cit., p.9.

123. Ibid.

124. Ibid., p.10.

125. Ibid., p.7.

126. Ibid., p.18.

We [British] worked through our patriarchal, tribal, communal, feudal, municipal and constitutional stages, and [the blacks] have to do the same. We murdered our prophets, burnt our reformers, and generally ill-treated all of our race who were ahead of their time ... Negro prophets, reformers, and men of that kidney must go through a similar discipline. But when it comes to denying to the blacks, either as a race or as individuals, what they have actually achieved for themselves; when it comes to robbing them of their ancestral lands, preventing them from educating themselves, from becoming prosperous, from working at any trade they can learn, from owning property, or from following out any legitimate ambition common to all men - then I am entirely on the side of the black races.(127)

He advocated the creation of an "aristocracy of talent" in which black professionals - lawyers, doctors and the like - could fill the highest positions among their own people, and could control local, but not national government; a position he likened to that of disenfranchised British women, who were taxpayers, landowners and highly-educated, but were not yet the political equals of men in law.¹²⁸ He thought that coloured people could be more easily assimilated, and that there the whites had to be careful lest the coloureds "be permanently thrust from the ranks of loyal and useful citizens, and turned into a band of Ishmaels".¹²⁹ Indians provided another complication, since, like advanced Africans, they competed with the whites, many of whom lived in dire poverty, and the South African Indian problem further complicated British rule in India which was already overstretched.¹³⁰ The whole problem of non-white races was difficult, said Colquhoun, quoting Parkin :

127. A R Colquhoun, *op cit.*, pp.115-116.

128. *Ibid.*, p.117.

129. *Ibid.*, pp.121-124.

130. *Ibid.*, p.137.

We have to prevent ourselves being dragged down, and we have to elevate them with this depressing condition - that the closer you lift them up towards the level of our civilisation the more intense the line of division becomes.(131)

His optimism about the prospects of white South Africa was less than unreserved. Lord Milner's British immigration policy of using British immigrants to swamp the Boers (who were almost as prolific as the blacks) had failed dismally, he conceded.¹³² The Afrikaans language would survive, unless an 'efficient' system of education could break down the racial barrier between Boers and Briton.¹³³ Only industrial training could ameliorate the "mental and moral degeneracy" of the Boers and make them into useful citizens.¹³⁴ But he did not underestimate this "sturdy primitive people":¹³⁵

[T]heir ideal is the same as ever, and [they are] working towards it with all [their] might ... [They were] playing an open ... unassailable game.(136)

If the two races failed to unite, South Africa would be a republic one day.¹³⁷ On top of this was the growing anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism of white miners of British origin, for which he held some of the capitalists responsible, among them 'German Jews' and alien nouveaux riches, 'birds of passage' who did not share the 'spirit of Afrikanderland'.¹³⁸ On the other hand he was struck by the growth of a

131. A R Colquhoun, op cit., pp.126-127.

132. Ibid., p.183.

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid., pp.226, 359, 360.

135. Ibid., p.236.

136. Ibid., p.262.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid., p.136, 390-391.

sense of identity among English-speaking South Africans which made them different, physically and in outlook, from their smaller British cousins; a transformation which, echoing his associate Richard Jebb, he welcomed:

For the only true patriotism is that of the native-born. Beyond his love for the country of his birth he may feel the keenest sense of kinship for the cradle of his race and pride in his descent and history. These are his heritage; England is the land to which he turns for many of his national ideals; but if, as is said by a distinguished Afrikaner, he does not love South Africa which he has seen, how shall he love England which he has not seen? I have always felt and maintained that for Canadians, Australians and Afrikaners alike the country of their birth must stand first and the Empire second, and this conscious identification of themselves with the country they occupy is an inevitable part of the evolution of a free people.(139)

The young democracies ... were intensely conservative - "the true heirs of the Tory party"; revolutionary socialism had not taken hold because the distinction between the Haves and Have-nots was not so marked and because every democrat was, or could be a property owner: 'State socialism' of the efficient variety was highly developed in the dominions.¹⁴⁰ Archibald's grasp of the eclectic nature of colonial identities was to stand Ethel in good stead in her career in Rhodesia.

Also influential was his impression of Rhodesia which he set out in both The Afrikaner Land and article "The Only way in Rhodesia" published in 1908.¹⁴¹ Unlike Ethel's first enchanted impressions,

139. A R Colquhoun, op cit., pp.412-413.

140. Ibid., pp.417-418.

141. A R Colquhoun, "The Only Way in Rhodesia", Fortnightly Review, No. 1908, pp.763-790.

Archibald's return visit to the territory he had helped found had deeply disappointed him.¹⁴² He found the economy stagnant with little done to promote the interests of agriculture. The railways seemed to cater solely for the mining industry which was being artificially manipulated by the Company's subsidiaries. The country was no El Dorado and many settlers had gone to the wall. The Company administration was cumbersome and costly. Its legislative chamber held only 'imitation debates' since the elected members were always outnumbered by Company nominees. The settlers regarded the Company as an impersonal "rudderless, amorphous body composed chiefly of men who [knew] nothing of the country and cared less ... a mere money-making machine ... Cecil Rhodes was sorely missed by them".¹⁴³ Long before she arrived in the territory, then, through Archibald, Ethel had a hostile impression of the BSA Co administration.

The Colquhouns moved from Kensington to the West End of London in 1906 from where Archibald continued to contribute articles to the Tory, pro-tariff reform Morning Post and Nineteenth Century, championing the cause of compulsory service and the placing of "every branch of national life on a sounder ... Imperial ... footing".¹⁴⁴ At about this time Ethel became a principal speaker for Lord Roberts's NSL and, perhaps following the example of her sister Agnes who had been an 'invaluable worker' for the Women's Liberal Unionist Association and one of Arthur Balfour's election agents in 1906, Ethel became a member

142. A R Colquhoun, "The Only Way in Rhodesia" ibid., p.763.

143. Ibid.

144. EC, "Colquhoun: A Memoir", p.105.

of the executive of the Women's Unionist and Tariff Reform Association (WUTRA).¹⁴⁵ WUTRA acted in close co-operation with its Liberal Unionist counterpart, though it was more staunchly Anglican and Tory in sentiment.¹⁴⁶ Among the wives of the Radical Right with whom she came into contact at WUTRA were the Duchess of Somerset, Mary Maxse - wife of Leo Maxse of The National Review, the Hon. Mrs Alfred Lyttleton, and Mrs Hewins, wife of the director of the London School of Economics and tariff reform mentor to the Conservative Party.¹⁴⁷ Ethel gained much experience as a public orator in lectures to working men's clubs throughout Britain.¹⁴⁸ Years later, a Rhodesian political associate, recalling her pre-war experience in Britain remarked: "You could teach her nothing about public speaking. She was forceful and eloquent".¹⁴⁹

After the Liberal landslide victory in 1906 Ethel continued to further the aims of National Efficiency through her membership of the executives of the BWEA, WUTRA and the NSL. She became involved with the work of the Colonial Training Home at Stoke Prior, and she led a campaign in The Times for the involvement of women in the NSL. "As individuals our power may be small", she told her followers, "but as members of a league with a policy we can shape public opinion, [and]

145. "Joint Meeting of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association and the Women's Unionist Tariff Reform Association", The Times, 12.5.06, p.18.

146. Sykes, Tariff Reform, p.216.

147. Ibid.

148. EC, Vocation, p.292.

149. Mr W Stuttaford, Election Agent, Rhodesian Responsible Government Association, N[ational] A[rchives of] Z[imbabwe] Oral History, ST.1. (1969), p.6.

influence ... National Physique".¹⁵⁰ She also conducted voluntary classes at technical institutes in London, including cooking, upholstery, domestic science, dress-making and art, "a very interesting experience", she later recalled.¹⁵¹ In the late spring and summer of the same year the Colquhouns took a break from British and colonial affairs with a tour of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, journeying as far as Transylvania, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina with the assistance of Archibald's top-level contacts in Vienna, Prague and Budapest.¹⁵² In January and February 1907 they spent a Swiss ski-ing holiday at Le Pont, between Lausanne and Lake Geneva.¹⁵³ On their return to Britain in March 1907, they jointly published The Whirlpool of Europe: Austria Hungary and the Realm of the Habsburgs, designed "to meet the wants of the general reader ... [interested] in Central and Southern Europe".¹⁵⁴ By the standards of the time this was an impressive book, covering the complicated history of the various parts of the Empire, the characteristics of its various ethnic groups, (liberally illustrated with Ethel's photographs of 'Ruritanian' peasants of all kinds), the geography, foreign relations, and ethnic tensions of the regions. Both Ethel and Archibald believed that the survival of the Habsburg Empire - then widely believed to be tottering - was essential to the balance of Europe.¹⁵⁵ The book

150. E Colquhoun, "What Women can do for National Defence", The Times, 22.3.09.

151. [Southern Rhodesia] Leg[islative] As[sembly Debates], 27.5.25, p.885.

152. A R Colquhoun and E Colquhoun [The Whirlpool of Europe:] Austria-Hungary [and the Hapsburgs], (London and New York, 1907), pp.viii-ix.

153. Jollie photograph album.

154. Austria-Hungary, p.v.

155. Ibid., pp.337-338.

reveals their respect for tradition, for an empire far older than their own and no less illustrious, which was so essential to the political and economic stability of the Danube basin. Its collapse would involve a European war, as Archibald asserted in another of his books published in 1907 called 1912.

These publications enhanced the Colquhouns' reputation in the Habsburg Empire. In July 1907, they travelled to Bohemia at the invitation of the municipality of Prague, which was then hosting the Pan-Slavic Games.¹⁵⁶ This event was for Ethel an illustration of the power of ethnicity. "This was the great meeting", she wrote, "attended by Slav societies from every country ... in Europe and America ... These gymnastic societies or sokols ... were semi-political in aim and provided an organisation of far-reaching character".¹⁵⁷ This was the great age of athleticism used as a badge of nationalism, so Ethel's tour to this poly-ethnic empire must have provided an additional insight into race relations which were not based on colour. Here athletes dressed in twelfth century armour and re-enacted the war of 1420-27 between John Zuka (Zizka) and the Emperor Sigismund. The visiting couple attended several banquets in their honour, toured the museums and the opera of Prague - the 'Venice of the North', and visited Tabor, 80 kilometres east of Prague, where they stayed with Archibald's friends the Prince and Princess de Rohan.¹⁵⁸ The Prague Courier thus recorded their visit to Prague:

156. Hand-written notes in Jollie photograph album.

157. Ibid.

158. Copies of the invitations are contained ibid.

One of the most remarkable visitors ... was Archibald Ross Colquhoun, the English author and traveller, with his highly educated and graceful wife, who delivered at the banquet of the city a charming speech on the beauty of Prague. At the conclusion of her speech she said, "I came, I saw, I was conquered!" Recently a highly interesting book was published by [them] ... wherein several chapters of Bohemian history and politics are dealt with.(159)

These travels in such exalted and exotic circles must have played a key role in the confidence - arrogance sometimes - which Ethel displayed in her subsequent career, an impatience with ignorance and inexperience which often cost her popularity.

On their return to Britain Archibald wrote his autobiography Dan to Beersheba (1908). Ethel later claimed to have "literally dragged this book out of him, bit by bit", and made a 'story' of the disconnected fragments with the aid of friends like William Grant and Richard Jebb.¹⁶⁰ A leading advocate of National Efficiency, J L Garvin, editor of The Observer described the book as the most interesting adventure book he had read.¹⁶¹ Colquhoun continued with his lectures to the RCI, the RGS, the Royal Society of Arts and the Staff College at Sandhurst.¹⁶² In the autumn of 1908 he, along with Parkin, Grant and Jebb led a successful campaign for the thorough overhauling of the constitution of the RCI, to make it more democratic, popular and less stuffy.¹⁶³ They also advocated the fusion of the RCI with the NSL,

159. Hand-written notes in Jollie photography album.

160. EC "Colquhoun: A Memoir", p.104.

161. Ibid.

162. "Archibald Ross Colquhoun" in Who's Who 1915, (London, 1915).

163. Reese, op cit., pp.76-79; EC, "Colquhoun: A Memoir", p.105.

though this only came about in 1916.¹⁶⁴ One of the major results of the campaign was the replacement of the RCI Proceedings with the more popular United Empire of which Colquhoun became editor in 1910, an influential position in the overall National Efficiency campaign.¹⁶⁵

These were years of more travels for Ethel: Brittany in 1908, the Netherlands in 1910, Normandy, northern France and Belgium in 1912, all of which further added to her experience and confidence.¹⁶⁶ Meanwhile Ethel further strengthened her ties with the Radical Right by joining the swashbuckling Lord Willoughby de Broke's Imperial Maritime League, the most hardline and most ultra-Tory of all the popular patriotic leagues and one which provided her with further propaganda experience.¹⁶⁷ Ethel, however, did not share Willoughby de Broke's uncharacteristic toleration of the vociferous demands of women for the vote.^{167A} The Edwardian era witnessed an unprecedented and often violent revolt of women against the political hegemony of men, the violence of which, combined with labour unrest and the recklessness of the Radical Right over Irish Home Rule after 1911, signalled the death knell of British Liberalism.^{167B} That did not concern Ethel; what worried her was that feminism treated women as a separate class to men, and that therefore their revolt against men was a revolt against nature and women's role as Mothers of the Race.¹⁶⁸ Because of that it

164. Reese, op cit., p.79; J O Stubbs, "Lord Milner and patriotic labour". EHR, Vol.27, 1972, pp.727-729.

165. Reese, op cit., p.79.

166. Jollie photograph album.

167 "Ethel Maude Colquhoun" in Who's Who 1916, (London, 1916).

167A. Harrison, Separate Spheres, p.180.

167B. See Dangerfield, op cit., passim.

168. EC, Vocation, p.66.

comprised for her an attack on the very hearth of the Empire itself, distracting women from their duty to the nation and the Race, a duty needed now more than ever, a duty put so emphatically by Kipling:

... [T]he Woman that God gave [Man], every fibre of her frame
Proves her launched for one sole issue, armed and engined for
the same
And to serve that single issue, lest the generations fail,
The female of the species must be deadlier than the male.(169)

That was the essence of Ethel's trumpet blast against feminism: "The hand that rocked the cradle ruled the world", she believed, but feminists, by forsaking their natural function and by acting like the most boorish of men, were denying the dignity of their sex and losing the immense social influence and respect they had possessed under the old chivalric code.¹⁷⁰ This romantic medievalist view of women, epitomised by the poetry of Tennyson and the writings of John Ruskin, was far removed from the real position of most British women in later Victorian and Edwardian England.¹⁷¹ The emancipation of women was hastened by the large scale movement of women into employment of one form or other, breaking down the traditional patriarchal extended family, though by 1914 they still received only half the male salary for an equivalent job.¹⁷² After the turn of the century there emerged a new found assertiveness in women, partly the product of such writings as Havelock Ellis's Man and Woman (1894), which argued that

169. From Kipling's "The Female of the Species", 1911.

170. EC, Vocation, pp.299-300.

171. See E Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family, (New York, 1975), chs.1-2, Vicinus, op-cit., passim.

172. Read, op cit, p.501.

both sexes were essentially equal, Sigmund Freud's psychological writings and H G Wells' risqué novel Anne Veronica and the feminist writings of Olive Schreiner.¹⁷³ This change in traditional attitudes gave renewed momentum to the women's suffrage movement founded in 1866 by Millicent Fawcett.¹⁷⁴ In 1903, Emmeline Pankhurst broke with the moderate National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies to form the militant Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) mostly from mill girls. In many ways the WSPU was a survival of Victorian conservatism and the desire to control the morality - or immorality - of the menfolk. "It did not so much herald the birth of the New Woman as proclaim the vitality of the Old Lady".¹⁷⁵ Pankhurst would have been satisfied by the enfranchisement of upper-class women alone.¹⁷⁶ Nonetheless its methods were strongly viragine, ranging from arson in art galleries to poking policemen with hat pins and hunger-striking. "I love fighting", Pankhurst told one of her intimates.¹⁷⁷ Though she herself castigated some of her followers for advocating sexual licence, the phenomenon of feminism was widely blamed on the frigidity of the country's "superfluous million women" - 'the unenjoyed' as Max Beerbobm derided them¹⁷⁸ - which Ethel had earlier sought to export, in whole or in part, to balance out the shortfall of a million women in the colonies.

173. J Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society: The regulation of sexuality since 1800, (London and New York, 1981), ch.8; S Buckley, "The Family and the Role of Women" in A O'Day (ed.), The Edwardian Age. Conflict and Stability, 1900-1914, (London, 1979), pp.133-143.

174. For the women's suffrage campaign see C Rover, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain, 1866-1914, (Toronto, 1967).

175. "Mrs Pankhurst", in Brendon, op cit., p.138.

176. Ibid., p.140.

177. Ibid., p.133.

178. Ibid., p.135.

The opposition of Ethel and other female race-patriots, then, was not so much directed against the suffrage issue itself, but against the 'divisive' philosophy which lay behind the campaign. The Anti's propaganda vehicle was the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage (NLOWS) which, as we have already seen, surprisingly comprised some of the most distinguished and assertive women of the time.¹⁷⁹ It had strong links with other patriotic movements: Mrs Gladys Potts was secretary of both the Women's Anti-Suffrage Committee and of the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women, while Ethel became a propaganda worker for NLOWS.¹⁸⁰ Not all of the Anti's were of the Right: Mrs Frederic Harrison, wife of the positivist leader attempted to place Anti arguments on a firm sociological and medical basis in her The Freedom of Women (1908);¹⁸¹ Beatrice Webb and Henry Hyndman, both socialists, were Anti,¹⁸² and even though Bertrand Russell supported women's suffrage he had serious doubts about the intellectual equality of women.¹⁸³ The common characteristics of the Anti mentality were a belief in the "separation of spheres" for the different sexes and the advocacy of a women's citizenship which involved working for the good of the community and the Empire.¹⁸⁴ There was an economic side too. With women taking employment in offices and factories as never before, domestic servants were getting fewer.¹⁸⁵ Small wonder, then, that members of Ethel's

179. Harrison, Separate Spheres, p.113.

180. Ibid.

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid., p.27.

183. Ibid.

184. Ibid., pp.56-59.

185. E Colquhoun, "Women and Unemployment", The Times, 29.10.14.

class were alarmed by feminism.

Through a series of publications in 1913, Ethel became one of the chief intellectual opponents of women's suffrage, even earning one feminist's grudging respect.¹⁸⁶ What differentiated Ethel from most Anti writers, save Harrison, was her thorough familiarity with feminist literature and her attempt to confute their arguments with references to the latest sociological and psychological theories so often used by the feminists themselves.¹⁸⁷ Her chief work, The Vocation of Woman, became one of the bibles of the Anti movement. But it was much more than an anti-feminist tract; it was also a critique of Edwardian society from a scholarly conservative viewpoint and a statement of her political and social philosophy. Like her associate in the IML, Willoughby de Broke, her values were traditional but her methods were innovative, an enduring characteristic of her political style.

Women, she argued, had failed to perceive that the period following the Industrial Revolution was transitional. Instead, they had "followed blindly in its wake, believing that they were now entering a new world, sharply disconnected from the old, and so strengthened the worst features of the industrial age".¹⁸⁹ Among them she listed: "slavery to the ego ... sexual freedom along the lines of anarchy ...

186. W L George, "Woman's Cross-Roads [Review of the Vocation of Woman]" The Daily News, 19.11.13.

187. EC, Vocation, *passim*.

188. Rover, *op cit.*, pp.116-117, 176-177.

189. EC, Vocation, pp.279-280.

that curious medley of free love, free motherhood, economic independence, ...anarchism, socialism [and] atheism offered by the feminists".¹⁹⁰ In short women were in danger of forming a separate class from men, a class to whom childbirth - the 'paramount duty' to the race, was at best incidental, at worst, a serious impediment to full equality with men.¹⁹¹ Meanwhile the birthrate was the lowest on record and diminishing by the year. Four children per fertile marriage was the least number required "to maintain the Race unaltered", she cautioned; the woman with two children was "very obviously a person of insufficient occupation".¹⁹² Woman was losing her pre-eminent position as "Guardian of the Race" for which Nature had equipped her.¹⁹³ Feminism, she believed, was closely allied with the "modern cult of individualism which was battering down the traditions of society and the mystique which had surrounded women for centuries without offering anything in its stead."¹⁹⁴ She denied that women had been repressed, tracing their achievements back through the centuries, arguing that they were often more educated and influential than their menfolk, but, she emphasised, they were different.¹⁹⁵ They had set the tone of society but they were now losing their real power in the name of "that blessed shibboleth - 'equality'", which most took to mean 'sameness'.¹⁹⁶ By dressing in manly clothes and abandoning homecraft

190. EC, Vocation, pp.207-208.

191. E Colquhoun, "Modern Feminism [and Sex Antagonism]", Quarterly, Vol.219, 1913, pp.147, 153, 159.

192. EC, Vocation, p.66.

193. Ibid., pp.12, 66; E Colquhoun, "Quo Vadis Femina?", Nineteen Century and After, Vol.75, 1913, p.525.

194. EC, Vocation, p.327.

195. Ibid., p.50.

196. Ibid.

and physical attraction, they would lose their power over men, whom she believed were 'naturally polygamous'.¹⁹⁷ Sexual activity was too precocious, marital infidelity and sex aberrations were now discussed openly, divorce was becoming socially acceptable, religion was on the decline, with all churches except the Catholic Church failing to support the idea of marriage as a sacrament; the Church of England had made indissoluble marriage a 'farce'; in short, Ethel believed that the Age of Chivalry was well and truly dead:

"Literature and the stage no longer find their heroines in the young and pure ... The veils are down, the illusions are gone - we may be wiser and wittier, but it is doubtful whether women are happier ... Lancelot is a more attractive hero than Galahad - but the price paid by Guinevere was a heavy one. Today we are inclined to condone our Guineveres and the result is to weaken that power with which, through all the ages, women have fought against the prejudices and selfishness of men".(198)

Though she welcomed the passing of the gloomy puritanism of Victorian religion she thought it pathetic that women, so intimately bound up with the mystery of life itself, were losing their religious sense, "her more intimate connection with the growth of a new being which carries on the life immortal".¹⁹⁹ Because of the latitudinarianism of the Established Church, she believed it was understandable that "only [the] great historic [Catholic] church, [with its] tradition, ... weight of experience and fold of fellowship [could] give stability and coherence to the desires and aspirations of many women".²⁰⁰ Religion

197. EC, Vocation, p.87 et seq.

198. Ibid., p.88.

199. Ibid., p.82.

200. Ibid., p.123.

alone could "reconcile the 'real' and the 'ideal; in a world torn apart by injustices, inequalities and temptations"; a force she thought they could ill-afford to part with in "these anarchical days".²⁰¹ Throughout the book Ethel implies her own frustrated maternal instinct, which in large part explains her quest for fulfilment in public affairs.²⁰²

She thought that women were not in any way intellectually inferior to men; but that they were different, and one of women's peculiar qualities, she believed, was her extremism and enthusiasm, her commitment to principle, her unwillingness to compromise - "wedded to conviction", Kipling called it.²⁰³ She thought that for this reason women made excellent party workers and 'hot partisans'.²⁰⁴ She herself was a member of the Local Government Advancement Committee which sought the inclusion of a greater number of women on the voters' rolls, where she learned not to make boring speeches.²⁰⁵ Here was fruitful ground for her sex: public morals, child welfare, maternity care and education, medical inspection, technical and continuation classes, sanitation, slum clearance and the provision of recreation facilities.²⁰⁶ She thought maternal hygiene was crucial to "increase the chances of survival of baby boys" and so "reduce the excess of

201. EC, *Vocation*, p.331.

202. *Ibid.*, pp.83-87.

203. *Ibid.*, pp.125, 292-293.

204. *Ibid.*, p.293.

205. *Ibid.*, pp.30, 300

206. *Ibid.*, pp.301-303; Rover, *op cit.*, p.171.

females".²⁰⁷ Unlike her associate Willoughby de Broke and many of her fellow travellers of the Radical Right, however, she rejected eugenics and the idea that children ought to be separated from their mothers for rearing on Spartan lines.²⁰⁸ She called on feminists to replace "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" with "Duty, ... Humility, ... Service".²⁰⁹

More generally Ethel found little inspiration in men's politics either. The role of government was "chiefly to provide conditions in which healthy citizens could be reared", based on the rule of law and a Christian conscience,²¹⁰ Government was not merely a human invention to protect property.²¹¹ Above all else stood the State and she looked to social reform for its salvation.²¹² She shared the Radical Right's contempt for the traditional British habit of 'muddling through', lamenting that intellect had never been prized in Britain.²¹³ As a result "crying injustices and incompetences went unreformed".²¹⁴ This had contributed to the rise of socialism.²¹⁵ She shared Willoughby de Broke's belief that the average working class socialist was, in reality, either a Tory or an anarchist, paying lip service to a 'brotherhood of man jargon'.²¹⁶ She had complete contempt for the "gentle, philosophical" kind of socialist who lacked "full-blooded ...

207. EC, *Vocation*, p.2.

208. *Ibid.*, pp.174-175.

209. *Ibid.*, p.341.

210. *Ibid.*, p.126.

211. *Ibid.*

212. *Ibid.*, pp.289-290.

213. *Ibid.*, p.290; Samuel, *op cit.*, p.74.

214. EC, *Vocation*, p.290.

215. *Ibid.*

216. *Ibid.*, p.287.

red flag anarchism" and expressed himself chiefly in "a mild and washy 'brotherhood of man' doctrine ... the wearing of sandals and the eating of nuts".²¹⁷ He was a "de-masculined [male] - not effeminate - that would be a poor compliment to women ... simply a poor man, without becoming a woman", 'sexless' and 'hybrid' like the suffragettes.²¹⁸ Her other bugbear was "that lower-middle-class fraud called liberalism" which stood in the way of the contest between Right and Left,²¹⁹ a view which was echoed by the Tory George Wyndham: "[Liberals and Tory individualists] are old women and senile professors. They have got to get clean out of the ring".²²⁰ Thus Ethel found contemporary party politics as "chaotic ... demoralising and sterile of ideas ... divid[ing] politicians into Ins and Outs".²²¹ She called for a return to "definite lines of principle"; what her associate Willoughby de Broke called "First Principles, First Principles and again First Principles ... Duty and Efficiency", as opposed to the prevailing "[Conservative Party] morass compounded of the accumulation of years of huckstering, wire-pulling and opportunism".²²² The acceptance of the principle of women's suffrage by a section of the Tory Party, including Willoughby de Broke, was, for Ethel, symptomatic of its irresponsibility, by even considering the introduction of millions of new floating voters at a time of national crisis.²²³ What she wanted was an end to the 'dry rot' in

217. EC, Vocation, pp.286-287.

218. Ibid., p.287.

219. Ibid.

220. Sykes, Tariff Reform, p.117.

221. EC, Vocation, p.289.

222. Phillips, Diehards, pp.112, 157; Sykes, Tariff Reform, pp.257-262.

223. Ibid., p.290.

British politics:

A steady and consistent theory of the duty of the citizen to the State, and of the State to the citizen, however imperfect ... [would] bring some order to what is now an administrative chaos ... But ... we can never have such consistency unless one or other party in the State will adopt certain principles - and act upon them. If we are to have a socialistic state then let it be organised as such, and if it is to be a bureaucratic State, let us, at all events, reap some of the natural benefits of that system. At present we seem to get all the weak points and none of the strong ones of half-a-dozen conflicting theories ... [T]he disadvantage of having no system at all is that no one knows what to expect, and that a premium is put on the irresponsibility which is the natural outcome of public and private doles. (224)

Once definite party principles had been established, she thought that women could enter parliament as they had done in colonial and dominion legislatures:

Should that day ever dawn, for which many of us are straining our eyes, when our Empire is indeed one, when the Five Nations come together in one truly Imperial Parliament ... [Woman] can enter with confidence an arena of public usefulness where she can serve her country all the better because she is specifically and typically womanly. (224A)

Thus Ethel spanned the three main strands which characterised the Radical Right: the 'rationalist' approach which sought the greatest happiness of the greatest number in a society threatened by anarchy; a 'divine' view in which the basic social order was seen as divinely ordained; and a latent, Radical Tory approach, using innovative propagandistic methods to build up the Tory Party as the National Party of Principle, sharing Willoughby de Broke's concept of a society

224. EC, Vocation, pp.288, 293-294.

224A, Ibid., p.305.

in which "each man and woman would be known not by who they [were] but by what they [were]".²²⁵ Ironically, the more efficiently women of Ethel's calibre organised the opposition to women's suffrage, the more they seemed to bear out the suffragettes' contention that women could organise without men's aid.²²⁶ As one historian points out, the more active of the Antis were themselves New Women, prepared to discuss, debate, and campaign from public platforms.²²⁷ It provided Ethel with invaluable experience which, once she was 'liberated' in Rhodesia provided her with the strength to become the driving force behind the Responsible Government campaign, its 'deus' - or rather its "dea ex machina".

But while the anti-suffrage issue failed to unify the Radical Right, there had emerged in the meantime the issue they required, one which burst like a thunderclap on British politics after 1911 and threatened to bring the House down; one which intimately involved Ethel through her prominent positions in WUTRA, the NSL and the RCI, and through her association with the firebrand Willoughby de Broke, an issue which demonstrated forcefully the power of the patriotic periphery in the rescue of the centre, in an action which would have later echoes in Kenya and Rhodesia. In 1911 the Liberal government was committed to the introduction of Home Rule in Ireland. The Radical Right rallied to oppose it. It is important to focus on the crises because of Ethel's involvement and because of its implications for the

225. Phillips, op cit., p.156.

226. Rover, op cit., p.173.

227. Ibid.

relationship of the periphery to the centre in times of perceived crisis.

The Tories had strong ties of blood, sentiment, religion and property with the Unionists of Ireland, who were chiefly concentrated in the northern province of Ulster. "Essentially like ourselves", Lord Randolph Churchill once described them, "a dominant, imperial caste".²²⁸ True enough, that is how they saw themselves, a loyal "civilising force in hostile native territory" where they had been settled from England and Scotland in the seventeenth century.²²⁹ They regarded themselves as not merely British, but as an Imperial People, and Ulster as an Imperial Province on the oldest periphery of Empire.²³⁰ From its shipyards slipped the great warships and liners which bound their Empire together, while Union Jacks flew proudly over Orange Lodges across the distant dominions. "Shall the loyal be deserted and the disloyal [Irish nationalist majority] be set over them?" they asked.²³¹ Over the previous century both Liberal and Tory governments had whittled away at their privileges. "The dark, eleventh hour" was approaching, when despite their loyal record in holding Ireland for the Empire they would be betrayed, Kipling grimly warned:

228. Quoted in Morris, Heaven's Command, p.482. See also L P Curtis, Anglo Saxons and Celts: A study of Anti-Irish prejudice in Victorian England, (Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1968).

229. Miller, Queen's Rebels, p.1.

230. Ibid., p.118; Grainger, op cit., pp.175, 205, 252, 323.

231. Miller, Queen's Rebels., p.119.

We asked no more than leave
 To reap where we had sown
 Through good and ill to cleave
 To our own Flag and Throne ...
 The blood our fathers spilt,
 Our love, our toils, our pains
 Are counted as for guilt
 And only bind our chains
 Before an Empire's eyes
 The traitor claims his price.
 What need of further lies?
 We are the sacrifice.(232)

As the Radical Right saw it, Home Rule was the result of a corrupt, unpatriotic bargain by a government determined to keep itself in power, oblivious of the grave injury it was doing to the Empire.²³³ Like the Radical Left, they despised professional politicians as mere talkers, in contrast to men of action. Their enthusiasm for Ulster loyalism is explicable in these terms.²³⁴ This was a Jameson Raid on their doorstep: "Country-House Syndicalism" - the Samson mentality was reaching its apogee.^{234A}

As the Home Rule Bill passed through parliament, and with the Lords' veto curbed in 1911, the Radical Right rallied around Sir Edward Carson, a big impressive speaker, an eminent lawyer, a "Rhodes without an Africa".²³⁵ In July 1912 Bonar Law ominously reminded a mass rally that "there [were] things stronger than parliamentary majorities" and that he could imagine no length to which Ulster's resistance would go without his support.²³⁶ In September Carson launched his "Irish Solemn

232. R Kipling, "Ulster 1912", in The Years Between, (London, 1919), pp.9-12.

233. See K O Morgan, The Age of Lloyd George, (London, 1971), p.157.

234. Searle, "The Revolt from the Right", p.27.

234A. Ibid.

235. Morris, Farewell the Trumpets, p.223.

236. Sykes, Tariff Reform, p.284.

League and Covenant" which, in archaic tones reminiscent of the seventeenth century Scottish Covenant, pledged him and his followers "in this time of threatened calamity ... perilous to the unity of the Empire ... and injurious to [their] citizenship ... [to use] all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament ... and to refuse to recognise its authority", ambiguously concluded with 'God save the King'.²³⁷ The document was signed by hundreds of thousands of Unionists, some of them in their own blood. Orangemen from as far afield as Canada and Australia prepared to return to their aid, to "hold the pass" - Bonar Law's words - "not merely for Ulster, but for the Empire and save it by [their] example".²³⁸ A British Covenant on similar lines was circulated by Ethel's Women's Unionists, accompanied by a barrage of propaganda, and it was signed by thousands of British men and women.²³⁹ An Ulster Defence League was established by Walter Long, the Tory agricultural magnate while Willoughby de Broke set up the British League for the Defence of Ulster and the Union, supported by such notables as Kipling, Lords Beresford and Somerset (Navy League), Lords Roberts, Raglan and Meath (NSL and EDM), Lord Selborne (former South African High Commissioner), Lord Erne (Imperial Orange Grand Master), F E 'Galloper' Smith, Lord Astor, Baron Rothschild, Lord Iveagh and the Duke of Bedford.²⁴⁰ They included the British Army's own Director of Military Operations, General Sir Henry Wilson, 'a rabid Ulsterman'.²⁴¹ Sir Leander Starr Jameson returned from South Africa to

237. Quoted in A T W Stewart, Edward Carson, (Dublin, 1981), pp.77-78.

238. Sykes, Tariff Reform, p.284.

239. A P Ryan, Mutiny at the Curragh, (London, 1956), p.9.

240. J Marlow, Milner: Apostle of Empire, (London, 1976), p.221;

J McMillan, The Way We Were, 1900-1914, (London, 1978), p.126.

241. Marlowe, op cit.

offer his services, seeing in the Ulsterman another band of desperate uitlander in need of rescue, feeling a special bond with Carson, his defence counsel after the Raid.²⁴² Milner's hour had arrived. Here he saw a noble cause: "the rescue of a settler colony of superior British stock from submersion in a sea of inferior Celts" and, more than incidentally, the salvation of the Conservative Party through a dramatic return to first principles.²⁴³ "[T]here is only one road of salvation ... now", he advised Bonar Law, "it is to shout 'Ulster! Ulster!' all the time ... no running after Lloyd George, no mention of Tariff Reform".²⁴⁴ Milner meant business.

In 1913, while the Home Rule Bill was being delayed in the Lords, the Ulster Unionists, in collusion with the Tories, drew up plans for a Provisional Government of Ulster to seize power over the province once the Bill became law.²⁴⁵ They announced the formation of an Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) comprised of 100 000 Protestants to defend the new, and technically illegal, government.²⁴⁶ Finding himself too old for the job, Field Marshal Roberts found the force a suitable commander and committed the NSL wholeheartedly to support the UVF while Milner intrigued with British Army officers to refuse to obey the government's orders to disarm it.²⁴⁷ They needed little persuasion, with a high proportion of them traditionally drawn from the Anglo-Irish, the "junkers class" of Empire, and with the remainder

242. Stewart, Queen's Rebels, p.130; Edward Carson, p.54.

243. Marlowe, op cit., p.221. M Laffan, The Partition of Ireland, 1911-1925, (Dublin, 1983), p.27.

244. Sykes, Tariff Reform, p.284.

245. Stewart, Edward Carson, p.79.

246. Marlowe, op cit., p.222.

247. Marlow, op cit.

largely of the opinion that 'kith and kin' loyalties transcended traditional army obedience to government. After all, this was not an anti-imperial native rebellion; this was a rebellion in defence of Empire and all that they held dear. That is what it was. The UVF was the nearest approximation to Kipling's fictional Army of a Dream (1904), officered by elected members of the Irish Protestant gentry and financed by Ulster shipping barons and metropolitan Tory magnates.²⁴⁸ Here was the embodiment of National Efficiency: largely led by retired army officers using, in true Henty fashion, Hindustani, as a code, drawn into motorised divisions, regiments and a nursing corps (drawn from the Women's Unionists), with secret food supplies, evacuation plans and pension schemes and a rebel currency planned by Milner and Long of the UDL.²⁴⁹ It had an intelligence corps, a postal service, despatch riders, trucks and ambulances, in fact, a level of efficiency and innovation which the regular army would have envied. It was a truly Imperial army. In April 1914, 25 000 modern German rifles were landed on the coast of Ulster and whisked away in the dead of night, while army officers stationed in Ireland made clear that they would resign rather than coerce Ulster. "Magnificent! Magnificent!" Lord Roberts exclaimed to Carson, "nothing could have been better done".²⁵⁰ The government was now powerless while the UVF drilled with rifles at the ready and machine guns mounted on their 'T' Fords. "[O]f course it is illegal", Carson conceded, but he challenged the government to stop it.²⁵¹ Milner toyed with the idea of delaying the Army Annual Act, without which the British Army would technically

248. Morris, op cit., pp.224-227.

249. Ibid.

250. Quoted in J B Priestly, The Edwardians, (London, 1970), p.273.

251. Stewart, op cit., p.80.

cease to exist so preventing its use against Ulster, but Bonar Law had cold feet because then there would be nothing to hold down the 'industrial rabble'.²⁵² A few members of the Radical Right even considered bringing in Kaiser William II, as their ancestors had imported William of Orange in 1688, if the king did not 'do his duty' by vetoing the Home Rule Bill.²⁵³ Like the Ulstermen they had a contracted conception of government: they saw themselves as the defenders of the rights of British subjects and of the status quo against a tyrannous and revolutionary government. If the trust between the crown and British kin was violated by the crown, then so was the covenant that had bound them.²⁵⁴ Winston Churchill, then Liberal First Sea Lord, regarded this with cynicism: "[T]hose who have hitherto regarded themselves the 'party of law and order' [the Tories], how much they care for law [and] order when it stands in the way of anything they like".²⁵⁵

But they were in earnest. The Provisional Government of Ulster was established on 10 July, which included Women's Unionist Association members. Heavily involved in the crisis through her various organisations, Ethel wrote approvingly to The Times:

What the women of Ulster are doing is what the best women of all ages have always done ... at a time of national crisis - standing

252. Laffan, op cit., p.21.

253. See Miller, Queen's Rebels, for the most complete analysis of this phenomenon.

254. Ibid., Laffan, op cit., p.276.

255. Priestly, op cit., p.276.

behind their men, arming, encouraging and helping them. (256)

With Ireland - and Britain - poised on the brink of civil war in the summer of 1914, the crisis forced the government to consider the exclusion of Ulster from Home Rule and the crisis was temporarily defused by the outbreak of war in August 1914.

In the meantime Ethel was demonstrating her faith in the periphery in other less dramatic ways. In 1910 she contributed an article on colonial poetry in United Empire which revealed her admiration for the 'younger nations [which were] ... springing into manhood', evoked in the ballads of the colonies.²⁵⁷ Among them 'Banjo' Patterson and Henry Lawson of Australia, Robert Service of Canada and Thomas Pringle of South Africa. But it was Rhodesian, Kingsley Fairbridge, who most attracted her Kiplingesque attentions. She found his Veld Verse 'irresistable' particularly his nature poetry. She was impressed by his "rather strong Nietzschean admiration for the strong superman of action".²⁵⁹ The affinity is understandable. Fairbridge, like Parkin, epitomised colonial manhood for her. Reared in the remote Eastern Highlands of Rhodesia where he roamed as a boy, like Archibald Colquhoun he tired of the office stool and turned to farming and

256. E Colquhoun to Editor, The Times, 9.6.14. The author enquired about the whereabouts of the Women's Unionist Association papers at the Conservative Party Headquarters in London and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where the Conservative Party papers are held. Unfortunately the WUA papers cannot be traced, so that the full extent of Ethel's involvement in the Ulster crisis cannot be chronicled.

257. E Colquhoun, "[On Some Overseas] Poetry", UE, Vol.1, 1910, pp.709-720.

258. Ibid., p.719.

259. Ibid.

hunting. He became a Rhodes scholar at Oxford, for him a particular honour since he had met Rhodes himself and remembered him as "something more than human".²⁶⁰ Like Ethel, he pitied the destitute children he saw in the East End of London, a sympathy he crystallised in his Child Emigration Scheme, which sought to send waifs and strays to the empty, healthy dominions to learn rugged chivalry, military efficiency, agricultural and technical training, motherhood and loyalty to their Empire.²⁶¹ "True to the traditions of a younger nation", Ethel wrote of him, "he is practical, even in his ideals":

His dream is the building of a nation, the filling up of those wide, sweet spaces ... fit cradle for the nation to be, but still far too empty.(262)

Ethel's focus on this colonial paladin is significant, not least for her belief that Rhodesia ought to be considered as a nation separate from the rest of South Africa, a distinction which was still far from certain in reality.

It also indicates her preference for Rhodesia, of all the colonies, not merely because Colquhoun had helped to found it, but because she, like Fairbridge, regarded it as a colony as yet 'uncreated' with wide scope for the practical Empire Builder.²⁶³ She and Archibald also made their Rhodesian separatism clear at the Rhodesian Annual Dinner in London in 1911 when they greeted the Union of South Africa Agent General's reference to the possibility of Rhodesia joining the Union

260. K Fairbridge, Kingsley Fairbridge: His Life and Verse, [Autobiography], (Bulawayo [reprint edn.], 1974).

261. Ibid., pp.3, 230.

262. EC, "Poetry", p.719.

263. Ibid., p.720.

with "a chilly silence" and cries of 'Never'.²⁶⁴

Ethel continued to use United Empire as a vehicle for imperial education publishing two more articles on the Begum Sumroo of India and on Sir Stanford Raffles, the founder of Singapore, while Archibald promoted the causes of strong defence and colonial land settlement as editor of United Empire and further enhanced his reputation with lecture tours warning of the dangers of the Balkan crises.²⁶⁵ In the late summer of 1914, the 'whirlpool' so vividly described by the Colquhouns drew in the great powers of Europe and the British Empire was at war.

This was the moment they had long feared, but expected. The RCI immediately put its resources behind the war effort - volunteering, accommodation, hospitals, nursing, ambulances and the co-ordination of transport, recruiting and propaganda.²⁶⁶ Colquhoun further revitalised United Empire and together with Ethel and William Grant published a small handbook of facts about the war entitled Our Just Cause which they distributed throughout organisations and libraries in Britain, the Empire and the USA.²⁶⁷ Ethel produced a revised edition and there were letters of praise from Balfour and Bonar Law.²⁶⁸

Ethel's nephew was killed in action in France shortly after his

264. "Third Rhodesian Annual Dinner [Programme], June 27, 1911", (in the author's possession); RR, p.64.

265. E Colquhoun, "An Amazon of India", UE, Vol.4, 1913, pp.786-792; "Sir Stanford Raffles", *ibid.*, pp.387-390.

266. Reese, *op cit.*, p.110.

267. EC, "Colquhoun: A Memoir", p.106.

268. *Ibid.*

arrival at the front.²⁶⁹ In October she called in The Times for the organisation of women. "The war may force a return to simpler methods of life", she enthused, "Middle class woman must become once again mistress of her kingdom".²⁷⁰ A month later Archibald became ill and died in December in much pain and discomfort, though she was heartened by messages of sympathy from Lord Curzon and "from every corner of the globe".²⁷¹

Alone but undaunted she continued her war work. In early 1915 she established the first free buffet for servicemen at London's Paddington Station under the auspices of the War Office²⁷² and in May she was appointed joint editor of United Empire which provided a welcome £250 a year.²⁷³ But love took precedence over the RCI, for shortly afterwards she met John Tawse Jollie, from Melsetter in Rhodesia, who, according to Ethel's surviving sister-in-law, had fallen in love with her through the letters she had written to him on Archibald's behalf.²⁷⁴ Now she was 'available'. Tawse Jollie was a Scottish-born 41-year old Rhodesian policeman turned farmer, a veteran of the Matabele, Mashona, Anglo-Boer and Zulu campaigns. He saw active service in East Africa against the Germans in 1914-15 and now he was in Britain on leave.²⁷⁵ At 39, Ethel was not getting any younger,²⁷⁶

269. Fleming Interview, op cit.

270. E Colquhoun, "Women and Unemployment", The Times, 29.10.14.

271. EC, "Colquhoun: A Memoir", p.107.

272. Vickery, op cit., p.77.

273. D H Simpson, Librarian, Royal Commonwealth Society, to the author, 29.8.85.

274. Mrs Sybil Cookson, op cit.

275. Vickery, op cit., p.77.

276. She was 38 years old in 1914.

particularly when she longed for children, and there was a greater shortage of men than ever as the war dragged on inconclusively. Besides, here again was the romance of being the wife of a Rhodesian pioneer, for, as she remarked after Colquhoun's death, "whenever [she thought] of the sky and the sun-washed spaces of Africa ... they seemed ... to fit in as a background to [her late] husband better than any environment [she had] known".²⁷⁷ "They are clear and big", she recalled, "and [they] give one the feeling of impersonality - of the smallness of one's life and the greatness of things that really matter - all this is in the African atmosphere".²⁷⁸ English houses gave her "a strange shut-in feeling"²⁷⁹ and England had come to represent "over-civilisation ... crowded streets and teeming sordid slum houses, whole families liv[ing] in little boxes superimposed one on top of the other";²⁸⁰ where people were "emasculated by the so-called civilisation which, by packing them in sardine-wise, deprive[d] them of the backbone needed for an independent attitude".²⁸¹

Their courtship was brief. She handed in her notice to the RCI and the couple were married in St James Parish Church, Westminster on 30 October in the presence of Archibald's nephew and her brother, Ted (now Assistant Commissioner in the Gold Coast).²⁸²

277. EC, "Colquhoun: A Memoir", pp.103-104.

278. *Ibid.*, p.104.

279. E Tawse Jollie, "A Quiet Day [in Rhodesia]", Blackwoods Magazine, Vol.228, 1930, p.874.

280. *Ibid.*, p.867.

281. RR, p.7.

282. Marriage of John Tawsie Jollie and Ethel Maude Colquhoun, Register Book of Marriages belonging to the Parish Church of St James's Westminster, 1915, p.154.

Like many of her philosophical outlook, like her associate, Willoughby de Broke, Ethel had become incurably atavistic and Africa offered escape. "England is small - much too small", remarked Denys Finch-Hatton, intimate of the authoress and Ethel's contemporary in Kenya, Karen Blixen,²⁸³ "I shall go to Africa, I need space".²⁸⁴ He and his associates were 'outcasts', Blixen recalled, for "theirs was an earlier England, a world which no longer existed. In the present epoch they had no home ..."²⁸⁵ By 1915, for someone of Ethel's outlook, escape seemed opportune. The war was not going well for Britain. Even with its vaunted sea power the island-fortress was no longer proof against coastal raiders, U-boats and zeppelin bombings. True, the dominions - the "Wards of the Outer March" - had rallied to the colours as the imperialists hoped they would, and with military disasters in the Near and Middle East the government was at last preparing to introduce conscription to fill the ranks in Flanders. The centre was holding. The working classes had been successfully nationalised by German-style pre-war social reform legislation and had volunteered in droves to defend King and Empire. But the war was almost destroying the social system of the British upper-classes, decimating their ranks in the trenches and liberating their servants from deference as British women found a new assertiveness. It was an unfamiliar world. Even before Ethel set sail for Africa she was, intellectually speaking, already an exile.

283. Quoted in E Trzebinski, Silence Will Speak: A Study of the Life of Denys Finch Hatton and his relationship with Karen Blixen, (London, 1977), p.41.

284. I Dinesen (Karen Blixen), Out of Africa, (London, 1938), p.213.

285. Ibid.

Part II

A green and pleasant land

... The hazy blue of her mountains,
 The waft of the veldt-born scent,
 The easy swing of the saddle,
 Which lulls to a calm content;
 The sky for a roof above you,
 The green for your tired eyes,
 And the calling, calling backward
 To the life that satisfies ...

(Anon., "The Call of Rhodesia", from Third Annual Rhodesian Dinner
 [programme] London, June 27, 1911, attended by
 Ethel and Archibald Colquhoun)

I looked, and beheld ...
 The brown of the veld, the unending immensity,
 League after league of the houseless and homeless,
 The smokeless, the gardenless wealth of the desert,
 The rivers unfish'd and the valleys unhunted,
 An empire peopled with nothing - a country
 Abandoned to emptiness, yearning for people,
 A mother well fit for the birth of a nation.

(Kingsley Fairbridge, "Veld Verse")

Prologue: "Et in Arcadia Ego"

I have visited your cities
 Where the unregenerate dwell;
I have trilled the ploughman's ditties
 To the mill-wheel and the well.
I have heard the poised lark's singing
 To the blue of summer skies'
The whirr of pheasants winging,
 And the crash when grouse arise

But I sigh for the heat of the veldt, and the cool flowing river;
For the crack of the trek-whip, the shimmer of dust-laden noon:
For the day sudden dying; the croak of the frogs and the shiver
Of tropical night, and the stars, and the low-hanging moon.
... I pine for the roar of the lion at the edge of the clearing;
For the rustle of grass-snakes; the birds' flashing wing in the heath;
For the sun-shrivelled peaks of the mountains to blue heaven rearing;
The limitless outlook, the space, and the freedom beneath.

(William Hamilton, "The Song of an Exile", 1917.
[Hamilton was killed in action in France in 1917])

Southward from the town of Umtali, in the remote Eastern Highlands of Rhodesia, a road wound steeply into the foothills of the Chimanimani Mountains through forests of green pines, wattles and blue gums, the air thinning and cooling as it climbed. It passed through the little settlement of Melsetter at a bracing 1 554 metres and then sloped gently on to the embryonic township of Chipinga. In places it was little more than a game-track and up to three spans of oxen were needed to haul the wagons through the deep, slippery river beds and around high mountain ridges where there was the constant danger of landslides. Frequently the tick-borne African coast fever ravaged the oxen herds, killing over a thousand head in 1916 alone.¹ Then the journey took three days by horse and ten by donkey cart, if the weather was clement. But when it rained, the sandy roads quickly turned into quagmires that cut the district off for weeks, sometimes months. Chipinga was a fitting terminus for this 250 kilometre trek: in the Tsanga dialect 'Tshipinga' meant "something that impedes a traveller".² Still, the life of the district revolved around this track. It brought the mail and supplies, and a chance meeting with an outspanned stranger could provide the topic of conversation in many a lonely homestead, until the next road-weary traveller passed by.³

East of Chipinga the countryside opened up into rolling hills and

1. See S. Sinclair, *The Story of Melsetter*, (Salisbury 1970), p.81; E Colquhoun Jollie (hereafter ETJ), "[Some Humours of] Housekeeping in Rhodesia", *Blackwoods Magazine*, Vol 214, 1916, p.644; NAZ Oral/CRI Philip Abraham Cremer MBE, pp.1-3 (Note Chipinga is now called Chipinge.)
2. The author is indebted to the late Mr R.C. Smith of Harare for this reference, and for providing him with numerous anecdotes and a contemporary map of the area in 1984.
3. ETJ. "The Back of Beyond [in Rhodesia]", *UE*, Vol 7, 1916, pp.772.

wooded valleys, made more vivid in springtime when the msasa trees came into flower. Technically, this was South Melsetter, but everyone called it Gazaland, the 'Back of Beyond'⁴ but nevertheless one of the most beautiful and fertile districts in the territory. "[H]ow much more intense is everything here", wrote the explorer Carl Peters in his Eldorado of the Ancients, "light, colour, even the air ... One cannot well describe it, ... the finest climate in the world".⁵ Gazaland had singular historical associations for Ethel, who gratefully regarded Archibald Colquhoun as the man responsible for wresting it from the Portuguese in 1890, and she concurred with Peters: this was "the fairest spot in Africa,⁶ ... Arcady".⁷

The Tawse Jollies farmed vegetables, cattle, pigs and poultry at Chibuzana in the Ratelshoek district, between Chipinga and the Mozambique border. Ethel delighted in the self-sufficiency of the place - their own meat, mealies, fruit and coffee, even the hens conveniently laid their eggs in the guest room next to the wardrobe!⁸ For culinary variety Jack used to shoot a passing buck 'for the pot', and predatory lions and leopards provided them with interesting and exotic rugs.⁹ The homestead was a thatched mud-walled bungalow with a wide stoep (verandah), sheltered by tall gum trees on a slope overlooking the Mozambique border. It was, she realised, a far cry

4. ETJ. "The Back of Beyond [in Rhodesia]", UE, Vol 7, 1916, pp.769-775.

5. Quoted in S.P. Olivier, Many Treks made Rhodesia, (Cape Town, 1957), pp.11-12.

6. ETJ, "The Back of Beyond", p.774.

7. ETJ, "Housekeeping in Rhodesia", p.651.

8. Ibid., p.647.

9. ETJ, "The Back of Beyond", pp.770-771.

from Kensington and Mayfair: she had no cupboard, no larder, not even a kitchen sink and no 'proper' cook.¹⁰ Ethel struggled to master the local African dialects and broke with convention by training a staff of housemaids instead of the usual 'houseboys'.¹¹ She had a major domo, Benjamin, who was a 'full-grown boy' of twenty, a Christian convert given to singing hymns and 'God Save the King' as he turned the milk separator, and easily identified by his 'silver' handled umbrella.¹² Ethel's arrival brought an end to Jack's blissful bachelor's existence - no more "shaving at long intervals, [wearing] pyjamas all Sunday, smoking ad lib in bed with breakfast at all hours".¹³ She cleared a garden and applied her book-keeping skills to Jack's trading store, ambitiously named "the Gazaland Trading Company".

But, if this was 'Arcadia', Jack was a very poor Pan. Chibuzana was a meagre, fly-stricken holding, at barely 100 morgen too small to be economically viable and never out of debt - 'marking time' as farmers optimistically called it.¹⁴ Although the African village on the farm had to provide a certain amount of work at current wages,

10. ETJ, "Housekeeping in Rhodesia", p.641.

11. *Ibid.*, p.645.

12. *Ibid.*, p.644.

13. *Ibid.*, p.641.

("She's coming!" - so he said today, over the mid-day bone,
 "Cheer up, you blighter!" so he said. "We'd be long alone!
 She'll give us decent food at last - buck up, and wag your tail!
 The Only Woman's on the way - she's coming by the mail!" ...
 You can't be lonely, surely, when I'm lying by the bed?
 I mayn't be much to look at, but I'm fairly cleanly bred -
 I can't play Bridge, or Poker - but you've pals about that can
 And anyway, the Thing that's coming out is not a Man!")

(H. Cullen Gouldsbury, "The Bachelor's Dog")
 14. ETJ, "A Quiet Day", p.866. Interview with Mr and Mrs Herbst of Chipinge (who bought Chibuzana from Ethel in 1935) 2.9.84.

there was a perennial shortage of labour, made more acute by Jack's responsibility for a neighbouring farm whose owner had gone to the war.¹⁵ Jack's liquid assets too often proved to be of the alcoholic variety, - a legacy of the days when the bottle was the pioneer's best friend - especially after an evening's reminiscences at the local police camp.¹⁶ Still, he was as jovial as his surname suggested, a popular secretary of the South Melssetter Farmers' Association.¹⁷ By all accounts he was always a gentleman with Ethel, despite her latent views on the virtues of temperance. He took her on evening rides and low-budget safaris into Portuguese territory and down into the hot Sabi valley where sable, eland, buffalo and rhino still roamed, and on hikes through the Selinda Forest, surrounded by their dogs, in search of wild flowers, for she was a keen botanist.¹⁸ Here she succumbed to the wearing of jodhpurs for reasons of convenience, perhaps the origin of one of her many later nicknames, "Trousers Jollie".¹⁹ She later lamented that too few Rhodesians followed the Boer custom of a trek or

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15. R.C. Smith, Rhodesia: A Postal History (Salisbury 1970), pp.86-87.
16. Interview with J.J. Schoutz of Chipinge, 2.9.84. On one occasion, when Jack was returning to Chibuzana, he was so drunk that he could not negotiate a low lying bridge and drove into the river bed. There he remained until a neighbour found him the next morning. "God has been good to you!", the neighbour shouted from the bridge. Jack rose in the driver's seat, raised his bottle in the air and said, "The Devil's been good to me too!" Herbst interview op.cit.
17. Ibid., R/hodesia A/dvertiser, 7.9.16 and 3.8.17.
18. Interview with Mr Hereward Cripps, Vumba, Zimbabwe, 4.9.84. Mr Cripps, a former cattle inspector, knew the Tawse Jollies well during this period. (The author is grateful to Mrs Barbara Heath-Stubbs of Vumba for arranging this interview.) Also, Miss T. Rose, Harare to the author, 14.2.88. (Miss Rose grew up in the Chipinga district, where her father was Government Medical Officer.)
19. Interview, Mrs Muriel Rosin, Harare, 26.7.84.

camping party on the veld - "certainly the most health-giving form of recreation", she wrote. "A new country need[ed] particularly the simpler forms of amusement, of wholesome, hearty family joys, of simple comfort, well-cooked food shared with friends, hospitality without effort and without display".²⁰ This she had come to realise in Gazaland. At first the bracken, the grey mist and the melancholy cry of the curlew reminded her of the north of England, but she soon found that such comparisons were limited, so different were the colours of the flora, the reflected light, the sound of the fish eagle at sunrise and the sensation of living close to nature. This was home from home.²¹

"Next year will be better" was an old Rhodesian proverb and, with more romance than money, Jack built her a handsome new farmhouse with home-made furniture of Rhodesian teak and mahogany, some of it converted from dynamite and packing cases.²² This was in keeping with her hope that the Rhodesian home would develop "a character of its own and ceas[e] to reproduce endlessly the little drawing rooms with their cretonne, and silver photograph frames, and the little dining-rooms with their fumed oak suites which might be found in South Kensington or Birmingham".²³ When the rains came and flooded the river that

20. ETJ, RR, p.126.

21. ETJ, "The Back of the Beyond", p.773; "Housekeeping in Rhodesia", *passim*; "The Romance of Melsetter [; Remote Rhodesia named from the Orkneys]", *Rhodesia Annual*, Vol.2, 1927-8, pp.125, 128-130.

22. Herbst interview, *op cit.* Of the farmhouse, little now remains except the foundations, secluded in a copse of wattle and gum trees on the Tanganda Tea Estate which acquired the property in the 1950s. The author is grateful to the estate manager at Ratelshoek for providing directions to the site.

23. ETJ, RR, p.126.

divided the old farmhouse from the new site, Jack and Ethel could be seen with their workers hauling the building materials across a precarious tree-trunk bridge, drenched to the skin.²⁴ It was not uncommon for farmers' wives to engage in manual work and, though Ethel was a lady by upbringing, manual labour was neither beneath nor beyond her.²⁵ Once, when money was short, Jack went off transport riding leaving Ethel to manage the farm. When a veld fire swept through it she rallied the workers and beat back the flames from dawn till dusk. The stock was saved but she had to begin planting all over again.²⁶ "When one changes one's continent," she wrote philosophically, "one must also be prepared for a wholesale re-evaluation of the things of daily life ... [T]he sense of proportion which worked infallibly in Kensington or Mayfair may be hopelessly at fault in mid-Africa".²⁷ Fourteen years later she described her struggle in more Darwinian terms: "[I]f we do not work, neither do we eat ... and in the fight for a living we are up against Nature, and she has no mercy for weaklings. There is, thank God, the adventure of living every day".²⁸

For all the romance, the marriage brought no children, leaving a void in Ethel's life which household chores and the scant social life of the district could scarcely fill. Her developing interest in local political issues was symptomatic of her steady abandonment of hope for a love child. In compensation, she brought out slum children from

24. ETJ, "A Quiet Day", p.867.

25. Herbst interview, *op cit*.

26. *Ibid.*, ETJ, "A Quiet Day", pp.872-873.

27. ETJ, "Housekeeping in Rhodesia", pp.872-873.

28. ETJ, "A Quiet Day", p.874.

Britain to learn farming techniques, veld-craft and the virtues of self-sufficiency.²⁹ This was - apart from her writing - her sole link with Britain. She was over 200 kilometres from a railway, a bank and - no doubt to Jack's regret and her relief - a public house. The nearest telephone was 30 kilometres away. She could only "make her soul" once a year at Umtali parish church.³⁰ The Royal Mail arrived weekly, "well cooked" on the head of an African runner, an important event for her as she had taken over her neighbour's postal agency while he was away at the front, and postal collection brought welcome contact with neighbouring settlers. Customers would come searching for mail and perhaps stay to discuss the war over a cup of coffee.³¹ Otherwise, there was the American Mission at Mount Selinda, "a sort of Mecca" they all made for when they wanted "to feel civilised again".³² Veld fires notwithstanding, the pace of life rarely exceeded that of the ox.³³

Commercially the district had advanced little beyond the barter stage. Ethel would exchange a ham for a few spare cartridges and exchange

29. Interview with Mrs Sarah Webster (G.1894), Chipinge, 2.9.84. The author is deeply grateful to Mr and Mrs P. Bishoff of Chipinge for their hospitality, including introductions to the 'old-timers' of the district and for the generous use of their motor car.

30. ETJ, "The Back of Beyond", p.770.

31. Ibid., p.774.

32. Ibid., p.770.

33. Ibid., p.775.

"What do we know of the city's scorn, the hum of the world amaze, Hot-foot haste, and the fevered dawn, and forgotten yesterdays? Men may strain and women may strive in busier lands today, But the Pace of the Ox is the pace to thrive in the land of veld and vlei".

(H. Cullen Gouldsbury, "The Pace of the Ox")

coffee for a couple of piglets.³⁴ The "coin of the realm" was scarce in Gazaland for very few of the settlers were remittance men.³⁵ A railway would have made a great difference to the district's agricultural potential by providing quicker access to markets and readier availability of supplies. The settlers' Railway Committee, supported by the Rhodesian Agricultural Union (RAU), gained little from the government except vague promises and meagre grants for road-building "on the cheap".³⁶ According to the government there was little inducement to produce more than was necessary for local consumption.³⁷ Ethel was impatient: "When shall we get that railway?" she asked, "Never, I say, if we sit here waiting for our cows to calve".³⁸

But the Gazaland settlers were politically disunited and the chief reason for this weakness lay in the nature of the settlement. It had been founded by George Dunbar-Moodie, a tough-skinned Natalian fortune hunter who made his way into Rhodes's coterie in 1891 with a scheme to settle 100 Boer families in the region. The idea appealed to Rhodes because the Afrikaners would take their characteristically large families with them and their settlement would strengthen the BSA Company's claim to administer the area.³⁹ This strategic rather than economic motive for the venture seriously undermined the district's

34. ETJ, "Housekeeping in Rhodesia", p.649.

35. ETJ, "The Back of Beyond", p.771.

36. Kennedy, op cit., p.27. See also NAZ Oral/WE.3 Mrs Susanna Webster, p.7.

37. Kennedy, op cit., p.27.

38. ETJ, "The Back of Beyond", p.775.

39. Kennedy, op cit., pp.23-24.

subsequent developments, and largely determined its ethnic composition.⁴⁰

Dunbar-Moodie used the influence of his relatives in the Orange Free State to recruit 29 Boer families of whom less than half stayed the course to Gazaland. As soon as they reached "the land flowing with milk and honey" the Moodies christened it Melsetter, after their ancestral home in the Orkneys.⁴¹ This was followed by the most extensive alienation of land in Mashonaland since the 1840s when Mzila led his Shangana warriors into Gazaland and declared himself paramount chief over its indigenous Ndau tribe.⁴² The Boer 'invasion' was bloodless but more complete. They rode off their farms in the Boer fashion - an hour's ride at walking pace from one homestead to another - or 6 350 acres, providing enough land for their sons among whom it would be divided on their deaths.⁴³ They were an avowedly pentateuchal people. They erected a monument in thanksgiving and named it 'Ebenhaezer', and they vowed to keep the dedication day sacred every five years thereafter.⁴⁴ More treks, large and small, followed enticed by encouraging reports and 'exodic' sermons preached in the local kerks. Some comprised English-speakers who were subsequently absorbed by the volk, but most were bywoners - landless labourers and illiterate subsistence farmers who often had only a vague idea of

40. Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.24.

41. *Ibid.*, p.24.

42. R. Palmer, "[The] Agricultural History [of Rhodesia]", in R. Palmer and N. Parsons (eds) *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*, (London, 1977), pp.224-226, 235; B. Kosmin, "The Inyoka Tobacco Industry of the Shangwe People: The Displacement of a Pre-Colonial Economy in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1938", *ibid.*, p.277; R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination [in Rhodesia]*, (London, 1977), pp.14, 19, 39, 41-44, 87, 90.

43. Palmer, "Agricultural History", p.226.

44. Sinclair, *op cit*, p.19.

where Gazaland could be found.⁴⁵ They were spurred on by the old Boer quest for vryheid - freedom: freedom from the intrusion of a neighbour's chimney smoke on the horizon, from taxes, debt collectors, disease, hunger and government interference. In search of this new Zion some Boers trekked as far as Kenya, where they were despised as shensies for their poverty by the British and they kept to themselves.⁴⁶ The trekboers of Gazaland were in this mould. Isolation and material and intellectual poverty had made them self-contained, separated from their British neighbours by language, custom and experience; a difference which was typified by Hendrik Steyn, leader of the 1894 Trek, respected father of seven sons, with a patriarchal beard and Mosaic staff.⁴⁷ Disease and starvation took a heavy toll as they trekked, and, long after their arrival, infant mortality, illiteracy, malnutrition and destitution remained common.⁴⁸ When African labour was lacking, the women and children hoed the land. When the crops failed and the cattle died they turned to transport riding and bartered with the Africans for food. They achieved a kind of equilibrium.⁴⁹

45. Olivier, op cit., ch.1.

46. Kennedy, op cit., p.58. The author is indebted to Dr H.C. Hummel who grew up in East Africa, for the shensies reference. See also D.N. Beach, "Afrikaner and Shona Settlement in the Enkeldoorn Area, 1890-1900", Zambezia, Vol.1, 1970, pp.25-34; and R. Hodder-Williams, "Afrikaners in Rhodesia: a Partial Portrait", African Social Research, Vol.18, 1974, pp.611-642.

47. Olivier, op cit., p.43.

48. Kennedy, op cit., p.26.

49. Ibid., Indeed, the Afrikaners of Gazaland were - and remain - the most permanent of all Rhodesian settlers. When the author visited the area in 1984, they seemed absolutely of their soil. Yet the loyalties of some of them remained extra-territorial. In one spartan dwelling the author noticed a photograph of the late Hendrik Verwoerd, South African Prime Minister (1958-66), and on the wall there were tapestries of the 1938 and 1949 commemorative treks. The author had no need to ask about the political allegiance of his dour but courteous host.

Ethel shared the characteristic British contempt for this archaic, potentially seditious people. Little had changed since the 1890s, she observed. The Afrikaners had had "a most unfortunate effect on the development of the district ... Men without capital and not in touch with modern methods of agriculture", who contributed little revenue to the state.⁵⁰ To her they seemed happy in their indigence, with their home-spun clothes, home-cured leather boots, mealie porridge and soap and candles made from pig-fat.⁵¹ Her stereotyped Afrikaner was a "tall, thin loose-jointed individual, whose hair, complexion and clothes all seemed to acquire the same dust colour, [wearing] a ragged slouch hat".⁵² She pictured him out-spanned under a broad acacia tree, happy to chew the cud of his thoughts with biltong and coffee and - his favourite reading - the advertisements from the patent medicine vendor.⁵³ If he could read, that is, for over half of the districts' European children were totally illiterate "despite liberal [education] grants from Government".⁵⁴ In 1913, the Education Officer had found at least one local European whose letters had to be read by a 'native'.⁵⁵

Ethel blamed much of this degeneracy on the Afrikaans language they spoke, in her opinion a bastard, hybrid Dutch that isolated them from the commercial and scientific benefits of modern civilisation, compounded by their republican sympathies and lack of enthusiasm for

50. ETJ, "The Back of Beyond", p.771.

51. Ibid.

52. RR, p.131.

53. Ibid., p.132.

54. ETJ, "The Back of Beyond", p.771.

55. Challis, op cit., p.115.

the British Empire.⁵⁶ She did not believe protestations to the contrary, particularly after the Boer revolt against the Union government following the outbreak of war in 1914.⁵⁷ This, together with their extraordinary prolificacy, made the Boers of Rhodesia seem to her a Trojan horse in the way of progress, a people as far removed from imperialists of Ethel's ilk as Moses from Pharaoh.⁵⁸

The climate and terrain of Gazaland, and its isolation and self-sufficiency, made it easy for its inhabitants to forget that the district formed only a fraction of Rhodesia.⁵⁹ But once on the open veld that lay beyond the Sabi valley all similarities with England disappeared: this was Africa and no mistake. There was plenty of horizon. Southern Rhodesia was nearly three times the size of England - 389 000 square kilometres, 825 kilometres wide and 725 kilometres long; naturally fronted by the rivers Zambezi in the north and Limpopo in the south, the Eastern Highlands, and the Kalahari Desert in the west. It was dominated by the High Veld (25%), a predominately flat plateau over 1 220 metres high running north-east to south-west. Like the Ndebele invaders before them, the European settlers were attracted to this cool, fertile and comparatively well-watered region. The remainder comprised the Middle Veld (40%) between 915 and 1 200 metres where most of the native reserves were located, and the Low Veld (35%) below 915 metres, ravaged by tsetse fly and sparsely

56. E. Colquhoun Jollie (ETJ) The Future of Rhodesia, (Bulawayo, 1977), p.20.

57. Ibid., p.19.

58. Ibid., p.20

59. ETJ, "The Romance of Melssetter", p.125; Kennedy, op cit, p.27.

populated.⁶⁰ In 1916 the whole territory was home to approximately 800 000 Africans and 28 320 Europeans.⁶¹

For Ethel, size was the territory's dominant feature and, significantly, neither Rhodes's grave nor the ruins of Zimbabwe which she fancied as Ophir - King Solomon's Mines - adequately symbolised Rhodesia.⁶² Only the Victoria Falls could fulfill that role, a spectacle which revealed dramatically her atavism. "Here, if anywhere", she wrote, "Nature has symbolized the Spirit of Africa - the immensity, the brooding charm, the untamed violence - something contradictory, elemental and fierce, yet calm and fatalistic".⁶³ The Falls also heightened her imperialism for here, too, the imperial technique was present. According to Rhodes's wishes they were spanned by the highest bridge in the world so that the spray from the Falls would fall on the train as it steamed over "impertinent ... impossibly high and mysteriously wide", was Ethel's description⁶⁴ - a construction far more daring than the canals of Staffordshire. Here and in other parts of the territory, she conceded, one could find so sophisticated a veneer that one could imagine oneself "in the South of France or Surbiton", but she insisted that "Nature [would] assert

60. See G. Kay, *Rhodesia: A Human Geography* (London, 1970).

61. M.E. Lee, "[The Origins of the Rhodesian] Responsible Government Movement", *Rhod/esian/ Hist/ory*, Vol.6, 1975, p.33; Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.426. There was also a small mixed race community and several hundred Indians who were economically significant though politically weak. See B. Kosmin, "Freedom, Justice and Commerce". Some factors affecting Asian Trading Patterns in Southern Rhodesia 1897-1942", *Rhod. Hist.*, Vol. 5, 1975, pp.15-32.

62. RR, pp. 3, 9. (She had already viewed it by aeroplane, *ibid.*, p.240, Cripps interview, *op cit.*)

63. RR, p.3.

64. Ibid.

itself in some rough, barbaric way".⁶⁵ She warned that any would-be settlers would forever feel alien unless he echoed this "untamed ... spirit of Africa".⁶⁶

The climate was certainly different from Surbiton's. The settlers liked to believe it was the finest in the Empire.⁶⁷ Southern Rhodesia lay entirely within the Tropic of Capricorn, but, apart from the Low Veld, the climate was less than tropical. Sunshine was as perennial as the rain in England and "once a man soaked in that sunshine", Ethel warned, "he [would] not feel he could live without it".⁶⁸ October was oppressive, at 38°C, "hot enough ... to make an old Anglo-Indian feel at home".⁶⁹ The settlers called it "Suicide Month" because - rumour had it - the heat made melancholics on isolated farms more likely to end it all.⁷⁰ True or not, this belief mirrored settler anxiety about the effects of sunlight on 'Teutonic' races, with alleged results ranging from sunstroke to infertility in the third generation.⁷¹ Such concern with race regeneration was typical of the Edwardian angst, though Ethel was sceptical. "Direct sunlight coupled with living in glorified oven[s] of corrugated iron" led to a "waste of nervous tissue", but she was sure the problem could be alleviated by the wearing of adequate headgear.⁷²

Of much greater general concern was the problem of malaria. Ethel

65. RR, p.3.

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*, pp.111-115.

68. *Ibid.*, p.112.

69. *Ibid.*, pp.112-113.

70. See Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.2.

71. *Ibid.*, p.289.

72. RR, p.122.

herself suffered from it but she took regular quinine treatment.⁷³ Considerable progress had been made since 1899 when the BSA Company appointed Dr Andrew Fleming as Medical Director. Hitherto, the settlers had largely relied on whisky as a cure-all. Mother Patrick, the pioneer nurse, used to say that whisky killed one-third of her malarial patients and fright another third.⁷⁴ Fleming and his team set about clearing stagnant pools, improving sanitation and providing dispensaries in tribal areas to combat malaria and smallpox. Mosquito nets became more popular and government legislation on workers' diets led to a general decline in the European and Africa mortality rates.⁷⁵ In most of her writings Ethel was at pains to demonstrate the suitability of the territory for European settlement, claiming that the battle against disease had been largely won.⁷⁶ She dismissed completely the widespread belief that a visit to England every three or four years was indispensable to health. Most settlers could not afford such visits without sinking further into debt and the difficulty of travel in wartime had proved that such visits could be done without. "Too many [settlers]" she lamented, "are so much concerned with keeping in touch with England that they never really find Rhodesia. It is, of course, partly a form of snobbery which leads so many women (more than men) to insist on this trip home, for Rhodesia is only one generation removed from England, and not to visit the tombs of one's ancestors gives the impression that one has

73. RR, p.122.

74. Ibid., p.120.

75. Ibid., pp.120-121; Gann and Duiguan, Rulers, pp.306-307; M. Gelfand, Tropical Victory: An Account of the Influence of Medicine on the History of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1923, (Cape Town, 1953).

76. ETJ, RR, pp.120-121.

none".⁷⁷ Since less than half of them were British born she hoped such visits would decline in number.⁷⁸

On the face of it this was an ebulliently British community, a feature which was most strongly represented in the capital, Salisbury, a town that was known for its stuffiness and conventions.⁷⁹ As in all Rhodesian towns, the small resident African population was confined by a system of pass laws to locations on its outskirts, out of sight and out of mind to all but a handful of white officials. Despite the settlers' classless self-image, the town's white community had a segregation of its own based not on money per se but on social class defined by 'background'.⁸⁰ Broadly speaking, 'Trade' lived in the southern districts of the town - minor shopkeepers and assistants, clerks, artisans, railwaymen and the semi-skilled.^{80A} Like their British counterparts, those of the lower middle classes craved

77. ETJ, RR, pp.120-121.

78. Ibid.

79. See T. Tanser, A Sequence of Time: The Story of Salisbury, Rhodesia, 1900-1914, (Salisbury, 1974); and for briefer accounts of the capital in this period see Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.319, and H. Holderness, Lost Chance: Southern Rhodesia 1945-58, (Harare, 1985), pp.9-14.

80. See R. Cary, Reps: The History of the Salisbury Repertory Players, 1931-1975, (Salisbury, 1975), ch.1.

80A. For a picture of life "on the other side of the tracks", see Sir Roy Welensky's autobiographical Welensky's 4000 Days, (London, 1964), chs. 1-2. Welensky was born in Salisbury in 1907, the thirteenth child of an impoverished Lithuanian Jewish father and an Afrikaner mother, who kept a boarding house. He could not afford shoes, rarely owned a coat or slept between sheets until he was 13, and - in his own memorable phrase - "swam bare-arsed with the picannins in the Makabusi". Nevertheless, he progressed from being a prize fighter, to an engine driver, to trade union activist, and ultimately, to Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1956-63), with two knighthoods and membership of the Privy Council en route - an example, if ever there was one, of the colonial fresh start.

respectability and were, in many ways, the most jingoistic and xenophobic in the territory.⁸¹ Similarly, because of their fear of African competition in the labour market, the artisans tended to adopt a nationalist brand of socialism reminiscent of Robert Blatchford's philosophy in Britain.⁸² Some of them had left the metropole to escape persecution for trade union activity.⁸³ One of these was Lawrence Keller a railwayman who emigrated to Rhodesia following his involvement in an English Railway Strike in 1911.^{83A}

North of the town lay a very different world, out of reach to all except higher civil servants, professionals, retired officers and well-connected landowners. 'Society' centred on Government House parties, the Salisbury Club and the lounge of Meikle's Hotel. The wives imported the English ritual of calling cards, insisted on their husbands dressing for the occasion, and exchanged petty snobberies and

81. See I. Henderson, "White Populism in Southern Rhodesia", Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 14, 1972, pp.387-399. For a British comparison see Crossick, op cit., passim.

82. Not surprisingly, for international socialism had so far made little headway in the British Labour Party. See Henderson, op cit, pp.397-399. ETJ RR, p.268.

83. Keller, Lawrence John (Jack), b.1885, London. Started work at 10, joined railways at 18; early trade unionist (1911 railway strike, England). 1911, railway guard, Umtali; 1913 transferred to Wankie after attempt to form Railway Union. 1916 active leader in formation of Rhodesia Railways Workers' Union (RRWU). 1917-19 active service; 1919 General Secretary, RRWU. Chairman of second Rhodesian Labour party 1922, defeated in 1924 election; elected for Raylton 1928-58. Minister without Portfolio, 1939. Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.280. Keller rejoiced in the nickname "the Lenin of Rhodesia" coined by his enemies. See Henderson, op cit., p.397, n.28; Kennedy, op cit., p.118, and M.E. Lee, "The Trade Union Movement in Rhodesia", Rhodesian Journal of Economics, Vol. 8 (4), 1975. pp.215-237.

83A. Kennedy, op cit., p.118.

gossip at parties and polo matches.⁸⁴ Apart from its architectural style, which was unmistakably colonial, if not American, the flavour of Salisbury was self-consciously British: the Salisbury Hunt Club, the Masonic Lodge, the Sons of England Association, the children playing at Arthur and his Knights and the Cathedral clergy leading surpliced choristers in Parry's arrangement of Blake's 'Jerusalem' at Evensong.⁸⁵ The Great War made this sense of loyalty to England even

84. Cary, *op cit.*, pp.13-14. D. Kirkwood, "Settler Wives in Southern Rhodesia: A case study", in H. Callan and S. Adener (eds), *The Incorporated Wife*, (London and Oxford, 1984), pp.159-161. For Australian echoes see G.C. Bolton, "The Idea of a Colonial Gentry", *Historical Studies* (Australia), Vol. 13(51), 1968, pp.307-328.

85. See Tanser, *op cit.*, *passim*. The Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society, like the Orange Order which it closely resembled, was dedicated to maintaining the British presence in the region and upholding the Protestant Succession to the throne, as defined in the Act of Settlement of 1701. See D.J. Murray, *The Governmental System in Southern Rhodesia*, (Oxford, 1970), pp.14-15. Despite the facade of religion, however, the settlers' confessional activity was largely confined to such occasions as Empire Day and, later, Armistice Day. They were far from dogmatic. According to Bishop Hine of the University Mission to Central Africa: "[T]o the white colonists any kind of heretical teaching is permissible, so long as the teaching is such as to keep the natives down to prevent them from being anything but .. drudge and servant". See Pakenham, *op cit.*, p.110; Chennells, *op cit.*, pp.188-189; and Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.365. By 1921 53.2% had no church affiliation and only 9.7% regularly attended religious worship. See L.H. Gann and P. Duignan, "Changing Patterns of a White Elite [Rhodesian and other settlers]", in L.H. Gann and P. Duignan *Colonialism in Africa*, Vol.2, (Cambridge, 1970), p.148. One such white 'heathen' is celebrated in Henry Cullen Gouldsbury's ballad, "The Man Who Wouldn't Go Home" (stanza 4):

Some one - a parson, maybe -
 Told him to pack and 'git' -
 Get him an English wife and baby
 And all the rest of it;
 Tried to induce a craving
 For the land across the foam,
 'I couldn't put up with the daily shaving'
 Said the Man Who Wouldn't Go Home.

more pronounced.⁸⁶ "The quarrel", said Sir Charles Coghlan, the settler leader, "which is the Empire's, is our quarrel, and the cause is our cause ... [N]o price is too high when ... the honour and freedom of every Britisher throughout the world is at stake ..."⁸⁷ In 1915, the Anglican Bishop of Southern Rhodesia exhorted his flock to :

Fight for the colours of Christ our King,
Fight as he fought for you,
Fight for the right with all thy might,
Fight for the Red, White and Blue. (88)

The women, too, reproduced the patriotic excesses of their British sisters with a zealous white feather campaign directed at those who had not joined the army, though with an estimated 4-6 000 settlers at the front out of total population of under 30 000, there were few men of military age left around.⁸⁹ "Remember, you have to die some day",

86. See P. McLaughlin, Ragtime Soldiers: The Rhodesian experience in the First World War, (Bulawayo, 1980).

87. Quoted in Wallis, op cit., pp.135-136.

88. Quoted in McLaughlin, op cit., p.86.

89. Kennedy, op cit., p.176. Among those who left for active service in German East Africa was Henry Cullen Gouldsbury, district officer and balladeer, who figures so prominently in this study. He died from a mistakenly administered injection in Dar-es-Salaam in 1916 and achieved a death wish expressed here and there throughout his volume of ballads, among them:

Bury me deep and dig me in - it's all you have to do,
And set a stone that'll save my skin from a slinking
jackal crew ...
Lonely, you think? a rum idea? That's for a man to say!
I've known this country many a year, and I came out
here to stay;
I'd rather be planted fair and free, with a beast or
two around
Than in a suburban cemetery, next to the Underground!

"His Last Will and Testament", stanzas 1,3. See H. Cullen Gouldsbury, Rhodesian Rhymes, (Bulawayo, Reprint edn, 1969).

one woman chided. "Isn't it better to die at grips with your enemy than of senile decay in a stuffy bed?"⁹⁰

But it was impossible to reproduce England in the heart of Africa for social and climatic reasons, except in a caricatured form.⁹¹ For this reason Bulawayo, the country's largest town was a more accurate barometer of the settlers' identity. It was the centre of transport, mining and industry and unmistakably a town of the New World.⁹² Where Salisbury was symbolised by stuffed shirts and snobbery, Bulawayo represented colonial egalitarianism, a town of shorts and open-necked shirts, flat vowels and an almost Australian disdain for snobbery, where "a man was man for all that", conversation was looser and Club membership was less snooty.⁹³ Coghlan preferred it and escaped to it

90. McLaughlin, op cit., p.124.

91. Few settlers took Britishness as far as Colonel Methuen of Umtali who built himself a neo-gothic castellated mansion and filled it with reproduction suits of armour and other medievalist details. See C.M. Hulley "Some Umtali Buildings", Rhodesiana, No.24, 1971, pp.23-24.

92. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.314.

93. Ibid., -

What of the taxes we pay? What of the thirty per cent?
 So long as we find a landlord inclined
 To wink at our dodging the rent.
 Here's to the down-trodden Poor!
 Here's to the Weak and Oppressed!
 For the Gods will be good in the matter of food,
 And the deuce will look after the rest.

H. Cullen Gouldsbury, "A Song of Praise: Bulawayo 1906".

See also P.M. Clark, The Autobiography of an Old Drifter, (London, 1936), p.119, and for a (romanticised) view of the railway men see O. Letcher, When Life was Rusted Through: A tale of the Beira and Mashonaland Railways, ([1934] Bulawayo, Reprint edn., 1973), pp.17-20.

from Salisbury whenever he could.⁹⁴ "There is not in the colonies the same gulf between the classes [as in Britain]", the Bulawayo Chronicle later asserted, "European status marks the general level".⁹⁵ The difference between the two towns was more than social, however. As Bulawayo was the hub of mining and industry, Salisbury was the capital of the Mashonaland farming interest which felt - metaphorically, literally and economically - off the beaten track.⁹⁶

The War had done much to give greater coherence to the community, providing it with its first common experiences, as most of the settlers had arrived in the pre-1914 decade. Before the war there had been a more marked difference between British-born settlers and the South African-born. The Home-born tended to regard the colonial-born as unconventional and uncouth, while the latter, with the inverted snobbery of the common man dismissed 'the poms' as pretentious and amateurish.⁹⁷ Much of this ill-feeling went by the board when war came. Many settlers showed a preference for Rhodesian units and came

94. See H.C. Hummel, "[Sir Charles] Coghlan: [Some reflections on his] political attitudes and style", S[outh] A[frican] H[istorical] J[ournal], No.9, 1977, p.68. Coghlan was born in the Cape Colony of Irish ancestry in 1863. He practised as a solicitor in Kimberley after 1886 and came to Bulawayo in 1900 where he became solicitor to the Chamber of Mines in 1902. He was elected to the LegCo in 1908 and attended the Union Convention. He was knighted in 1910 and became leader of the elected members in 1915.

95. Editorial, Bulawayo Chronicle, 8.9.24. Quoted in B. Kosmin, "[On the Imperial Frontier:] The Pioneer Community of Salisbury", Rhodesian History, Vol.2, 1971, p.36.

96. Hummel, "Coghlan: political attitudes and style", p.68; Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.18.

97. See S. Hyatt, The Old Transport Road, (Bulawayo, Reprint ed., 1969), p.24; Kennedy, op cit., pp.80-81, 83, 116; Chennells, op cit., pp.230, 285 and 307.

to be recognised as distinct from metropolitan forces.^{97A} Ethel later lauded the effect of the war in knocking the corners off the Home-born, or 'new chums' as they were called.⁹⁸ "Democracy is new to them", she wrote, "but they got rid of some of their caste prejudices in the war, and for the most part they appear to enjoy the free and easy atmosphere which is Rhodesia's great charm for properly constituted menfolk".⁹⁹

The evolution of a distinct Rhodesian identity can be traced at least as far back as the late 1890s.^{99A} Looking back from the perspective of the late 1920s, a leading pioneer attributed "the shaping of the country's destiny and [its] distinctive national character ... to the independent spirit bequeathed to them by the stalworths of the nineties".¹⁰⁰ Certainly, in the late 1890s, the community possessed a distinct identity reflecting the colonial Empire of the late Victorian age; comprising traditional imperial servants, public school-educated middle classes, aspiring and adventurous lower middle classes and skilled working classes: the kind of people who made enthusiastic jingoes throughout the Empire.¹⁰¹ "It is sometimes said that as a nation we are deteriorating", one of the country's most

97A. According to the Sikhs of the Indian Army who encountered them: "English Tommy good, Australian very good, but African [colonials] go like hell plenty much". Quoted in McLaughlin, *op cit.*, p.66.

98. *RR*, pp.6, 136.

99. *Ibid.*

99A. See Kosmin, "The Pioneer Community of Salisbury", p.35; ETJ, *RR*, p.18; Gann, *Southern Rhodesia*, p.319; W. Harvey Brown, *On the South African Frontier*, (New York, 1896), pp.240, 246.

100. H.M. Hole, *Old Rhodesian Days*, ([1928] Bulawayo, 1976), p.122. Gann, *Southern Rhodesia*, pp.208-209 and Sir Robert Tredgold, *The Rhodesia That Was My Life* (London, 1968), p.21.

101. See Kosmin, "The Pioneer Community of Salisbury", p.35.

prominent pioneers reflected, "but no one who saw how Rhodesia was constructed can agree with a statement so rash and so untrue ... [W/e may rest assured that the vitality of our race is still unimpaired".¹⁰²

Other developments pointed to the community's divergence from Britain. There was already a body of 'Kiplingesque' ballads and novels extolling the virtues of life in Rhodesia.¹⁰³ "I was a Devonshire man; I am a Rhodesian", declared one of Gertrude Page's heroes in a novel published in 1912.¹⁰⁴ In the same year the Director of Education warned parents that their children were acquiring a variant of South African speech "which [was] far from pleasant to hear ... [which] would in later years betray a lack of cultivated training". But official circulars could not halt the trend and this distinctly Rhodesian accent increased the settlers sense of community, "whether they came from Lancashire or Lithuania".¹⁰⁵ With its distorted vowels and clipped word-endings, there was little that was posh or deferential about it.¹⁰⁶ It symbolised the colonial fresh start.

So did the search for a Rhodesian national anthem (to augment "God Save the King") which dominated the national eisteddfodi of 1913 and

102. A. Leonard, *How We Made Rhodesia*, (London, 1896), p.356.

103. See Chennells, *op cit*, *passim*.

104. G. Page, *The Rhodesian*, (London, 1913), p.24.

105. Quoted in Gann, *Southern Rhodesia*, p.315.

106. Apart from the tendency to drop the 'g' in 'ing' as in "huntin', shootin' and fishin'", which may have been an Edwardian upper-class after-echo. The author is grateful to Marie-Louise Peires of the Department of Linguistics, Rhodes University, for taking him through the peculiarities of the Rhodesian accent.

1914.¹⁰⁷ Though the entries were unsuccessful, it was remarkable that such competitions should taken place so early in the community's history, when the territory's future as a separate entity was still in doubt and when colonial and dominion nationalism was in its infancy. In this respect Rhodesia was in advance of larger and longer established British settler communities in New Zealand and Canada and its confidence and sense of self-importance was closer to Australia.¹⁰⁸ One Rhodesian, writing in the 1950s, recalled how the unveiling of the Rhodes Memorial in Cape Town in 1911 had also aroused a high degree of local patriotism in Rhodesia.¹⁰⁹ Ethel was mystified by this "rapidly ripening ... national spirit".^{109A}

107. Tanser, *op cit.*, p.269.

108. The long Rhodesian search for a national anthem never really succeeded. The adjudication of the 1914 competition had advised that an anthem could only "grow out of the life of a nation - as a result of great feeling and emotion in times of great national crisis". Nevertheless, even the Rhodesian War (1968-80) did not produce such inspiration. An anthem with rather banal words set to Beethoven's 'Ode to Joy' was adopted in 1974 which, *faute de mieux*, achieved a certain appeal. The failure to find a plausible anthem should not *per se* be seen as indicative of a failed identity. Senior British dominions with far larger and more diverse populations faced the same difficulties. 'O Canada' has never been as successful in Canada as 'God Save the Queen', while 'Advance Australia Fair', adopted by the Australians in 1974, was not as independent in ethos as its Rhodesian counterpart:

Should foreign foe e'er sight our coast
Or dare a foot to land
We'll rouse to arms like sires of yore
To guard our native strand
Britannia then shall surely know
Beyond wide ocean's roll
Her sons in fair Australia's land
Still keep a British soul.
In joyful strains then let us sing
Advance Australia Fair.

109. M. Bate, *Report from the Rhodesias*, (London, 1953), pp.81-82.

109A ETJ, RR, p.7.

This phenomenon was probably due largely to the fact that the community was far more socially diverse than the average English town to which it approximated numerically.¹¹⁰ According to 1911 Census figures settlers born in Africa comprised the largest group at over 45% (including 13.7% born in Rhodesia), under 40% came from the United Kingdom, and the remainder from Europe, Asia, Australasia and America, so that British-born settlers were in a minority,¹¹¹ thereby minimising direct metropolitan influence on the character of the community. The rural section of the community was also far more diverse than the public school heroes portrayed in Gertrude Page's novels. In fact it ranged from a leavening of wealthy ranchers to poor prospectors and those of the "tramp class".¹¹² Taken as a whole white Rhodesia was dominated by settlers of lower middle and working class origin.¹¹³ For Ethel, whose background had taught her to discern such characteristics as an article of faith, the Rhodesians "belong[ed] to classes which never had much leisure time to dispose of ... [who] would regard ... a dinner at a cheap restaurant [in England] by way of special indulgence".^{113A} They tended to live

110. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, pp. 318-319. In 1914 the occupational proportions of white Rhodesia were: Agriculture 19%; Mining 17%; Industries 21%; Railways 7%; Commerce 19%; Professions 5%; Official 10%; other 3%. Source: Kennedy, op cit., p.427.

111. Kennedy, op cit., p.429. For analyses of the British South African identity see N G Garson, "English-speaking South Africans and the British Connection: 1820-1961", in A de Villiers (ed.), English-Speaking South Africa Today (Cape Town, 1976), pp.17-40, and J Stone, Colonist or Uitlander: A Study of the British Immigrant in South Africa, (Oxford, 1973), esp. Part Two.

112. Kennedy, op cit., pp.104, 380-381. Agriculture was a particularly uncertain occupation. After the disastrous tobacco crop of 1913-14, one farmer placed this advert in a local paper: "Farm for sale in Marandellas, or would exchange for a bicycle capable of taking owner to Cape Town". Quoted in F. Clements and E. Harben, Leaf of Gold: The Story of Rhodesian Tobacco, (London, 1962), p.77.

113. Kennedy, op cit., p.3 and passim.

113A. ETJ, RR, p.125.

beyond their means. They were a third class people travelling first".¹¹⁴ The typical farmer she encountered at agricultural shows bore no trace of a public school accent, but "came to his own as a breeder of pure-bred stock by way of a Yorkshire farm, an office boy's job, an auctioneer's billet or some lucky speculation in mining options; ... [or] started from a cottage in the Lowlands of Scotland, drifted somehow to Rhodesia as a transport rider, or perhaps as a barman ... Heaven knows how he leapt the intervening space, but here he is as a great land proprietor and a solid man... Responsibility has sobered the Rhodesian, another class than the gentleman farmer has come to dominate the country ..."¹¹⁵

Still, they were vociferously British, though what they exhibited, in fact, was a hybridised form of Britishness, a pride in being better again than the Home-British. This feeling was understandable. The United Kingdom was too divided by class, ethnicity, religion and region for the fulfilment of an idealised British identity.¹¹⁶ In the colonies, such divisions were deemed less important, particularly in communities which were outnumbered by indigenous populations, and who felt under threat. In such societies the instinct was fusion rather than division, and identification with a jingoistic form of imperial sentiment offered a degree of psychological security. Frontier

114. See K Sinclair, A History of New Zealand, (Harmondsworth, 1959), pp.208-230, 345-301.

115. Ibid., p.5.

116. See Chennells, op cit., p.237.

societies, therefore, attempted to approximate as closely as possible to what they imagined Britishness to be, and they regarded any manifestation of timidity on the part of the Imperial government as an act of betrayal. As early as 1897 the Rhodesia Herald expressed this sentiment thus:

The time has now come, or must come soon, when men who are sincerely attached to the future of the country will have to combine irrespective of local interests and move as a solid phalanx of loyal Rhodesians against the motley enemy within and without their camp.(117)

This was the society that Ethel entered in 1916, a community whose loyalty to the Empire was far less equivocal than pre-war Britain. As the British regarded India as "the Great Game" so Ethel viewed the prospect of nation-building in Central Africa as "the Great Adventure".¹¹⁸ She described her personal identification with Rhodesia in this way:

Still in Rhodesia the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong; still fortune waits round the corner for he who faints not in pursuing, and still adventure comes to the adventurous ... In all old civilisations life gets into a rut, and most people never get out of their rut. In Rhodesia one ... is never debarred from climbing out of it. It is because so many questions remain to be fought out under new conditions, in a country whose resources are still largely undeveloped, that life is worthwhile to the man or the woman who is a born fighter. Without Uncertainty there is no Adventure, without Hope there is no Romance, and in Rhodesia we have plenty of uncertainty, abundance of hope and people who play the game for its own sake ... There is the sensation of bringing to birth a new civilisation, instead of the perpetual burying of faiths and illusions whose milestones show the path in older countries ... Here is the

117. Editorial, Rhodesia Herald, 8.2.97, quoted in G.C. Kinloch, "Changing intergroup attitudes as defined in the press: The Process of colonial adaptation", Zambezia, Vol.4(1), 1975-6, p.109.

118. ETJ, RR, p.9.

Real Romance. Here is the Great Adventure.(119)

But in 1916 this romance was deficient in substance, for there was plenty of uncertainty surrounding Rhodesia's political future. Without a secure political base, its identity, as defined by Ethel, could not endure.

In 1916, the government of "the Great Adventure" was still in the hands of Rhodes's British South Africa Company (BSAC), with its directorate solidly based at London Wall in the City of London. There, titled magnates of the board continued to give it an air of respectability - in imperialists' circles at least - as Rhodes had intended, and the operation capitalised on the memory of its apotheosised founder.¹²⁰ It had not yet paid a dividend, but its interests were immense. The two Rhodesias combined totalled more than a million square kilometres, and a visitor to the BSAC's London Office would be told of its territories' vast mineral potential, and shown magnificent pictures of giant cobs of Indian corn and preserve bottles filled with luscious grapes, peaches and rosy apples, and be sent away with a copy of Rhodesia: Land of Sunshine.¹²¹ "[T]he young and enthusiastic may be excused if, with such convincing evidence, they believe that at last they have discovered, rolled into one, the land of Canaan, the fields Elysian, and the lost Eldorado", wrote one critic of the BSAC.¹²² It was the last of the great chartered companies and it basked in this romantic fin de siècle aura. Sir Leander Starr Jameson was President now, rehabilitated since the

119. Ibid., pp.8-9.

120. See Galbraith, op cit., for the origins and workings of the BSAC.

121. Harris, op cit., pp.199-200, 202-203.

122. Ibid., p.203

Anglo-Boer War. He had graduated, successively, from Holloway Prison to premier of the Cape Colony, to Privy Councillor and Ulster conspirator, with a KCMG and baronetcy to boot. For him, the Jameson Raid had proved successful in the end.^{122A}

The administrative centre of the BSAC's Southern Rhodesian operations was located less grandly in Salisbury, in a converted hotel that resembled an English provincial railway station, for the Company was too recent, too temporary and too parsimonious to emulate the grandeur of the gentlemen-traders of the Hudson Bay Company or the taipans of the Orient.¹²³ Nevertheless, since the Jameson Raid, it had taken on an air of seriousness, if not probity.^{123A} Bandoliers, wideawake

122A. Patriotic illegality also worked in the favour of Jameson's erstwhile defence council, Sir Edward Carson, who entered the British Cabinet in 1916 as First Sea Lord. Also restored to favour was F.E. Smith, the Radical Tory MP, who during the Ulster crisis, had proposed that the Kaiser be invited to replace George V on the throne if the latter did not veto the Home Rule Bill. Ironically, he became Lord Chancellor and in 1916 did his utmost to secure the execution of Sir Roger Casement for high treason, viz. the illegal importation of arms into Ireland, an offence which both Smith and Carson had been party to in Ulster two years before. Yet both were elevated to the peerage. Blood, it seemed, was thicker than the impartial application of the law!

123. The same building continued to house the House of Assembly after 1923 (and the Federal Assembly 1953-63) despite repeated pleas for a larger building. When the author visited it in 1978 his elderly medal-ribboned guide was proud but mournful. "We run a tidy show, sir", said he as he pointed out its Westminster-style traditions, "It'll be sad to see it all go". He need not have worried. Ten years on, apart from the neo-Soviet 'camaraderie' jargon, little has changed. Members still bow to the - now 'Comrade' - Speaker, and there are the bewigged stenographers, and the Sergeant-at-Arms, Sandhurst-looking honour guards and the Mace. Judging by the 1988 Budget debate, which the author witnessed, there is considerably more 'Westminster' wit in the proceedings than there was in 1978.

123A. Apart from J.E. Stephenson, a Company administrator in Northern Rhodesia. He was sent to burn down a village in reprisal for tax arrears, but he was distracted from his task by two African girls. He resigned, settled in the bush, married three African wives by whom he had several children, and he acquired a great reputation as a magician! See Hyam, "Empire and Sexual Opportunity", p.62.

hats, open shirts and overt skulduggery had given way to starched collars and brief-cases. Its officials were the sort of men of whom Archibald Colquhoun would have approved, mostly ex-Cape Civil Service men who were better attuned to an egalitarian community than inexperienced English officials; such men as Robert McIlwaine, the BSAC's legal expert, and Percival Fynn, its Auditor and Inspector of Accounts.¹²⁴ The Treasurer was Sir Francis Newton, an Oxford-educated lawyer with long experience of Southern African conditions.¹²⁵ They were adaptable too: George Duthie, the first Director of Education was simultaneously Government Statistician, Registrar of Births and Deaths and Director of the Census.¹²⁶ Below them were almost 900 officials - magistrates, district officers, clerks and policemen.¹²⁷ The efficiency of the administration was due largely to the reforms of Sir William Milton, Administrator of Southern Rhodesia from 1898 to 1914.¹²⁸ He had had the unenviable task of reconciling company interests with settler demands which were difficult to ignore, particularly since 1907 when the settlers comprised the majority in the Legislative Council (Leg Co).¹²⁹ After 1913 the Company had only 6 'Official' nominated members to 12 'Unofficial' elected members.¹³⁰ The Company retained the sole right to initiate fiscal measures and

124. Blake, *op cit.*, pp.151-152; Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.128.

125. Newton, Francis James, (1857-1948) KCMG 1919. 1881 Private Secretary to Sir Hercules Robinson (H.Comm) S.Africa; Resident Commissioner, Bechuanaland 1895, transferred to West Indies after Jameson Raid. BSAC Treasurer 1903-19. 1920 defeated as pro Charter candidate. Joined the RGA 1921, member of delegation to London. RGA agent in London 1923. Elected to Legislative Assembly 1924. Southern Rhodesia High Commissioner, London 1924-30. (Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.282.)

126. Gann and Duigman, *Rulers*, p.254.

127. Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.427.

128. Di Perna, *A Right to be Proud*, p.35

129. Blake, *op cit.*, p.167.

130. *Ibid.*

could forbid any discussion of its land and mineral rights, though it was in its interest to take settler grievances into account.¹³¹ It also had to contend with the Resident Commissioner who represented the Imperial government and acted as watchdog over Company activities.¹³² Milton had steered a careful course between these interests, helped by his previous experience as private secretary to Rhodes in the Cape government and by his rugby prowess, which struck a responsive chord among the sports-mad settlers.¹³³ If not always popular, he was not disliked and his reputation improved with the arrival of his successor.

Occupying the post of Administrator since September 1914, entitled to be styled "Your Honour" and to a 17 gun salute, was Francis Drummond Chaplin.¹³⁴ He was educated at Harrow and Oxford and was - like Archibald Colquhoun - a former Times correspondent and one of Rhodes's circle, but Chaplin was very much a pukka sahib. Monocled and moneyed, his manner was forbiddingly reserved, and behind his steely stare lay an astute industrialist, a former manager of Consolidated Goldfields, director of numerous companies and a representative of mining interests in the Transvaal Legislature, where he proved himself an ardent disciple of Lord Milner. Anxious to cut a good

131. See M.E. Lee, "[The Origins of the Rhodesian] Responsible Government Movement", Rhodesian History, Vol.6, 1975, p.34.

132. Blake, op cit., pp.149-150, 164.

133. According to Ethel, Milton, a former rugby international introduced that game to the Cape:

"'Joey' [Milton] was to the youth of the colony what 'WG' was to a generation of English boys ... a figure of almost legendary magnificence. It was largely due to his efforts that the Newlands ground was acquired".

E. Tawse Jollie, "A Friend of Cecil Rhodes: Extracts from the Milton Papers", (Unpub. Mss 1937 - in the author's possession), p.3.

134. The sole biography is B.K. Long's uncritical Drummond Chaplin: His Life and Times in Africa, (London, 1941).

profile he and his wife entertained lavishly and attempted to woo the settlers with pleasant speeches.¹³⁵ Privately he grew more cynical: "[T]he noisy section [of the settlers] is about as fit to govern this community and its 500 000 [sic] natives as the Bolsheviks are to govern Russia", he confided to the Colonial Secretary,¹³⁶ and he would have liked to replace the mostly colonial-born civil servants with more 'better-born' Britons from Northern Rhodesia.¹³⁷

In the twentieth century, the BSAC was an anachronism, a confusing amalgam of commercial company and administrative machine. It acted as a giant concessionaire. In a land of companies, it was 'The Company'. It issued its own stamps and laid its own railways and telegraphs. It had practical control of its own armed forces. It had its own crest and flag depicting a "Lion Gules Proper Gardant", heraldry which Ethel ridiculed as "a Lion rampant with what looks like a toothpick!"¹³⁸ Its motto was "Freedom, Justice, Commerce", but the last word summed it up: it was there to make money.

Ethel was not impressed. She claimed to have seen better government in remote British and French colonies where there were "born administrators ... who could have taught the average Rhodesian magistrate a good many things".¹³⁹ She gave the Company credit for

135. Blake, *op cit.*, pp.173-174.

136. Quoted in Di Perna, *A Right to be Proud*, p.61.

137. *Ibid.* Chaplin also thought that "beneficent autocracy would be a good thing for the the Union as it was for Rhodesia", Francis Drummond Chaplin to John Xavier Merriman 30.1.17, Merriman Papers No.54 (South African Public Library, Cape Town).

138. ETJ, RR, p.289.

139. *Ibid.*, p.36.

having settled the country in the first place, but the fact remained that "private interests ... weigh[ed] with it before public ones and [made] it essentially corruptible".¹⁴⁰

In 1916, the territory was, politically speaking, in limbo. The territory's Roman Dutch legal system, the attendance of its delegates at the South African national Convention of 1908-9 which resulted in the provision for its entry into the Union, the South African origin of most Rhodesian settlers, and trade links pointed to the territory's ultimate destiny within the Union. The Imperial Government was uncommitted, because it was unsure of the security of the Union within the Empire.¹⁴¹ But it was a question of timing. Of more immediate concern to the settlers was the threat that incorporation in the Union might be followed by a flood of poor whites into Rhodesia and that Rhodesian farmers would lose much needed African labour to higher paid employment on the Rand.¹⁴² Endemic labour unrest in the pre-war years made the prospect of Union additionally unattractive. As a result the Company's Charter, which expired in 1914, was renewed with little opposition.¹⁴³

Its replacement, the Supplemental Charter, which was to run until 1925, provided that the Crown might grant RG at a date preceding the expiry of the Charter if the LegCo wanted it and could demonstrate

140. ETJ, RR, p.289.

141. See P.R. Warhurst, "Rhodesian-South African Relations 1900-23", SAHJ, No.3, 1971, pp.93-108; R. Hyam, The Failure of South African Expansion 1908-1948, (London, 1972), esp. pp.47-71; and for fuller discussions see P.R. Warhurst, "Rhodesia and her neighbours 1900-23", (Unpub. D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1970), and M. Chanock, Unconsummated Union Britain, Rhodesia and South Africa 1900-1945, (Manchester, 1977), part I.

142. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.193, 199-202. Warhurst, "Rhodesian-South African Relations, 1900-23", p.99.

143. Blake, op cit., p.167.

that the territory could support itself.¹⁴⁴ In the meantime a political truce between the settlers and the Company was observed because of the outbreak of the Great War.¹⁴⁵

But the Company had little cause for complacency. The nature of Company rule, with its complete control of finance, had precluded the development of normal political parties so that members of the LegCo were largely representatives of occupational, and often competing pressure groups.¹⁴⁶ Nonetheless, the LegCo provided settler politicians with valuable political experience. Developments within the economy since 1904 also forced the Company to take greater cognizance of settler demands. In that year, gold shares collapsed as a result of over-speculation and the Company's hopes of attracting international capital investment were dashed. Thereafter, the emphasis of the Company's fiscal policy shifted in favour of local capital and it was in its interests to deal more sensitively with settler grievances.¹⁴⁷

The settlers were strengthened by the Company's energetic - almost Chamberlainite - reform policy. The Rhodesian Agricultural Journal, established by it in 1903, did valuable work in providing information

144. Chanock (*op cit.*, pp.71-72) argues that, the RG clause in the Supplemental Charter - far from being a commitment to RG - was an Imperial Government holding operation by retaining the Company in power until the prospects for Rhodesia's inclusion in the Union improved.

145. Blake, *op cit.*, p.173.

146. Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.2.

147. See G. Arrighi, The Political Economy of Rhodesia (The Hague, 1967), pp.19-20; Lee, "Responsible Government Movement", p.37; I.R. Phimister "The Reconstruction of the Southern Rhodesian Gold Industry, 1903-10", Economic History Review, Vol.29, 1976, pp.465-481.

on crops, disease, soil erosion and other agricultural problems.¹⁴⁸ The Company began to retrieve land owned by absentee landlords, a major settler grievance, and, in 1905, land reform was given further impetus by the establishment of a Land Settlement Committee under C D Wise, an agricultural expert, tariff reform activist and a disciple of National Efficiency.¹⁴⁹ He called for further measures against land speculators, the alleviation of farmers' debt repayments and assistance for livestock purchases and farm improvements.¹⁵⁰ Experimental farms were set up to provide settlers with necessary experience so that an efficient yeoman class of farmers could be created.¹⁵¹ Further reforms followed a tour of the territory in 1907 by Company directors, including the creation of a land bank, the reduction of mining royalties which burdened the small miners. The lowering of railway rates and the ejection of African squatters, which affected the farmers.¹⁵² An Estates Department was set up in 1908 to promote settlement, aided by information officers in London and Glasgow and publicity drives in South Africa.¹⁵³ The Department of Agriculture was reorganised under Dr E A Nobbs, a trained scientist whose staff included botanists, entomologists, chemists and experts in cattle breeding, irrigation and tobacco.¹⁵⁴ These reforms made the agricultural industry more efficient and dynamic. Productivity increased and Mashonaland gained in economic and political importance. As a proportion of the work force the number of farmers rose from 15%

148. Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.97.

149. *Ibid.*, p.99.

150. *Ibid.*, pp.99-100.

151. *Ibid.*, p.99.

152. *Ibid.*, p.101.

153. *Ibid.*

154. *Ibid.*

in 1907 to 19% in 1914, to 25% in 1921.¹⁵⁵

Still, gold remained the Company's largest money-spinner so that the interests of large mining companies always took precedence over the interests of farmers and small miners on the Company's agenda.¹⁵⁶ So did the Company's own direct interests. In 1913, Wilson Fox, its astute general manager, advised new measures to improve the Company's fortunes. The price of land was increased, resulting in a decline in land settlement.¹⁵⁷ Meanwhile the Company invested a million pounds in the establishment of five cattle ranches near to railway heads, thereby minimising the cost of administration. By 1920 it had appropriated 3 million acres carrying 88 000 head of cattle as well as huge citrus and tobacco estates.¹⁵⁸ This was anathema to the settlers, who regarded land settlement as vital to their political survival and fitness for self-government. One of the LegCo members, Colonel Raleigh Grey, was unconvinced by Company arguments that higher prices would restrict speculators and promote closer settlement by a better class of immigrant.¹⁵⁹ "Land should be reserved for the purpose of encouraging immigration of poor people ..." he told the LegCo in 1913, "[T]hat land must be sold as it was sold in other countries under the market price".¹⁶⁰

In 1914, the Company responded with a tempting proposal for the establishment of a land settlement board, aware that acceptance of its offer would strengthen its claim to own the unalienated land of the

155. Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.427.

156. See Phimister, *op cit.*, *passim*.

157. Kennedy, *op cit.*, pp.112-113.

158. *Ibid.*, pp.113, 127.

159. *Ibid.*, p.113.

160. Quoted. *ibid.*

territory; that is, land neither owned by the settlers, nor reserved for Africans, nor yet put into cultivation by the Company; some 48 million acres in all.¹⁶¹

But the settlers would not bite. Land ownership was the core of their gripe against the Company, which they regarded as dangerously greedy. Not only did it possess the mineral rights of the country and its railways; it wanted the land as well. Instead of putting the cash from sales of unalienated land into a suspense account pending a decision on its ownership by the Privy Council, it put the proceeds into its commercial account, arguing that it was entitled to recoup losses incurred by administering the territory, since the Colonial Office had forbidden the creation of a public debt.¹⁶² The settlers' reaction was understandable. Generally they acknowledged the Company's right to mining royalties, but they refused to accept that the Company could place on its commercial side revenues collected in taxation and for issuing government stamps and certificates. They were mildly placated by the Company's decision (1907) to separate commercial from administrative expenditure which had shown a surplus for the first time.¹⁶³ "[Rhodesian] men and women ... put their lives into this great adventure - the pawns in the game", Ethel described the settler grievance, "it is they who have paid and are still paying ... [They] paid in blood the price of being ruled by a private company which had many other irons in the fire, and also had to consider shareholders' pockets".¹⁶⁴ Moreover, to acknowledge the Company's claim to land

161. Quoted, *ibid.*, p.127.

162. *Ibid.*, p.113.

163. *ETJ*, *RR*, p.42.

164. *ETJ*, *RR*, pp.19, 21-22.

ownership would burden any future government with an impossible debt, if indeed the country could prove itself financially fit for self-government.¹⁶⁵ Sir Charles Coghlan, the settlers' leader, summed up their feelings on the question: "Liberty in rags is better than well-fed tutelage".¹⁶⁶

The land issue cut even more deeply. One of the chief sources of political conflict was the problem of African squatters.¹⁶⁷ There was a conflict in Company policy. Huge areas of the country had been 'acquired' without any regard for African rights, their chiefs not even given the customary crate of whisky or champagne or a small stipend for their trouble.¹⁶⁸ But much of this was simply paper alienation on the Surveyor-General's maps. After the 1896-7 Shona and Ndebele 'uprisings' some 20 million acres were reserved for African use on the South African pattern.¹⁶⁹ However, despite an ever increasing hut tax, African agriculture expanded to feed the growing European settlements and mining compounds. In 1903-04 white farmers accounted for only 5% of the total cultivated acreage and only 10% of the total marketable output.¹⁷⁰ The number of African owned cattle rose from an estimated 43 926 in 1901 to 406 180 in 1914.¹⁷¹ A few African farmers even began to employ blacks as wage labourers. So successful was the African farmers' evasion of the disabilities placed upon them that farmers and miners were forced to rely almost entirely

165. Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.114.

166. ETJ, RR, p.79.

167. See J.K. Rennie, "White Farmers, Black Tenants and Landlord Legislation: Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930", Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol.5(1), 1978, pp.86-98.

168. Palmer, "Agricultural History", p.235.

169. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.259, 265-268.

170. *Ibid.*, pp.228-230.

171. *Ibid.*

on imported labour from Nyasaland and other northern territories. This led to tremendous competition between African and European farmers for grazing land, especially fierce in Matabeleland where rainfall was lowest. With the expansion of European agriculture came the need for more seasonal African labourers.¹⁷²

In its attempts to appease the farming sector the Company moved away from a relatively colour blind capitalism, advocated by Wilson Fox, to segregation - the platform of the settlers and the policy promoted by the Aborigines Protection Society and Rhodesian Native Department officials who believed that African pastoralists had to be protected from mercenary farmers.¹⁷³ The humanitarianism of the latter was indeed very limited, compared with their concern for their own economic survival. At best they regarded Africans with feudal benevolence as an untapped source of labour; at worst, Africans were regarded as treacherous, indolent, drunken, unreliable, dirty, cunning

172. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.265-268.

173. Blake, *op cit.*, pp.156-157, 164. It was said that race relations were better in Matabeleland where the Ndebele were regarded by the whites as more virile and warlike than the Shona who were more often dismissed as effete, cunning and cowardly. See Chennells, *op cit.*, for manifestations of this in Rhodesian fiction. One example of this benevolence is the plaque erected by the settlers at emHlahlandlela kraal near Bulawayo as a tribute to Mzilikazi, founder and King of the Ndebele tribe. It reads:

"MZILIKAZI, SON OF MASHOBANE,
KING OF THE MATABELE -
A MOUNTAIN FELL ON THE 5TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1868.
ALL NATIONS EXCLAIM: BAYETE!"

See P. Becker, Path of Blood: The Rise and Conquests of Mzilikazi Founder of the Matabele, (Harmondsworth, 1979), p.279.

rather than intelligent, a threat to their stock, their livelihood and - particularly - their womenfolk.¹⁷⁴ Farmers were incensed that the Company should continue to rent unalienated land and run undipped cattle on it, so putting profit before European prestige and security.¹⁷⁵

Ethel noted that Rhodesian farmers were "a very militant population",¹⁷⁶ and there was good reason for this observation. A good example of their militancy was the "Farmers' Revolt" of 1911-12, an action which - significantly - coincided with the early stage of the Ulster crisis in the metropole.^{176A} In 1911 the acute shortage of labour set the farmers and the Company on a collision course. Over the previous five years the European population had almost doubled from 13 480 to 23 730, drastically increasing the demand for African labour.¹⁷⁷ The Company had founded the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) in 1903 to recruit labour on a semi-official basis. But small miners and farmers regarded it as just another appendage of the Chamber of Mines and big business.¹⁷⁸ To make good the RNLB's deficiencies the Mashonaland Farmers' Association sent a recruiting team to Nyasaland in 1908. But two years later the Governor of Nyasaland prohibited recruitment because of pressure from Nyasaland settlers. Then in the midst of the labour crisis the Company tactlessly imposed a tax of one shilling per month to be paid by

174. See *ibid.*, ch.5: "The social pest"; Kinloch, *op cit.*, p.112.

175. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.265-268.

176. ETJ, RR, p.33.

176A See Henderson, *op cit.*, for an account of the 'revolt'.

177. *Ibid.*, p.389.

178. *Ibid.*, p.391. For the ugly side of RNLB operations vis à vis Africans, see C. van Onselen, Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia 1900-1933, (London, 1976), chs.3-4.

employers for each labourer, whether or not the labourer had been recruited by the RNLB. To make matters worse the RNLB was reconstituted as a joint stock company with capital supplied in Britain. In other words the labour tax went directly into the coffers of a commercial company.¹⁷⁹

With many farmers facing financial ruin, a Defence Committee was formed to combine farmers into a passive resistance movement.¹⁸⁰ In November 1911, John McChlery, a Scottish businessman experienced in the politics of the Witwatersrand gold rush, emerged as the natural leader of the revolt.¹⁸¹ He was "the sort of anti-authority sharpshooter who provides the dynamism for any radical movement".¹⁸²

The "Farmers' Revolt" amounted to a demand for a fair deal for the small man and an end to monopoly corporations, the kind of populism found in the American West in the 1890s.¹⁸³ It was the old cry of

179. Henderson, *op cit.*, p.392.

180. Lee, "Responsible Government Movement", p.46.

181. Henderson, *op cit.*, p.393.

182. *Ibid.* The similarities between the resistors and their contemporary Ulster Unionists notwithstanding, McChlery himself was an Irish Home Ruler in sympathy - perhaps the reason for Irish Nationalist MPs taking up the resistors' cause at Westminster. Apparently, he was also a believer in international socialism:

"When I was a boy and a young man, I thought that International Trade Unionism was the hope of the world. I thought it would break down International barriers, and do away with bitterness as between races and peoples, but the [Great] War showed it had no such effect. It was as ever my country right or wrong".

McChlery to Sir Francis Newton, 17.6.30. N[ewton] F[amily] P[apers] (in the possession of Dr H.C. Hummel). McChlery (1870-1931) arrived in Rhodesia from the Rand in 1902 and became involved in public life after 1904. Elected to LegCo 1914. President of RGA 1917-19. London delegation 1921, but converted to Union 1922. Lost his seat 1924. Mayor of Salisbury 1928. (Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.281). He stands out as one of the most benevolent and honourable men of his political generation in Rhodesia.

183. Henderson, *op cit.*, p.393.

"no taxation without representation".¹⁸⁴ Indeed they regarded themselves as heirs of John Hampden, the seventeenth century parliamentary martyr, and of the American colonists - in essence - the salt of the earth, untainted by the machinations of big business, the true tribunes of the people.¹⁸⁵ As the Radical Right regarded the Home Rule Bill in Britain, so the Rhodesian resistors viewed the labour tax. McChlery and two of his comrades spent time in jail for their principles and had to be forcibly released after their fines were anonymously paid.¹⁸⁶ As in the case of the Imperial Government and Ulster, the Company was powerless to arrest the rebels and had to back down on the issue. The Colonial Office had been alarmed:

It is apparent that the administration is out of touch with the country and may plunge it into something like civil war if they are not careful. (186A)

Ironically, the Rhodesia Herald, which backed Ulster's illegal resistance to Home Rule, was indignant over the affair. "What impression is likely to be made upon the minds of the natives if a section of the European community openly defy the authorities and

184. Ibid., p.395; ETJ, RR, p.34.

185. Henderson, op cit., pp.395-396. (Interestingly enough, in the 1880s, Frederick Courtney Selous had named Mount Hampden "after that good Englishman who had struggled so manfully and gave his life in defence of the liberties of his countrymen in those evil days when the second prince of the House of Stuart reigned in England". Selous also named Mount Cromwell "in honour of him whom [he] consider[ed] the greatest of England's rulers". He also named Mount Darwin after "that illustrious Englishman ... who [had] revolutionised modern thought, and destroyed for ever old beliefs that had held men's minds in thrall for centuries". See F.C. Selous, A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa, (London, 1890), p.323, and Travel and Adventure in South East Africa, (London, 1896), pp.286, 295.

186. Henderson, op cit., p.394.

186A. Secretary of State to High Commissioner 21.3.12, quoted in Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.100. Milton had considered raising a force of 100 Special Police to deal with the revolt. Ibid., pp.99-100.

refuse to obey the law?" its editor asked.¹⁸⁷

According to Ethel, the Company's administration prevented the Rhodesians from demonstrating their true feelings which were "plus Royaliste que le roi".¹⁸⁸ The "Farmers' Revolt" bore this out.¹⁸⁹ Like the Radical Right, the rebels paraded under the Union Jack in defence of what they regarded as traditional British liberty up to the point of illegal action. Liberty as distinct from equality for Rhodesian settlers - like their Ulster counterparts - would never for a moment countenance illegal action on the part of 'natives'. In other words, even at this early stage in their history the Rhodesians' loyalty was conditional on the metropolitan authority's 'duty' never to make a decision affecting their vital interests without their consent. The parallel was not lost on the Company and the analogy with Ulster was frequently made.¹⁹⁰ In an obvious reference to the contemporary Ulster war-cry: "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right", Hawkesley, the Company solicitor said in 1914, at a time when the Company was opposed to Union:

God forbid ... that we should have to say "Rhodesia will fight and Rhodesia will be right" but if there is any attempt to put this country under the heel of the Union of South Africa you will know what to do.(191)

On Ethel's arrival, then, white Rhodesia was indeed fertile ground for the principles of the Radical Right, but, with much of its manhood

187. Henderson, op cit., p.394.

188. ETJ, RR, p.44.

189. Henderson, op cit., p.395.

190. J.M. Mackenzie, "[Southern Rhodesia and] Responsible Government", Rhodesian History, Vol.9, 1978, p.40.

191. Quoted ibid.

away at the front, and with a truce between the settlers and the Company, there seemed to be little chance of immediate political movement. Moreover, the community had hitherto lacked adequate ideological leadership. There seemed little chance that anyone in this "somewhat macho society"¹⁹² - let alone a woman - would provide such momentum. But before the year was out, the Company broke the truce and Ethel, avowed opponent of compromise, stepped into the void.

192. M.E. Lee to the author, 12.1.87.

CHAPTER THREE

"Wanted: A Government"

Facts, ... like statistics, are clay in the hands of the potter.

(Ethel Colquhoun, The Vocation of Woman, 1913.)

Man a bear in most relations - worm and savage otherwise -
Man propounds negotiations, Man accepts the compromise.
Very rarely will he squarely push the logic of a fact
To its ultimate conclusion in unmitigated act.

Fear, or foolishness, impels him, ere he lay the wicked low,
To concede some form of trial even to his fiercest foe.
Mirth obscene diverts his anger - Doubt and Pity oft perplex
Him in dealing with an issue - to the scandal of The Sex!

She is wedded to convictions - in default of grosser ties;
Her contentions are her children, Heaven help him who denies!
- He will meet no suave discussion, but the instant, white-hot, wild,
Wakened female of the species warring as for spouse and child.

(Rudyard Kipling, "The Female of the Species")

Now that the Supplemental Charter of 1915 had - in Jameson's words - put the Company 'in the saddle', for another ten years, the directors sought to make the administration of its territories more efficient and less burdensome.¹ The Company was under considerable pressure from its shareholders who had consistently criticised it for its callous and systematic neglect and ignorance of their interests. At one A.G.M. a shareholder of twenty years standing feared that he would not live long enough to receive a dividend. The shareholders wanted a return on their investment.²

The Company's response was to propose the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias.³ In 1911, after six years of haggling, the Colonial Office had acceded to a previous Company request to amalgamate the administration of north-western and north-eastern Rhodesia, and the Company expected it to grant this request as well.⁴ In December 1913, Jameson told a crowded public meeting in Salisbury that a single Rhodesia which might possibly include Bechuanaland would be a 'fitting tribute to our founder', a self-governing state which would keep the imperial flag flying in the face of Afrikaner republicans further south.⁵ The speech struck a responsive, patriotic chord with the settlers, and so Jameson decided to press ahead.⁶ He was encouraged

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1. J B Stabler, "The British South Africa Company Proposal for Amalgamation of the Rhodesias, 1915-1917: Northern Rhodesian Reaction", African Social Research, Vol.7, 1969, p.499.
 2. Ibid., p.505.
 3. Ibid., p.499-529.
 4. Ibid., p.499.
 5. C Palley, The Constitutional History and Law of Southern Rhodesia, 1885-1965, (Oxford, 1966), p.325.
 6. Ibid.

by the election of 11 out of 12 pro-charter candidates in 1914 and misread this largely anti-Union vote and unqualified support for the Company.⁷ He made a formal proposal at the 19th Ordinary General Meeting in London on 17th December 1914.⁸ He had the full support of Drummond Chaplin who was influenced by his experience in the Transvaal Legislature. He sought to strengthen Britain's position to counter-balance the extremist Afrikaner element in the Union.⁹ The directors also sympathised with this line of argument in the knowledge that a greater Rhodesia with its larger black population would not encourage the Union government to exercise its option of absorption. Amalgamation would also strengthen the Company's position vis à vis the imperial government when the Charter had run its course.¹⁰

Here however, the Company ran into a series of settler peripheries, for despite their recent settlement and small numbers, the settlers had put down deep roots both provincial and occupational. As it was, sectional and provincial elements in South Rhodesia felt neglected by the administration in Salisbury.¹¹ Now the Northern Rhodesians added their opposition to any proposal which would lead to their further neglect.¹² The leadership of the 3,000 or so settlers there was largely in the hands of Leopold Moore, a local chemist and 'village Hampden' who edited the territory's sole newspaper, The Livingstone

7. Stabler, op cit., p.499.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., p.501.

10. Ibid.

11. Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.2.

12. Stabler, op cit., pp.501-529.

Mail.¹³ He was completely opposed to amalgamation for the time being and demanded representative government.¹⁴ He typified the boundless local ambitions of many settlers by hoping to make tiny Livingstone the capital of a huge Central African state after the war.¹⁵

Undeterred, the Company pressed ahead. It intended to reveal its proposals during a tour of the Rhodesias by Jameson and another director Dougal Malcolm in December 1915.¹⁶ However, the press stole a march on them. On 1 December, the Bulawayo Chronicle claimed that any proposal would have to pass the settlers' approval. This was erroneous since the imperial government retained the prerogative over the future of the territories. Moore took a similar stand, declaring that the Company were trying to push the proposal through while their boys were away at the front.¹⁷ Besides it was plain that amalgamation would delay responsible government for Southern Rhodesia still further.¹⁸ However, Jameson hoped that they could be won over by arguments of efficiency and economy.¹⁹

He was mistaken. Amalgamation had broken the truce. This was the issue which had 'lured' Ethel into politics.²⁰ She was determined to

13. Stabler, op cit., p.507. Moore, Leopold Frank. b. London, 1868, d.1945. Chemist; South Africa 1893, Bulawayo. 1898. Involved in Southern Rhodesian politics after 1902; moved to Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia and established The Livingstone Mail and persistently agitated for representative government. Member of first Northern Rhodesia Advisory Council 1918. Northern Rhodesia LegCo 1924-41. Knighted 1937. (Lee, "Pressure Groups, p.282.)

14. Stabler, op cit., pp.500-501.

15. Ibid., p.507.

16. Ibid., p.505.

17. Ibid., p.502.

18. Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, p.60. ETJ, RR, p.70.

19. Stabler, op cit., pp.503-504.

20. ETJ, RR, p.70.

uncover 'facts, which did not seem, at first very clear, to the average Rhodesian'.²¹ As one contemporary noted, she possessed 'quite a unique position of authority in Southern Rhodesia'.²² She was one of the most well travelled women of her time, a skilled propagandist, twice married to Rhodesian pioneers and the 'leading intellectual' of the territory.²³ Her entry did not involve any real sacrifice of principle, for though she did not recommend such a career for ladies generally, here was an issue which touched the hearth as well as the heart of Empire.²⁴ "Only exceptional circumstances [and] exceptional health", she explained, "would enable a woman to enter a career where home duties no longer took precedence", and "to undertake the responsibilities" involved in representing such constituencies as she did.²⁵ She had no children and was a keen horsewoman. Besides, she was of the type who would have liked to be the first and only woman in active politics²⁶ in the colonial Empire.

The opening shots of the counter-attack against the Company's amalgamation proposals came in March 1916, when the Tawse Jollies, like many other farmers, journeyed to Gwelo for the Annual Congress of the R[hodesia] A[gricultural] U[nion].²⁷ It was one of those 'pilgrimages', Ethel recalled, where one could 'get the flavour' of

21. ETJ, RR, p.70.

22. Harris, The Chartered Millions, p.290.

23. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.236.

24. ETJ, RR, p.75.

25. Ibid., pp.75-76.

26. Interview with Mrs Muriel Rosin, 26.7.84.

27. R[hodesia] A[gricultural] U[nion], /Report of/ Proceedings /at the Thirteenth Annual Congress/, (Salisbury, /1916/).

Rhodesia and 'touch [its] true Romance'.²⁸ Here, medal ribbons and titles were hidden and democracy was to the fore. Here, ideas were spacious, like the land they farmed.²⁹

The topics discussed by the Congress were certainly spacious, far beyond the narrow concerns of agriculture. In keeping with their self-appointed position as guardians of the territory's true interests, delegates discussed education,³⁰ immigration,³¹ health³² and general economic matters.³³ It was the most powerful political organ outside the Company and its allies, and the LegCo, Ethel recalled:

Although strictly non-political the Farmers' Associations must be credited with playing a great part in the political evolution of the country, not only because, as the only organised bodies throughout the territory, they afforded the groundwork, so to speak, for political organization, but because they gave men the training in managing public affairs and practice in debate which would otherwise have been lacking. Whether from a Social, Political or Professional point of view the country owes a debt to these voluntary organizations, often kept alive by the public spirit and generosity of a few men, and what the isolated farmer would do without them it is impossible to guess.(34)

The most lively debate took place on the first evening on the issue of the Company's amalgamation proposals, with proponents and opponents alike resurrecting the maxims of Cecil Rhodes, like sixteenth century divines debating the meaning of Holy Writ.³⁵ Ethel held her fire for

28. ETJ, RR, pp.5, 137-141.

29. Ibid, pp.7, 33, 157.

30. RAU, Proceedings 1916, pp.41-52, 84-138.

31. Ibid., pp.268-270.

32. Ibid., pp.271, 273-275.

33. Ibid., passim.

34. ETJ, RR, p.157.

35. RAU, Proceedings 1916, pp.69, 75-76.

the time being and let the men take the floor, since she was not a delegate.

The Lalapanzi delegate, Cyril Allen, was first on the stand. He noted that Congress was the only opportunity in the year when they could discuss the questions of the hour which affected them both as Rhodesians and as farmers.³⁶ It was 'exceedingly unfortunate' that the promised details of the scheme would not reach them until after the Congress had ended.³⁷ This 'amazing proposal' had taken them by surprise and they were understandably suspicious.³⁸ He had written to Sir Starr Jameson to ask him to attend their meeting, but the Company replied that all the directors had to return to England for its annual general meeting.³⁹ Their excuse was dubious: "In any case there would have been a difficulty about making a public speech as we have thought it very undesirable to hold public meetings in war time (Laughter)".⁴⁰ The absurdity of that was too evident to need comment, Allen argued. "They were asked by the Administration to come to a decision on a vital issue affecting the future of their country, but they were not to discuss it because of the war."⁴¹ It seemed to them that they were being asked to do what no sensible man did - to buy a pig in a poke (Laughter)".⁴² All the facts should be disclosed, he affirmed. They would neither be dragooned into union with Northern Rhodesia, nor would they be sold into union with the South.⁴³

36. RAU, Proceedings 1916, p.53.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., pp.53-54.

41. Ibid., p.54.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., p.55.

Amalgamation would divert immigration away from Southern Rhodesia and delay the granting of responsible government. They were Southern Rhodesians, first and foremost.⁴⁴

Lionel Cripps (M.L.C.) took a different line: Amalgamation would bring many advantages, not least "the strengthening of the Imperial Factor in South[ern] Africa, in order that the subcontinent might in future be ... a loyal part of the great Empire of Great Britain" (Applause), at a time when it was threatened by disloyal Afrikaners in the Union.⁴⁵ Moreover, they had been told and promised that all parts of the Empire would be consulted after the war. A single Rhodesia, representing 800 000 square kilometres, would surely have more effect on the councils of the Empire than the two Rhodesias individually.⁴⁶ They had the example of Western Australia, whose advantage in attaining Responsible Government was not its paltry population of 30 000, but its one and a half million square kilometres.⁴⁷ He opposed union with the south for the time being. Rhodesia would not be married with the Union against her will. She would choose her 'wedding day' in her own good time.⁴⁸

Jock McChlery was next on the floor. He would have none of this amalgamation talk.⁴⁹ He considered that the government supplied by

44. RAU, Proceedings 1916, p.55.

45. Ibid., p.61. (Cripps, Lionel, b.1863 India, d.1950. Member of Pioneer Corps, 1890. Farmer. Elected to LegCo for Eastern District 1914. After initial opposition, member of RGA 1919. Elected to Legco 1920 for Bulawayo. First Speaker of Legislative Assembly, 1924. (Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.277.)

46. RAU, Proceedings 1916, p.62.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p.63.

49. Ibid., p.64.

the commercial company sitting 10 000 kilometres away in London was 'the lowest form of government that could be conceived'.⁵⁰ If they entrenched that government in any way, they would be "guilty of selling their birthright as free and democratic Britishers".⁵¹ That was the stand he had always taken, and he took no other today.⁵² The Company had broken the truce. He was not in the least impressed by its guarantees; they would always find a way out, especially when they knew that the Auditor General, who should have been appointed by the Crown, was "an employee of the Company ... trained for years now in the trickery and verneukery of the Chartered Company".⁵³ The scheme was "an attempt to defraud the people of Southern Rhodesia of their rights as a self-governing colony".⁵⁴

Another delegate noted how difficult it was to finance what they had got already and they did not need any further burden.⁵⁵ M E Cleveland (M.L.C.) affirmed that "it was one of the great desires of every British community that they should have the right to manage their own affairs and be masters in their own house".⁵⁶ R A Fletcher took exception to the uses being made of Rhodes's name. He was "always annoyed when ... Mr Rhodes's name [was] brought in to get a few claps

50. RAU, Proceedings 1916, p.64.

51. Ibid.

53. Ibid., p.65.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid., p.71.

56. Ibid., p.73. Cleveland, Milton, b. Canada 1864 of United Empire Loyalist stock. Building contractor. Mayor of Salisbury 1903-5, 1910-12, 1920. Member of LegCo for Salisbury 1914-20. 1922 Unionist candidate (defeated), Country Party 1928 (defeated), Rhodesian Party 1933 (defeated). (Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.276.)

at a public meeting ... that sort of thing was almost sacrilege".⁵⁷ "Mr Rhodes was now history", he argued, and they "honoured him as a great South African".⁵⁸ Rhodes was a man who had 'pride of race but no race hatred'.⁵⁹ His idea, Fletcher believed, was that the Zambezi marked the dividing line 'between a white man's country and a black man's country'.⁶⁰ Rhodes believed that south of the Zambezi they would have self-government, and that Northern Rhodesia would be administered by the Imperial Government as a black man's country. He opposed amalgamation since it would put them back at least 20 years. So far as the settlers were concerned, they belonged to Southern Rhodesia. They had been there for over 20 years and it was their duty to consider what their interests were and what the interests of the country were.⁶¹

William Leggate⁶² forwarded a resolution demanding that the issue not

57. RAU, Proceedings 1916, p.75. Fletcher, Robert. b. Cape Colony 1865, d.1950. Civil Engineer and surveyor. Arrived Rhodesia 1894. Farmer. Vice President of Rhodesian Landowners and Farmers' Association, 1901-06, President 1907-1914. President of RAU 1910-14. Involved in the Farmers' Revolt 1912. Consistent opponent of Company government. Rhodesian League 1912. Signatory of Gwelo Manifesto 1914. Member of RGA 1917-19. Advocate of representative government 1919-22. Rhodesian delegate, London 1921. Minister of Agriculture and Lands 1928-32. (Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.277.)

58. RAU, Proceedings 1916, p.75.

59. Ibid., p.76.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., p.77.

62. Leggate, William. b.1879. CMG 1933. Economics graduate of University of Edinburgh. South Africa 1900. Rhodesia 1910, farmer in Hartley district. Signatory of Gwelo Manifesto 1914. Member of RGA 1917. Rhodesian delegate to London, 1921. President of RAU 1919-20. MLA 1924-33. Minister of Agriculture 1923-5. Colonial Secretary 1925-33. Defeated 1933, 1939, re-elected 1940. (Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.280.)

be decided without a general election.⁶³ No country in the world would allow such a great political issue to be put forward without consulting the people. The people of Great Britain had had an opportunity of saying whether they wished Home Rule (for Ireland) or not before it was introduced into parliament.⁶⁴ The motion was adopted.⁶⁵

Now Ethel "began to get the political itch for this adopted country of hers ... [and h/er early experience in political campaigning stood her in good stead",⁶⁶ an Australian journalist recalled a decade later:

Rhodesia, she decided, should have its own politics, and its own responsible government. She talked it over with a few of her neighbours, men on the land, anxious to push forward the interests of the country, and keenly anxious to help this woman who could not only talk, but write about their cause.(67)

Thus Ethel planned her entry into Rhodesian politics.

'Facts, ... like statistics, are clay in the hands of the potter', she had observed in her anti-suffragette days.⁶⁸ Now she moulded her attack. She got some measure of the Company in September 1916, when Chaplin and the chiefs of his defence forces toured the Eastern Districts.⁶⁹ On the 21st they visited the South Melsetter Farmers' Association where Chaplin heard complaints about the lack of

63. RAU, Proceedings 1916, pp.80-81.

64. Ibid., p.80.

65. Ibid., p.81.

66. "From the Heart of Rhodesia - First Woman Politician in British Colonies is 'Go-Getter', The Guardian, [Sydney, Australia], 14.10.26.

67. Ibid.,

68. EC, Vocation., p.292.

69. "Administrator's Tour [to Melsetter]", R[hodesian] A[dvertiser], 21.9.16.

communications, cattle disease and the perennial shortage of labour, led by Jack Tawse Jollie, the chairman.⁷⁰ Jack was responsible for road-making in the district and supplied labour to the Road Board Overseer.⁷¹ He also conveyed to Chaplin the farmers' demand for free, compulsory education paid by all members of the community, with or without children and the extension of the Farm Education Scheme for immigrants.⁷² But he got little change from Chaplin, except a reiteration of the Company's position that amalgamation would enable greater efficiency, increase the earning power of railways and further their construction.⁷³ The entourage retired to Ethel's farmhouse to take tea with Ethel and meet the women of the district.⁷⁴

Meanwhile, Ethel set about firing shots across the Company's bows in a series of articles which appeared in the Bulawayo Chronicle between August and October, 1916.⁷⁵ These were later condensed and published in February of 1917 as The Future Rhodesia by "a few of those who earnestly desire a higher form of Government for Southern Rhodesia and who are convinced that the immediate amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia ... will prevent or postpone indefinitely the granting of Responsible Government to the people of this country".⁷⁶ She went under the name 'Ethel Colquhoun Jollie', recalling the first administration of the territory and his experience of the inner

70. "Administrator's Tour", RA, 21.9.16.

71. "Eastern Border (South Melsetter) Farmers Assoc.", RA, 7.9.16.

72. *Ibid.*

73. "Administrator's Tour", RA, 21.9.16.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Stabler, op cit.*, p.517.

76. E Colquhoun Jollie (hereafter ETJ), The Future of Rhodesia, (Bulawayo, 1918), p.i. See also ETJ to Editor, R/hodesia/H/erald, 22.12.16, 24.1.17, 23.2.17.

workings of the Company.⁷⁷

Ethel's polemic is remarkable for its attempt to woo voters outside the farming community. One by one, she took on the Company's arguments drawing on her extensive knowledge of other parts of the Empire. Everyone had "agreed that the government by a Chartered Company was only a stage in the growth of a country", to be succeeded as soon as possible by some form of responsible government, she argued.⁷⁸ As regards the argument that it was too soon for the settlers to assume financial responsibility for the territory, she pointed out that from 1909 to 1914, Southern Rhodesia paid for her own administration and public works construction out of revenue.⁷⁹ This left a surplus of £350 000 which was set off against former administrative deficits.⁸⁰ Partly because of war expenditure which might eventually be met by the Imperial Government, the deficits in 1914-15 and 1915-16 amounted to £140 000 and £30 000 respectively.⁸¹ The Imperial Government had debarred the territory from borrowing money for development purposes while they were governed by the Company. As a result the settlers had to shoulder the burden of taxation without the power to decide how it was spent. The Company was 'sole judge' of what constituted administrative revenue.⁸²

While acknowledging that as the holder of large interests in Rhodesia the Company was deeply concerned about the welfare of the country, she

77. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.ii.

78. Ibid., p.i.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid., p.2.

dismissed the idea that the Company put patriotic considerations before economic interests.⁸³ The days of acting as 'Fairy Godmother' were long over, for they were "intrinsically a commercial company trading in a variety of ways and bent on making profits."⁸⁴ It was 'notorious' that Chartered shareholders had not yet received a dividend, but, she pointed out, the railways and mines controlled by the same groups were paying concerns.⁸⁵ Profits on the sale of land and other commercial undertakings aside, in 1914 £1 200 000 was earned on mining and railways.⁸⁶

There was still a great deal of uncertainty over what the Company's legitimate claims would be on the attainment of responsible government. In 1898, Rhodes ('Mr Rhodes' as she still called him) told a meeting of shareholders that expenditure on the conquest of the territory should become a debenture debt.⁸⁷ She awaited the land case being considered by the Privy Council, and she viewed with equanimity whether the Crown or the people of the territory were judged the owners of the unalienated land.⁸⁸ If the Company's claim was upheld, "the citizens [of Rhodesia would be] in a position not occupied by any other white men in the world - that they d[id] not own, as a people, an inch of the territory in which they live[d] and ha[d] no control over the sale, allocation or use of that land".⁸⁹ She did not dispute the Company's existing land titles and acknowledged the settlers'

83. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.3.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid., p.4.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

obligation to repay development costs.⁹⁰ As in the case of the Royal Niger and British East Africa Companies, the BSA Co would not be entitled to compensation for capital expenditure, and any claim would have to be offset against such assets as mines, railways and estates which would remain the property of the Company.⁹¹ She pointed to the precedents of Canada and Natal. In the former, the people of the Hudson Bay Company were granted responsible government when their numbers were considerably lower and their financial position less sound than that of Southern Rhodesia.⁹² Nearer home, the Colony of Natal achieved self-government in 1894 with 46 000 whites, 30 000 Indians and 483 000 blacks. Revenue was £1 000 000, expenditure exceeded this by £82 000 and it had a public debt of £8 000 000. Exclusive of railways, their revenue was smaller than Rhodesia's and the deficit was larger.⁹³

Then she turned to the question of amalgamation. Against the Company's statement that it would provide a stronger voice, she noted that there was still no Imperial Constitution.⁹⁴ The nearest thing to it was the Imperial Conference, on which only the self-governing dominions were represented.⁹⁵ She hoped that the arrival of Lord Milner and Lord Curzon in the War Cabinet would strengthen the cause of Imperial Federation in the reorganization which would follow the war.⁹⁶ She

90. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p4.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid., p.5.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid., p.6.

expected that the dominion ministers would be invited to join the War Cabinet to ensure their right to be consulted.⁹⁷ But as it stood the Empire would be represented at the post-war peace conference by the British Cabinet and Rhodesia would have no more right to be there than British North Borneo, which she noted was the only other British territory under a chartered company administration.⁹⁸

She believed it was necessary to be 'quite frank' about the territory's position in the Empire.⁹⁹ She stated the settler case in that fashion:

We are at present neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring - neither self-governing equals, helpless dependents, nor pampered Crown colonists (I may say that, having a considerable acquaintance with Crown colonies, I never thought them pampered until I came to live in Rhodesia, and that I am not speaking of the Crown Colony of twenty or even less years ago. I am speaking of the creations of the modern Colonial Office, as compared with which Rhodesia is a Cinderella indeed.) We have no High Commissioner in London to be the central figure at every public dinner, no Agent-General to act on committees and 'say a few words' at public meetings, no Governors and Colonial Secretaries forever going Home and sitting on the doorsteps of the Colonial Office until they get what they want and with a habit of retiring and becoming members of parliament and regular contributors to the press. I venture to say - and I have lived in the midst of the 'Colonial' world in London - that Rhodesia is one of the least known or understood portions of the British Empire. Were it not for the glamour of our Founder's name our obscurity would be even more marked. We have, it is true, an Imperial Commissioner as our link with the Imperial Government, but only those who have been in touch with English politics of late years can realise how sensitive all departments of the /British/ Administration have become to what is called 'public opinion' and we Rhodesians have at present no channel through which to come in contact with this powerful organ, save London Wall ... I do not wish to libel the useful Mr Reuter, /but/ I have a suspicion that when he wants to insert any news about us in the English papers he, too, takes the line of least resistance. (100)

97. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.6.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid., p.7.

100. Ibid. p.6.

At the peace conference, she argued Rhodesia would have no voice comparable to that of a self-governing dominion.¹⁰¹ If anything, amalgamation would weaken their position by doubling their native population.¹⁰² In any case, London Wall spoke for them and neither the British people nor their government could at present distinguish between Rhodesia and the Company.¹⁰³ Former German territory was unlikely to be added to Rhodesia and she saw no advantage in making the Company more wealthy and powerful than it was already.¹⁰⁴

Likewise, she dismissed the argument that amalgamation would promote efficiency and economy. Administrative reforms could be made without it.¹⁰⁵ As for economies, she could not see how the already overstrained civil service could cope with a much larger area, and she was particularly disturbed by the prospect of the Chief Veterinary Surgeon adding the whole of Northern Rhodesia to his responsibilities,¹⁰⁶ an issue of obvious interest to farmers.

Immigration was the cornerstone of the future of Rhodesia and, here too, she argued that amalgamation would deeply damage the territory's prospects.¹⁰⁷ Ethel wanted British immigrants, not because she looked down on South Africans or other colonials, but because she believed that the interests of the Empire would be better served.¹⁰⁸ She saw

101. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.7.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid., p.8.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

little point in transferring men from one dominion to another. She wanted to take the men who were "crowded off the land in the small, well-populated British Isles and put [them] off".¹⁰⁹ "Especially in Africa", she believed, "a constant renewal of European blood [would] be an advantage".¹¹⁰ The vitality of the Afrikaners seemed to contradict this view, but she believed there were "qualities in which the South African-born [was] sometimes lacking, which [were] natural to men brought up in the cold, invigorating British climate ... without the influences inseparable from a country with a black population".¹¹¹ She wanted 'more British blood' and called on those who opposed union with South Africa to support her.¹¹² It was "important to build up [their] 'British' population as rapidly as possible" to counter-act Afrikaner prolificacy.¹¹³ She reminded her readers that the Afrikaners outbred any other white group in Rhodesia: 19.39% of all births in 1912; 23.85 in 1915, while mixed marriages between English and Afrikaner accounted for many more.¹¹⁴ (It was a trend all too obvious in her own Elysian fields of Melsetter, where the Afrikaners took Genesis 1:28 at its word!)

Rhodesia was not interested in any type of settler save the one with capital, she affirmed.¹¹⁵ However, they had to re-evaluate the kind of settler they wished to attract. Men with more than £1 000 of capital

109. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.8.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid., p.9.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

were chiefly upper and middle class - the classes most hit both physically and financially by the war.¹¹⁶ Among them, the trend towards small families was already evident, and this was not helped by the enormous casualty lists.¹¹⁷ Their nest eggs would be further depleted by heavy taxation.¹¹⁸ On the positive side, potential immigrants had become more practical and less interested in sport, adventure and the privileges of a 'sahib' class.¹¹⁹ The best advertisement for a country was the settler who wrote back to his friends in Britain to say 'Come out here - it is a sure thing - look how well I am doing!'.¹²⁰ She knew of whole villages in England and Scotland where the returning Canadian settler gathered all the able-bodied men and brought them back to Canada.¹²¹ All over the busiest parts of London - the Strand, Pall Mall, Cockspur Street, and in many provincial cities, there were "attractively got up offices, where intending emigrants [were] taken in hand by nicely spoken young gentlemen, ... shewn monster apples, glass jars of cereals, coloured maps, miles of statistical records, and a vast quantity of other printed and illustrated matter ... to attract [them] to Canada, Australia or New Zealand".¹²² "Rhodesia has no such office" she emphasised.¹²³ All over Britain agents travelled with free slide shows and free literature on the dominions, again: "None of these men work

116. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, pp.9-10.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid., p.9.

120. Ibid., p.10.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid. Apart from the Company's own office at London Wall. Harris, op cit., p.202. The Company offices established in London and Glasgow after 1908 were temporary. Kennedy, op cit., p.101.

for Rhodesia".¹²⁴ Though the Company offered reduced rates to intending immigrants and the Rhodesian Committee of the South African Colonization Society promoted the emigration of women and children, there was nothing to compare with the schemes offered by the self-governing dominions.¹²⁵ The latter even included matrons to look after young girls and would probably be operating their own steamship lines after the war.¹²⁶ Australia alone was spending £20 000 000 on a five year land settlement plan, excluding money spent by its individual states.¹²⁷ The advantages of dominion settlement were widely publicised after Sir Rider Haggard's tour of the Empire on behalf of the R.C.I. in 1916. But Rhodesia was no King Solomon's Mines compared with Canada, where the Canadian Pacific Co gave ready-made homesteads on a perpetual lease at a nominal rent with no deposit, or Tasmania, where prime fruit farms were offered to soldier-settlers.¹²⁸

South Africa did not offer such schemes, she conceded, but there the advantage lay in communications, a splendid climate, beautiful scenery, a good educational system and coastal resorts, while the black population released the womenfolk from the most menial tasks.¹²⁹ Although the Afrikaners did not relish the prospect of large-scale

124. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.10.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid. See also "Sir Henry Rider Haggard at the RCI Opening Session", RH, 20.12.16; "War Settlement in Southern Rhodesia", Rhodesia Agricultural Journal, Vol.14(6), 1917, pp.702-706. (The Company-sponsored "Soldier-Settler Scheme", which ended in 1920, was a failure. Kennedy, *op cit.*, pp.177-179.)

129. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.11.

British immigration, there were special rates and assistance for new farmers, and she produced statistics to show how Union land prices were much more attractive than Rhodesian prices.¹³⁰

In contrast, London Wall was 'a poor substitute' for an emigration office. It was remote, "outside the 'beat' of most possible emigrants".¹³¹ Its advertisements for 'Sunny Rhodesia with the conventional slouch-hatted, top booted farmers' were unlikely to attract settlers with capital who were not in the habit of reading books.¹³² She knew of one prospective emigrant - 'a yeoman farmer with eight sons' - who decided to emigrate to another dominion because he noticed a 'newly-fitted emigration office' across the road.¹³³ As for Northern Rhodesia, it was virtually 'closed to emigration', while "a too large number of Northern Rhodesians [were] either fighting or lying in soldiers' graves".¹³⁴ In Southern Rhodesia, the farmer was further handicapped by exorbitant railway rates in order to provide dividends. In a statement worthy of the Fabian socialist, Sidney Webb, she made her position clear:

... [A]n absolute essential to the future of land settlement in Rhodesia is that the country itself should control railway policy, so that it may be part of a general scheme of development, and not a watertight dividend-earning compartment by itself.(135)

The Company directors stated that the small size of the European population would delay responsible government 'for some time'.¹³⁶

130. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.11.

131. Ibid., p.12.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid., pp.12-13.

136. Ibid., p.13.

Competition for white settlers was getting keener and she little doubted that food production would be in high demand after the war, because of the damage wrought, and because even the U.S.A. would become a food importer.¹³⁷ They had not a hope of getting the "cream of British manhood ... settled on vacant lands ... under the present regime".¹³⁸ She believed that emigration would boom for a year after the war and then slump. If they did not get their influx soon, they could 'whistle for it':¹³⁹

The opportunity of increasing our white population which may occur at the end of the war is one that can hardly be seen again in this generation - if ever. Why can we not grasp it? (140)

She laid the responsibility at the feet of the Company. She supposed that the Imperial Government was 'practically bound' to grant responsible government whenever the settlers so desired, but amalgamation would put that off 'indefinitely ... for the next twenty-five years' at least.¹⁴¹ They would be lumped with a vast tropical dependency with a large black population, while the Company denied

137. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.13.

138. Ibid. A view supported by a former emissary of the British Department of Information who was sent to France after the end of the war to encourage troops to emigrate to Rhodesia:

The effect of the lectures ... was disappointing. Rhodesia had little to offer. Australia, New Zealand and Canada ... had established offices in London to advertise for, and interview settlers. Rhodesia had no such office and the consequence was that Rhodesia received the rejects from the other colonies. - Sir Ernest Lucas Guest Reminiscences, NAZ GU 3/2/1/3, p.20.

139. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.14.

140. Ibid., p.15.

141. Ibid., p.16.

that the settlers owned one rood of land, while Company-owned railways throttled the country; while their mineral resources were forever alienated to the Company, "taking wealth out of the country ... and using up irreplaceable national capital".¹⁴² Many men of influence - Lord Milner for example - believed that Northern Rhodesia would comprise part of a great Central African State on the lines of a tropical dependency incorporating German East Africa, which would probably be settled by Indians.¹⁴³ These territories would be part of the Empire in any case, but that future was not for them. It would preclude Union with the south at any future time.¹⁴⁴ It was not the least patriotic for the Rhodesians to take on responsibilities for which they were not qualified.¹⁴⁵ It was their duty to 'GROW UP' and take their part in the Empire.¹⁴⁶ Their "own development - political and economic ... [was] their first duty":¹⁴⁷

We have struggled out of the early development stage and are trying to realise the Founder's aspirations by building up a country which is a real home for a population of 'small' men - not merely big ranch owners or transitory miners - where every class that makes up a civilised community is represented, small farmers, traders, professional and business men and artisans.(148)

Amalgamation would further complicate the question of Union with the south, which course many observers, including Lord Milner, held to be the ultimate destiny of the territory.¹⁴⁹ 'We want to be free

142. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.16.

143. Ibid., p.17.

144. Ibid., p.23.

145. Ibid., p.18.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid.

149. Ibid., p.17.

agents', she pleaded, but that was a condition which neither Company rule nor amalgamation would allow.¹⁵⁰ Amalgamation might well be an 'irretrievable mistake' and only responsible government could put them in a position where they could take such a step.¹⁵¹

She was not so sure about the advantages of Union either. Certainly she was heartened by General Louis Botha's suppression of the pro-German rebellion in 1914 - the large numbers of English and Afrikaners "cement/[ing] the part of a composite nation [with] ... blood shed in a common cause" against German militarism - and by the prospect of an economic boom in the Union.¹⁵² On the other hand, there was still the thorny question of bilingualism.¹⁵³ She did not believe the Boers would give up their mother tongue. But they had to keep an open mind, since their economic future was closely bound up with that of the Union.¹⁵⁴ She believed they "should go in ... at [their] own time and in [their] own way".¹⁵⁵ If they could not be "trusted with their own destinies", they had not got much to be proud of.¹⁵⁶ They needed population and money for development. "Southern Rhodesia owes it to her Founder, to the Empire, and to herself to build up her population now - not twenty years hence", she emphasised.¹⁵⁷ Whether that ideal would be better served by union or by "ploughing a lonely furrow ... [to] preserv[e] their identity", she believed in "grasping the

150. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, p.19.

151. Ibid.

152. Ibid., pp.19-20.

153. Ibid., pp.20.

154. Ibid., pp.21-22.

155. Ibid., p.23.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid.

nettle".¹⁵⁸ At the root of their problems was the "unsatisfactory character of [their] present status":¹⁵⁹

Until we reach the stage in which the people of Rhodesia are in a position to exercise [the] rights [of self-government] we cannot hope for that general progress which has marked all self-governing communities of our race, and for which our natural resources entitle us to hope. We have difficulties and we should make mistakes, but this will be the case as much twenty years hence as now. We shall learn from our mistakes and we shall have to co-operate to overcome our difficulties - useful experiences both.

I believe the time is very near when we ought to seriously contemplate this change, because the conclusion of the war will see a re-organisation of the British Empire, and in that Commonwealth of five free nations I want Rhodesia to take her place and play her part.(160)

In short, like the Ulstermen whose cause she had supported before the war, like the settlers who rallied around Jock McChlery's Passive Resistance campaign in 1912, Ethel did not give her loyalty unconditionally. She desired a status for the territory which would be commensurate with the loyalty of its settlers.

The Company were taken aback by the publication. Its Treasurer, Sir Francis Newton, wrote to John X Merriman at Cape Town requesting information to refute Ethel's arguments. Newton regarded the preaching of RG to 'this motley and uninformed community' at that juncture as 'criminal'.¹⁶¹ But he conceded that the call for RG was a 'rather

158. ETJ, The Future of Rhodesia, pp.23-24.

159. Ibid., p.24.

160. Ibid.

161. Sir Francis Newton to John Xavier Merriman, 13.3.17. Merriman Papers No.129 (South African Public Library, Cape Town). Ethel's writings were also noted by the Resident Commissioner. See R/esident/ C/ommissioner/ to H/igh/ C/ommissioner/ 21.1.17 and 6.2.17 P/ublic/ R/ecord/ O/ffice/ C/olonial/ O/ffice/ 417/586.

dextrous move', that Ethel had 'literary ability', and that her pamphlet had provided a 'useful contribution' to the debate.¹⁶²

Wallis, Coghlan's early biographer who cast his subject in an heroic mould, conceded that Coghlan held aloof from the opposition to amalgamation, fearing identification with hotheads in the anti-Company camp, even though the Bulawayo press had warned about the dangers of public apathy.¹⁶³ "Silent leaders and a dumb electorate", The Bulawayo Chronicle exclaimed, "may be full of wisdom and confidence in themselves, but, if they don't speak out, then they have no more influence on the course of events than a forest of trees".¹⁶⁴ Wallis contrasted Coghlan's apathy with Ethel's commitment. He depicted her as a voice crying in the wilderness, "a fighting gospeller ... in the cause of constitutional freedom", making straight the path of R.G. for Coghlan:¹⁶⁵

... She had lately brought from England energies and experience gathered as a traveller, a free-lance writer, an indefatigable committee woman and a brisk speaker on many platforms. When amalgamation was broached she wrote for the press a series of articles on the future of Rhodesia in which she developed the case for responsible government and against that "fusion of the two territories, which would have postponed it indefinitely". Now she went enthusiastically among the folk, inciting them to more vehement zeal in the cause which [established politicians] seemed to be handling too timidly. If only [Coghlan] would step forth and lead them on! But now, as always, he disliked parties and coteries ... When he heard the hour strike, he would come. He was no Brutus, to be coaxed and prompted. (166)

162. Sir Francis Newton to John Xavier Merriman, 13.3.17. Merriman Papers No.129 (South African Public Library, Cape Town). Ethel's writings were also noted by the Resident Commissioner. See RC to HC 21.1.17 and 6.2.17 PROCO 417/586.

163. Wallis, op cit., p.146.

164. Quoted ibid.

165. Ibid., pp.146-77.

166. Ibid., p.147.

This view of Coghlan's aloofness is supported by Hummel, a later biographer, though he gives a clearer explanation for Coghlan's aloofness: his close links with Bulawayo mining interests and his distaste for the Mashonaland farming interest.¹⁶⁷ He was a follower of public opinion rather than a pioneer,¹⁶⁸ and no admirer of politically active women.¹⁶⁹ So he remained cautious. In the meantime virtually the entire responsibility for mobilising and organising public opinion devolved on Ethel. 'Good looking, clever and articulate',¹⁷⁰ she was also impatient.¹⁷¹ But she was pleased: "The political floodgate had once more been opened, and the advocates of Responsible Government began at least to organise",¹⁷² she later recalled.

Ethel's articles, letters and pamphlets were well received in the Rhodesia Advertiser, one of the new anti-Company newspapers, and this reinforced her position as the territory's leading intellectual.¹⁷³ Up in Livingstone, Leopold Moore endorsed 'practically every word' of the pamphlet, but believed that Ethel was 'too tender' towards the Company.¹⁷⁴ He had reservations about Southern Rhodesia ever joining the Union and believed that once Northern Rhodesia had had the benefits of Crown Colony government, its southern twin would consider amalgamation.¹⁷⁵

167. Hummel, "Coghlan: political attitudes and style", pp.64-65, 66, 68, 73, 76.

168. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.158-162; Hummel, "Coghlan" (thesis), pp.312-327.

169. Wallis, op cit., p.155.

170. Blake, op cit., p.179.

171. An enduring characteristic. Rosin Interview op cit.

172. ETJ, RR, p.70.

173. "The Future of Land Settlement", (Editorial), RA, 9.11.16.

174. Stabler, op cit., p.518.

175. Ibid.

It was commonly thought that the Company would now abandon its proposals, but confusion ended when they were placed before the Legislative Council in late April 1917.¹⁷⁶ Once again, the Company and its supporters tried to make amalgamation attractive. Northern Rhodesia would prove a great commercial asset with sugar plantations, cotton fields, electricity and a beef industry on 'grassy plains of the Kafue';¹⁷⁷ 480 000 square kilometres of territory "rich in minerals and magnificent for agricultural purposes",¹⁷⁸ the 'Spirit of Empire', and the British tradition of accepting responsibility in the patriotic interest.¹⁷⁹ Colonel Raleigh Grey, an elected unofficial member, taken in by talk of expansion, hoped that they would also get a port of their own in German or Portuguese East Africa after the war.¹⁸⁰

But the majority of elected members were not convinced. Their arguments hinged on the belief that a large black population would result in a black protectorate which would preclude representative institutions for whites.¹⁸¹ John Stewart, a railway clerk and trade unionist, argued that once "you pass the Zambezi ... you go out of white man's country" and that the north would be controlled by non-whites, who would displace whites from the civil service.¹⁸² Sir Charles Coghlan, the leader of the antis in the LegCo said that the demerit of the scheme was 'simply a question of black versus

176. Stabler, op cit., p.518.

177. Ibid.

178. Ibid.

179. Ibid.

180. Ibid.

181. Ibid., p.520.

182. Ibid.

white'.¹⁸³ Amalgamation would bring "absolute equality for black and white and without any colour bar at all".¹⁸⁴ He, personally, did not like the colour bar but believed it was necessary because "they were in the midst of a large uncivilised mass of people".¹⁸⁵ He was disturbed by the black clerks, typists and mechanics in Fort Jameson and Broken Hill "who could read and write and use a typewriter, who could satisfy the educational test, and the electors [there] would consist very largely of black men ... It was a parting of the ways. Were they to go north for their future? If they had to go outside, would it not be better to go to the white south?"¹⁸⁶ Additional blacks would turn themselves into "political agitators amongst their own uncivilised brethren and become a menace in that way".¹⁸⁷ Like Stewart, he argued that the proposal be dropped for the duration of the war and until after the Privy Council ruling on land ownership.¹⁸⁸

The proposal was carried by nine votes to six. However, of the nine elected members present, six voted against, and of the three absent members, two were known to be opposed.¹⁸⁹ The Company continued to try to bring in amalgamation through the 'back door', by amalgamating the office of Administrator, but Chaplin was reminded by Walter Long, the Colonial Secretary, that the Imperial Government wanted to keep "a free hand and an open mind [on the issue] ... because His Majesty's

183. Ibid., p.520.

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid.

186. Ibid.

187. Ibid.

188. Ibid., p.521.

189. Ibid.

Government need the confidence of the settlers".¹⁹⁰ The proposal did not endear Chaplin to Sir Charles Coghlan. Nevertheless, Coghlan also maintained a cautious distance from any attempts to form a popular association to combat the proposals.¹⁹¹ Such attempts might flounder as the Rhodesian League did in 1912.¹⁹²

Extra-parliamentary opposition in Southern Rhodesia remained a one man- or rather, 'one woman'- show. In May 1917, Ethel wrote to the Rhodesian Advertiser under the heading "Wanted: A Government".¹⁹³ The most useful purpose served by the amalgamation debate was that it brought out "the impossible nature of the compromise on which our so-called Government is based".¹⁹⁴ They were governed along Crown Colony lines with the Company in the place of the Crown, and with a Legislative Council "possessing a nominal majority of elected members ... only nominal because certain constituencies were practically pocket boroughs for the Company" (a reference to the mining interests based chiefly in Matabeleland).¹⁹⁵ In reality, they were governed by 'an autocracy'; limited by giving a measure of representation to the settlers.¹⁹⁶ Thus, they were governed by compromise.¹⁹⁷ If the Company played the game according to the rules, they would not use the nominated majority to foist a policy on the

190. Stabler, op cit., p.522.

191. Wallis, op cit., pp.146-147.

192. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.126-129; Hummel, "Coghlan" (thesis), pp.248, 257-61, 312-313.

193. "Wanted: - A Government", RA, 24.5.17.

194. Ibid.

195. Ibid.

196. Ibid.

197. Ibid.

settlers against their wishes.¹⁹⁸ Amalgamation was a good example: If the Company pressed ahead regardless, it would "reveal itself naked as an autocracy pure and simple"; if it dropped the proposal, it would reveal itself "with equal clearness as a government too weak to carry out its own policy".¹⁹⁹ If the Imperial Government refused to ratify the resolution of the Legislative Council supporting amalgamation then that Council was 'a farce'; if it confirmed the Council's resolution then the Elected members were a farce.²⁰⁰ What was certainly clear to Ethel was the weakness and inefficiency of their government:

A government which is neither based on the will of the people, nor strong enough to govern without them is essentially and hopelessly feeble. A weak government is the worse curse a country can suffer under. Divided authority is worse than tyranny. There is much to be said for autocratic government, much to be said for democratic government, nothing at all for weak and incompetent government. (201)

They ought not to confuse administration with the wider purpose of government. The administration was efficient, but this had unfortunately blinded many Rhodesians to the fact that they had no government 'worthy of the name'.²⁰² Many settlers had "lived too long in this atmosphere to realise what [was] lacking, but it [was] painfully evident to anyone who [came] there from a country which [was] politically alive".²⁰³ Real government would make Rhodesia 'a true white man's country', she argued.²⁰⁴

198. "Wanted: - A Government", RA, 24.5.17.

199. Ibid.

200. Ibid.

201. Ibid.

202. Ibid.

203. Ibid.

204. Ibid.

Even Crown Colony government would be an improvement in status, she believed. The nominated members in a Crown Colony legislature were not all paid servants of the Crown, and they could be relied upon to act in the interests of the territory.²⁰⁵ But this status was "not suitable for a strong white community in which the conflicting views of the settlers or their diverging interests [would] constitute a kind of party warfare".²⁰⁶ In such circumstances, the administration would find it difficult to hold the balance. She thought that the Colonial Office would be loath to take over the responsibility for such a community.²⁰⁷

Ethel believed that there could be 'no half-way house' for them.²⁰⁸ She was surprised by the "timidity shewn by some Rhodesian public men [an obvious reference to Sir Charles Coghlan] in contemplating self-government".²⁰⁹ Some people doubted whether they had the men. She thought the standard of the amalgamation debate was proof enough.²¹⁰ Other evidence of public spirited and 'efficient' debate could be found in the proceeding of the RAU congress and the Chambers of Mines and Commerce.²¹¹ Quality was more important than quantity, and she failed to see any superior statesmanship from the Company, either in Salisbury or in London.²¹⁰

What Rhodesia needed, she argued, was "a government strong enough to take a line - any line - and stick to it. A government capable of

205. "Wanted: - A Government", RA, 24.5.17.

206. Ibid.

207. Ibid.

208. Ibid.

209. Ibid.

210. Ibid.

initiating a policy, let us say, of land settlement, or education (both subjects engaging great attention in other parts of the Empire [which the government seemed to be] shelv[ing] indefinitely), or of Amalgamation or of Union - of anything which [meant] getting a move on!"²¹¹ It had to be a government 'which would rouse opposition', otherwise they could be sure it was doing nothing.²¹² It would make mistakes, but 'the man who never made mistake never made anything'.²¹³ She wanted a 'real, human, live government at all costs and at all hazards!'²¹⁴ As they stood, they had no chance of 'carving out [their] destiny', and relied on fate to do that for them.²¹⁵ To those who said they must wait until they were stronger numerically and financially, she replied that they 'may wait too long'.²¹⁶ Other parts of the Empire were 'speeding up'.²¹⁷ "Is Rhodesia to watch these days so pregnant with possibilities slip by", she asked, "is she indefinitely to 'wait and see?'"²¹⁸

Two issues illustrated the point very well: education and land settlement. As far back as 1908 the Education Committee of the LegCo had recommended that compulsory primary education be introduced as soon as possible, and in 1914, the Education Officer had warned that Europeans faced the prospect of losing ground to Africans unless compulsion were introduced.²¹⁹ Settler fears ranged from the loss of

211. "Wanted: - A Government", RA, 24.5.17.

212. Ibid.

213. Ibid.

214. Ibid.

215. Ibid.

216. Ibid.

217. Ibid.

218. Ibid.

219. Challis, op cit., ch.1.

the territory's British character through the creation of a poor white class, to the loss of Rhodesian settlers after the war because of poor educational facilities.²²⁰ Ethel was disappointed that the report of the Commission was to be 'laid down like port wine, to mature', while the rate of illiteracy was near to 50% in rural communities 'not [entirely] of British origin'.²²¹ Only a 'small sum' was needed to remedy the situation, but here again the Company was content to 'wait and see'.²²²

The Company's 'Soldier Settler' scheme also came under attack. This involved the offer of 250 000 free acres to overseas ex-servicemen.²²³ The offer to 'bring new blood to Rhodesia' was 'generous and statesmanlike' she conceded, but the 'open door [ought to] be set as wide as possible', and not to confine itself to soldiers alone.²²⁴ From the imperial point of view, it was their duty to divert all emigration 'along British channels'.²²⁵ It was just as desirable and patriotic to divert a British farmer from Argentina to Rhodesia as to provide free farms to soldiers who lacked farming experience.²²⁶ So far she had no idea of what the fate of Rhodesian soldiers would be. At present they had little hope of outbidding the other dominions. She knew of four Rhodesians, two serving, one discharged and one invalided, who were in touch with the Australian government for free

220. Challis, *op cit.*, ch.1.

221. E Colquhoun Jollie, "Land Settlement Again", *RA*, 7.6.17.

222. *Ibid.*

223. *Ibid.*

224. *Ibid.*

225. *Ibid.*

226. *Ibid.*

farms. Plainly, even with the availability of black labour Rhodesia could not compete.²²⁷

But the territory had advantages, she argued, "[none] greater than the hold which she [had] on the hearts and minds of those who were born [there]".²²⁸ This was no ordinary war. Many of the Rhodesians "went away to fight as boys and [would] return men. Men [who would lose] the habits and outlook of their former life".²²⁹ It was not enough to keep their places open. Other dominions were coming to terms with 'the psychological factor' that the majority would find it difficult, if not impossible, to fit into the groove they had left.²³⁰ They had a duty to ensure that "these years of fighting [would] not destroy a man's chance of future content and happiness".²³¹ Men who have had to face death, who had been so long up against the 'primal facts of life' would turn 'naturally to the land and to country life'.²³² Both in the dominions and in Britain the towns had denuded the country of population, and the cry 'back to the land' was now raised in the interest of the Empire as well as of the ex-soldier.²³³

But if, in the desire to attract overseas settlers, they neglected to draw back their own, - 'especially the native-born' - such a policy would be indefensible. The native-born did not have to buy his

227. E Colquhoun Jollie, "Land Settlement Again", RA, 7.6.17.

228. Ibid.

229. Ibid.

230. Ibid.

231. Ibid.

232. Ibid.

233. Ibid.

experience, and so did not need much capital.²³⁴ The future of the country lay with the 'Native-Born' she asserted:

He has to make it, as he has made other Dominions. Men from the old country will help, new blood is needed, but it is to the second generation that we must look for the driving force for the Real Rhodesia. They are not torn, as we who were born under grey northern skies, by a dual allegiance. They ask nothing better than to be allowed to live and die in this sunny land, have no other idea than to carve a career here, bring up their children here, and so realise [Rhodes's] ideal of 'more homes' ... Read[ing] the debates on education and ex-soldier settlement, one wonders if the government really appreciates the value of these young lives, the necessity for starting them out on right lines and the vital importance of keeping them there ... since the sons of Rhodesia are its life blood. (235)

Ethel's local patriotism, if not nativism, was in keeping with her pre-war Radical Right ideas and echoed the attitude of Coghlan to the proposed introduction of British-born civil servants in 1912.²³⁶ Coghlan supported the native-born, adding that "the [English] gentlemen in the universities have the whole Empire at their disposal".²³⁷

But Ethel was far more vociferous, far more frustrated by the vacuum and apparent lack of leadership in settler politics than Coghlan, both because of her unrivalled knowledge and experience of imperial affairs and because of the immediate problems facing her as a member of the farming sector.²³⁸ African Coast Fever was ravaging the cattle herds

234. E Colquhoun Jollie, "Land Settlement Again", RA, 7.6.17.

235. Ibid.

236. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.173.

237. Ibid.

238. See ETJ, RR, pp.143-144.

of Melsetter yet again and farmers complained that Africans exempted from rent due to 'famine' were in fact selling grain.²³⁹ The Tawse Jollie's farm was the hub of local farming politics.²⁴⁰

Ethel was not alone in her frustration. Robert Alexander Fletcher took the initiative by sounding out opinion of a Responsible Government Association (RGA). The idea attracted widespread support, particularly from rural areas.²⁴¹ A one-day meeting of the RAU on 2 July 1917 to discuss a preventative policy against cattle disease, provided an opportunity to put the question. A committee was formed under the chairmanship of Jock McChlery. Coghlan declined the invitation to lead it.²⁴² He was not a good party man, and hated being stampeded into something which was not yet shown to be feasible. A similar movement, the Rhodesian League of 1912, had foundered, largely because of the political ineptitude of the farmers who dominated it. Several ex-members of the League, including Fletcher, Leggate and McChlery, also dominated the RGA.^{242A} Ethel alone had no history of political failure, but Coghlan had no reason to suspect that the RGA would not go the same way as the Rhodesia League.^{242B} Thus the RGA was launched without his participation, with McChlery as its President and Ethel as its Organising Secretary.^{242C} McChlery had sufficient stature for the leadership, at least in the short term. Moreover, as a member of the

239. J Tawse Jollie to Editor, RA, 23.8.17.

240. See *ibid.*, 3.8.17, 30.8.17.

241. Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.189.

242. RH, 3.7.17.

242A. Lee, "Responsible Government Movement", p.48.

242B. Hummel, "Coghlan: political attitudes and style", p.74.

242C. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.280, 281.

LegCo, he had more direct access to the Company. He was largely a figurehead; Ethel was the power behind it.^{242D}

The foundation of the RGA was highlighted by Jameson's remarks to a general meeting of shareholders in London later that month to the effect that he and his fellow directors were prepared to consider all offers for buying out the Company in both Rhodesias, but they expected the most likely approach to come from the Union.²⁴³ They had been told that amalgamation would keep them out of the Union. Now it seemed that the Company was contemplating selling out to the Union government, the 'highest bidder'.²⁴⁴

Not if Ethel could help it. "Starr Jameson", she wrote, "has one voice for London and one voice for Rhodesia".²⁴⁵ His statement bore out her suspicions, based on her pre-war contacts with the London Board, that the Company was bent on pushing the territory into Union at the earliest opportune moment.²⁴⁶ It had fostered anti-Union feeling in the territory only to frighten the settlers to keep on good terms with the Imperial Government, so enabling it to prolong its charter.²⁴⁷ Ethel warned the settlers that the Imperial Government would not 'force' them into it.²⁴⁸ In this 'Rhodesian Crisis' she called on the settlers to speak with one voice.²⁴⁹ They had now a

242D. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.203-204.

243. MacKenzie, "Responsible Government", p.32.

244. E Colquhoun Jollie, "A Rhodesian Crisis", RA, 2.8.17.

245. Ibid.

246. Ibid.

247. Ibid.

248. Ibid.

249. Ibid.

Responsible Government Party at their disposal.²⁵⁰ Even without an election, the party could "go to the Imperial Government with a single simple plea that could not meet with refusal ... that Rhodesia should be given the opportunity as a free self-governing community to decide when and how it [would] become part of the Union".²⁵¹ She believed that the adoption of a 'definite' RG platform would immensely strengthen the position of the elected members of the LegCo, lest they become "content to rest on their oars until after the war".²⁵² They were witnessing political upheavals and revolutions all over the world, and it would soon be realised that Rhodesia was not a mere backwater.²⁵³ They were 'out on the currents' and they had to assert themselves, or else be the 'pawns in someone else's game'.²⁵⁴ In the atmosphere of war the settlers were susceptible to appeals to patriotism and the 'Imperial interest'. But that was a Company 'bluff' which she would call.²⁵⁵

By the end of 1917, amalgamation, the casus belli for Ethel's political debut, was no longer a serious issued.²⁵⁶ The RGA, the product of the controversy, remained on the political stage but,

250. E Colquhoun Jollie, "A Rhodesian Crisis", RA, 2.8.17. It is a noteworthy reference to the RGA as a 'Party' at this early stage in the movement's history. This was a clear break with the earlier 'leagues' and 'associations', more appropriate to pressure groups than national movements. 'Party' signified a movement with broad appeal and political maturity, a distinction which Ethel probably wished to convey. However, the RGA only officially changed to the RG Party in 1922.

251. Ibid.

252. Ibid.

253. Ibid.

254. Ibid.

255. Ibid.

256. Stabler, op cit., p.52.

despite Ethel's efforts to broaden its base, it remained largely a farmers' party.²⁵⁷ Other sectors of the community remained cautious, while they awaited the end of the war and the result of the Privy Council on the issue of land ownership on which hinged the question of the territory's future capacity to pay its way.²⁵⁸ Still Ethel had provided the community with a vehicle for the cause of RG, a more scholarly critique of Company rule than they had before, an advanced political ideology as well as innovative propaganda skills and experience that made her unique among the country's politicians. Events of 1918 enabled her to begin to put her theories and abilities to the test.

257. Lee, "Responsible Government Movement", p.48.

258. Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

Dea ex machina

Cast out the smooth-mouthed traitor,
Cast out the prating fool,
Cast out the speculator
Who plots against your rule -
Trust to the simpler school
Of the men who love your name,
And, if you prize us, Mother, spare
us eternal shame!

(H Cullen Gouldsbury, "To England:
From the Outposts")

1918 ushered in a period of great importance to the Empire, to the Company, to the Territory, and to Ethel's political campaign. It was the year of victory in Europe, and a year of decision for the Company, when the Privy Council at last gave its judgment on the question of who owned the land of Southern Rhodesia. The era of 'marking time' was drawing to a close.¹

Ethel was clearly the front runner of the new RGA and certainly the most visible of extra parliamentary politicians.² She involved herself in many activities, from the debate on conscription - which she advocated - to entertainment on the home front.³ Before the year's end, she was regarded by the Resident Commissioner as "a political force in the territory ... considerable attention is paid to her letters and speeches".⁴ Even the rumour of her presence at a political meeting was sure to draw the crowds, while the High Commissioner in Cape Town became 'well aware of Mrs Jollie's political views'.⁵

Her appeal was not limited to women, but they were naturally drawn to the RGA because of its declared support for women's suffrage.⁶ In

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1. ETJ, RR, p.71; MacKenzie, *op cit.*, p.24. For a flavour of the optimism in Rhodesia at this time see "The Renaissance of Empire", RA, 8.7.18.
 2. Wallis, *op cit.*, pp.146-147, 149. Blake, *op cit.*, p.179.
 3. ETJ to Editor, RH, 8.12.16; Gatooma Mail, 24.5.18; BC, 13.9.18; RA, 1.8.18. Ethel donated a handwritten letter of Cecil Rhodes, dealing with the appointment of Archibald Colquhoun as Administrator in 1890, to be auctioned for the war effort, RH, 12.1.17.
 4. RC to HC, 6.12.18, PRO C0417/616.
 5. *Ibid.*
 6. Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.195.

1916, a Women's Reform Club - later the Women's Enfranchisement League (WEL) - was formed in Bulawayo. Like its Australian and New Zealander counterparts, the WEL had the sort of objectives an anti-feminist like Ethel could support: the ultimate enfranchisement of (White) Rhodesian women; the encouragement of women's involvement in the welfare and 'social reform' of the country and the support of the government to that end; and the protection of children and animals.⁷

Sir Charles Coghlan opposed the movement,⁸ but Jock McChlery - ever the champion of the underdog - stood shoulder to shoulder with the women in their campaign.⁹ In January 1919, the British parliament extended the franchise to women over thirty. Their Rhodesian sisters were not to be outdone. A petition campaign obtained over 2 300 signatures throughout the territory, forcing Coghlan to volte face and present it to the LegCo in April.¹⁰ The elected members unanimously supported the call. The Company dragged its heels on the issue for over a year, while the WEL continued to whip up enthusiasm, with lecture tours of the major towns.¹¹ The debate added to the general political re-awakening in the territory,¹² and projected Ethel further into the centre of the political stage. Together with the authoress

7. 'M McG', "How the Women of Southern Rhodesia got the Vote", The Rhodesian Women's Journal, March 1934, pp.13, 32. For Australian and New Zealand parallels see A Hyslop, "Temperance, Christianity and Feminism: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Victoria, 1887-97", HS, Vol.17(66), 1976, pp.27-49; Grimshaw, op cit., pp.418-419 and P Grimshaw, Women's Suffrage in New Zealand, (Auckland, 1972).

8. McLaughlin, op cit., pp.126-127.

9. J McChlery to Editor, RH, 4.1.17.

10. McLaughlin op cit., p.127; Wallis, op cit., p.155.

11. 'M McG', op cit., pp.13, 32.

12. McLaughlin, op cit., p.125.

Gertrude Page, she championed the WEL in the press and at public meetings.¹³ She wore enormous hats, with masses of tulle, lace and chiffon, held in place by 20 cm hat pins.¹⁴ These had proved useful in the British suffrage battles with policemen, but the moderation of the Rhodesian campaign ensured that they were never drawn in anger! However, Ethel's forceful style was an important factor in capturing the allegiance of this crucial political interest group.¹⁵ Whether out of curiosity or chivalry, the men too flocked to hear her.¹⁶ She was the bane of hecklers, who could rarely match her fluency or experience. When she leaned forward and raised her finger to make a point, even veterans of the trenches thought twice before offering battle.¹⁷

On the larger political front, settlers and Company alike awaited the Privy Council's judgment on the land issue. In June, Ethel undertook a tour of the territory on behalf of the RGA,¹⁸ which she financed herself, because some members of the RGA thought that such a tour was inopportune.^{18A} The first highlight of the tour was a meeting held in the Caledonian Hall on 19 June, presided over by McChlery and attended by about 100 people, including Lionel Cripps MLC, M E Cleveland MLC, and other local notables.¹⁹ McChlery claimed that the RGA had made

13. Tanser, op cit., p.239.

14. Ibid.

15. MacKenzie, "Responsible Government", p.35.

16. Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.195. "Glendale Farmers' Meeting", RH, 21.4.20. (The author is grateful to Dr M E Lee for this reference).

17. Mrs Deborah Kirkwood to the author 28.4.86.

18. Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.205.

18A. ETJ to Editor, Gatooma Mail, 19.6.18.

19. "Responsible Government - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie", RH, 21.6.18.

'great progress' over the previous year. considering the over-riding concern of the war effort, which left little time for propaganda work.²⁰ Consequently, he felt they were all privileged "to have a lady like Mrs Jollie, with her literary attainments, to address them".²¹

Ethel made no apologies for raising the issue of RG while the war raged in Europe, and dismissed the Company's allegation that it was unpatriotic to do so.²² She noted that in England more advances had been made in social reform over the previous three years than in the decade before the war.²³ The British parliament was dealing with such problems as the government of India and Irish Home Rule in addition to its responsibility for the war effort.²⁴ Similarly there was no political truce in any of the dominions except New Zealand. Australia and Canada had both held elections, while France had changed her cabinets several times in the course of the war.²⁶ Her objective was to promote discussion of the political status of the territory, mobilise a strong body of public opinion and stimulate a more active view of their duties as Rhodesian citizens.²⁷

Despite the obstacles of a largely pro-Company press and the scattered nature of its population, she had witnessed a great change in the

20. "Responsible Government - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie", RH, 21.6.18.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

political position of the country.²⁸ Few settlers now doubted that the days of the Company were numbered. They were tired of patching the 25 year boots that pinched them and now they wanted a new pair (laughter). They were "at the bottom rung of the ladder that led to constitutional freedom."²⁹ To those who feared that they had not got the men to run a responsible government she pointed out the 'very high level' of debate and organisation among RG activists.³⁰ They did not need the 'super-politician'; what they wanted were "reasonable men to whom Rhodesia was home", and there were 'plenty' of that kind.³¹

Finance was always an important question and again she reminded the audience that the Administration had paid its way from 1909 to 1914 with an accumulated surplus of £350 000 which had balanced previous deficits. Even with the cost of the war there was a surplus of £100 000. To applause she declared that the credit of the Company was founded on the assets of Rhodesia.³²

Education was also of primary importance. She asked what Cecil Rhodes - who valued education so highly - would say if he knew that nearly one third of all white children were illiterate.³³ This was an absolute blot on the country and such stinting would cost the country dear in the years to come.³⁴ She believed that the first act of a Responsible Government would be to introduce free and compulsory

28. "Responsible Government - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie", RH, 21.6.18.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

education at any price. She knew that there would be difficulties, but her standard was that every white child should be educated and she would not be proud of anything less.³⁵ Similarly, RG would facilitate a land settlement policy on the lines of those offered by the dominions.³⁶

She noted that many settlers were 'violently opposed' to Union with the south, but, she asked how were they going to make their voice heard, when elections had been postponed until six months after the end of the war.³⁷ With the possibility of strong pressure from the Imperial Government to encourage them to join the Union and very significant hints from the Company, how could they be sure that Union would not be foisted on them before an election?³⁸ At present, they were 'merely acquiescing in the existing state of affairs'.³⁹ In the absence of an election, there was only one way of 'rais[ing] one unanimous voice at any critical movement': to support the RGA.⁴⁰ That body said "like President Wilson said, that they wanted the right of self-determination [and] upheld the claim that they be given their freedom and allowed to choose their own destiny".⁴¹ Whether they chose Crown Colony government, or full responsibility, union or even independence, it should be their decision alone, she affirmed.⁴² But

35. "Responsible Government - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie", RH, 21.6.18.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

they could not do so unless they prepared themselves and organised. Many had said that she had only been in the country two and a half years and so lacked the necessary experience in analysing its problems. She replied to Lionel Cripps, who held that opinion, that she had been familiar with the country's problems for years before that. No one could adequately analyse Rhodesia's problems unless they saw it in the context of the Empire as a whole.⁴³ She reaffirmed that while Union was the ultimate goal, they could only go in on their terms with a government of their own. As for the Afrikaners, they had to concede their sacrifices in the imperial cause. She had many friends among them and 'found them kind', adding that 'in these days [Anglo-Rhodesians] should be tolerant'.⁴⁴

Summing up on an optimistic note, she noted how the war had obliterated class prejudices, quickened the sense of citizenship and taught them the meaning of Empire.⁴⁵ She felt "as if she could not rest until Rhodesia had taken her place among the daughter states".⁴⁶ Clearly alluding to the chances of some kind of imperial federation, she looked forward to an 'inevitable ... great regrouping' of the dominions after the war and it was "a bitter thought [that Rhodesia might have] less importance in that process than a Pacific island with 200 white men on it".⁴⁷ The future of the African colonies would be

43. "Responsible Government - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie", RH, 21.6.18.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

decided, but at present they had no voice. "They wanted to come of age, to play the part of men, not of children, to be worthy of their great Mother, and realise the aspirations of their founder", she affirmed to the applause of the crowd.⁴⁸ Her resolution "That in the opinion of this meeting it is the duty of every patriotic citizen to support the Responsible Government Association", was passed with two dissentients.⁴⁹

The pro-Company [Rhodesia] Herald was not slow in taking up Ethel's gauntlet on an issue closest to the Company's heart: money. The Herald editor was 'sorry to shatter so pleasing an illusion' that there remained an administrative surplus of £100 000 since the outbreak of war.⁵⁰ Ethel had, he alleged, only looked at the 'Administrative Account' without consulting the 'revenue and expenditure account' which dealt with such items as 'fencing loans and amounts charged as capital outlay to public works and buildings'.⁵¹ In the period 1909-1914, instead of Ethel's alleged surplus of £350 000, there was an accumulated deficit of more than £170 000.⁵² The editor stated that the "£100 000 surplus [had] no existence except in Mrs Tawse Jollie's imagination", and he sought to "save the Responsible Government enthusiasts from following [her] in this matter".⁵³

Ethel was not slow to reply. She pointed out that the editor of the

48. "Responsible Government - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie", RH, 21.6.18.

49. Ibid.

50. Editorial: "Those Surpluses", RH, 12.7.18.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

Herald had converted her administrative surplus into a deficit by simply debiting the administrative account with capital outlay, which proved nothing except that Rhodesia - 'like every other country in the world' - should be in a position to borrow money for capital outlay.⁵⁴ This course was precluded by the Imperial Government, and even the right to borrow from the Company had been recently rescinded by the Colonial Office. That was course open to even the smallest municipalities in England.⁵⁵ She held to her £100 000 surplus on administrative revenue and reminded her readers that the Company itself did not pay its share of taxation. It would have to choose between paying the deficits due to the war or impose taxation. The last course would increase its unpopularity and could even precipitate a crisis in the administration she warned. If the settlers paid such taxation they would prove that they could have shouldered the administration and public works all along. Either way, the Company could not win. The company denied there were any true surpluses; she denied they were any true deficits.⁵⁶

Ethel continued on the campaign trail. On the evening of 19 July she spoke to an 'uncomfortably packed' Palace Hotel in Bulawayo for over an hour.⁵⁷ "This discomfort", [The Bulawayo] Chronicle correspondent noted "was largely compensated by the graphic interest which Mrs Jollie infused" into the subject, "[holding] the attention of her big

54. ETJ to Editor, RH, 26.7.18.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. "[Responsible Government -] Mrs Tawse Jollie Speaks [at Bulawayo]", BC, 26.7.18.

and representative audience by eloquent sincerity".⁵⁸ This time she conveyed her message even more forcefully. She was anxious to encourage the faint-hearted. They had the expertise for self-government, despite "living under a regime in which fears and favours play too great a part".⁵⁹ Once they had been "relieved from the incubus of being owned and controlled by a great commercial company" they would have officials without divided allegiances.⁶⁰ Such men would be servants of the people. Every young country had had the same doubts as to its public men, she assured them, but why should the Rhodesians "think that the genius of [their] race for self-government had deserted them".⁶¹

They had the money too, she claimed. The Company's credit was based on the solvency of the country. No progressive business concern; no English municipality could be run on the restricted budget with which they had to do the impossible, virtually to frame a budget for the first responsible government. She again referred them to the Company's own financial reports.⁶³

Then she made specific appeals to three of the territory's interest groups. Farmers were being squeezed by prohibitive land prices. Miners were struggling to meet the cost of mining materials. They and business men were complaining about the high cost of transport. The

58. "Mrs Tawse Jollie Speaks", BC, 26.7.18.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

economy could not grow. They were in a vicious circle. No change of government without a larger population; no larger population without a change of government. The current immigration scheme would probably attract a 'paltry' 500 a year. This was symptomatic of a 'precarious' administration.⁶⁴ They needed a far-sighted policy like that advocated by the Australian Government. Only then would railways expand and transport costs drop.⁶⁵

She issued a warning. The Company would choose a moment to relinquish the administration convenient to themselves, not to the settlers.⁶⁶ Starr Jameson and Francis Newton, the Company Treasurer, both indicated that the Company would do so soon. Hence the haste to have the Land Case decided.⁶⁷ Their fate was being considered, perhaps even decided, while they slept, with the Imperial Government's assurance that they would be consulted. She reminded the audience that they had no assurance that their wishes would be paramount. The Imperial Government would only be impressed if they were unified and politically organised.⁶⁸

Some members of the public were still confused as to the RGA's attitude to Union. She had 'nailed [her] colours to the mast'.⁶⁹ Union was inevitable, but she would neither be pitchforked into it by the Company, nor gently pushed by the Imperial Government.⁷⁰ She was

64. "Mrs Tawse Jollie Speaks", BC, 26.7.18.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

primarily "out to demonstrate that the country [could] run itself; to defeat the 'weaker brethren' who believed the settlers were 'too feeble' to stand alone; and to confute the Company inspired rumour that the RGA was secretly pro-Union".⁷¹ The RGA presented no threat; the powerful Company and its secret negotiations did. She asked for the replacement of this quasi-commercial administration with 'self-determination'.⁷²

She was more specific on the role of the RGA. It contained people who might disagree on questions like conscription or taxation but who were united on the self-government issue. There lay the strength of their movement, she argued. If they had agreed on all points they would be 'merely a clique or a party'.⁷³ She and her association aimed to become the 'voice of Rhodesia'.⁷⁴ To the argument that they were superfluous since the elected members spoke for them, she reminded them that their normal election process had been suspended.⁷⁵ On the crucial issue of amalgamation, one elected member who had supported the Company (Lionel Cripps, Eastern Districts) had not held a public meeting in his district for over three years.⁷⁶ Among the elected members generally there was a strong prejudice against public meetings, unlike in Britain where they were regarded as a valuable way of ascertaining public opinion.⁷⁷ They had no political parties; in fact, their political life was still 'in embryo'.⁷⁸ While the Company

71. "Mrs Tawse Jollie Speaks", BC, 26.7.18.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

represented a strong political force, the settlers were "sheep without a shepherd, lambs without a fold".⁷⁹ She invited them to 'come into the Ark' of the RGA, educate themselves, discuss the issue, make ready for any emergency or move from the other side, and show that they had some political capacity.⁸⁰

To enable their voice to be heard "whenever the crisis in [their] political destiny arrive[d]", she had already organised five branches, and planned to set up three more on her return journey to Mashonaland.⁸¹ That was the way to be "in touch with every part of the country at short notice".⁸² She emphasised the democratic nature of the association. She did not want it to be 'run' by a 'clique or by a single group'.⁸³ It was not a sectional movement. She wanted all classes to support it.⁸⁴ She had received great support from the mining sector, and she had been asked to form a branch among the railway workers in Umtali.⁸⁵ She now organised the Bulawayo branch under the provisional chairmanship of H U Moffat.⁸⁶ Many signed the 'pledge' of the RGA, heartened by the sudden announcement of a successful Franco-American counter-offensive on the Western Front.⁸⁷

79. "Mrs Tawse Jollie Speaks", BC, 26.7.18.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid. Howard Unwin Moffat (1869-1951) CMG, 1927. Son of John Smith Moffat. Came to Rhodesia 1893. General Manager of Bechuanaland Exploration Co., member of RCM and Rhodesia Landowners Association, President of Rhodesia Cattle Owners Association. Associated with Rhodesia League (1912), signatory of Gwelo Manifesto (1914), unsuccessful candidate for Victoria (1914). Later member of RGA, returned unopposed for Victoria (1920). MLA 1924-33, Minister of Mines 1923-7, Premier 1927-33.

87. Ibid.

"Mrs Tawse Jollie went over the top on Friday night not exactly with the 'rebel yell', but something like it, the Chronicle enthused.⁸⁸ "Like most women with an aim, she has the fighting instinct against the forms and trappings of man's authority".⁸⁹ She had attracted 'an outflowing audience' which she captured with an "imperious assault [and] released [it] on parole with the suggestion that it should sign on as recruits in the army of the RGA".⁹⁰ The editor anticipated that she would attract a large membership which would enable them to shape their political, economic and social destiny, and so fulfill Cecil Rhodes's purpose of "establish[ing] the British at the gates of the interior".⁹¹ 'Timid whispers' would never reach 'the ears of the mighty'.⁹² Ethel recognised that their cause "would have to be trumpeted until it became a nuisance".⁹³ She was, according to the Chronicle, more than 'smooth tones', she proved that there was "only one force in politics that count[ed], and that force came from a just cause vigorously championed".⁹⁴ The editor recalled how the French peasants of the previous century flourished once their yoke of oppression was removed and they were given title to their land. So it was with nations.⁹⁵ The Rhodesians too would yet accomplish 'miracles of industry'.⁹⁶ "Mrs Tawse Jollie's 'rebel yell' is a stimulating note that should wake up the Rhodesians, and wake them up in time before

88. Editorial: "The Rebel Yell", BC, 26.7.18.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

their form of future government is settled over their heads", he concluded.⁹⁷

So Ethel was not only the instigator, but also the organiser of the RGA. It owed its existence to her. Even before the result of the Land Case was known, she succeeded in getting the RGA off the ground, by organising provisional councils in all of the main centres, which would be followed by elected councils.⁹⁸ Each of these would send delegates to the central council of the RGA in proportion to their membership, as well as representatives from outside the areas covered by the branches.⁹⁹ She set the tone of the association: it was highly democratic, populist and argumentative. She strove to make it more than a farmers' party by including all the major interest groups in the territory, save the Company, and to rally them around the central issue of RG.¹⁰⁰

By all accounts her return journey to Mashonaland via Gwelo, Gatooma, Hartley and Umtali was very successful. In Gwelo, she gave a figure of 1 500 attendants at her meetings, which, if this was accurate, represented a significant proportion of an adult settler population depleted by the war and hampered by poor communications. Certainly, the press reported that she addressed packed venues.¹⁰¹

97. Editorial: "The Rebel Yell", BC, 26.7.18.

98. "Mrs Tawse Jollie Speaks", BC, 26.7.18.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

101. "Mrs Tawse Jollie's speech at Eiffel Flats", Gatooma Mail, 5.7.18; "Responsible Government - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie", Gwelo Times, 2.8.18; "Umtali", RH 16.8.18; "Public Meeting at Royal Hotel, Umtali", RA, 15.8.18.

She was keen to appeal to the growing sense of identity among the settlers. "[A] patriotism which did not begin in, or did not embrace the country in which they lived", she told the gatherings at Gwelo on 26 July, "would neither do much good to themselves nor the Empire of which they hoped one day to form a part."¹⁰² Clearly, to her, 'Empire' meant self-government, not subordination to a chartered company.¹⁰³ She also emphasised that the RGA was not reckless and that its pledge called for RG at 'earliest moment after the war', not its immediate application.¹⁰⁴

Her promises to the various interest groups became more specific. Civil servants were offered a more efficient 'honest' system of administration.¹⁰⁵ Railwaymen were promised an energetic building programme, which would be akin to the one which had opened up the American West.¹⁰⁶ Such a policy could only be possible once they were free of the short-sighted Company and able to borrow for capital expenditure, she warned.¹⁰⁷ She promised an energetic land settlement policy for ex-servicemen, particularly their own. She encouraged her audiences to think of themselves as the trustees for those who "had gone overseas to fight for this country", and in the campaign, "they could not afford to lose the help of one single man or woman;

102. "Mrs Tawse Jollie's speech at Eiffel Flats", Gatooma Mail, 5.7.18; "Responsible Government - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie", Gwelo Times, 2.8.18; "Umtali", RH 16.8.18; "Public Meeting at Royal Hotel, Umtali", RA, 15.8.18.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

everybody must do his best to make the country what it ought to be".¹⁰⁸ In reply to one speaker who raised the possibility that the Privy Council judgment might go in the Company's favour, she replied that in that case, the new responsible government would tax the Company on all un-utilised land.¹⁰⁹

The central theme of her month-long tour was the urgent necessity to organise, in the absence of any real leadership from the elected members of the LegCo, not least in her own Eastern Districts.¹¹⁰ In an assessment of the tour the Resident Commissioner noted that the RGA was "becoming a political organisation of some importance [which] may have considerable influence on the trend of public opinion".^{110A} She was now regarded as 'the greatest protagonist of responsible government'.^{110B}

In the midst of Ethel's tour de force, the publication of the Privy Council's judgment at the end of July could not have come at a more opportune moment for the RGA.¹¹¹ The Company did not, after all, own the unalienated land of Rhodesia, was only entitled to reimbursement for its role as administrator and land agent on behalf of the

108. "Mrs Tawse Jollie's speech at Eiffel Flats", Gatooma Mail, 5.7.18; "Responsible Government - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie", Gwelo Times, 2.8.18; "Umtali", RH 16.8.18; "Public Meeting at Royal Hotel, Umtali", RA, 15.8.18.

109. Ibid.

110. Editorial: "The Future of Rhodesia", RA, 4.8.18; "The Future of Rhodesia"; - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie [- Branch of Responsible Government Association Formed in Umtali]", ibid., 15.8.18.

110A. RC to HC 6.12.18, PRO CO.417/616.

110B. "The Destiny of Rhodesia", BC, 27.9.18.

111. Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", p.24; Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, p.63; Lee, "Responsible Government Movement", p.49.

Crown.¹¹² In August 1918, the Company AGM was told by its president that since the land was not theirs, capital for its future development would have to be sought elsewhere.¹¹³ In effect, this was an admission that there was no point in remaining as the administration of the territory. For the first time a change of government before the due date of 1924 became a viable possibility.¹¹⁴

Encouraged by this news, as well as by the success of her tour, Ethel pressed home her attack. In Umtali, she warned that the Company could conceivably sell the railways to the Union, creating a 'highly dangerous' position.¹¹⁵ She took on her critics one by one, in the highly coloured rhetoric so characteristic of the pre-war Radical Right in Britain. The first opponent to come under fire was Herbert Longden, a local sympathiser who had been vocal in the cause of Union.¹¹⁶ In the jargon of Wilsonian self-determination, she asked

112. Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", p.24.

113. BSAC, Report of the Annual General Meeting, (London, 1918). The Company had received another blow in the previous year (1917) with the death of Jameson. Despite Ethel's reservations, Jameson - or 'Doctor Jim' as the settlers called him - had retained some standing in Rhodesia as one of the 'old hands' who was close to Rhodes. Jameson had been passed over for the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland in 1916 because of ill-health. Some members of the Lloyd George coalition, most notably Carson, had thought him the ideal man to quell sedition in Ireland as his Unionist sympathies were plain. Thus Jameson's illness probably spared constitutional Irish nationalists the ultimate insult. See G Dangerfield, The Damnable Question: A Study in Anglo-Irish Relations, (London, 1979), p.87. Editorial: "Doctor Jim", RA, 29.11.17.

114. Lee, "Responsible Government", p.49.

115. "The Future of Rhodesia - Address by Mrs Tawse Jollie", RA, 15.8.18.

116. "[The Destiny of Rhodesia] Reply to Mr Longden [By Mrs Tawse Jollie]", BC, 13.9.18. Longden, Herbert, b.1867, Cape Colony. 1894 Rhodesia Magistrate at Gwelo. 1896-1914. Signatory of Gwelo Manifesto 1914. MLC 1905-08. Chairman of Rhodesian Union Association, 1919. Rhodesian delegation to Cape Town 1922. Subsequently Acting Judge of the High Court. Retired to the Cape, d.1939. (Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.281.)

Longden whether it was desirable, or tolerable that they should enter Union "before [they] had tasted any form of free and independent government?"¹¹⁷ At present they had none of the "characteristic institutions which mark the evolution of a free people, ... no organised representation in the Legislative Council - no strong and well organised political association, no independent Rhodesian press".¹¹⁸ This together with the effects of a 'vicious system' of company government created an "atmosphere in which independent ideas [could] not flourish".¹¹⁹ Only 'men of almost fanatical character' could keep going in that atmosphere.¹²⁰ That was why they needed more free and open meetings to provide the average man with political education.¹²¹

Longden represented what Ethel called an 'unholy alliance' of supporters of immediate Union, and the 'Chartered regime', which alleged that the country would not afford self-government.¹²² She argued that there was no precedent for the payment of administrative deficits and that they would only be liable for the cost of acquiring the existing public works. She hoped that the railways would become state-owned, though their acquisition would not be essential. They would still be able to use the revenue which would accrue from land sales, quit rents, and town lots.¹²³ As for the 'native question' and

117. ETJ, "Reply to Mr Longden", BC, 13.9.18.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid.

that of 'a possible native rising' were concerned, the Imperial Government could continue to exercise those powers they possessed under the Charter.¹²⁴ The Defence Ordinance which was still under discussion, would show that the settlers were prepared to undertake their own defences.¹²⁵ She anticipated a sympathetic hearing from parliament in London since "any future ... House of Commons [would] contain a far larger proportion of Labour representatives".¹²⁶ Labour could be expected to be 'anti-capitalist, and therefore, anti-Company'.¹²⁷

Like the pre-war Radical Right Ethel promoted her programme as the practical philosophy of the future - a 20th century answer to a 20th century Imperial problem. She had learned more 'by six months ... living in remote Melsetter' than in all her reading before that.¹²⁸ She was self-consciously modern, appealing to her audience in the idealistic Wilsonian jargon of self-determination.¹²⁹ She was realistic too, and she emphasised 'very earnestly' that the Colonial Office would become more overburdened than ever after the war, and that since London would never understand their problems, they would have to rely on themselves.¹³⁰ She said that the Imperial Government would not have the "slightest desire to saddle itself with more white colonies" and she noted that East Africa had given more trouble than

124. ETJ, "Reply to Mr Longden", BC, 13.9.18.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

128. ETJ, "Crown Colony or -?", BC, 18.10.18.

129. Ibid., ETJ, "Reply to Mr Longden", BC, 13.9.18.

130. ETJ, "Crown Colony or -?", BC, 18.10.18.

the West African colonies combined.¹³¹ She was uncompromising too: Crown Colony status would not do. There would be too much inefficiency, 'miles of ... red tape'.¹³² In any case 'Rhodesia [was] democratic', whereas Crown Colonies were 'stuffy' and full of ceremonial 'frills'.¹³³

Encouraged by the Privy Council judgment, Ethel went on to challenge the Company's claim to the mineral rights. Her letter to the Chronicle coincided with a similar attack from Leopold Moore in the Livingstone Mail.¹³⁴ They both argued that since the Company's claim to the land had been largely based on the Lippert Concession and had failed, its claim to own the minerals of the territory was equally arguable.¹³⁶ Ethel had no qualms about pressing such a claim since "it [was] a mighty good bargain to have had the run of Rhodesia for 28 years, [and] to have picked the eyes out of the country for [its] private estates" to such an extent that it was difficult to find enough good land for returned soldiers.¹³⁷ It had obliged its supporters, friends and allied companies, while 'squash[ing]' their opponents.¹³⁸ It had also, she charged, used administrative services to its own advantage, monopolised the railways, and coal mines, and even the Land Bank "sweat[ed] the farmer to the tune of 7 and 8 per cent, even while he [was] at the front".¹³⁹ If it transpired that it owned the minerals to boot, then "it [could] certainly congratulate itself on having made

131. ETJ, "Crown Colony or -?", BC, 18.10.18.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. RC to HC 14.11.18. PRO CO.417/616.

135. ETJ, "[The Chartered Company - How about the] Mineral Rights?", BC, 4.10.18.

136. Ibid and Livingstone Mail Editorial), 20.9.18.

137. ETJ, "Mineral Rights", BC, 4.10.18.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid.

the very best bargain in history".¹⁴⁰ Not only that. The Company's 'alleged' ownership of the minerals was an 'insuperable barrier' to the present attempt to get a loan from the Imperial Government for mining development.¹⁴¹ Even if such a loan were granted, it would be impossible to safeguard the future of the industry unless a future government could control mining rights and royalties, and the railway rates. The country would need the revenue from taxation of the industry to shoulder a large loan.¹⁴²

For Ethel this was an issue of principle. It was "the duty of Rhodesians not to let the question go by default".¹⁴³ If a sense of permanence and significance is a pre-condition for nationalism, even in its conditional, colonial form, then Ethel certainly voiced it: It was "not only [their] own property alone with which [they] had to deal, but the inheritance of those who [came] after [them]".¹⁴⁴

Ethel had taken a popular stand on this issue. The Resident Commissioner observed that many settlers now doubted whether the Company's claim to the minerals was valid, and he thought the issue might be raised in the next session of the LegCo.¹⁴⁵

Ethel, however, did not share the Resident Commissioner's confidence. Having launched and organised the RGA she was growing very impatient

140. ETJ, "Mineral Rights", BC, 4.10.18.

141. Ibid.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid.

145. RC to HC 14.11.18. PRO CO.417/616. However, it should be noted that the Resident Commissioner was not an impartial observer, but, in fact, an ally of the RGA cause. This was the result of a long history of hostility between Colonial Office officials and the Company. The former looked to the elected members of the Legco to restrain the Company. See Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", pp.23-40, esp. p.26.

with the pace of the campaign. There had been a 'very real political awakening' following her campaign, but she confessed to a "certain diffidence in deciding whether the men of Rhodesia [were] really capable of handling their own affairs".¹⁴⁶ If they were 'frightened of the job', she assumed they knew best, though she emphasised that she herself was "one on whom no share of the burden of responsible government [was] likely to fall", even if the women's franchise movement succeeded.¹⁴⁷ There was a "deplorable absence of unity and tenacity of purpose among [their] leading citizens."¹⁴⁸ She herself believed that every government was 'fair game' even at the risk of being regarded as a 'horrible' revolutionar[y] who attack[ed] the Crown in the sacrosanct person of the Governor and his Council!"¹⁴⁹ This was all 'for want of a little courage'.¹⁴⁹ In a thinly veiled reference to Coghlan, who was South African-born, she noted a 'certain timidity' on the part of colonial-born men to shoulder their responsibilities.¹⁵⁰ Only her colleague, Charles Jobling,¹⁵¹ was an exception to this she presumed.^{151A}

But the force which Ethel had conjured up was now too important for the hitherto cautious Coghlan to ignore.¹⁵² From the RGA's point of view the dominance of Fletcher and Jobling, both representatives of

146. ETJ, "Crown Colony or -?", BC, 18.10.18.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid.

151. Charles Spearman Jobling (b.1877). Claims Inspector (1902), later farmer in Matabeleland; associated with Passive Resistance Movement and Rhodesia League (1912), signatory of Gwelo Manifesto (1914). President of RAU (1920-3), defeated by Mitchell in Bulawayo District (1914) and by Coghlan in Bulawayo North (1920). Member of RGA from 1917; resigned with R A Fletcher, 1919.

151A. Ibid. See also ETJ, "Future of Rhodesia", RH, 2.12.18.

152. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan pp.331-332.

the Matabeleland farming interest and political rivals to Coghlan in that province, was proving an embarrassment to him. They were regarded as impulsive and secretly Unionist in sympathy, in contrast to Ethel, who came across as a forthright and informed campaigner anxious to broaden the RGA's political base beyond farmers.¹⁵³ Leggate, who was one of the 'Fletcherites' at that stage was saying that they were "in a position to assume responsible government", while Ethel emphasised that the object of the movement was RG 'as soon as possible after the war', and after a short interlude of Imperial control.¹⁵⁴ This confusion, according to the Chronicle kept "the majority of responsible citizens aloof from an association which might otherwise become a power in the land".¹⁵⁵

Nevertheless, the demand for leadership from the elected members was becoming irresistible. In the middle of October, Coghlan convened a meeting of his elected colleagues which, with the exception of Grey, agreed to press for RG as the only alternative form of administration ... which the people had the right to ask the Imperial Government".¹⁵⁶ The following month brought an end to the war, so that Coghlan was released from his pledge of political restraint.

He had a ready-made political machine in the RGA, and on 11 January he led a deputation of elected members to meet the RGA Council. He made a tacit commitment to the RG cause, but he emphasised that he would hold to his promise not to propose any constitutional changes in the LegCo until after a general election had been held.¹⁵⁷

153. Hummel, Sir Charles Coghlan, pp.331-332.

154. Quoted ibid.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid.

Coghlan's conversion precipitated major changes in the RGA. First, R A Fletcher - his old rival - resigned, then Jobling another prominent Fletcherite, decided to follow.¹⁵⁸ Shortly afterwards, on 29 January, the Rhodesia Unionist Association (RUA) was formed to promote incorporation in the Union. It was centred on the leaders of the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines, Sir Bouchier Wrey and J G McDonald.¹⁵⁹ But the two RGA defectors, Fletcher and Jobling, kept aloof from the RUA and promoted the idea of an interim period of representative Crown Colony government instead.^{159A}

The Fletcherites' resignation left the leadership of the RGA wide open to Coghlan, but Coghlan delayed his decision for another six months. While McChlery soldiered on as president, Coghlan played his cards cautiously. He was a superb tactician who wanted to pick up the RGA at the right moment.¹⁶⁰

The issue of RG now hinged almost exclusively on the financial fitness of the territory. On 1 January 1919, Francis Newton, the ex-Treasurer, stated his confidence in the country's ability to support itself, and Coghlan made much of this unexpected support,¹⁶¹ Ethel too was heartened by Newton's confidence, and she was more determined than ever to let the Company off with as little as possible. She prepared detailed pamphlets challenging the Company's claim of nearly £8m for

158. Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.204.

159. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.332.

159A. Ibid.

160. Ibid., p.337.

161. Ibid. "For Responsible Government - Bulawayo Elected members support the Project", BC, 3.3.19.

acting as agent for the Crown.¹⁶² She whittled this sum down to £5m at most. Even that was too much for her, since it did not take into account the value of the land, the minerals, and share premiums. She also battled with Longden in the press over the finance issue.¹⁶³ Her critique was "not a budget, but a rough idea of [how to] proceed".¹⁶⁴ She argued very plausibly against the opinion that Rhodesians would be held responsible for the costs of acquiring the territory. Natal was not debited with the entire cost of the Zulu War. Southern Nigeria was not debited with the sum paid to the Royal Niger Company. Canada did not have to buy out the Hudson Bay Company. British East Africa did not have to pay the Imperial East Africa Company and it was not likely that a self-governing Kenya would have to pay for the expulsion of the Germans in the Great War.¹⁶⁵ She denied that ownership of the railways was a prerequisite for RG. Canada did not yet own its railways. Even if South Africa acquired them, they would not be any worse off since the Union was unlikely to 'kill the goose that [laid] the golden egg' by penalising their traffic.¹⁶⁶ If they did not own the minerals, they would tax them. As for the Public Works, they would take them over at a 'fair valuation', as laid down by the Colonial Secretary, and she believed the final sum would be under a million pounds.¹⁶⁷ The only 'so called' Unionist argument worth looking at was the question of raising development loans.¹⁶⁸ Their credit might

162. "The Chartered Company's Bill". (MSS dated 15.3.19, handwritten by ETJ) NAZ [RGA/Rhodesian Party: Correspondence and Other Papers] RH 8/1/1.

163. ETJ, "RGA Finance - A Reply", BC, 28.2.19.

164. Ibid.

165. Ibid.

166. Ibid.

167. Ibid.

168. Ibid.

be better if they formed part of the Union, she conceded, but such loans would be on a provincial basis and secured on their own assets.¹⁶⁹ Longden and the Unionists had provided no financial alternative to the RGA's scheme, only 'destructive criticism'.¹⁷⁰ She asked whether the Unionists could guarantee that the Union government would buy out the Company, together with its minerals, railways and administrative costs. Could the Unionists prove that the settlers could not afford to have an opinion of their own? she asked. In the absence of such a programme, she believed the Unionists' arguments led logically to the conclusion that only Chartered government was feasible.¹⁷¹ If half of Longden's arguments were true, if Rhodesia was utterly unable to finance itself, then all the Unionists could provide was a council of despair, she concluded, for "to remain under Charter any longer [was] despair indeed".¹⁷²

That was one point, however, on which all were now agreed. All, including the Company, concurred that the Charter would be soon terminated. The opponents of RG were divided into two main categories. The Unionist cause was represented firstly by the RUA, which stood for the early transference of the territory to the Union, and secondly, by the Fletcherites who proposed an intermediate stage of representative government.¹⁷³ The RG position was more straightforward, with the RGA as its sole champion. Within the RGA,

169. ETJ, "RGA Finance - A Reply", BC, 28.2.19.

170. Ibid.

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid.

173. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.203-205.

however, there was a continuing division between those who advocated permanent RG as soon as possible and a minority of Fletcherites who remained within the association, notably Leggate and Robert Gilchrist, who were believed to be secretly in favour of Union.¹⁷⁴ Then there were those like Coghlan who were willing to accept representative government as a stepping stone to RG, with Union as the long term end.¹⁷⁵ Within this stratification Ethel took the extreme RG position, in the belief that if they asked for less, they would get less. She wanted the last pound of flesh out of the Company and out of the Imperial Government.

Despite these divisions, the politicians found some common ground. On 5 April, representatives of the RGA and RUA met (on the RGA's initiative) and authorised Coghlan to table a motion in the LegCo requesting the Colonial Secretary "to state for public information what proof of fitness, 'financially and in other respects', will be considered sufficient to justify the grant to Southern Rhodesia of the form of administration known as 'Responsible Government' as provided under the Supplemental Charter of 1915".¹⁷⁶ The motion was duly tabled on 14 May. The RGA hoped it would give them more details about the requirements of the Supplemental Charter, while the Unionists wanted the financial information necessary to enable them to respond to Ethel's challenge.¹⁷⁷ Coghlan had hoped that this 'unanimity' resolution would result in a 'united front' but his hopes were

174. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.203-205.

175. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.387-388.

176. Leg[islative] Co[uncil Debates] .. 1919, pp.386-387.

177. Ibid.

dashed.¹⁷⁸ Coghlan and Fletcher were too dominating to co-exist in the same party.¹⁷⁹ There was only room for one cockerel in the political farmyard, as far as Coghlan was concerned, and he was sure it would not be Fletcher; just as Ethel was sure she should be the only hen. She further enhanced her position on 8 May by inaugurating another branch of the RGA in Salisbury.^{179A}

The Unionists had good reason to be complacent, since Lord Milner had become Colonial Secretary in January 1919. Cold, conspiratorial and inflexible, Milner was believed to be a doctrinaire supporter of Union, having consolidated his links with the Boer general turned imperial statesman, Jan Christian Smuts, who joined the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917.¹⁸⁰ Now the RGA had a grand coalition ranged against it: Milner at the Colonial Office, Louis Botha and Smuts - his close associates - in power in Pretoria and Drummond Chaplin - Milner's disciple - as Administrator.^{180A} Coghlan now dropped the idea of representative government under the Crown as a secondary option, since it would enable the Imperial Government to force Rhodesia into Union.¹⁸¹ Ethel also played her role in Coghlan's final conversion.

178. Wallis, *op cit.*, p.153.

179. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.330-337.

179A. ETJ to E Renmiker nd.[May 1919], NAZ RH 8/1/1/19.

180. ETJ, RR, pp.73, 80.

180A. Milner was also an old friend of Philip Lyttleton Gell, a director of the BSAC and later Acting President with whom Milner had been at Balliol and later shared rooms in London. Another director (and later President) Sir Dougal Malcolm, was related by marriage to William Ormsby-Gore, a prominent Tory MP with imperial interests and later parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office. See Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", p.24, n.3.

181. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.332-336.

At an RGA public meeting in Bulawayo on 28 May, she divulged the contents of a letter she had received from a British MP, W Crookes.¹⁸² Crookes had recently seen the Colonial Under-Secretary, L S Amery, who indicated that there was a division in Colonial Office thinking on the territory, and that he and his officials were waiting for a clearer lead from the settlers themselves.¹⁸³ Coghlan obliged by accepting the presidency of the RGA on 14 June.¹⁸⁴

Two days later, a Council meeting was held at Gwelo which adopted a new constitution for the association. Coghlan's impact on the RG was illustrated by the transference of the party headquarters from Salisbury to Bulawayo - Coghlan's home town.¹⁸⁵ At the time this was a sensible move. Besides Coghlan's aversion to Salisbury, Bulawayo was the largest town, and, because it was the centre of mining, it was the political base of the RUA as well. The democratic structure of the RGA was maintained, with a vice-president from each of the two provinces. Jock McChlery for Mashonaland and Howard Moffat for Matabeleland. An experienced Scottish businessman from Bulawayo, John Downie, was appointed Honorary Treasurer, and Charles Winslow, also of Bulawayo became Secretary.¹⁸⁶ Despite this general shift in the centre of gravity to Bulawayo, Ethel remained Acting Organising Secretary. She notified the branches of the new Constitution and made preparations for the next general election.¹⁸⁷ RGA candidates were to be selected,

182. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.337.

183. *Ibid.*, There was indeed such a division in the Colonial Office. See Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", esp. pp.26-28.

184. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.337-338.

185. ETJ to Branch Secretaries, 16.6.19., NAZ RH.8/1/1/19.

186. *Ibid.*

187. *Ibid.*

"keeping in mind the necessity for not splitting the vote".¹⁸⁸ She urged them to keep in touch with the Central Organisation, particularly any information on Unionist tactics.¹⁸⁹ Branches were asked to canvass their local elected members on the selection issue.¹⁹⁰ She emphasised the importance of including representatives of the Greek and Jewish communities on local committees to broaden the base of the RGA and counter Unionist propaganda.¹⁹¹ This had already been done in Selukwe with good results.¹⁹² She also urged the branches to ensure that RGA supporters were included in the new Register.¹⁹³

Although women had not yet been granted the vote in the territory, the RGA took the firm decision to include women in the organisation.¹⁹⁴ Ethel reminded the branches that Coghlan had called for the inclusion of women on the register and all necessary steps to enlist the support of women were to be taken.¹⁹⁵ Two months previously, considerable interest in the suffrage issue had been aroused by the Rhodesian tour of Mrs Rogaly, a South African supporter of women's suffrage.¹⁹⁶ Ethel also took part in the tour at the request of the Umtali branch of the RGA.¹⁹⁷

Finance was never very far from Ethel's mind, whether in the form of Company finances or in the funds necessary to oil the wheels of the

188. ETJ to Branch Secretaries, 16.6.19., NAZ RH.8/1/1/19.

189. Ibid.

190. Ibid.

191. Ibid.

192. Ibid.

193. Ibid.

194. Ibid.

195. Ibid.

196. Minutes 24.3.19., Umtali Branch NAZ RE.1/1/1.

197. Ibid.

Association. The branches were urged to do their utmost to collect funds and if possible to guarantee a monthly subscription to the central organisation.¹⁹⁸ They would have to meet the expenses of a secretary at £20 a month and propaganda at £40 a month.¹⁹⁹ They would also have to provide a fund to assist less well off election candidates who might otherwise be unable to stand.²⁰⁰ Ethel was more aware than anyone of the importance of this provision.

Returning to the larger propaganda war with the RUA, Ethel raised the classical pre-war Radical Right spectre of a 'Hidden Hand' at work in Rhodesian affairs.²⁰¹ At a time when the democracies of the world were demanding an end to secret diplomacy the settlers were forced to rely on 'sensational rumours as to sinister designs'.²⁰² They were not told what arrangements would be made with the Portuguese over Mozambique, even though these would be of crucial importance to the question of their political destiny.²⁰³ She was not very confident about the Imperial Government's guarantee that they would be consulted. The Company could compromise their position. But she was still determined that Union would not be negotiated between the

198. ETJ to Branch Secretaries, 16.6.19., NAZ RH.8/1/1/19.

199. Ibid.

200. Ibid.

201. ETJ, "The 'Hidden Hand' [in Rhodesia]", RH, 16.1.19. (Though the phrase 'Hidden Hand' in Edwardian Radical Right jargon usually referred to an alleged Jewish conspiracy, there is no trace of anti-semitism in the above letter. It is likely that, for propaganda purposes, she wished to convey the spectre of an anti-RG conspiracy, and "The 'Hidden Hand' " best conveyed it. In contrast, Leopold Moore's anti-semitic feeling was undeniable. During the amalgamation debate in 1917 he stated that Northern Rhodesian supporters of the scheme were 'Dutch and Jews'. (Stabler, *op cit.*, p.506.)

202. ETJ, "The 'Hidden Hand' ", RH, 16.1.19.

203. Ibid.

Company and Pretoria. It was, for her, a 'question of human rights and dignities', for which principles men had died in their millions.²⁰⁴ She was opposed to any delay in the granting of RG. If they remained 'as [they] were' until 1924, as Raleigh Grey had suggested, it would be too late, she argued, to get fresh British settlers and benefit from the period of Imperial reconstruction.²⁰⁵ They would also be five years poorer in hope and enthusiasm and they would be even more demoralised by the 'regime of commercialism' and its train of 'fears and favours'.²⁰⁶ Their sense of civic responsibility would be crushed.²⁰⁷ Whatever happened, the Company had to go, and she put more trust in Pretoria than in London Wall, for at least that authority was in Africa, and their problems would be 'better understood'.²⁰⁸ She rejected the claim that they were faced with the choice of Union or continued Company rule. She urged them to support the elected members and 'Nail them down' to the platform of ending the Charter.²⁰⁹

The Unionists were still far behind in their political organisation. By August 1919, apart from individual sympathisers, it had held no public meetings, while Ethel had addressed 30 RG meetings, and organised branches among the miners and the railwaymen, an important

204. ETJ, "The 'Hidden Hand' ", RH, 16.1.19.

205. Ibid.

206. Ibid.

207. Ibid.

208. Ibid.

209. Ibid.

vote in Rhodesia.²¹⁰ She challenged The Times coverage of the territory and defended the RG cause in United Empire, still an important vehicle of imperial opinion.²¹¹ Ethel hounded the Unionists at every possible opportunity, and her role was crucial in countering their arguments.²¹² No other RGA member, Coghlan included, had sufficient experience, knowledge or dedication, to fulfil that role.²¹³ When the Unionists watered down their programme and suggested a federal link with the Union in July, Ethel was quick to nip their proposal in the bud. She cited precedents in other parts of the Empire and the USA to disprove their arguments.²¹⁴ At the kernel of the argument between the RGA and RUA lay the question of the territory's financial solvency. In 1918, the Privy Council judgment on land ownership included a provision that the Company was entitled to claim compensation for its administrative deficits up to March 1918. In July Milner appointed a commission under Lord Cave to assess the amount due to the Company. However, within a fortnight of the Cave Commission's appointment, Milner decided to pour cold water on the elected members' May 14 request for a statement of financial fitness.^{214A} On 12 August, he replied to the elected members' resolution of 14 May. He suggested that the Privy Council judgment might place further financial liabilities on the territory, that RG was 'outside the pale of practical politics' and that they should

210. ETJ, RR, p.75. "The Pro-Union Policy", BC, 5.9.19.

211. ETJ, "Rhodesia and the Union", UE, Vol.10, 1919, pp.483-485.

212. Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.203.

213. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.314.

214. ETJ, "The RUA and Federated Union", RH, 14.7.19, "The Unionist Campaign", ibid., 5.9.19. Editorial: "The Pro-Union Policy", ibid.

214A. Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", p.254.

"carry on under the present system, until the situation becomes clearer".²¹⁵

This pronouncement had a devastating and 'desolating' effect on the settlers in general and the RGA in particular. Ethel called it a 'cold douche'.²¹⁶ The pro-Company press jubilantly announced 'RG is dead'.²¹⁷ Coghlan refused to be desolate. He had not expected Milner to give a firm lead to either opinion. He doubted whether RG would be ever conceded by the British government, but he still had his 'second string' of representative government which would at least delay Union sufficiently.²¹⁸ The RGA, meeting in an emergency session, reaffirmed their "support of the principle of responsible government, despite Lord Milner's dispatch", but Coghlan let it be known that they would reasonably consider representative government.²¹⁹ The statement led to a growing division within the RGA. Coghlan's supporters included H U Moffat and Ethel. Opposing him were Leggate, Gilchrist and McChlery, who were known to prefer Fletcher to Coghlan as leader.²²⁰ McChlery publicly stated that if RG were unattainable, he would support incorporation in the Union.²²¹

At the end of August, Ethel came out of her corner fighting. She did not pretend to be ruffled by Milner. "[He] is a great statesman", she conceded, "but he [is] perhaps the most unfortunate Colonial Secretary

215. BC, 19.8.19.

216. ETJ, RR, p.73.

217. Ibid.

218. RC to HC, 12.9.19, 15.9.19, PRO CO.417/622.

219. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.338-341, 344-345.

220. Ibid.

221. RC to HC, 15.9.19, PRO CO.417/622.

with whom the Rhodesian settlers could have ... to deal".²²² He was a known supporter of Union and the Company interest was 'strongly entrenched' in the Conservative Party.²²³ He was obviously 'suffering from overwork and strain'.²²⁴ But there was 'no reason to be discouraged'.²²⁵ They were merely going through the same experience as other British communities by having to contend with a remote government in Downing Street.²²⁶ She could not regard Milner's dispatch as a 'bombshell', though, like many bombs it did make a lot of noise and was partially successful 'in splitting the Rhodesian forces'.²²⁷ She warned the public not to be fooled as they were in 1914. Then, the present Unionists were anti-Charter, now they were pro-Charter. She noted Longden's statement that they would have to go on under the present system until the country was converted to Union.²²⁸ They would have to wait a long time, she affirmed. They would have to convert those who boggled at the prospect of a dual language, Union taxation, and restricted immigration.²²⁹ The last thing they needed was to be dragged into Union to support any of the political parties. Their interests dictated that they keep free of racial strife. The choice before the electorate was now much more simple. Union and Charter were now practically one platform, while the RGA stood against premature inclusion in the Union, whether by the achievement of RG, or "the next best thing - representative government

222. ETJ, "Rhodesia's Future", RH, 10.9.19.

223. Ibid.

224. Ibid.

225. Ibid.

226. Ibid.

227. Ibid.

228. Ibid.

229. Ibid.

under the Crown".²³⁰ In any case, "thanks to the RGA [they] could meet the crisis with confidence".²³¹

However, Milner's response sowed division in the RGA ranks. In September McClery declared at a farmers' meeting that if a grant of RG was refused, he would favour incorporation in the Union. Ethel on the other hand said that she would favour representative Crown Colony government instead. She remained firmly against Union.^{231A}

Ethel's riposte was noted by the Resident Commissioner in his dispatch to the High Commissioner in Cape Town, as well as her criticism of a Unionist pamphlet entitled Rhodesia and the Union by Trevor Fletcher.²³² The Gwelo Times asserted:

... King George is far too enlightened to wish to coerce any part of the British Empire into a course repugnant to them, and we cannot be treated as pawns in a game of which we know nothing. [Milner's] interference is unwelcome and unwarranted ... His record ... does not suggest that consideration of the wishes of the people that the spirit of democracy demands; and his interposition in Rhodesian affairs smacks of the political methods of the Hun [a veiled reference to Milner's German origin] rather than of a democratic British statesman. (232A)

She was not alone in reacting so vehemently to Milner's dispatch. In Northern Rhodesia her anti-government equivalent, Leopold Moore, was also voicing his anger in a telling editorial in The Livingstone Mail.²³³ He supported Coghlan's response to the dispatch but went

230. ETJ, "Rhodesia's Future", RH, 10.9.29.

231. Ibid.

231A. RC to HC, 15.9.19, PRO CO.417/622.

232. RC to HC, 12.9.19, 15.9.19, PRO CO.417/622. Trevor Fletcher was the brother of R A Fletcher and a confirmed Unionist.

232A. Editorial: "Lord Milner's Whizzbang", Gwelo Times, 22.8.19.

233. Editorial: "The Colonial Secretary's Dispatch", Livingstone Mail, 22.8.19.

much further. The Imperial Government had decided "in favour of the Chartered Company and against the people".²³⁴ It had 'wholly put aside' the 'interests of British settlers'.²³⁵ There was little use in "whin[ing] about the treatment meted to a loyal population who have done their utmost, at a critical time, to support the Empire that now cast them off".²³⁶ It was obvious to him that Rhodesia had been "summarily disposed of in much the same way as, say, Dantzic, or Galicia".²³⁷ "Apathy, indifference, and the pursuit of wealth in order to gratify a reckless materialism [had] debased the character of the people".²³⁸ They could rely on no one at the head of the Empire who had "the courage and determination ... to strive with all their might and main to maintain the mightiest heritage ever held by a nation".²³⁹ There was no one in London "willing to stake [their] existence, spoils, patronage - on so obscure an issue [as Rhodesia]".²⁴⁰ They had 'no Burke, Pitt or Joseph Chamberlain, to defend their cause'.²⁴¹ At home, the British government was weakened by the rise of Labour and its inability to rely on the army to enforce its decisions. The will of the electorate was paramount.²⁴²

These tendencies were even more marked in the dominions which were likely to declare themselves independent nations in the near future.

234. Editorial: "The Colonial Secretary's Dispatch", Livingstone Mail, 22.8.19.

235. Ibid.

236. Ibid.

237. Ibid.

238. Ibid.

239. Ibid.

240. Ibid.

241. Ibid.

242. Ibid.

Some league of sentiment might remain, but it was widely held that 'the Imperial Government [had] become too feeble to retain control'.²⁴³ The British government were using Rhodesia 'and goodness knows what else besides', to buy off the Union government.²⁴⁴

Moore's ambitions for the Rhodesias knew no bounds. It was a small 'state', but its white population could, he maintained, one day exceed Britain's.²⁴⁵ London ought to recall 'when Boston harbour was made into a teapot'.²⁴⁶ The Radical Right was alive and well in Central Africa. Moore's broadside was worthy of Carson and the UVF:

... Rhodesians are politely told that their desire to remain within the Empire cannot be gratified. They have two alternatives; to remain under the Chartered Company; and to go into Union. If the former be accepted ... Rhodesians now know quite well that that date is the one on which they are prepared, with arms in their hands to proclaim a Republic. (247)

There is little hint here, or in Ethel's writings of this period, that Rhodesia was a myopic intellectual backwater, a "society frozen into a late Victorian mould, a static microcosm of genteel society as it existed before powerful undercurrents for change began to surface in Edwardian Britain ... [a community which] changed at a glacial pace or not at all".²⁴⁸ Nor does this evidence suggest "a community [whose] vision reflect[ed] an out-of-touchness with universal developments, a

243. Editorial: "The Colonial Secretary's Dispatch", Livingstone Mail, 22.8.19.

244. Ibid.

245. Ibid.

246. Ibid.

247. Ibid.

248. McLaughlin, op cit., pp.viii-ix.

dogged adherence to outmoded concepts and a reluctance to face up to contemporary realities"²⁴⁹ (although this diagnosis is certainly true of the post-Suez period of Rhodesia's history). There was little Victorian-style confidence to be found in post-1918 Rhodesia. On the contrary, there was a general awareness that the Empire had emerged from the war overburdened and weakened. It is clear - as it must have been clear to the Company and the Colonial Office of the time - that the RGA was a new phenomenon on the Rhodesian political scene: organised, combative, modern in its methods and ideas, and keenly aware of post-war changes in Europe and the Empire. The Great War had a dramatic effect on the political consciousness of thousands - if not millions - of servicemen.²⁵⁰ Rhodesian soldiers were no exceptions,²⁵¹ and on their return they found in the RGA a movement with an up-to-date idiom. The contemporary ideals of 'democracy' an 'end to secret diplomacy' and 'self-determination' preached by the RGA had an undoubted appeal to ex-servicemen. Of course economic self-interest weighed with them, but that was not the priority that had induced most of them to volunteer for active service: patriotism, adventure, aggression, comradeship and the hope of a better future were the dominant motives and the RGA voiced these sentiments in abundance. It stood for the small men, for 'petit-bourgeois nationalism'²⁵² in a country where 'good luck [was] more important than good birth'.²⁵³

249. Hummel, "Coghlan: political attitudes and style", p.77.

250. Hynes, Edwardian Mind, p.14.

251. ETJ, RR, p.33.

252. Chanock, op cit., p.51.

253. ETJ, RR, p.75.

In contrast, the RUA did not convey such a populist image. It seemed stuffy, overtly self-interested, cosmopolitan, linked to large extra-territorial capital and to 'Dutchmen' who were, after all, 'not quite British'.²⁵⁴ Although its emphasis on partnership with moderate Afrikaners was in keeping with Rhodes's wishes, the RUA's appeal to patriotic sentiment in Rhodesia seemed flaccid when compared to the zealous, exclusivist Britishness of the RGA. The General Elections due in 1920 would provide both sides with their first opportunity to gauge their impact on Rhodesian opinion.

254. Apart from Longden, two other leaders of the RUA projected this image: James Gordon McDonald, who was in charge of RUA policy 1919-23, was a manager of Goldfields of Rhodesia and a prominent member of the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines (RCM) with close links to the Company and (later) to General Smuts. Sir Philip Bouchier Wrey, was President of the RCM 1901, 1908, 1914, 1916-25 and of the RUA 1919-25. He was also a cousin of Walter Long, Colonial Secretary 1916-18. See Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.281, 283; Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", p.28.

CHAPTER FIVE

Stronghold of Empire

Think of the lonely stations
That hem your borders round!
In the history of the nations
Each spot is holy ground!
Would you have your Wardens bound
By coward traitor-hands?
Shame upon 'Little England' while
Greater England stands!

(H Cullen Gouldsbury,
"To England: From the Outposts")

"Uncle", said Gwenda, "there is one thing I want to ask: If I live in the Cape Colony I shall still be a little Rhodesian, shan't I?" "You were born in Rhodesia", Uncle replied, "therefore you will be a Rhodesian to the end of your life". "I am very glad of that, because I like being a Rhodesian", said Gwenda.

M Bachelor, A Little Rhodesian (London, 1922)

At the beginning of the election year of 1920 Ethel had much to be thankful for. Despite opposition from powerful forces within and without the territory she had succeeded in establishing a self-government movement with strong appeal across a wide section of the community. The RGA had taken on the character of a classic populist movement reminiscent of the US People's Parties of the previous century,¹ the Australian Labor Party² and other small-man parties throughout the Empire characterised by hostility to monopolies and international capital and drawing their strength from vulnerable small farmers and men of little property.³ Ethel and McChlery had provided much of this character and Coghlan fitted well into that tradition.

Coghlan was eminently qualified for the role of president. In addition to his political experience and legal ability he had a fiery and mercurial Irish temper and a capacity for patriotic oratory that often degenerated into demagogy.⁴ Less in keeping with Ethel's outlook was

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1. See H I Wetherell, "Continuity and Change [in Opposition Politics in Southern Rhodesia 1923-1962]", (University of Rhodesia, unpublished M.Phil thesis, 1974), ch.1; H I Wetherell "[N H Wilson] Populism in Rhodesian Politics", *Rhod Hist*, Vol.6, 1975, p.53; R Hofstadten, "North America", in G Ionescu and E Gellner (eds), Populism: Its National Characteristics, (London, 1969), pp.9-27.
 2. See R Gollan, Radical and Working Class Politics: A Study of Eastern Australia, 1850-1910, (Melbourne, 1960); B D Graham, The Formation of the Australian Country Parties, (Canberra, 1966); G Searle, "The Digger Tradition and Australian Nationalism", *Meanjin*, Vol.24 (101), 1965, pp.149-158.
 3. See P Harris, "Mythology and Society: Three Examples from New Zealand Politics and History", Political Science [New Zealand], Vol.27 (1-2), 1975, pp.26-29; M Fairburn, "The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier: An Approach to New Zealand Social History", New Zealand Journal of History, Vol.9 (1), pp.3-21.
 4. Hummel, "Coghlan: political attitudes and style", p.61.

his support for Irish Home Rule and his admiration for the Liberalism of William Gladstone,⁵ the philosophy which the Radical Right held responsible for Britain's pre-war decline. Unlike Ethel, he reflected rather than formed popular opinion.⁶ "[W]hatever his political opponents may say", noted the Resident Commissioner in 1920, "they cannot charge him with being ignorant of public opinion".⁷ Still, his personality provided the RGA with a stature which Ethel and McChlery alone could not have given it and his presence made the movement even more menacing in the eyes of the Company and the Unionists.

By 1920, the RGA displaced the Rhodesian Agricultural Union (RAU) as the political voice of farmers owing to the suspicion of pro-Unionist sympathies surrounding Charles Jobling and Robert Fletcher, the RGA defectors and leaders of the Matabeleland agricultural interest.⁸ The RAU was no longer of any political significance in Mashonaland.⁹ The RGA had another powerful advantage: Despite Milner's position as Colonial Secretary there was division in Colonial Office thinking on the RG versus Union issue, as Ethel had revealed in her disclosure of the Crooke's letter in May 1919. Following Milner's despatch of August 1919 Lord Buxton, the Imperial High Commissioner, gave a great deal of private encouragement to the RGA and told them to 'return to the attack'.¹⁰

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5. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.118-121, 272-275, 278, 280-281, 365, 367, 418-419, 430, 500.
 6. Hummel, "Coghlan: political attitudes and style", pp.61, 63-66.
 7. RC to HC 29.4.20, PRO C0417/637.
 8. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.160, 215.
 9. *Ibid.*, p.215.
 10. Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", p.29.

The run-up to the April general elections was probably the most hotly contested test of political opinion to date involving a three-cornered contest between proponents of RG, Union and Representative Government.¹¹ The latter made much of Coghlan's willingness to accept their solution as a second option, but the campaign was dominated by the battle between the RGA and RUA.¹² The RUA had distinct advantages in the back of the press and prominent Company officials. But despite this the RGA retained the allegiance of most farmers who had been heartened by the Privy Council judgment in the Land Case.¹³ It also gained the support of the large white artisan class who preferred RG to the domination of a capitalist company, or incorporation with the Union, a country favoured by their employers and dominated by Rand capitalists.¹⁴ The support of these two interest groups, agriculture and labour - both swelled by the ranks of ex-servicemen in search of a land fit for heroes - was the greatest single factor in a sweeping RGA victory that gave it 12 out of the 13 seats, with the 1 seat being lost only as the result of a split vote.¹⁵

There was one other hitherto unknown quantity in the campaign: women. They had been granted the vote in 1919 and accounted for over one-third of the electorate.¹⁶ Ethel herself both contributed to and benefited from this greater appreciation of the role of women. In February she was nominated as a candidate for the Eastern Division by

11. Wallis, *op cit.*, p.418.

12. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.344-354.

13. Lee, "Responsible Government Movement", p.49.

14. *Ibid.*, p.50.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", p.35.

the Railway Workers' Union, the Mineworkers' Union and by prominent businessmen and farmers.¹⁷ an honour which testified to 'the broad-minded political attitude of Rhodesian men'.¹⁸ She accepted, though "in the belief that a woman suffer[ed] from an essential handicap when she enter[ed] politics] as a principal and not as an auxiliary, and that even the hardest work and self-sacrifice [would] not place her on an equal footing with men".¹⁹ Only exceptional circumstances could justify such direct political involvement, she asserted, and as she had no children and exceptional health for rigorous campaigning in far-flung districts where horsemanship was essential she felt equal to the task.²⁰ She claimed that no candidate more likely to carry the seat could be found.²¹ She did not add that Lionel Cripps a prominent local farmer and able RGA activist had canvassed for nomination but Ethel had told him: 'I ask you as a gentleman to stand down'.²² Her appeal to his chivalry worked. He stood down (and was elected for Bulawayo instead).²³

Ethel's stated aim in the election was to get rid of the 'old pal cult' which had served the country well while it was in the 'nurseryhood stage', but which would be out of place in the new Rhodesia.²⁴ Speaking in Salisbury Drill Hall on 16 April in support of RGA candidates in that town she emphasised the association's appeal

17. "Public Meeting in the Royal Hotel, Umtali", RA, 23.3.20.

18. ETJ, RR, p.75.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., p.76.

21. Ibid., p.75.

22. NAZ Oral CR 2: Miss Angela Cripps p.2.

23. Lee, "Pressure Groups", p.277.

24. "Election Campaign in Full Swing", RH, 19.4.20.

to 'all sections of the community' which was demonstrated by the candidature of John Stewart which had been agreed by the RGA, the Trades and Labour Council, and the Salisbury branch of the Rhodesian Railways Workers' Union of which he was chairman.²⁵ She urged voters to vote for new men since "the old hands did not like to make the break [with the past]".²⁶

She was also anxious to limit the damage to the RG cause done by Milner's dispatch, as their opponents were relying on it as their 'one hope' and were advocating either a continuation of the Company regime or Union on that basis.²⁷ Milner's dispatch was "entirely in accordance with the worst traditions of the Colonial Office".²⁸ The settlers had "asked for bread and got a stone, but [their] teeth were not broken".²⁹ She urged the electorate to give one signal to the Colonial Office by having a 'definite goal' instead of 'drift and makeshift'.³⁰

Her responsibilities as Organizing Secretary involved the whole area of the territory, leaving her limited opportunity to campaign in the Eastern districts.³¹ The Unionist candidate, W M Longden, was believed to be in a strong position, enjoying the support of most Afrikaners of

25. "Election Campaign in Full Swing", RH, 19.4.20.

26. Ibid.

27. ETJ, "The Milner Dispatch", RH, 20.4.20.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. See "Glendale Farmers' Meeting", RH 20.4.20.

Melsetter.³² On the other hand the neglect of the district by a government based in Salisbury could hardly be expected to lessen if the government was located as far away as Pretoria and Cape Town. Ethel's 'forceful and eloquent' style was another RGA advantage.³³ Her victory was resounding: in a 73.6% poll she gained 451 votes as against 294 for Longden.³⁴

Insofar as an efficient party machine was a prerequisite for the RGA's sweeping victory, Ethel - its deus ex machina - could claim a major part of the credit for it. Her role was recognised when, on 12 May 1920 she was allowed, as the subject of her maiden speech, to second Coghlan's motion calling for the granting of RG.³⁵ Coghlan's speech had been forthright: The settlers "wanted to be masters in their own house ... the birthright of every British subject".³⁶

Ethel rose to second the motion "with a deep sense of responsibility and also of the privilege which had been conferred upon her on that historic occasion by the generosity of her colleagues", for there were others of the pioneer generation whom she felt were more entitled to that privilege than she.³⁷ However, she believed that 'a woman [took]

32. [Impressions of] Election Results; Confidential Memorandum [on Members written by Sir Herbert Stanley (Imperial Secretary)] enclosure to HC to S[ecretary] of S[tate for the Colonies], 10.5.20, PRO C0417/637.

33. NAZ Oral ST 1 Mr W Stuttaford [Ethel's election agent], p.6.

34. F M G Willson (ed), Source Book of Parliamentary Elections and Referenda in Southern Rhodesia 1898-1962, (Salisbury 1963), p.112.

35. BSAC, [The Debates in the] Leg[islative] Co[uncil 1920], 12.5.20, p.47.

36. Ibid., pp.58, 62.

37. Ibid., pp.63-54.

the status of her husband'.³⁸ She had "inherited her interest in the country from [Archibald Colquhoun], the first Administrator" and she now bore the name of another Rhodesian pioneer: she was "extremely proud [of being] a Rhodesian pioneer twice over".³⁹

In her long speech in support of RG, Ethel dwelt on the anomalous position of the territory, cited precedents for RG and parallels in territories as far afield as Canada, Guiana, Fiji, the Leeward Islands and North Borneo, and she quoted liberally from Professor Gilbert Keith, her old friend and guru of the constitutional law of the British Empire.⁴⁰ Representative government was fundamentally unsound, she argued, and the struggle for RG was "merely an echo of the other parts of the Empire in the past".⁴¹ In order to get to the root of the evil, they needed a government with not merely administrative functions, but with the capability of initiating policy as well. They could not have that at present because "the people who worked at London Wall could not frame a policy for the people ... who lived in the heart of Africa".⁴² This was all the more true, she asserted since the Company could no longer claim to own the land, and so could not initiate any policy in the future. The people of Rhodesia 'were not children or fools' she protested: they were capable of initiating policy, of defending themselves, of running a 'model Native Administration' and of all other aspects of government '[true to] the

38. LegCo, 12.5.20, p.64.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., pp.64-73.

41. Ibid., p.67.

42. Ibid., p.68.

political instinct which had guided their race in the past'.⁴³ Despite the unequalled contribution which they, as a community, had made to the war effort, they were up against ignorance and prejudice in the House of Commons, she lamented.⁴⁴ MPs in London, she regretted, 'seemed to be more interested in the native population than in the white population of Rhodesia', and seemed to be oblivious of the fact that the LegCo included one elected missionary (Francis Hadfield RGA) who had the backing of the Aborigines Protection Society - champion of aboriginal rights in Britain.⁴⁵ Besides, she believed, "[c]ommon sense shewed the settler ... that the interests of the native were as important to the white people as their own".⁴⁶

When it came to constitutional precedents, Ethel was like a dog with a bone: she would always return to it again and again. She wanted what she believed was due to them. Other British communities "had passed through to the door of Responsible Government [to] the full status of citizens of the British Empire and to prosperity".⁴⁷ She was sure "that the people of Rhodesia were able to pass through that door and realise those expectations ... They were taking no premature wild cat ... revolutionary step; they were doing only what the Imperial Government indicated to them that it expected them to do at the first opportunity".⁴⁸

43. LegCo, 12.5.20, p.69.

44. Ibid., p.72.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p.73.

Her speech was well received with rounds of applause, and her appeal to precedent in her claim for self-government was underlined by her colleague, Lionel Cripps (-the 'gentleman' who had stood down in the Eastern Division to facilitate her election).⁴⁹ They had been waiting for 30 long years for this day, Cripps told the Council:

Now the time was opportune. The spirit of freedom had been roused in the world by reason of the Great War. They, even in far-off Rhodesia, were imbued with that ideal, which had upset thrones, which had revolutionised autocratic states, which had brought about a freedom undreamed of in many parts of Europe ... [T]hat ideal of freedom, that right to manage their own affairs, was constantly present in their minds ... [They had] a government which was not based on the people's will ... [They] had proved themselves to be a people of grit. When it came to a question of fighting, they had fought; when it came to a question of developing, they had developed it, when it came to a question of doing their duty as citizens, they had done their duty. (49A)

Then the resolution in favour of RG was dispatched to London, It was an optimistic period, Ethel remembered: "the country was on the tiptoe of expectation and the legislative work of the session, though unusually heavy, took on a valedictory atmosphere. By next year, it seemed possible, Rhodesia might be setting up house for herself".⁵⁰

Valedictory the session may have seemed, but certainly not valedictory was Ethel's new style in the Council. Within a week she gave some inkling of her wider concerns in the debate on the Budget (18 May 1920). She was probably unduly humble when she stated at the outset of her speech that her few remarks would not take the form of a polished

49. See *supra* chapter 5, p.278 and especially fns. 22 and 23.

49A. *LegCo*, 12.5.20, pp.74-78.

50. *ETJ*, *RR*, p.79.

speech. She had not expected to rise on that occasion, but she was given "an opportunity of making a few observations which might perhaps be helpful".⁵¹ 'Making helpful observations' was part and parcel of the Tawse Jollie style; not the direct, viragine manner of her English sisters, but the diplomatic, flattering approach, which took advantage of her male colleagues' self-proclaimed chivalry and which rarely failed to work.

On this occasion she had several axes to grind, beginning with education. She was sorry that the Company had not acted on the recommendation of the Education Commission (1918) that a free primary system be established in the territory.⁵² She promised to have a cost analysis of the scheme before long. In any case expense should not have stood in the way of such an essential service, she felt. She hoped that the department of Education would not measure teachers' salaries in terms of working hours. They were not like ordinary workers. Speaking as 'a brain-worker', she knew that teachers' work extended far beyond the mere hours spent in a classroom.⁵³

The next issue was a bread and butter one for Ethel: communications. She regretted the increase in telegraphic and postal charges which, from the point of view of a new country, would be a retrograde step.⁵⁴

51. LegCo, 18.5.20, p.235.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

Freedom of communication was essential to the progress of the territory and in any case, a better source of revenue could be found elsewhere.⁵⁵ She would have liked to see larger sums of money allocated to roads, the neglect of which "constituted one of the greatest drawbacks to progress".⁵⁶ Prospective settlers were hindered in their visits to the most desirable regions because of the lack of adequate roads. She hoped that the question would be given "all the consideration that its importance deserved", and she proposed that the necessary costs could be met by raising a loan.⁵⁷

She wanted to congratulate the Treasurer on one increased aspect of taxation (which was no less a bread and butter issue for her); that was the increased tax on spirits.⁵⁸ To the laughter of her colleagues, she told the house that farmers' congress members "had implored her not to follow in the steps of Lady Astor" by proposing the complete prohibition of liquor at the earliest opportunity: "They implored her not take away their amusements in a violent manner".⁵⁹ She did not propose to do so, but on behalf of the women of the territory, she sought such limitations on the sale of spirits as had recently been adopted in the UK.⁶⁰

She supported the idea of an equitable income tax system and she felt the burden should fall most heavily on the big land speculators. She

55. LegCo, 18.5.20, p.235.

56. Ibid., p.237.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., p.235.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., p.236.

fully supported the proposal of putting a tax on unoccupied land, which would facilitate the bringing in of 'the right type of settler'.⁶¹ Only such a tax would induce the big land speculators to open up this large area of land in the interests of the country.⁶²

All her proposals would cost money, she conceded, but the country could never expand if it merely lived within its income. Very few progressive people could expand without an overdraft - 'a rather familiar feature of Rhodesian life' - but, she argued, the country had solid and valuable assets behind it.⁶³ Responsible Government would not plunge the country into extravagant, irresponsible government, she assured the Company.⁶⁴

Believing that RG was now very much on the cards, Ethel pressed home her attack in a cogent article defending her cause in United Empire.⁶⁵ She also attacked RG critics in the Union in a letter to the Cape Times in September.⁶⁶ Rhodesians were accustomed to misrepresentations that 'passed for well informed contributions', she contended.⁶⁷ A Cape Times editorial had discussed Rhodesia's capability of financing itself under RG,⁶⁸ but according to Ethel it was full of half-truths, which were worse than lies.⁶⁹ She resented

61. LegCo, 18.5.20, p.236.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., p.237.

64. Ibid.

65. ETJ, "The Question of Southern Rhodesia", UE Vol 11, 1920, pp.633-636.

66. ETJ to Editor, Cape Times, 8.9.20.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid., 7.7.20.

69. Ibid., 8.9.20.

these inaccuracies about the affairs of her country, whether stated in the Union or in Britain. She felt that the RGA was not being taken seriously, for '[they did] not take to politics for amusement'.⁷⁰ Quoting Cecil Rhodes as though he were an oracle, Ethel asked whether it was conceivable that Rhodesia be 'Unionised' without the ownership of its own land.⁷¹ She disputed the claim that an RG government would be unable to raise a loan except at a prohibitive cost and she sarcastically congratulated the Cape Times on finding information on private negotiations which were then in progress.⁷² Kenya, which was in an equally 'temporary political state' had managed to raise a loan of £5m, which made the Imperial Government's ban on Rhodesian public loans seem unreasonable.⁷³ It was this "impossibility of continuing [to finance public works out of revenue] which has helped to bring about our demand for self-government", she argued.⁷⁴ As to the slur that the Rhodesian settlers had a population equal to an English town, she retorted that the Union's 'white' population was only equal to the population of a London borough, and that had not prevented the Union's attainment of dominion status.⁷⁵

While Ethel debated the solvency of a Rhodesia under RG, her own financial position was not so stable. On her first day in the LegCo, the Administrator noted that the number of elected members had

70. ETJ to Editor, Cape Times, 8.9.20.

71. Ibid.

72. (A reference to the Cave Commission then in progress.) Ibid.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid.

increased to £13,^{75A} - lucky for Ethel, for it did give her a fixed income. But she had another fight on her hands when her neighbour, Schlater, returned from war service to reclaim his farm, and with it, the postal agency which the Tawse Jollies had run in his absence.⁷⁶ Ethel contended that most of the district had been satisfied with her service (and it was a valuable point of contact with the community) and a dispute soon developed between the two parties. Probably because of Ethel's fierce defence of her little income (£3 per month), the matter was taken as far as the Administrator, who made the amazing decision that two postal agencies be continued virtually side by side, run by Ethel and Schlater respectively. Patronage of the postal agency at Chibunza declined, but she continued to run it for another 13 years.⁷⁷

Patronage of the RGA was also on the decline after 1920, as higher prices in the Union weaned many farmers away from the RG cause.⁷⁸ For the moment, attention was fixed on Lord Milner's response to the LegCo RG resolution of 12 May. Milner was keen to delay the question of RG for as long as possible, a tactic which was implicit in his letter to the High Commissioner, published in the Bulawayo Chronicle in August.⁷⁹ In it he reiterated that the British government would await the report of the Cave Commission on the amount due to the Company before taking any decision on the question of RG.⁸⁰ He

75A. Vickery, *op cit.*, p.80.

76. R Cherer Smith to the author, 14.11.83.

77. Ibid.

78. Lee, "Responsible Government", p.50.

79. BC, 17.8.20.

80. Ibid.

probably hoped that the settlers would balk at the idea of going it alone when they were confronted with the costs of such a course. RG champions certainly were not abashed: 'Britain playing with fire' was the headline to Leopold Moore's editorial in the Livingstone Mail of August 26, while 'No Full Self-Government' headed an editorial in the Bulawayo Chronicle on August 21. The settlers had to wait until January 1921, when Milner made a direct reply to the elected members in a memorandum which stated that while he was disposed 'in principle' to grant RG, 'his difficulty [was] as to the moment for doing it', and added vaguely that the situation in South Africa was 'full of uncertainties'.⁸¹ This was clearly another example of Milner's stalling tactics. His chief concern in Southern Africa was not the interests of the Rhodesian settlers, but the security of the Union's link with the British Empire. The inclusion of Southern Rhodesia as a fifth province in the Union could only strengthen Smuts and the pro-British element there against the ambitions of the Afrikaner nationalists.⁸² But the very notion of acting as loyalist ballast was completely repugnant to Ethel, Coghlan and the rest of the RGA (and would remain the cardinal difference in approach between it and the Imperial Government for the next two years).⁸³

As sops to the disappointed elected members, Milner offered annual loans of £150 000 for the following three years, although reminding the settlers that they would have to pay off their debt to the Company

81. Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, pp.81-82.

82. Ibid., p.82; Warhurst, "Rhodesian-South African relations", pp.102-108.

83. ETJ, RR, pp.77-78.

before they could take control of the unalienated land.⁸⁴ He also invited the elected members to send a delegation to meet with him if they rejected the memorandum, although such discussions would delay the annual loan, he cautioned.⁸⁵ In any case, he decided that the territory would remain under the jurisdiction of the Company until after the elections due in 1923. If the next LegCo requested RG in terms of the Supplemental Charter, then the British Government would grant their request no later than October 30, 1924.⁸⁶ In private Milner conceded that the "agitation for self-government was now assuming very serious proportions ... [and could] no longer be staved off".⁸⁷

The elected members replied immediately to Milner's memorandum. They were pleased that Milner had accepted their right to provide the replacement to the Company's administration, and they argued against Milner's proposal that the RG question be delayed pending the uncertain pre-election situation in South Africa.⁸⁸ The early grant of RG would, she seconded, contribute both to the stability of Rhodesia and that of the region as a whole. Reminding Milner of the wishes of the settlers as expressed in the 1920 Election, she wondered why a constitution could not be framed and presented to them within a few months.⁸⁹ They rejected the idea of having to present their case in another general election and proposed instead a referendum - that radical innovation which the Radical Right had proposed in Britain

84. Di Perne, A Right to be Proud., p.82.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.352.

88. ETJ to Editor, RH, 18.2.21.

89. Ibid.

over the Irish question back in 1912-14⁹⁰ - because the nominated members of LegCo could swing the issue in the event of a reduced RG return.^{90A}

Like her colleagues, Ethel was growing tired of Milner's vacillations and from December 1920 to February 1921, she argued the case for sending a delegation to London to discuss a new constitution.⁹¹ She engaged with a correspondent in the Herald, who wrote under the nom de plume of 'Meli', and whom she believed (incorrectly) was her old Unionist rival, R A Fletcher.⁹² As a major RGA figure with experience of Colonial Office mandarins, Ethel probably expected to be included in any London delegation. She almost certainly met Milner during her time at the RCI, and in any case she and Archibald Colquhoun had been close associates of Parkin, the Canadian imperialist and one of Milner's mentors.^{92A} This would have made her better equipped than any other of the other RGA delegates for such an encounter.

But it was not on the cards. Milner resigned in February and Ethel was relieved. "It was a fortunate change for Rhodesia", she later recalled.⁹³ It had been 'a severe blow' to Rhodesians that Milner had 'failed to enter into the difficulties of their country', after having done so much to reconstruct the Boer republics after the South African War.⁹⁴ Fellow traveller of National Efficiency he may have been, but Ethel disliked him for his aloof manipulation and his "cat and mouse

90. See *supra* chapter 1, p. and especially fn.196.

90A. ETJ to Editor, RH, 18.2.21.

91. *Ibid.*, 24.12.20, 18.2.21.

92. *Ibid.*, 24.12.20, 31.12.20.

92A. See *supra* chapter 1, p.56-57 and especially fn.47.

93. ETJ, RR, p.80.

94. *Ibid.*

treatment [of] Rhodesian settlers, with their record of loyal service to the crown".⁹⁵ The pro-Company press in Rhodesia constantly reminded the settlers that the territory formed "a very unimportant part of the Colonial Officer's responsibilities, and that Lord Milner, who had been much occupied with Egypt, could not be expected to deal promptly with such trivial affairs as theirs".⁹⁶

In February Milner was succeeded by Winston Churchill, who was widely believed to be more sympathetic to the Rhodesian settlers, but he also had to contend with major problems in Egypt and Ireland. Naturally, Rhodesia was low on the list of priorities.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, he immediately appointed a Royal Commission under Lord Buxton to look into the question of Rhodesia's political future.⁹⁸ The fact that Buxton knew the country well gave the settlers confidence that their case would be fairly dealt with.^{98A} While his commission met in March, Ethel held a public meeting in Chipinga, and then sent the following telegram to the Resident Commissioner to strengthen their position:

7 March Public meeting here sixty registered voters unanimously passed following resolution "That this meeting confirms actions taken by elected members in dealing with Co/lonial/ Sec/retary/'s Memo Resolution seconded by one of the leading Unionists [probably W H Longden].(99)

The Commission reported in May and the elected members were pleased with its findings. The Report stressed the importance - to the British

95. ETJ, RR, p.80.

96. *Ibid.*

97. *Ibid.*, p.81.

98. *Ibid.*

98A. *Ibid.*

99. ETJ to RC, 7.3.21, PRO 417/658.

Government, to the Company and to the settlers - of bringing "the present anomalous state of affairs to an end and as soon as possible".¹⁰⁰ It recommended a referendum - instead of Milner's general election - as a test of opinion on the issue, and urged that a deputation of elected members be sent to London to discuss a draft constitution for the referendum.¹⁰¹ An RG constitution would include 'safeguards' to protect the rights of Africans.¹⁰² The Report also recommended the establishment of a Land Board for the supervision of land sales and the revenues derived from unalienated land.¹⁰³ If the electorate approved the proposed constitution in a referendum to be held in 1922, then the territory could be annexed to the Crown and granted self-government.¹⁰⁴ The Report deeply disappointed the Company, and Chaplin's biographer records that it 'left him cold'.^{104A} The Company blamed its terms on the influence of Sir Herbert Stanley the pro-RGA Resident Commissioner.^{104B}

The elected members were quick to pronounce their approval of the Report. On 19 May Coghlan moved a motion in the LegCo to that effect, seconded by Ethel.¹⁰⁵ His speech struck a very patriotic note, affirming his belief in their ability to pay their way and 'preserve [their] independence'.¹⁰⁶ Their motto was:

100. ETJ, RR, p.81.

101. Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, p.90.

102. Ibid, p.91.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

104A. Long, op cit., p.263.

104B. Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", p.30.

105. LegCo, 19.5.21, p.780.

106. Ibid., p.799.

Rhodesia for the Rhodesians
 Rhodesia for King and Empire
 One for all and all for one.(107)

Rising to second the motion, Ethel urged the production of a constitution without any further delay, because as long as their present situation continued, along with the land question, they could not expect to secure the immigrants which the country badly needed.¹⁰⁸ She felt that the deputation to London could expedite the constitution and make the lawyers' task much easier, and she hoped that this would persuade the Imperial Government to let the voters see the proposed constitution before the end of 1921.¹⁰⁹ They had Natal for a precedent, and, in any case, a single chamber legislature would be sufficient to their needs at their present state of development.¹¹⁰ It was all very straightforward to her. She could "reckon upon something like nine stages which had to be gone through":

1. The delegation would go to London.
2. The drafting of a constitution.
3. The constitution would be sent to Rhodesia for the perusal of the electorate.
4. After that there would be a referendum.
5. If the electorate approved, the territory would be annexed to the crown.

107. LegCo, 19.5.21, p.801. The phrase had a parallel in New Zealand in the 1890s over whether the country should join the Australian federation. "New Zealand for the New Zealanders" was the catchcry of those who were opposed to the scheme. See Sinclair, A History of New Zealand, p.221.

108. LegCo, 19.5.21, p.803.

109. Ibid., pp.803-804.

110. Ibid., p.803.

6. The granting of Responsible Government by Letters Patent.
7. The dissolution of the LegCo.
8. The redistribution of seats.
9. A General Election under the new constitution.¹¹¹

If the referendum went against the RGA, then the RG elected members would resign and their opponents could put their case at a general election. The new LegCo could then proceed according to the mandate of the people. She did not think it likely that the people would reject RG, but she was disturbed that the Unionists "wanted to complicate the next step by introducing in the referendum or in some other way ... alternatives and different proposals, whether abstract or concrete it was rather difficult to know".¹¹²

Her uncertainty was resolved on 25 May when her old opponent, Fletcher - the sole Unionist in the LegCo - proposed that the referendum include the alternative of Union, and that the Imperial Government to ascertain terms for Union.¹¹³ Ethel was doggedly opposed to such a course. There was no precedent for a party "reversing the policy which had been adopted [by it] during the previous elections",¹¹⁴ None of her constituents had requested her to reverse her policy.¹¹⁵ She rejected the argument (which was substantially true)¹¹⁶ that there had

111. LegCo, 19.5.21, pp.804-805.

112. *Ibid.*, p.806.

113. *Ibid.*, 25.5.21, p.1057.

114. *Ibid.*, p.1082.

115. *Ibid.*

116. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.214-215.

been a substantial change of opinion in favour of Union, and attributed it to the pro-Union and pro-Company press which had 'notoriously ... backed the wrong horse' in the previous election.¹¹⁷ The Unionists were trying to get their way via 'the back door'.¹¹⁸ They could put their case in the election which would follow on self-government - 'the fairest way to decide the question', but "[i]t would be, to her mind, exceedingly undignified for the [LegCo] to go to the Union Government and say: 'The majority of us are opposed to what we are doing, we are all opposed to the idea of Union now, but we think we ought to discuss the matter with you' ".¹¹⁹ That was 'an impossible position'.¹²⁰

Fletcher withdrew his motion,¹²¹ but any satisfaction Ethel may have felt must have soon diminished, for her colleagues were finding her uncompromising personality, if not her abilities, too much to bear.¹²² On May 28, the Resident Commissioner commented to Buxton on the choice of delegates for London, and his surprise that William Leggate was to go to London instead of Ethel.¹²³ This was clearly an anomaly since though Leggate was a good economist, neither he nor other members of the LegCo could compete with Ethel's knowledge of comparative imperial constitutionalism. "I think there is some jealousy of Mrs Tawse Jollie", the Resident Commissioner observed, "I gather that she is

117. LegCo, 19.5.21, p.1082.

118. *Ibid.*

119. *Ibid.*, pp.1083-1084.

120. *Ibid.*, p.1084.

121. *Ibid.*, p.1091.

122. M E Lee to the author, 12.1.87.

123. RC to HC 28.5.21, NAZ R[esident] C[ommissioner]: Correspondence: General/, 3/1/104 753.

inclined to be a little intolerant. She has, of course, more ability than most of them and more political experience, but they appear to resent her treatment of them in Caucus. This is what I hear".¹²⁴

True, Ethel was an extremist,¹²⁵ a steam roller who was in a hurry to arrive at her destination of RG - her prerequisite for an efficient society. In a sense she had played her cards too soon; she had done the donkey work in putting the RG show on the road. Coghlan, however, was a superb tactician who picked up the movement at the right moment and took the laurels. Lack of compromise was 'a woman's quality' of which she was proud. It was her unfortunate lot, in both public and private life, to be burdened with men who preferred the convivialities of club and hotel lounges to les idées fixes of the Radical Right.¹²⁶

Still she persevered with support for her colleagues' visit to London. In the press she argued against the Company inspired proposal that the London delegation should include nominated (Unionist) members,¹²⁷ as

124. RC to HC 28.5.21, NAZ RC, 3/1/104 753.

125. Election Results; Confidential Memorandum, enclosure to HC to S of S 10.5.20, PRO C0417/637.

126. "So it comes that Man, the coward, when he gathers to confer
With his fellow-braves in council, dare not leave a place for her
Where, at war with Life and Conscience, he uplifts his erring
hands

To some God of Abstract Justice - which no woman understands.
And Man knows it! Knows moreover that the Woman that God gave him
Must command but may not govern - shall enthral but not enslave
him

And She knows, because she warns him, and her instincts never
fail,

That the Female of Her Species is more deadly than the Male".
(Rudyard Kipling, "The Female of the Species".)

127. ETJ to Editor, RH, 19.8.21, 30.9.21.

well as calling for Milner's loan proposal to be activated.¹²⁸ In October, the Administrator brought to General Smuts's attention "the widow of Archibald Colquhoun ... [whose] second husband, Jollie, a farmer, [was] of no account".¹²⁹

The reason for Ethel's prominence in Chaplin's dispatch was her opposition to Smuts's idea that each of the dominions was sovereign and equal to Britain itself within the Empire - or Commonwealth as Smuts preferred to call it.¹³⁰ For diehard Rhodesian imperialists, this was the thin end of the wedge, akin to the idea of Irish Home Rule in the minds of Ulster Unionists. The suspicion (already noted) that some 'Hidden Hand', some conspiratorial - almost treasonable - deal might be done behind the Rhodesians' backs was already prominent in the minds of RGA proponents, no less than their Ulster predecessors of the previous decade. One correspondent in the Herald cited the precedent of the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 for dealing with the coercion of British subjects.¹³¹ The Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society lamented that:

... the Imperial Government, as indicated in the case of Ulster, seems rather to enjoy putting pressure on a small loyal English community to surrender its inheritance and its liberties to the majority disposal of a much bigger [community] that is - well, not so English and not so loyal ... (132)

128. ETJ to Editor, RH, 9.9.21.

129. Sir F D Chaplin to J C Smuts, 22.10.21, NAZ [Historical MSS Collection] Drummond Chaplin Correspondence: General 1896-1933, CH 8/2/1.

130. Ibid. See *supra* chapter 4 pp.264-5 and especially fn.201.

131. A Pearson to Editor, RH, 9.9.21. (The "Things in General" column of the pro-RGA newspaper The Independent in 1922 went under the nom de plume of 'George Washington')

132. Sons of England, "The Question for Rhodesia", The Independent, 10.2.22.

Another correspondent expressed a similar outlook:

... Rhodesians snatched this country from the wilderness and made it a place for better men than Mr Trevor Fletcher [a Unionist and brother of RA] to live in, and what they have they'll hold. [They] will be true to their traditions and fight out their salvation in the same spirit of fearlessness they have already shown in the Great War, and not hand over their heritage for a mess of pottage to the enemy at their gates.(133)

It was to this section of opinion that Ethel had particular appeal.

RGA confidence now began to weaken, as for the first time the RUA began to mount a serious campaign in support of Union, much to the relief of the Company and the Union Government in Pretoria.¹³⁴ With the resounding electoral victory of Smuts's pro-British coalition in the Union in February, the RUA's case was strengthened, while Drummond Chaplin for the Company believed that RGA support was dissipating.¹³⁵ The Company believed that the longer the referendum was delayed, the sooner the costs of self-government would dawn on the settlers, while the RUA strengthened its position within Rhodesia, and Smuts could use his enormous prestige to influence Churchill in the direction of Union.¹³⁶

The RUA wasted little time in taking advantage of the new situation. In April 1921, before the Buxton Commission had made its report, the RUA secured Company backing for its request to send a delegation to

133. "A Lover of Rhodesia" to Editor, *op cit*, 27.1.22. (What we have, we'll hold" was a traditional Ulster Unionist war-cry).

134. Lee, "Responsible Government Movement", p.50.

135. M E Lee, "[An Analysis of the] Rhodesian Referendum, 1922", *Rhod Hist*, Vol.8, 1977, p.74.

136. Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, pp.98-99.

London to hold talks with the Colonial Secretary.¹³⁷ An RUA petition, apparently signed by 8164 electors - or more than half the electorate - was put forward in support of the request that voters be given the option of Union in the referendum.¹³⁸ Ethel was furious, even in hindsight, not least because the petition was "signed by many staunch RG supporters who regard[ed] Union under any terms as anathema".¹³⁹ She cast doubt on the authenticity of the petition and blamed it on the 'Hidden Hand' of big business:

It has never been clear who paid for the very efficient organisation which was set to work to obtain these signatures, but whoever was responsible did a bad day's work for Rhodesia. In the end it was the cause of delaying Responsible Government for another twelve months ... (140)

As a result, the Union option was to be included in the referendum, as Churchill had thought that the Buxton Report had not considered Union at all.¹⁴¹ Smuts and Sir Thomas Smartt, leader of the Unionist Party in South Africa, discussed the Union option with Churchill during the Imperial Conference of July 1921.¹⁴² Smuts seemed at that time to be at the height of his powers. He had won the election in South Africa. He was highly revered in both Europe and America as a philosopher king; a sage of Empire and former Boer general - a man of action and a man of intellect - rolled into one. He had the ear of the powerful. The King sent for him to write his speech for the opening of the first Northern Ireland parliament in 1920. De Valera and Irish

137. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.357.

138. ETJ, RR, p.83.

139. Ibid.

140. Ibid., pp.83-84.

141. Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, pp.103-104.

142. Ibid., p.98.

republicans invited him to Dublin in 1921 as a mediator to help put an end to the Anglo-Irish War.¹⁴³ The RUA could not have had a more worthy advocate than this goateed great conciliator who dreamt in continents, and who thought of himself as a citizen of the world, if not of the universe.¹⁴⁴ Yet it was this very cosmopolitanism which repelled Ethel and many of her followers. She shared his belief that the Empire was the best vehicle for the promotion of universal peace. But his several-headed commonwealth of separate sovereignties was a chimera to her. Whenever he spoke of it in such terms she reached for her literary revolver because, for all the universalism of her Vocation of Woman (1913), she remained au fond an imperialist of the old, federalist, United Empire school.

Following the Imperial Conference, Churchill received a delegation from the RUA which, in spite of its lack of seats in the LegCo, was out to steal a march on the elected members whose visit was still due. Their visit reinforced Churchill's swing towards the Unionist case and he actively supported the Unionist option in the cabinet after October.¹⁴⁵

So the tide was running against the delegation of elected members when they arrived in London in October. The deputation included, as an act of magnanimity, the sole Independent member of the LegCo,

143. For an adulatory account of Smuts's achievements see J C Smuts [Jnr], Jan Christian Smuts, (Cape Town, 1952); Wallis, op cit., p.187.

144. See W K Hancock, Smuts, Vol.2, The Fields of Force, (Cambridge, 1968), p.152.

145. Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, p.98.

R A Fletcher. His inclusion "was one of those acts of chivalry which are not always properly interpreted", Ethel recalled:

In the long run he proved a source of weakness to the deputation, for it became evident that forces were at work which had not, previously, been gauged, and the deputation could not afford to have any half-hearted supporter with them, much less the hostile critic that Mr Fletcher eventually proved to be.(146)

En route to London, the delegation were entertained at Cape Town by General Smuts, who was 'charming ... and very flattering' and offered Coghlan a cabinet post if he was co-operative.¹⁴⁷ Smuts publicly promised to safeguard the jobs of Rhodesian civil servants under Union and to promote settlement (which may have undermined the support which the RGA drew from the administrative and agricultural sectors).¹⁴⁹ He also proposed the expansion of the railway system.¹⁴⁸

The delegation proceeded to London where, Ethel afterwards learned, "they were not treated with any special consideration",¹⁴⁹ No one met them when they arrived nor conducted them to their hotels. They were requested by Churchill not to entertain the press and no public body asked them to speak. Despite the headway of the RUA, and the powerful forces ranged against Coghlan, Ethel was later proud of the way he handled their cause in a three-sided manoeuvre between the Imperial Government, the Company and the elected members:

146. ETJ, RR, pp.81-82.

147. Wallis, *op cit.*, p.180.

148. Lee, "Pressure Groups", pp.214-215.

149. ETJ, RR, pp.84-85. "Progress of Delegates", The Independent, 25.1.21.

[H]is knowledge of all the phases of the relations between the Company and the Country, his wonderful memory and quick grasp of essentials were remarked by men before whom the old 'bush lawyer' as he calls himself (being the most modest of men), had expected to find himself outclassed ... [H]e has sacrificed a very lucrative profession for political life.(150)

The one bright spot in the delegation's visit which later pleased Ethel was their private audience with the King.¹⁵¹ The visit took place at a time of 'Imperial exhaustion', with imperial energies overstretched in Egypt and Ireland, while in Kenya, the settlers threatened a revolt - Ulster style - to force the government to act in their interests.¹⁵² It was in this context that the King remarked to Coghlan that Rhodesia, in objecting to Union, appeared to be the Ulster of South Africa, to which Coghlan replied ominously that he hoped, in loyalty to His Majesty, that Rhodesia was just as loyal as Ulster.¹⁵³

150. ETJ, RR, p.84.

151. Ibid., p.85.

152. Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", p.39.

153. ETJ, RR, p.84. This sentiment was echoed by one correspondent in The Independent:

Men die and will die, Rhodesia,
For the right to rule their own;
O choose you now Rhodesia,
And reap where you have sown.

Anon. 'The Choice', The Independent, 14.4.22.

(Two years earlier, the defiance of Ulster Unionists, coupled with their 'kith and kin' links to the British Conservative establishment, succeeded in persuading Lloyd George to partition Ireland. Six out of the nine counties of the province of Ulster were combined into a new political entity, Northern Ireland, so that the Unionists comprised a local majority. They saw themselves as comprising a loyalist bridgehead on the island, in much the same way as Rhodesian settlers saw themselves as essential to the imperial presence in Southern Africa. As in the case of Rhodesia following the granting of self-government in 1923, the Imperial Government more or less bowed out of Irish affairs, ignoring the NI Government's discrimination against its nationalist population. See Grainger, op cit., pp.175, 205, 252, 353.)

While the delegation was in London, Ethel returned to her farm and kept up the literary fight from there. She published a defence of the RG position in the Union journal The South African Quarterly which mixed a chatty description with statistical arguments in favour of self-government.¹⁵⁴ She dismissed the RUA as "a powerful party, with considerable funds, engaged in propoganda, and yet not able to put forward a complete policy".¹⁵⁵ The terms which they would accept for Union would be impossible for Smuts to provide, among them, the abolition of Afrikaans as an official language. The "patriotic Rhodesian [was] audacious enough to hope for a Rhodesian Government" which would solve his problems, the land problem included.¹⁵⁶ They had a 'public-spirited' population, small in numbers but highly visible and sophisticated with 'comparatively few back numbers' among them.¹⁵⁷ She boasted of the 80% turn out in the last elections, including the women, who had the vote unlike their sisters in the Union. She presented her case as a straightforward, patriotic one:

... the average British-born Rhodesian feels that this is essentially a British country, pioneered, bought and developed by British people, and he wants to keep it so ... Rhodesians, as a rule, are intensely Imperialistic (to use a phrase which is being outworn) and they have many ties of sympathy with the Union, but the present writer has always urged that our duty is first to make Rhodesia a strong, independent unit in the Empire, and then to discuss our future political affinities.(158)

But it was not as simple as that. Coghlan succeeded in negotiating a constitution in London which embodied entrenched safeguards for

154. ETJ, "Southern Rhodesia", The South African Quarterly, Vol.3 (4), 1921, pp.10-12.

155. Ibid., p.11.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid.

158. Ibid., pp.11-12

Company property and the rights of Africans, a constitution which Ethel later described as only 'the next step towards complete self-government'.¹⁵⁹

While the deputation was in London, Churchill asked Chaplin to appoint a deputation to meet with Smuts to discuss the terms for Union, so that the electorate could be presented with this alternative in the referendum.¹⁶⁰ This had been mooted for several months and Ethel had campaigned against the idea of a nominated delegation, upholding 'the right to negotiate for [them]selves'.¹⁶¹ She was unsuccessful, and Chaplin pressed ahead with plans for a conference in the Union. In late January, he heard from J G MacDonald, the Unionist leader, who had it 'on excellent authority' that Coghlan, McChlery, Fletcher, and probably Hadfield, were in favour of delegates nominated from the LegCo, including those of non-RGA persuasion, but that "they [were] afraid the racialist group headed by Mrs Tawse Jollie [had] a majority against such a proposal".¹⁶² MacDonald hoped that the RUA would provide some of the delegates, but as they could not be seen to propose that, he hoped that Chaplin would do so instead.¹⁶³ MacDonald's report was confirmed by Chaplin in his reply to MacDonald the following day. He had met with McChlery and Ethel and found that the latter was still opposed to any RGA participation in the Union

159. Di Perna, *A Right to be Proud*, p.113.

160. M A G Davies, "Incorporation in the Union of South Africa or Self-Government: Southern Rhodesia's Choice, 1922", (University of South Africa, unpublished M.A. thesis, 1963), pp.24-26.

161. ETJ to Editor, RH, 3.9.21.

162. J G MacDonald to Chaplin 24.1.22, NAZ CH.8/2/1

163. Ibid.

delegation.¹⁶⁴

While Chaplin figured a way of overcoming her opposition, the attentions of the territory turned to the return of the London delegation. For the supporters of RG 1922 - 'the year of destiny [was] at hand'.¹⁶⁵ The problems of Ireland, Egypt, Mesopotamia and India had been largely solved, and the Rhodesians were next on the list. At the end of January Ethel published an explanation of the proposed constitution, in which she dealt with its similarities to the constitutions of the dominions, as well as the limitations which would be placed on them in the area of native affairs and property rights. She was pleased with the draft.¹⁶⁶ It would enable them to raise a loan for development, while the placing of unalienated land under a Crown Land Agent would finally rid them of the influence of London Wall.¹⁶⁷ It would give them the freedom to achieve greater freedom of action: "... from the position secured we can, as other colonies have done, pass on to greater independence as our strength permits".¹⁶⁸ She ended by calling on her compatriots to justify the Imperial Government's confidence in their ability to carry on the government of their country.¹⁶⁹

The delegates returned at the end of January to an enthusiastic welcome at the Drill Hall in Salisbury.¹⁷⁰ Ethel's 'replacement',

164. Chaplin to J G MacDonald 25.1.22 NAZ CH 8/2/1

165. Editorial: "The Coming Year", *The Independent*, 30.12.21.

166. ETJ, "The New Constitution", *ibid.*, 27.1.22.

167. *Ibid.*

168. *Ibid.*

169. *Ibid.*

170. *Ibid.*, 3.2.22.

Leggate, was the chief speaker before the crowd of 500 people, but "he was ably supplemented by Mrs Tawse Jollie's explanatory remarks".¹⁷¹ She 'was very warmly received' when she stood up to support Leggate.¹⁷² She accused the Unionists of undertaking a campaign of wilful misrepresentation which she likened to poison gas.¹⁷³ She regarded the local press as the chief culprit; for, although the Herald allowed her and her colleagues space in their columns, they invariably added a footnote to their letters, probably because the editor wanted the privilege of having the last word.¹⁷⁴

Turning to the proposed constitution, Ethel noted that many settlers expected some form of dominion status, but went on to say that it was 'absurd' to expect that at their stage of development.¹⁷⁵ They would have 'the most economical form of government that could be adopted' with just a single chamber legislature.¹⁷⁶ It was suggested that an RG government would be inexperienced and extravagant. Far from it, she argued, they would have to pursue a policy of retrenchment and economy, and she trusted the electorate to provide 'level headed businessmen ... in Parliament'.¹⁷⁷ There would be a 'Governor-General ... to guard against inexperience'.¹⁷⁸

She defended the introduction of the 'racial [British-Boer] question'

171. ETJ, "The New Constitution", 3.2.22.

172. Ibid.

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid.

175. Ibid.

176. Ibid.

177. Ibid.

178. Ibid.

into the campaign.¹⁷⁹ General Smuts was a 'Separatist'¹⁸⁰ like the French Canadians and the Irish Australians. He had defined dominion status as sovereign status. In other words, the dominions would be as separate from Britain as France, Germany or Russia. She took issue with the chairman, McChlery, that Smuts had the approval of the statesmen of Empire. Could McChlery give her one quotation from Sir Robert Borden, Mr Massey, Mr Hughes, or any British statesman in support of Smuts's definition?¹⁸¹ Sure, Lloyd George and Lord Curzon said the dominions were 'equal partners' which was hard to prove.¹⁸² She quoted Smuts's 1920 election campaign speeches in which he contended that the Union could make peace or war independently of the Empire, and to loud applause, she declared: "That's not good enough for Rhodesia".¹⁸³ As far as she was concerned, "it would ever be her desire to regard the Empire as her country and Rhodesia as her home".¹⁸⁴ If this was all 'fireworks', then McChlery should not have lighted the match!¹⁸⁵ She referred to Coghlan's reply to the King's reference to Rhodesia as the Ulster of South Africa, and got a round of applause when she quoted him: "... so far as loyalty to the throne is concerned we are in no way different to Ulster".¹⁸⁶

When she first arrived in the territory in 1915, she believed in the idea of Union, but General Smuts's definition of dominion status had

179. ETJ, "The New Constitution",

180. Ibid.

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid.

183. Ibid.

184. Ibid.

185. Ibid.

186. Ibid.

forced her to 'recant'.¹⁸⁷ What he intended to do with the Union forced her to alter course: "If he is going to make it a separate State, Rhodesia will never go into Union so long as she is true to herself".¹⁸⁸ But their campaign cost money and, predictably, she ended the meeting with a call for support, noting that the novelist Gertrude Page had headed the subscription list with a 100 guinea donation.¹⁸⁹

The issue of the Empire and Rhodesia's place within it was of crucial importance to Ethel, and to her campaign, just as it was one of Smuts's most glaring Achilles' Heel in his dealings with the Rhodesians. She did not neglect to exploit it. His vision of a pro-British Union with borders far into the hinterland - perhaps as far as Kenya - failed to move her, or many of the 'little jingoes' that made up a large part of the settler population. 'Pro-British' was not good enough; she wanted something more concrete. In a series of articles from the latter half of 1921 to the middle of 1922, she exploited the weaknesses in Smuts's arguments to great effect. The pro-RG The Independent newspaper was an effective vehicle for her views internally, while her articles in The National Review would capture an important and influential body of opinion in Britain and the Empire.¹⁹⁰ With her interest in Imperial affairs, she was effectively the Foreign Secretary of the RGA.

187. ETJ, "The New Constitution",

188. Ibid.

189. Ibid.

190. ETJ, "Trust General Smuts", [The] National Review, Vol.78, 1922; pp.304-311, "The Passing of Empire", ibid., pp.810-817, "Imperial Unity", The Independent, 10.3.22, "Empire or Alliance", ibid., 25.11.21.

The casus belli of Ethel's broadside against Smuts was provided by the Anglo-Irish negotiations of 1921 and Smuts's seminal role in bringing them about. "Everyone who takes an interest in the future of our country must attempt to keep abreast of what is happening in other parts of the Empire ..." she warned.¹⁹¹ She recommended the journal Round Table in particular, because it usually reflected British colonial policy very accurately. One article on Ireland which had appeared in the June 1921 issue and which was hailed as a masterpiece, was a practical outline of the policy subsequently adopted. The September issue had a feature on Southern Rhodesia from which it was clear that RGA speeches were being carefully monitored in Britain, so she advised Rhodesians to keep their ear to the ground.¹⁹²

This was not the main point of her attack. She wished to draw attention to the 'remarkable changes' in the history of the Empire as reflected in the Round Table.¹⁹³ Rhodesians had "a deep veneration for the Empire as they conceive[d] it to be - a group of States of which Great Britain [was] the head, and over which the Imperial Parliament [held] a sort of supremacy which [was] more like a watching brief than anything else".¹⁹⁴ But 'far-reaching change' had taken place, without discussion and without observation.¹⁹⁵ The Round Table did not use the word 'Empire' but Smuts's phrase 'Commonwealth'.¹⁹⁶ Neither did the Quarterly Review of the Politics of the British Commonwealth. She

191. ETJ, "Empire or Alliance".

192. Ibid.

193. Ibid.

194. Ibid.

195. Ibid.

196. Ibid.

wondered what had happened to the once glorious word 'Empire'.¹⁹⁷

General Smuts was the culprit. She had read his speeches and particularly his communication with the Irish leader Eamon de Valera.¹⁹⁸ There was hardly a mention there of 'Empire', but instead a 'great circle of equal states', in which Ireland would be "a free member of a great league ... Great Britain will be only one of seven members ... and the [Imperial] Conference will be the form for thrashing out any question which may arise between members ..."¹⁹⁹ Smuts had gone on to tell de Valera that South Africa was involved in the Great War until she signed the Versailles Peace Treaty and would only be at war if South Africa herself declared war.²⁰⁰ If this definition offered to de Valera was correct - and the Round Table seemed to support Smuts - then they were indeed witnessing 'The passing of the Empire'.²⁰¹ The right of the British government to declare peace or war on behalf of the Empire was recognised in international law in 1914 and, she argued, must continue to be the case 'so long as the British Empire [had] any reality'.²⁰² Indeed, such doubts as there had existed about the dominion's loyalty may well have contributed to Germany's gamble, she believed.²⁰³ She was not unsympathetic to the dominions. They were completely autonomous in their internal affairs and were rightly developing their own national

197. ETJ, "Empire or Alliance" and "The Passing of Empire", p.810.

198. ETJ, "The Passing of Empire", p.810.

199. Ibid.

200. Ibid.

201. Ibid.

202. ETJ, "Empire or Alliance".

203. Ibid.

identities. They rejected the term 'colonial' as implying inferior status, but in Rhodesia such terms as 'Empire', were still spoken of with 'solemnity and reverence'.²⁰⁴ 'We are obviously an old-fashioned lot of people', she admitted.²⁰⁵

She rejected the latest definitions and canons of Dominion Status as vague and unworkable.²⁰⁶ Its proponents claimed that the Commonwealth would be akin to the United States of America, with Britain taking the role of president, and the Imperial Conference acting as the cabinet. But, she argued, no state of the American Union was as free as the proposed Irish Free State would be.²⁰⁷ The dominions wanted a share in foreign and defence policy, yet they paid little for its privileges and advantages. They wanted maximum freedom and minimum liability, with Britain footing the bill.²⁰⁸ South Africa rejected the will of the Imperial Conference with regard to Indian immigration; yet, it seemed, Britain must bow to the will of her 'partners' when it came to such matters as the Anglo-Japanese alliance which the dominions opposed.²⁰⁹ It was unworkable. No cabinet could be responsible to five parliaments instead of one. So the Imperial Conference lacked collective responsibility. Everyone recognised that a central parliament for a federal empire was now a 'dead horse', but the Round Table school thought that they could camouflage this anomaly by telling the dominions that they were equal partners, while they

204. ETJ, "Empire or Alliance".

205. Ibid.

206. Ibid., and RR, pp.92-97.

207. ETJ, "Empire or Alliance".

208. Ibid.

209. Ibid.

sheltered behind British-paid defences. Ethel rejected this constitutional double-speak, this political latitudinarianism which she labelled as "the British tradition of 'muddling through' "210

Yet Ethel remained convinced that "a strong Empire, or a strong Commonwealth of British nations [was] ... the best guarantee of World Peace".²¹¹ If Federation and the idea of a Central Cabinet proposal were out of the question, then some alternative would have to be found to their 'present lack of system and organisation'. She advocated an alliance in which the dominions shouldered their full burden.²¹² An internally organised Empire was the best thing, she maintained, but 'a genuine alliance [was] better than a sham Empire', as defined by Smuts.²¹³ Republicanism was gaining ground in more than one dominion, although ties of sentiment may bind the new Commonwealth for a generation. In Rhodesia, they wished to maintain those ties, but Smuts's dominion status was the thin end of the wedge. Just as the Ulstermen found Irish self-government as the preliminary to secession, so did Ethel regard the Union under Smuts's new canon:²¹⁴

The Empire is, in all probability, changing into the British Commonwealth of Nations, and in that Commonwealth we must find a place that suits our individuality and meets our aspirations.(215)

210. ETJ, "Empire or Alliance".

211. Ibid.

212. Ibid.

213. Ibid.

214. ETJ, RR, p.92.

215. ETJ, "Empire or Alliance".

Ethel's concern was shared by the RGA press.²¹⁶ In response to a Herald article praising Smuts's conception of Empire, The Independent warned: "The Empire is in the melting pot, and it behoves all Rhodesians to go warily".²¹⁷ If Ethel's attack irked Chaplin and Smuts, it echoed the concerns of Coghlan and may have influenced the conversion of Newton, the Company Treasurer, to the RGA in 1921.²¹⁸

International events in the first half of 1922 seemed to vindicate much of Ethel's argument. In the first place, the new Irish Free State constitution seemed more vague on the imperial link than even Smuts would have wished.²¹⁹ Ethel familiarised herself with it.²²⁰ It began by affirming that sovereignty derived from the people, and not, as in the other dominions, from the Monarchy. The King was only mentioned as an instrument in connection with the Legislature, shorn of the aura of monarchy, while the Oath of Allegiance was so hedged by references to the common citizenship of the Commonwealth as to render it meaningless. It was virtually a republic, as surely as Smuts's Union would become an 'Independent Sovereign State'.²²¹ She found it difficult to choose between Smuts and Hertzog on that; the only

216. See the following editorials: "The Irish Free State", The Independent, 23.12.21; "Dominion Status", ibid., 10.3.22; "The Disloyal Union", ibid., 24.3.22.

217. Ibid.

218. Blake, op cit., p.179, however, puts Newton's conversion down to his relationship by marriage to Sir Henry Stanley, the Resident Commissioner.

219. See D Harkness, The Restless Dominion, (London, 1969); G Martin, "The Irish Free State and the Evolution of the Commonwealth", in Hyam and Martin op cit., pp.201-224.

220. ETJ, RR, p.92.

221. Ibid.

difference between the South African Party and the Nationalists was that the former was constitutional, while the latter had a "strong card in the essentially republican ideals of all Boers".²²²

The second event seemed to prove Ethel's point beyond doubt. In September 1922, a British garrison was threatened by Turkish forces at Chanak on the coast of Asia Minor. Churchill canvassed the dominions on what forces they would send to assist her in the Levant against this attack on the Peace Treaty. Only New Zealand was enthusiastic. Australia was reluctant. Canada's MacKenzie King cabled that only the Canadian parliament could involve his country in a war. South Africa did not reply at all.²²³

This provided Ethel with ammunition for her scathing attacks. The dominions would have to look to Britain if they got themselves involved in war, since they were ill-prepared.²²⁴ Yet they claimed to be equal partners while they refused aid to the mother country. As a result, the Empire had the image of being weak and indecisive. This situation was 'so anomalous as to create a real menace'.²²⁵ Again she called for an alliance to replace the 'sham Empire'.²²⁶ She was growing disillusioned, for even affection for the Monarchy was no guarantee of unity. For her and her ilk, the phrase 'The King, the Church, the Empire' had a "glamour, a sacredness that /was/ part of [their] innermost fibre, unless they happened to be intellectual

222. ETJ, RR, p.92.

223. RH, 11.10.22.

224. ETJ, "The Passing of Empire", p.815.

225. Ibid.

rebels and sceptics".²²⁶ Not so for the colonial born. There were the Afrikaners and French Canadians who had no ties of race with them and, indeed, strong traditions of their own.²²⁷ The colonials in general regarded these three institutions with indifference and the monarchy with affectionate indulgence. They thrilled them little more than the 'President of the United States' and 'far less than the name of [their] local football hero'. The young democracies were 'republican in spirit'.²²⁸ It was a disillusionment she shared with John Buchan, her fellow Tory radical and former member of Milner's Kindergarten, who wrote after the death of his master (1925) looking back on the halcyon days of Empire unity during the Great War:

The radicalism which is part of the Tory creed was coming uppermost, and I looked forward to a clearing out of much rubbish. I dreamed of a world wide brotherhood ... Britain enriching the rest out of her culture and traditions, and the spirit of the Dominions like a strong mind freshening the stuffiness of old lands.(229)

It was an ideal which was increasingly regarded as 'utopian fantasy', he lamented, while 'The White Man's Burden' had become 'an almost meaningless phrase'.²³⁰

It remained Ethel's ideal, her lodestar, and so 1922 - 'the year of destiny' - was not just the year of attack on the Company and its fellow travellers, but a rearguard action in defence of Empire as

226. ETJ, "The Passing of Empire",

227. Ibid.

228. Ibid.

229. Himmelfarb, op cit., p.312.

230. Ibid.

well. What Ethel, Buchan and others of that ilk could not see²³¹ was that the Imperial Government was also fighting a shrewd rearguard action on the question of Dominion Status. After four years of war, Britain was tired and financially weak. Her ministers wished to spread the burden of defence more widely. What they wanted was peace in order to rebuild. This was the policy of appeasement: appeasement of Germany, of the USA and of the dominions. The Foreign Office looked at the Dominions Office definitions of the Commonwealth with a cold, if shrewd eye; just as long as they meant nothing in practical terms and the dominions would go to war after all.²³² But Ethel was almost Milnerite in her extremism: "They cry 'Peace, Peace', when there is no peace".²³³

This was the background to Ethel's first face-to-face meeting with Smuts, the man who in 1921 had gone to Dublin as a 'Boer' - not a British-delegate - disguised as 'Mr Smith'.²³⁴ By now, there was nothing disguised about Ethel's opposition to him. Perhaps because her expertise was sorely missed by Coghlan at the London conference, but also because she needed to be appeased, she was among the first members of the delegation to be selected by Chaplin.²³⁵ The RGA side included Coghlan, of course, McChlery, Leggate and other front runners, with Moore - Ethel's fellow firebrand from Northern Rhodesia

231. There was at least one exception. See 'Respublica', "Rhodesia and the British Commonwealth", The Independent, 16.12.21.

232. See J Darwin, "Imperialism in Decline? Tendencies in British Imperial Policy between the Wars", Historical Journal, Vol.23 (3), 1980, pp.657-679.

233. ETJ to Editor, The Independent, 5.5.22.

234. H Nicholson, George V, (London, 1952), p.356.

235. Davies, op cit., p.25.

- bringing up the rear. Keller, was the Labour representative.²³⁶ The five RUA delegates were headed by the urbane MacDonald. The Chambers of Mines and Commerce and the RAU were represented, and the whole delegation was presided over by Sir Drummond Chaplin.²³⁷ Ethel's importance in the delegation can perhaps be illustrated by the official photograph taken in Cape Town in April. She sat in the front row with Smuts, with Coghlan separating the two!²³⁸

In retrospect, Ethel brushed over her volte face on the issue of nominated members. The RGA position was "that although they were opposed to Union, they would work to get the best terms possible in case the people decided for that course".²³⁹ Unfortunately, their willingness to do so seemed to mislead Smuts.²⁴⁰ It was equally 'unfortunate' that their visit followed a serious armed rebellion by white miners and communists on the Rand.²⁴¹ Johannesburg had only just been saved "from the imminent danger of being looted and sacked", she recalled.²⁴² The rebellion made Responsible Government a 'virtual certainty, Chaplin was told by a correspondent: "/N/o one cares to join a country which has such violent and frequent upheavals".²⁴³ Nevertheless the delegates were 'most generously received and hospitably entertained' by the Union Government.²⁴⁴ But her visit to

236. Davies, *op cit.*, p.25; "Smuts Delegation", *The Independent*, 3.3.22. Biographical details of Keller appear in Et in Arcadia Ego, fn.83.

237. Davies, *ibid.*

238. See ETJ, RR, photograph facing p.85.

239. *Ibid.*, p.85.

240. *Ibid.*

241. *Ibid.*, p.86.

242. *Ibid.*

243. Quoted in Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.306.

244. ETJ, RR pp.85-86.

the Union House of Assembly was less cordial. On 31 March they were taken to the Strangers Gallery to see how the House functioned. There they heard Hertzog denounce Smuts's crushing of the Rand revolt: Smuts's 'footsteps dripped with blood', Hertzog declared.²⁴⁵ This spectacle made an impression on the Rhodesian delegates, not least Ethel:

Rhodesians, as they listened to the taunts and accusations tossed backwards and forwards ... (many of the speeches being as foreign in British sentiments as they were in language), wondered what part their far off country could play in such a scene and thanked God that Racism, Bolshevism and Capitalism are not yet problems which Rhodesia has seriously to consider. (246)

While she was in the Union, Ethel became involved in controversy with an opponent of RG, 'Africus', in the columns of the Cape Times. With the rancour of the recent House of Assembly debate in mind, Ethel wrote an article entitled "Rhodesian Love of Country: New light on an Old Problem".²⁴⁷ It took the form of a sentimental plea for understanding of RG on patriotic grounds, in an idiom reminiscent of Sir Walter Scott; "Breathes there the man, with soul so dead/Who never to himself had said,/'This is my own, my native land' ".

Over the previous fortnight, she had been inundated with queries about her country, the most insistent question being how such a small white population could expect to run such a big country. There were no statistics in her reply. At the distance of Cape Town she had had the opportunity to throw new light on this problem.²⁴⁸ She noticed how

245. Blake, *op cit.*, p.185.

246. ETJ, RR, p.86.

247. ETJ, "Rhodesian's Love of Country: New Light on an Old Problem", Cape Times, 18.4.22.

248. Ibid.

"everyone in Cape Town [was] struck with the Rhodesians' intense pride in the love for their country".²⁴⁹ They were like the woman, who trying to explain her love for her husband, said that 'He had a way with him'. Similarly, Rhodesia had a way with her, something which she insisted could not be put down to its glorious climate alone.²⁵⁰

The key to this problem was that Rhodesia was in the hey-day of youth or, at most, the prime of life, still sowing its wild oats. They had a young population, something which struck her when she saw the Union House of Assembly dominated by old men.²⁵¹ Rhodesia had a far higher proportion of their population at the 'zenith of life and activity'.²⁵² From the population point of view, Rhodesia was one of the success stories (of National Efficiency), with one of the highest birthrates in the world.

Children were much in evidence everywhere, 'full of life and energy'.²⁵³ In a veiled allusion to the declining birth-rate in Britain one of the bugbears of the Radical Right (and of herself, a barren wife) she declared:

No race suicide in Rhodesia. We have not reached the stage of civilisation at which men and women alike shirk the responsibilities of parenthood. (254)

The country was also ideal in other respects. Few of the Europeans

249. ETJ, Cape Times, 18.4.22.

250. Ibid.

251. Ibid.

252. Ibid.

253. Ibid.

254. Ibid.

were rich, few were poor, and they had fresh air, reasonable hours and a good educational system.²⁵⁵ There was little, if any, social difference between the various classes in the community. They were 'a true democracy in this respect'.²⁵⁶ Their population was still small, but there was 'very little waste product about it'.²⁵⁷ They had a 'large reservoir' of natives who were still at the unskilled stage.²⁵⁸ They were at a "different stage of development to the blacks of the Cape Peninsula which accounted for black Rhodesians being respectful and 'docile'.²⁵⁹ The 'primitive people of the kraals' were still 'children of nature' and she personally had a 'considerable liking and sympathy' for them.²⁶⁰ Their relationship with them was still of 'a quasi-feudal character'.²⁶¹ Under skilled supervision they could become 'exceedingly clever servants'.²⁶² Their mixed-race population was small, so they had few social problems in that regard.²⁶³

Finally, there was their obligation to those Rhodesian Pioneers who had died facing fearful odds and who had handed on their mantle to them.²⁶⁴ This pathos, she felt, was most poignantly conveyed in their own Salisbury Cathedral, unfinished like Cape Town's, but already encrusted with the monuments to Rhodesian heroism. The stuff of nationhood is made out of Last Stands, not victories, as both an inspiration and a warning to those who would follow on afterwards.

255. ETJ, Cape Times, 18.4.22.

256. Ibid.

257. Ibid.

258. Ibid.

259. Ibid.

260. Ibid.

261. Ibid.

262. Ibid.

263. Ibid.

264. Ibid.

With folk heroes of her own, Rhodesia was no exception. There were the sombre blue and red banners of the 1st and 2nd Rhodesia Regiments in the chancel, as well as memorial to one of Ethel's schoolfriends who had been killed in the 1896 rebellion. When they were 'weighed in the balance', Ethel hoped that their long Roll of Honour from the Great War which had depleted their population of men who 'love[d] honour better than riches', would speak for them.²⁶⁵ Small wonder they had 'ideals', 'individuality'. They were still remote from the problems of the older world and did not want them thrust upon them just yet:

"The lot has fallen unto us in fair ground
Yes, we have a goodly heritage" [Psalms, 16:6] (266)

She described a sort of Gothic revival in its colonial setting.

This was the dream of the Radical Right: a classless, patriotic, frugal yeoman, healthy and reproductive population, in quasi-feudal relationship with 'docile blacks'. In Rhodesia, the vices of industrial Britain could be avoided, while the virtues of Merrie England could be fostered in support of the wider Empire. This was something, Ethel felt, they ought to pass on to their children 'unmarred' if they could.²⁶⁷ That depended on self-government.

Ethel's article was ridiculed the following day by 'Africus'.²⁶⁸ He

265. ETJ, Cape Times, 18.4.22.

266. Ibid.

267. Ibid. This sentimentalised view of Britain's 'debt' to its pioneers was a constant theme in Rhodesian identity as a random perusal of Rhodesian journals such as The Rhodesian Annual, The Magpie and Gem (the journal of the British Empire Service League) will show. One of the balladeers who articulated this feeling was Kingsley Fairbridge:

...He was the first man to venture, he was the first man to find!
Trusting his life to his rifle, groping ahead in the blind!
Seeking new lands for his people! - This is the end of the day
A little mound on the mountain, a little cross in the clay ...
("The Pioneer")

268. 'Africus' to Editor, ibid., 19.4.22.

had seen her in the House of Assembly, 'simply and elegantly clothed as befits her station'.²⁶⁹ He thought little of the 'portentous ... Delphic messages that [hung] from her parted lips'.²⁷⁰ He had little time for her 'glorious weather' and 'memorial tablets'.²⁷¹ Rhodesia had a way with her, but could she pay her way? He was not convinced. If Coghlan (as first premier), Tawse Jollie and Leggate went to London to raise a loan, they would be asked what the territory's prospects were. Would they reply that they know of women who had been aged 30 for over 8 years; that Rhodesians had 14 children per household; that "the only man over 49 and woman over 40 were Sir Charles Coghlan and - [Ethel!/?]"²⁷² 'Africus' had heard rumblings of strikes among Rhodesian miners, railway men and postmen, despite Ethel's denials. As for the few rich in Rhodesia, he advised them to get out while they could. As for the quasi-feudal relationship with Africans, he did not doubt that "quasi-villeins eke[d] out a quasi-living on quasi-wages, and [were] beoming quasi-educated".²⁷³ Ethel seems to have met her match in 'Africus'! Yet sentiment was a powerful impulse in the Rhodesia of that time, and she knew her appeals to it would not go amiss. Her article was significant enough to be brought to the attention of the Colonial Secretary,²⁷⁴ a man who was vulnerable to such sentiment.²⁷⁵

269. 'Africus' to Editor, ibid., 19.4.22.

270. Ibid.

271. Ibid.

272. Ibid.

273. Ibid.

274. HC to S of S 23.4.22, PRO CO 417/678.

275. See Wallis, op cit., p.186.

She and the other delegates returned to Rhodesia after an inconclusive meeting with Smuts. The delegates were told before their departure that no terms could be announced until the Union government had completed financial negotiations with the Company.²⁷⁶ There was also the problem of steering the proposed deal through a hostile House of Assembly and Smuts did not relish running the gauntlet prematurely: 'Many nasty things will be said', he told the delegation.²⁷⁷

The Cape Town Conference ensured that the Referendum due in May 1922 would have to be postponed, and as a result, Ethel had two priorities on her return: RG morale and party organisation. The protraction of the negotiations between the parties had weakened the resolve of many supporters of the RG cause. "[A]s time went on and the terms did not appear the people began to fret once more", she later recalled.²⁷⁸ If they were not forthcoming before July at the latest, the Referendum could not be held before the rainy season, which would hinder a high turn-out of miners and farmers at the polls.²⁷⁹ Much to her annoyance, McChlery appeared to have been swayed by Smuts and had defected to the Union cause. Ethel soon accused both McChlery and Fletcher, on the floor of the LegCo, of running down their country in the eyes of Britain and the Union. They had depicted the Rhodesians 'as a small, weak, contemptible people', she declared.²⁸⁰

On their return to Salisbury, the delegates undertook not give any

276. ETJ, RR, p.86.

277. Ibid., p.88.

278. Ibid., p.86.

279. Ibid.

280. LegCo, 25.5.21, p.773.

official account of the Conference pending the presentation of Smuts's terms.²⁸¹ While subscribing to this in principle, Ethel determined to stretch the 'truce' to the limit.²⁸² It was now convenient for Ethel to portray Smuts as an honourable man. He believed in cordial relations with Rhodesia, whether inside or outside the Union. But there was a barb in Ethel's compliment. Smuts's belief in good relations implied his 'belie[f]' in Rhodesia as a sound economic position'.²⁸³ Both he and his scheme for incorporation had already become victims of party warfare in the Union. While observing the letter on confidentiality, she felt it part of the RGA intention to 'play the game' to refute Unionist propaganda.²⁸⁴ There would be no change in the Act of Union to suit Rhodesia, she stressed, so no federation and any exemption of Rhodesia from bilingualism were out of the question.²⁸⁵

Ethel's 'truce' scarcely extended to the floor of the Chamber. Having recovered from a cold she had caught on the train, she was back in action.²⁸⁶ She was irked by the pro-Union propaganda in both pamphlets and the press which gave the country's solvency a bad name. For all the pessimism and in spite of the odds against them, she believed the country was doing well.²⁸⁷ They no longer had the 'get rich quick'

281. ETJ, RR, p.86.

282. ETJ to Editor, The Independent, 5.5.22.

283. Ibid.

284. Ibid.

285. Ibid.

286. LegCo, 11.5.22, p.234.

287. Ibid., pp.234-237.

settler of the early days, but responsible, democratic, educated settlers, 'with a strong admixture of ... common sense'.²⁸⁸ The Company was an autocracy which could not be removed by a popular vote. They had seen autocracies all over the world disappear and democracies take their place, and so Rhodesia had 'to advance with the times'.²⁸⁹ In the new democracy they would be associated with "a large majority of sane, sensible and common-sense people who would know what they wanted and see that they got it".²⁹⁰ On 18 May she unsuccessfully opposed the adjournment of the debate on the Referendum Ordinance. "Many members on this side of the House attach great importance to this question, for the Ordinance admits of no delay whatever", she assured the Chairman.²⁹¹

Five days later she returned to the attack, when Fletcher argued that the delay in bringing Company rule to an end was the elected members' own fault.²⁹² Step by step she took him through the negotiations following the 1920 elections to demonstrate that they had gone through all the motions required of them as expeditiously as possible. The delay was not their responsibility.²⁹³ McChlery was her chief victim. While she and her colleagues had been away at the Cape, he "had taken the opportunity of doing a little private [pro-Union] propaganda".²⁹⁴ She was unsure whether other members might defect too, but she felt McChlery had to be put right on his criticism of the proposed RG

288. LegCo, 11.5.22, p.241.

289. Ibid., p.240.

290. Ibid.

291. Ibid., p.241.

292. Ibid., 23.5.22, pp.707-709.

293. Ibid., p.707.

294. Ibid.

constitution as inferior and a final step. "[I]t was not the final form of government", she assured the House.²⁹⁵ "[I]t was the next step towards complete self-government ... [I]f they took the step into Union, that would be their final step".²⁹⁶ McChlery had argued that Churchill could well lump the settlers with the full cost of buying out the Company and this particularly angered Ethel. At the "eleventh hour ... patriotic citizens' like McChlery and Fletcher were trying to make out that they would be saddled with this debt, something the elected members had always vehemently denied."²⁹⁷ She wanted the Referendum Ordinance and nothing less, but she rejected calls for rejection of the Budget to force the issue, relying instead on 'the honour and good faith' of Winston Churchill.²⁹⁸ Ethel's attack on McChlery, which was followed shortly afterwards by his defection to the Unionist camp, well illustrates her power as a platform speaker.

But first they had to rely on their own resources. On 25 May in the face of both the Colonial Office and the Company, Coghlan carried the Ordinance fixing 30 June as the latest date for publication of Smuts's terms and 27 October as Referendum Day.²⁹⁹ The Ordinance had the desired effect. Smuts promised to have the terms ready by the end of July and Coghlan agreed. Smuts's terms were generous, 10 Rhodesian MPs out of a total of 134, and 5 members of the Senate, rising to 17 and 10 respectively if the population increased to an agreed level. There

295. LegCo, 11.5.22, p.771.

296. Ibid.

297. Ibid., p.772.

298. Ibid.

299. Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, p.121.

would be a 20-member Provincial Council to deal with local matters, as well as generous financial provisions for the development of the territory and compensation for loss of tariffs. The civil services of the two countries would be amalgamated without discrimination against English-speaking Rhodesians, while the Rand's recruitment for native labour, essential to white farmers, would be curtailed. Nevertheless, Dutch would become a co-equal language within Rhodesia, and the movement of whites between the two territories would be unrestricted (raising the spectre of Rhodesia as a dumping ground for tens of thousands of Union poor whites). But all the Company's interests, save the minerals, would be bought out for just under £7 million, a much more attractive proposition for the BSAC than the Cave or Buxton reports held out. For its part, the British government agreed to drop its £2 million claim for war expenses. The Board and shareholders were relieved to accept Smuts's offer.³⁰⁰ Now, with the coalition of Company, Imperial Government and Union Government with a full programme ranged against it the RGA had a tougher fight on its hands.

300. See ibid., pp.121-128.

CHAPTER SIX

Trust the People

Is honour dead in your borders?
Are your children sold to shame?
Shall we cringe to alien orders
And forget our Island's name?
Shall we douse the flickering flame
that has lit you down the years? -
Nay! it shall burn more brightly, as
you trust your pioneers.

(H Cullen Gouldsbury, "To England - From the Outposts")

... [You] cherish the very ground you tread on
warning the whole world off and taking a deep
delight in the goodly heritage the pioneers have
handed on. That is what it is to be a Rhodesian.
... The only condition laid down beyond the
Limpopo is that you are loyal.

("[Review of Ethel Tawse Jollie] The Real Rhodesia",
South Africa 29.2.24.)

Ethel's main priority now was the gearing up of the RGA for the referendum battle to come, and all her energies were directed to this end, apart from her normal challenges to the Company on its financial claims.¹ She was in her element. This, for her, was the battle of Right against Wrong, of the Little Man against the Big Fellow with international purse strings and powerful potentates on his side, with no holds barred. She did not underestimate her foe:

The Union Party was now thoroughly organised and was in the possession of considerable funds, which from the channel through which they flowed, seemed to have emanated from the wealthy mining houses of Johannesburg [who were] also the main supporters of the Unionist Party at the Cape [and] wanted the addition of the Rhodesian [Unionist] element to their wing. The Rand companies ... [the] Rhodesian companies ... [the] Chartered Company ... [and] the Rhodesian Press became violent propagandists for Union. ... [the] power [of the press] was considerable ... and they ... create[d] the view that, without the Union, Rhodesia would be 'isolated', friendless and ultimately bankrupt. (2)

So she had her work cut out. As far back as December, an editorial in The Independent warned that the RGA organisation needed urgent and strenuous attention as the days were slipping fast.³ In May Ethel urged the proper organisation of meetings so that appeals for funds could be made.⁴ Party finance was always a subject vital to her, but often led her into conflict with her more jaundiced colleagues, who could not see the importance of funds in an era of mass politics. But there was no one else capable, or inclined to do the job.⁵ Her

1. ETJ to Editor, RH, 2.6.22, 14.6.22, 16.6.22.

2. ETJ, RR, p.87.

3. Editorial: "The Referendum", The Independent, 9.12.22.

4. Campaign Minute, 18.5.22, NAZ RH 8/4/4.

5. Campaign Minutes, 18.5.22, 16.9.22, 19.9.22, NAZ RH 8/4/4.

importance was recognised when she was appointed to serve on the party Campaign Committee.⁶ She had organised a Ladies' Committee to back up the party organisation, but apparently no speaker could compete with her.⁷ "I think it would be best if the speakers were confined to the more powerful men and Mrs Jollie", an anonymous civil servant wrote to the party secretariat.⁸ He also advised against door-to-door canvassing as such tactics had made the Unionists unpopular. If it had to be done at all then "specially selected and eminently tactful people should do it".⁹

While the RGA ran a shoestring show, the Unionists had finance on their side. It was brass against gold. The Unionists had free advertising in the Argus press which posted free special editions to all rural voters on the eve of the referendum and they had a ready supply of motor cars and cinematic films, funds from business men in the Union and larger posters.¹⁰ "[M]oney was ... a secondary consideration, and ... could do a great deal in a country of vast distances", Ethel recalled.¹¹ But the Unionists, with all these advantages, became too confident.

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6. E Renniker to Secretaries, Local Branches, 22.6.22, NAZ RH 8/1/3.
 7. See Minutes of Final Meeting of the Umtali Branch RGA 27.2.22, NAZ RE 1/1/1; Renniker to ETJ 26.8.22 NAZ RH 8/1/3.
 8. Anon. Civil Servant to Secretary (Renniker) RGA n.d. [? September 1922], NAZ RH 8/1/3.
 9. Ibid.
 10. D O Malcolm to Chaplin, 27.7.11. NAZ CH 8/2/2/11; J G MacDonald to D O Malcolm, 31.9.22. NAZ CH 8/2/2/11; The Independent, 2.6.22; Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922", pp.75-76; ETJ, RR, p.87.
 11. ETJ, RR, p.106.

But their confidence was understandable. Major shifts of opinion were taking place within the settler population. One of the main pillars of the RGA had been the white working class, but an important section of it, the Bulawayo railwaymen, were swayed by Smuts's generous railway promises and many were moving into the Unionist camp.¹² "The railway rates were the 'greatest bait' of all", Ethel recalled.¹³ Another pillar, agriculture, was being shaken too. By 1922 the Matabeleland farmers were no longer regarded as reliably RGA supporters. Cheaper railway rates and the Union market were the incentives there.¹⁴ Just how the numerically important Afrikaner farmers would vote was anyone's guess. The South African Nationalists had instructed them to vote against Union, lest Rhodesia strengthen Smuts's position. On the other hand, the hostility of British Rhodesians might influence Afrikaners to vote for the safety of their Vaderland.¹⁵ Generally, agriculture was at a low ebb, particularly in Mashonaland. The boot was pinching despite their characteristic optimism, Ethel recalled.¹⁶ Mazoe farmers could not rely on the banks to assist them and their overdrafts were being called in. Cattle prices had fallen to a nominal level because of the worldwide slump. Besides, they were in the middle of the worst drought in many years, and as the country got hotter and

12. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922", pp.82-84.

13. ETJ, RR, p.101.

14. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.85.

15. Ibid., pp.85-87. (Referring to the dangers of an influx of Afrikaans-speaking Poor Whites from the Orange Free State following Union. Mrs Boddington, an RGA activist delegated to speak at Selukwe because Ethel was indisposed, said that Poor Whites were "neither black nor white, but really worse than animals, and in addition, they were mentally deficient". BC, 10.10.22.)

16. ETJ, RR, p.91.

drier, the position of farmers, traders and Africans began to look more serious by the day.¹⁷

It was in these circumstances that the Unionists played their 'trump card'.¹⁸ Smuts paid a whirlwind visit to Rhodesia during August. It was an overt attempt to sway the electorate, under the appearance of a non-political tour,¹⁹ and he agreed to answer pre-arranged Unionist inspired questions.²⁰ He used all his charm, paying tribute to the Rhodesians' achievement and the potential of their country, while invoking Rhodes's dream of a 'greater South Africa'.²¹ He was given a courteous welcome at the Salisbury Agricultural Show,²² but his greatest success, Ethel recalled, was his speech at the Salisbury Club, where he proclaimed himself an ardent imperialist, and his oratory, accompanied by his keen and vivid personality, quickness of wit and considerable tact, went a long way towards inspiring faith in the Rhodesians, who [were] always ready to take a man at his face value".²³

Hundreds flocked to see this famous statesman, but Ethel was not taken in by his advances. On hearing of his impending visit to Umtali, Ethel decided to busy herself with the wider objective of RG in the heat of Melsetter. At the onset of the visit she wrote to the party secretary 'in haste':

17. ETJ, RR, p.91; Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, pp.87-88.

18. ETJ, RR, p.91.

19. Blake, *op cit.*, p.186.

20. W D Douglas-Jones to J C Smuts, 1.7.22 NAZ CH 8/2/1.

21. ETJ, RR, p.91.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

I fancy from the fact that Smuts is making a regular tour of Rhodesia that the terms must be at hand. As soon as the Ordinance is promulgated and the date fixed for a referendum, our people in very centre should at once book the best hall the night before the poll. Can you send out a circular letter re this (very confidential of course)? Tell them not to worry about speakers. They'll get them - but book the hall. I think we are in for a tough fight. The Dutch vote will go for Union despite all that is urged to the contrary.

"I am not going to meet Smuts in Umtali", she added as a postscript, "can't be bothered".²⁴

Shrewdly, Smuts paid considerable attention during his visit to establishing his imperial and patriotic bona fides with the people, and Ethel rushed to take up the gauntlet. It fell to her, she recalled, "the only speaker on the RG side who had made a special study of this subject, to become identified with what the Unionist press called 'attacks on General Smuts'".²⁵ She drew considerably on Smuts's own speeches to demonstrate that when it came to the Empire, he spoke with a forked tongue.²⁶

On 17 August, Renniker, the Party Secretary, wrote to Ethel, agreeing to her suggestion that local halls be hired for the run-up to the referendum, and telling her that the party was preparing an official reply to the Union terms as well as a statement of policy.²⁷ "We have at last got rid of General Smuts and his hypnotic influence", he was relieved to tell her, "he has done all the harm we expected, and a bit

24. ETJ to Renniker, 18.7.22 NAZ RH 8/1/1/1.

25. ETJ, RR, p.93.

26. Ibid.

27. Renniker to ETJ, 17.8.22 NAZ RH 8/1/1/11.

more, but his influence will fade away during the next few months ... It is a thousand pities you could not be here as with your aid we might have overcome one or two ticklish points".²⁸

Ethel was determined to keep her head, even if some around her seemed to be losing theirs over the Smuts visit. Keenly aware of the patriotic factor, Smuts had played up his loyalism during the tour. He gave her plenty of ammunition for a pamphlet she was already preparing. She hoped the RGA could use it because she thought it was 'the sort of thing the people want[ed]'.²⁹ She believed that pamphlets should 'aim at one point and drive it home'.^{29A} In it, Ethel betrayed her Radical Right lineage, for it might have been written by a British Conservative during the Home Rule crises of 1912-14.³⁰ If we substitute peripheries - Ireland for South Africa; Ulster for Rhodesia - the sentiment of intense but conditional loyalty is the same, and it provides a valuable insight into her view of the Rhodesian 'Mission'.³¹ She wanted to deal with the 'honestly asked' question of whether it was the imperial and patriotic duty of Rhodesians to join up with the Union, as the British government seemed to be urging.³² She reminded Rhodesians of their debt to those who had built up the Empire:

28. Renniker to ETJ, 17.8.22 NAZ RH 8/1/1/11.

29. ETJ to Renniker, 15.8.22 NAZ RH 8/1/3.

29A. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. "Manifesto to the People of Rhodesia and a Statement of Policy", The Independent, 26.8.22 (Undated, typewritten copy marked "put up for publication" in NAZ RH 8/1/1/1.) See also Appendix A.

32. Ibid.

The British Empire does, however imperfectly in performance, stand for certain higher ideals of human relationships and human progress than races. For these ideals of liberty for ourselves and justice for all, thousands laid down their lives in the world war. The unity of the Empire has been cemented with their blood. And if we so far forget our heritage as to disregard the call of the Empire's need, their very blood should call out to us from the ground. We should have prostituted our heritage for ... thirty pieces of silver. (33)

As for Rhodesia's place in the 'Imperial Mission', it was for each dominion and colony, as 'trustees of Empire', to decide how best they could serve the imperial cause.³⁴ The "last person who should, as a matter of course, be allowed to interpret this imperial 'trust' was the party politician who happened to be the Colonial Secretary".³⁵ It was 'the height of folly' to look there for "the true spirit of the Empire's traditions".³⁶ The Rhodesians had the lessons of the past to guide them, when after the American War of Independence, colonies were regarded as nuisances and merely penal colonies by 'Little Englander' politicians who looked for the first opportunity to shake the colonists off.³⁷ So, Ethel argued, the 'English party politician' was not the sole inheritor of the spirit of Empire and could not pretend to have the right to say what was best for it:

Of the interests of the Empire, in Rhodesia and for Rhodesia, Rhodesians are the best judges ... [The spirit of Empire] is to be found in the instinct and heart of the people ... sufficiently enlightened to be a democracy, in essence as well as in name, part of the Empire at heart as well as at law. (38)

33. "Manifesto to the People of Rhodesia and a Statement of Policy", The Independent, 26.8.22 (Undated, typewritten copy marked "put up for publication" in NAZ RH 8/1/1/1.)

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

Not surprisingly, Ethel marshalled Rhodesia's eponymous oracle to her aid; "Remember that Southern Rhodesia will one day be the dominant factor in South African politics", Rhodes foretold shortly before he died.³⁹ "She will remember the rock from which she was hewn, and the Empire of which she is one of the outposts".⁴⁰ It was to her inconceivable that the founder would have approved of a Commonwealth of separate sovereign states, though he did look forward to the creation of a South African nation.⁴² The Rhodesians ought to be guided by the principles of Rhodes who "foresaw the present days of stress, if not actual conflict". He looked to Rhodesia "to secure the adherence of South Africa to the Empire".⁴⁴

Their aim, therefore, should be the establishment of Rhodesia as 'a stronghold of Empire' and, mindful of the strong forces of secession in the Union, declare to the Empire at large, their destiny:

Rhodesia as a strong independent Colony, retaining its present character, will be a vastly stronger Power at the present stage of South African politics than if it were merged in the Union. (45)

But such a course would be impossible if they lost their 'identity' and the larger Union would only "extend the territory over which the

39. "Manifesto to the People of Rhodesia and a Statement of Policy", The Independent, 26.8.22 (Undated, typewritten copy marked "put up for publication" in NAZ RH 8/1/1/1.)

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

forces of secession [would] act".⁴⁶ Their haste at that juncture "might prove fatal to the Empire in South Africa ... [and] also in the great North to which Rhodes looked".⁴⁷ They formed "one of the vital links in the Cape to Cairo chain" and should develop until they formed the strongest link of all.⁴⁸ Ethel concluded with a statement of the Rhodesian mission:

Leave us alone for a generation, let us forge ahead on our own lines, let us reach that development of which General Smuts spoke of the other day at Maquassi, and then indeed we shall realise Rhodes's dream. We shall dominate South African politics to the extent that no rebellion by Nationalists, even if their party were greatly increased in numbers, could hope to be successful. Give us a population of 200,000 Europeans of our present type with control of our own Defence Force, and secession as an issue in South Africa will be dead. Our fellow citizens in the Union of like mind with ourselves will then look to us as being just that solidly loyal nation which, though smaller than the Union, will yet be able by virtue of its solidarity to give them assured victory over the forces of disruption ... A powerful and independent, a predominantly British Rhodesia, will exert an enormous influence in Africa for the good of Africa. (49)

Only then could they consider Union, to 'attempt to do so now would be suicidal'.⁵⁰ Sir Edward Carson could scarcely have put it better.

Manifest destiny was a theme she carried to the 'Home front' with an article in the National Review sarcastically titled 'Trust General Smuts'.⁵¹ Apart from the now familiar argument with Smuts over dominion status, she again protested against the possibility that

46. "Manifesto to the People of Rhodesia and a Statement of Policy", The Independent, 26.8.22 (Undated, typewritten copy marked "put up for publication" in NAZ RH 8/1/1/1.)

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. ETJ, "Trust General Smuts", op cit.

Rhodesia would have to compensate the British government for buying out the Company, an unprecedented onus on a British colony. The Colonial Office seemed to be more willing to give money to Palestine and Jews than to 'all British Rhodesia' whose only desire was to remain British and free from racial problems.⁵² Ninety-five per cent of them were British, a large proportion of whom were Home-born [31.3% in 1921], but including Australians, New Zealanders and South Africans. Like the Ulstermen, they believed that they were up against Anglophobic nationalism:

The force behind the bastard Dutch which is now the national language of the Afrikaner is the same as that which preserved Magyar, Czech and Polish and has even forced the Imperial Government to bestow a national language on Ireland. (53)

In contrast Rhodesian homes reminded one Johannesburg correspondent of Rupert Brooke's 'corner of earth that is forever England', while visitors always remarked 'Rhodesia is so very English!'.⁵⁴ If they joined the Union, they would be swamped and end up like Natal; loyal but in a minority.⁵⁵

How could they 'Trust General Smuts'? she asked.⁵⁶ Would "anyone be prepared to die for General Smuts's idea of a Commonwealth or for Dominion status as they had in the Great War"?⁵⁷ She doubted it, and they would not be 'bought and bribed' to shore up Smuts's position,

52. ETJ, "Trust General Smuts", op cit., p.306.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., p.308.

57. Ibid.

and lose valuable British immigrants in the process.⁵⁸ Their reward for their loyalty was a constitution in which "everything was done ... to repel the Rhodesians".⁵⁹ While Britain had just given over 2m worth of naval buildings and equipment to the Union gratis, the settlers were required to pay for their own public buildings and would be saddled with the Company's war debt - "the cost of defending one of the frontiers of the Empire".⁶⁰ If RG won the day, "the settlers must not expect justice, far less generosity".⁶¹

Yet that was their only course and there was 'every possibility' that they would win the day.⁶² They had great potential. As Smuts had pointed out, Rhodesia was "the corridor to the Congo, probably one of the world's greatest mineral belts";⁶³ hence his generous offer:

The two Rhodesias hang together ... [T]he Union is large enough already, and has bitten off as much as she can chew ... In any fresh grouping in British Central Africa, Rhodesia holds a strategic position, and as her guardian ... the Imperial Government [should] deprecate any premature settlement of her political fate. Little versed in politics, the Rhodesians have yet a great tradition, and if they choose self-government it will be not only because they think it will be best for themselves but because they are convinced that it will enable them to play best the part they wish to play in the future of our Empire. (64)

Ethel's patriotic tract was published as part of the RGA's "Manifesto to the People of Rhodesia and a Statement of Policy" before the end of

58. ETJ, "Trust General Smuts", op cit., p.309.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid., p.311.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

August⁶⁵ and at least 2000 copies were run off in pamphlet form.⁶⁶ Its appeal to 'Patriotism, Honour, Duty ...' fell on fertile ground. One old pioneer urged the settlers to:

Be proud of yourselves and be true to the memory of those who sleep peacefully under the surface of your great land .. [A]chieve the fame and glory of making Rhodesia a great nation within the Empire ... In the sacred names of those who dared the untold miseries of early Rhodesian life. I appeal to you to save Rhodesia. (67)

One RGA woman activist accused the Unionists of attempting to "discredit genuine Rhodesian feeling for our legitimate goal of self government":

Patriotism, national inspiration, pride of country: these are the impulses ... [The Rhodesians] are a very young and virile people, full of hope and determination ... to plough our own furrow [and] .. to work out our legitimate evolution. (68)

Hardship had compounded the 'Spirit of Rhodesia' another patriot argued:

[E]veryone who has been touched with the magic wand of the Spirit of Rhodesia is a 'Rhodesian'. Our people have come from the four corners of the earth, mostly British, but no matter what nationality they were; if they were of the fit the country took them unto herself and gave herself unto them and they became Rhodesians. That is what we mean when we say 'Rhodesia for the Rhodesians'. (69)

Throughout 1922, patriotic fervour and nascent nationalism were rampant. According to The Independent the 'national characteristics' of Rhodesians were slowly taking shape, and these did not include

65. The Independent, 26.8.22.

66. T E Hepburn [RGA Bulawayo] to Renniker, 23.8.22, NAZ RH 8/1/3.

67. The Independent, 1.9.22 quoted in Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, p.154.

68. RH, 7.10.22 quoted ibid.

69. The Independent, 24.10.22, quoted ibid.

'standing still, or going backwards'.⁷⁰ The Rhodesians were "sturdy ... too independent and too level-headed to be driven by bogies or ... panic to sell their birthright [of] self-determination".⁷¹ "The pure-bred Rhodesian and the man who has deliberately chosen this country for his home [with] great pride in [his] ancestry and just hopes of a glorious posterity ... can work towards handing down undiminished the name of Rhodesia to the next generation".⁷² They had in their possession a Constitution that was the Magna Charta of Rhodesian liberty, Robert Gilchrist told his constituents at Bindura in May.⁷³ The death of 'Gertrude Page' in April provided another opportunity to voice nascent nationalistic sentiment.⁷⁴ Page (Mrs Dobbin) had been the RGA's next most prominent woman, after Ethel. Her romantic novels did much to publicise the country and her plays 'Paddy the Next Best Thing' and 'The Back of Beyond' were huge successes in London's West End.⁷⁵ She played host to Coghlan during the latter's visit to London in late 1921.⁷⁶ After she died her remains were buried, Rhodes-style, on a hill-top at Umvukwes, where she and her husband had farmed. She had written her novels there in sight of wide stretches of country where lion, leopard and hunting dogs still roamed. "She was passionately devoted to the country", The Independent recalled.⁷⁷ She even urged Rhodesians to follow their

70. The Independent, 3.3.33.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., 17.3.22.

73. Ibid., 5.5.22. Robert Duniplace Gilchrist (1872-1953). Came to Rhodesia 1911, farmed in Hartley district, brought Chiredzi Ranch (1916). RGA candidate (Northern District) 1920, defeating Newton. Returned for RP (1924), but crossed the floor 1925.

74. Ibid., 16.4.22.

75. Wallis, op cit., p.198.

76. The Independent, 16.4.22.

77. Ibid.

star and carry on with the independence and vigour that had marked their previous history ... She believed that the day was close at hand when the value of Rhodesia ... would reach momentous proportions if she stood alone".⁷⁸ She had brought home to millions overseas the contrasts between "veld and farm, [and] narrow streets and congested areas of cities far away".⁷⁹ It was a pastoralism dear to Ethel too, and the two women were alike in many ways. One of the obituaries in The Independent, 'On the Roof of the World', by 'A Traveller', was certainly her work.⁸⁰ Page had "enchanted the world with bonds of imagery and the glow of great deeds", she wrote, and recalled the burial day:

We stood there ... when the sky was high-arched, blue and cloudless ... overlooking a vast tract of rock and veld stretching away on all sides into an undefined distance that seemed to have no ending. Six thousand feet above the sea under the brilliant African sun with the cool air sweeping slowly over us. (81)

Whatever part economic interest groups played in the referendum campaign, support for the RGA cannot be explained in terms of economic self-interest alone.⁸² Anti-Afrikaner feeling - the 'Boerhaat' campaign - whipped up by the RGA in general and Ethel in particular, played a crucial role.⁸³ "Sentiment is a more powerful force than reason in the Referendum campaign", reported the Cape Times.⁸⁴ The

78. The Independent, 16.4.22.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid., 21.4.22.

81. Ibid.

82. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.95.

83. Ibid., p.91; Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.400, 404.

84. Quoted in Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, p.155.

Rhodesian Unionists attacked the RGA for "digging themselves in behind still higher ramparts of sentiment and prejudice".⁸⁵ Following Gertrude Page's death in April, The Independent had defended 'Sentiment and Sentimentality' in this way:

We have heard little enough of sentiment from the Unionist Party. Their sole argument is that Union with the South will pay, that our future is a solely a matter of finance ... Yet ... principle is not for sale ... To contend that principle is not for sale ... To contend that principle should not be allowed to interfere, that gain is the only point to be considered, is to argue that a woman who sells her virtue is a better citizen than the one who works in a home or an office, that a high politician who sells his country is more to be revered than the patriot who sacrifices himself in its interests ... that the Great War was fought for gain [and] that profit inspired the millions who gave their all ...

... [Money] is not the only guide ... principle makes [life] worth living, and if Rhodesians are guided by principle rather than misled by a purely illusory profit, they will vote solidly at the Referendum for self-determination and the mastery of their own house. (86)

There was also a growing feeling that the British Government was neglecting the interests of a 'thoroughly loyal' population.⁸⁷ "[T]hey have for years looked upon the Imperial authority as their best friend", H J Stanley (later Sir Herbert), the Imperial Secretary in South Africa, warned the Colonial Office in May.⁸⁸ "[T]hey imagine that they are now finding a stepmother who desires to get rid of them, and they are troubled and perplexed ..."⁸⁹ Coghlan shared Ethel's belief that Rhodesia ought to be a pro-British bulwark and bridgehead to counter Afrikaner republicanism in the Union. As a South African he

85. BC, 29.9.22.

86. Editorial: "Sentiment and Sentimentality", 7.4.22.

87. Quoted in Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.386.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

did not wish the country to become a neglected backwater like his native Eastern Cape Province, or have its Britishness frustrated as Natal's had been, and as a former Irish nationalist, he knew that Ireland's economic interests had been similarly neglected after the Act of Union in 1801. He also shared Ethel's antipathy to Smuts's definitions of dominion status, and she may have made him even more extreme in this respect. He understood Hertzog's Boer nationalism much more clearly than Smuts's metaphysical conception of the Commonwealth.⁹⁰

By September the campaign was underway in earnest. She decided that the Smuts visit had put her onto a good wicket, which she, as the RGA's leading intellectual, took full advantage of, particularly after Smuts's failure to support Britain in the Chanak crisis.⁹¹ She looked back with satisfaction at the success of this line of action:

[T]he Rhodesians put forward their freedom from racial, Asiatic, colour and industrial problems which could not be shut out under Union, the fact that, as a country producing raw materials, their economic policy is not that of the Union (which fosters industries by high protection), and finally their desire to keep the essential quality conveyed in the word Rhodesian - a sort of super-British Imperialism, a loyalty to Flag and Empire which appears to be old-fashioned in Great Britain today, combined with the conviction that Rhodesia is the finest spot in the Empire or under the Flag - in short, a local patriotism so strong and so disinterested as to merit the title of National. All arguments, however cogent, were swallowed up by this one. (92)

90. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.398-399.

91. ETJ to Editor, RH 6.9.22, 14.9.22, 11.10.22; The Independent, 1.9.22, 8.1.22.

92. ETJ, RR, p.102.

She pushed this line at a series of meetings and tours which she organised from late September.⁹³ She had managed to borrow a motor car during her tour of the Marandellas district in late August and this added mobility stood her in good stead.⁹⁴ Her tour was quite extensive, if not exhausting. She arranged meetings "at smaller centres where [RGA] propaganda [had] not yet penetrated".⁹⁵ "This takes more time but I think in the long run ends with more votes", she told the Secretary of the RGA in Bulawayo.⁹⁶ She left out centres like Wankie which in terms of RGA support were 'absolutely sound'.⁹⁷ Nevertheless she managed to cover most of the country, either as a consort to Coghlan, or to Newton, the ex-Company Treasurer and convert to the RGA.⁹⁸ On 26 September she spoke at Marandellas again; on 27th, 28th and 29th she visited Inoro, Headlands and Rusapi with Newton, where she also addressed the Women's Branch; on 30th she spoke at Macheke and after that she began to tour the larger centres: Avondale in Salisbury on 2 October, Gwelo on 3rd, Selukwe on 4th and Bulawayo on 5th. She toured as far west as Plumtree. The following week she was back in Mashonaland with a tour of the districts of Shamva, Sinoia and Arcturus. She was a definite boost wherever RGA morale was thought to be flagging.⁹⁹ "Mrs Jollie is sure to draw a good attendance", a Glendale activist reported to RGA headquarters in

93. "Responsible Government Campaign", [n.d.], NAZ RH 8/1/1/1.

94. Renniker to ETJ, 26.8.22, NAZ RH 8/1/3.

95. ETJ to Renniker, 25.9.22, NAZ RH 8/1/3.

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid.

98. "Responsible Government Campaign", [Memorandum, n.d.], NAZ RH 8/1/1/9.

99. For details of the tour see ibid.; Hon. General Sec[retary] to R Holland, Eldorado, 11.9.22; Hon. General Sec, Sinoia, 11.9.22; L M Hastings to ETJ [telegram], 20.9.22; ETJ to Renniker, 9.10.22; James Hay to Renniker, 14.10.22, NAZ RH 8/1/3.

Salisbury.¹⁰⁰ Many were getting tired of politics and becoming apathetic, which was where she was needed. Her campaign on dominion status appeared to have struck home.¹⁰¹ 'Most have read her letters on the subject', the correspondent added.¹⁰² In her own district of Melsetter, Ethel had a more uphill battle, as most of the population were Afrikaners and Unionists. The prospect of a railway line from Umtali to Chipinga was yet another incentive to vote Union.¹⁰³ Apart from the missionaries at Mount Selinda, a few British settlers and her husband, virtually the entire district remained solidly for Union, despite her several political rallies.¹⁰⁴

Ethel made a special appeal to the artisan class and was in the forefront of the RGA campaign to demonstrate that Union would bring mass unemployment. She warned the Bulawayo railway repair men that in the event of Union, the Bulawayo workshops would be closed and the city would become a small dorp.¹⁰⁵

But her chief appeal was to those of her sex who made up one-third of the population. The RGA made much of their woman front runner.¹⁰⁶ Having a supposedly New Woman seemed to enhance the avant garde, democratic image of the party, and her photograph, 'as large as possible', was in high demand.¹⁰⁷ Even Coghlan made use of the RGA's

100. A G McCoy to Renniker, 10.10.22, NAZ RH 8/1/3.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

103. Sinclair, The Story of Melsetter, p.101.

104. Ibid., Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.86.

105. BC, 19.10.22 quoted in Di Perna, A Right to be Proud, p.165.

106. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.91.

107. A G Davies [RGA HQ, Bulawayo] to ETJ, 22.9.22, NAZ 8/1/1/1.

liberal stance on women's rights. One wrote to Coghlan approving of both his and Ethel's stand on women's franchise. She told him that it was an insult that Union women went without the vote while "Rhodesian women ... kaffirs, coloured folk and Malays, as well as an army of Jews and other male foreigners" had the franchise.¹⁰⁸ Rhodesia should only enter the Union if white women in the latter were 'made British citizens first', she advised.¹⁰⁹ Not all wives voted with their husbands. Mrs Huggins, wife of a later prime minister, voted RGA while he favoured Union.¹¹⁰ Women were generally more racist than their menfolk and Ethel's 'Boerhaat' campaign, together with her 'fame and popularity' contributed to this swing.¹¹¹ She "ensured that almost the entire female vote went to Responsible Government".¹¹² Despite assurances to the contrary, many women feared that their vote would be taken away if they joined the Union (where the franchise was not extended to women until 1930). Certainly women would not be able to sit in the Union parliament, so it was also a bread and butter issue for Ethel.¹¹³

Her high profile during the campaign left a deep impression on the population and many memories of her date from that period. One

108. Mrs C Blomefield to Coghlan, 14.9.22, NAZ RH 8/1/1/9.

109. *Ibid.*

110. Hodder-Williams, "Afrikaners in Rhodesia: A Partial Portrait", p.622.

111. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.91. Sir Robert Tredgold, who was a teenager at this time, wrote that "there was no question that the predominant factor in the decision of Rhodesia to reject the generous terms offered for, and the obvious material advantages to be gained by, incorporation in the Union was the fear of Afrikaner domination". Tredgold, *op cit*, p.66.

112. Mackenzie, "Responsible Government", p.35. Approximately 75% of women voted for RG. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.77.

113. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.91.

daughter of a mine manager remembers her as indefatigable and hard working; single-minded and determined.¹¹⁴ She was not everyone's cup of tea, however. Farmers in the Mangwe area 'greatly admired her ability', but were 'scared stiff of her'.¹¹⁵ "She's not interested in anything but politics, and I can't talk politics", commented one farmer's wife after entertaining her to tea.¹¹⁶ "Oh yes" I always used to call her Mrs Jollie Drawers", a retired senior police officer recalled, "Frankly, I was terrified of her".¹¹⁷ Though "a fluent and persuasive speaker ... she was rather imperious and alarming, and found it difficult to make contact with young people", Mrs Vickery recalled.¹¹⁸ She remembers Ethel "flourishing her umbrella at Sir Charles Coghlan's daughter who was driving down Manica Road [Salisbury] one morning; hailing her like a taxi and demanding to be driven to Mrs Reineke's house which was about five miles away".¹¹⁹ On the other hand a lady who was a young activist with the RGA at that time remembers Ethel as "most approachable and very kind to [her] who knew nothing about electioneering".¹²⁰

Wherever the truth lies, she was certainly formidable. She was the converse of the maxim that there could be only one rooster in the farmyard, and when a woman of contrary political views invaded her territory, her talons were out in defence. In October a South African

114. Mrs Carol McEwan to Editor, Rhodesiana, May 1975, pp.75-76.

115. Mrs H C Parry to Editor, p.75.

116. Vickery, op cit., p.77.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.

120. Mrs K M Hammond to Editor, ibid., June 1974, p.95.

woman speaker was assaulted at Gatooma. Rumour had it that the lady in question was 'Pickhandle' Mary Fitzgerald, a prominent international socialist and Irish beauty known for her illegal demolition work in the Rand disturbances of 1913 and 1922, and enough to send the chill up the spine of the Resident Commissioner.¹²¹ However, the lady in question was the less colourful Mrs Ruxton, an experienced South African known for her Unionist views.¹²² Once the assault became known, Ethel decided to 'butt in'.¹²³ She was, at best, equivocal. She regretted the attack on Mrs Ruxton "and had she done nothing to court such treatment [Ethel] should have been prepared, as representing the women of Rhodesia, to offer her an apology".¹²⁴ "But when a woman goes on to a platform she must not expect to shelter behind her sex", Ethel explained.¹²⁵ "No man would have got away with her statements that she had encountered more [anti-Boer] racism in 48 hours in Salisbury than in 15 years living in the Union".¹²⁶ Worst of all she called the RGA 'Sinn Feiners', evidently not realising the insults conveyed to the 'average Rhodesian audience'.¹²⁷ She had forfeited her position as an unbiased visitor so the anger of the Rhodesian women was justifiable in Ethel's view.¹²⁸ Ruxton had " 'butted in' to the most delicate part of a domestic controversy and instead of pouring oil on the waters she ha[d] added fuel to the flame".¹²⁹

121. RC to Imperial Secretary, 25.10.22, PRO CO 417/682.

122. Ibid.

123. RH, 24.20.22.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid.

In the days before the referendum, heated tempers extended even as far as the school playground where "many little noses were set a bleeding on the issue".¹³⁰ Jeannie M Boggie, Ethel's fellow RGA activist (and a colourful character in her own right) remembered:

"One bright lad asked me for an RG badge. Certainly. But first tell me your reasons for being in favour of RG".
 "Well", he replied, holding his Rhodesian-born head high with a spirit of sturdy independence, "all the boys in my class think we are jolly well able to manage our own affairs in Southern Rhodesia without any interference from the Union. And what's more, we don't want to have to learn to write and speak Dutch before we get a civil service or other government job. We want only Cecil Rhodes's tongue in Cecil Rhodes's country". (132)
 "That lad hit the nail on the head".

Ethel was equally inspired by the patriotism of the younger generation. She had organised a junior section of the RGA.¹³³ She recalled an occasion when a Union politician tried to emphasise the unity of the white race in Southern Africa as a whole:

"Remember, he said, "you are South Africans first, Rhodesians second, and British subjects last".

To which a small but sturdy patriot replied at once in an indignant treble:

"I'm not! I'm a Rhodesian". (134)

130. J M Boggie, A Husband and a Farm in Rhodesia, (Salisbury, 1957), p.83. See also J Greenfield, Testimony of a Rhodesian Federal, (Bulawayo, 1978), p.17.

131. Boggie, op cit., p.83.

132. Ibid.

133. As recalled by A R W Stumbles, Some Recollections of a Rhodesian Speaker, (Bulawayo, 1980), p.35. Sir Roy Welensky recalls Ethel "in her hey day [when he] was little more than a schoolboy ... and [he] heard her speak ... [S]he played a very prominent part in the Referendum Campaign [and he had] always felt that there was a gap in Rhodesian history, particularly relevant to her efforts". Sir Roy Welensky to the author, 11.11.87.

134. ETJ, RR, p.241.

Ethel thrived in this partisan atmosphere. The 'political contest' was a badge of their democracy, but difficult for Englishmen to visualize.¹³⁵ Any visitor to their new but imposing towns at referendum time would have realised that 'something was up'.¹³⁶ This was the test of her propaganda: poor whites or progress, mining regulations or help for the small man, community spirit or class warfare, neglect or self-government. Two of the RGA pamphlets betray her influence. The first contrasted their position under Union with the benefits RG would bring.

Under Union:

Interest on Union money spent. Increased taxes. Government from Pretoria. Voice will be lost in Union Parliament. Rhodesian Unilingual Civil Servants penalised. Cost and inconvenience of Bilingualism. Maelstrom of racialism. Will have to wage endless war against Republicans and subversion of British ideals and institutions. Rand touts will take Native labour. Union women have no vote. Cape Coloureds do. Mining regulations will crush small worker. Union nepotism in Southern Rhodesian Railways and Civil Service. Overseas Immigration will not be encouraged.

[As opposed to]

Under Responsible Government:

... Control of Immigration to exclude criminals, Asiatics and poor whites .. [in order] to attract best class of settler. Native labour supply controlled. Mining laws. Railways. Women's Suffrage. Education. Finance Native Policy. Civil Service and Mining and veterinary experts. British Empire [membership]. We manage our own affairs. (136)

In late October she organised the publication of another pamphlet:

People of Rhodesia BE WARNED.

135. ETJ, RR, p.103.

136. Referendum Issues [RGP pamphlet], (Salisbury, 1922).

This week before the Referendum will be the most trying of one of all.

Disregard promises made by Great Britain and the Union. Remember Dr Jameson's Harcourt letter produced before 1914 Elections [which] influenced many to vote for charter - repudiated after Election.

Rhodesians! Stand firm in the people's cause.

Responsible government of Rhodesians, for Rhodesians, by Rhodesians. (137)

This was not the flavour of the more genteel Unionist party, it was the extremist scaremongering so characteristic of the pre-war British Radical Right. The pro-Unionist Round Table was forced to admit that "Personality and leadership [were] on the side of Responsible Government".¹³⁸ The RGA relied on such tactics to overcome the powerful Unionist argument that RG was not financially possible. They were dangerous tactics, and as the voting day approached even Ethel advised Coghlan that the 'Boerhaat' campaign was getting out of hand and was losing them many valuable Afrikaner votes.¹³⁹

By then it was too late to make a change to the RGA super patriot image. On 27 October, the majority of Rhodesian Afrikaners voted for Union, for economic but also racial reasons.¹⁴⁰ Mining magnates and senior civil servants voted Union, as did a significant proportion of the farming population.¹⁴¹ Farmers in the more neglected areas of Mashonaland went for RG, along with small miners, lower civil servants, small businessmen and a large proportion of artisans.¹⁴²

137 [RGP pamphlet], (Salisbury, [October], 1922).

138. "South Africa: The Rhodesian Referendum Campaign", Round Table, Vol.13 (39), 1922, p.209.

139. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.400.

140. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.85-86.

141. Ibid., pp.74, 77.

142. Ibid., 93.

Indians, Coloureds and the small number of black voters voted RG, largely because of the Union's harsher colour bar.¹⁴³ RG won the day with 8774 votes against 5989 for Union.¹⁴⁴ Ethel well recalled the decisive day. Business was at a standstill, while heated arguments were carried on all over the country. Huge posters covered the walls. Political meetings were held in the towns, with Umtali resembling a large tea party,¹⁴⁵ (although the RGA ran an unscrupulous campaign, even engaging paid hecklers).¹⁴⁶ Unionists often got a hearing by the favour of their audiences and often had "to run the gauntlet of much good humoured chaff".¹⁴⁷ But it was often not as good humoured as she liked to remember. Debates were frequently bitter and personal.¹⁴⁸

She proudly recalled the efficiency of the campaign:

The work of registration, canvassing, conveying to the poll and circularising was all done with the most complete method, and an excellent small paper run with voluntary contributions, appeared during the last few weeks ... The women everywhere threw themselves into the fight with the single eye so characteristic of the sex. Public meetings varying in size from 300 to 1200 people were held and were conducted in an atmosphere of tension which was almost electric. Referendum day in all centres was almost entirely given over to politics. Cars with colours dashed about carrying voters; heroic drivers forged their way into the remoter parts of the country to bring in the distant ones ... All the country roads were covered with voters, on foot, on horse-back, in cars, carts or wagons, the Dutch frequently trekking overnight and camping near the polling station. (149)

She was pleased with the turn out, especially when the 'dead and dud'

143. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, pp.93-94.

144. Ibid., p.72.

145. ETJ, RR, p.103.

146. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.95.

147. ETJ, RR, p.103.

148. Hummel, "White Rhodesian Nationalism", p.78.

149. ETJ, RR, pp.103-104.

votes were taken into account.¹⁵⁰ In the towns, even the sick were conveyed from hospital to cast their votes. Had the referendum campaign taken place earlier in the year, Ethel was convinced that RG would have had an even bigger majority. Many had been worn down by debt and the drought, so that their resistance to Smuts's promises was low. Even so, many waverers were swung by the battle cry "Rhodesia for the Rhodesians and for the Empire".¹⁵¹ She took particular pride in the "little band of men and women who had organised the victory [and who afterwards] went back to their shops, farms and offices".¹⁵² There was 'not a paid political agent among them [sic]',¹⁵³ and the whole amateur campaign had been run on the voluntary contributions of the not so well off.

Ethel's decisive role in the campaign can be best highlighted by Chaplin's post-mortem. In a letter to Smuts, he cited the reasons for RG support: anti-Dutch feeling, 'especially among the women'; the belief among trade unionists, clerks and some civil servants that they would be able to dictate to an RG government; the feeling among working class people that RG was the 'proper course' since "most of the better-class people, merchants, representatives of large companies and employers generally - were for Union"; and, finally, the satisfactory state of administrative finances, "of which the responsible government speakers have made the most, and which has

150. ETJ, RR, p.104.

151. Ibid., p.107.

152. Ibid., p.106.

153. Ibid. See supra n.146.

blinded people to difficulties of the future".¹⁵⁴ His appraisal of the Unionist party's campaign further highlights Ethel's role. The Unionist organisation was 'none too good' and 'they lacked enthusiasm'.¹⁵⁵ They lacked effective speakers and were mostly on the defensive as a result:

They put their case soberly and truthfully, but they did not do enough to counteract the aggressive and frequently unscrupulous tactics of the other side, and in my opinion if they had hit harder they would have had more success. Their method of putting the case seemed to be based on the assumption that the electors generally were reasonable and reasoning people. The support of such people they did as a rule secure, but unfortunately these are only a minority of the electorate. (156)

Ethel had no such illusions about the man in the street. Experience of working in pre-war Britain taught her the value of an effective propaganda machine. If facts were distorted in the higher cause of victory in a just cause, then so be it. She played to win and she was instrumental in making the point against Union so effectively that Union as an option would be dead for years to come. She was the dominant drummer in the RGA patriotic band, and the point was not lost on the Colonial Office:

The Rhodesian people have their faults; their patriotism, both imperial and local, occasionally assumes embarrassing manifestations, but it is, nevertheless, a respectable sentiment, and they are unquestionably [to use Milner's phrase] a 'small British community' which desires to 'remain in touch with British civilization'. It would, I think, be unfortunate if an impression were to gain ground that their loyalty was not appreciated in the old country. (157)

154. Chaplin to Smuts, 30.10.22 in J Van der Poel, Selections from the Smuts Papers, Vol.5, (Cambridge, 1973), pp.144-45.

155. Ibid., p.144.

156. Ibid., p.145.

157. H Stanley [Imperial Secretary] to Sir James Masterson-Smith, 7.11.22, PRO CO 417/682.

Ethel's loyalty was apparently not appreciated in her new country. Like Smuts, she was a victim of her own intellect, and it is significant that her only loyal friend among the RGA hierarchy was the nearest to her in intellect and experience, Sir Francis Newton.¹⁵⁸ As her campaign mate during September he had good reason to value her advice and energy and he continued to rely on her for the best organisation of the party. In late November, he wrote to Coghlan asking him to consider her for the post of Agent General in London, where she could campaign for financial support for the new RG administration. "Mrs T J might be useful - but is arbitrary and unpopular - but I am very strong on the point that we should be represented and that at once".¹⁵⁹ Coghlan made no mention of Ethel in his reply, so Newton pressed him again: "What do you mean to do about Mrs T J? who is reliable but violent, indispensable but unpopular - 'I leave it up to you'".¹⁶⁰ But Coghlan would neither have her in London nor in the cabinet, come what may. This time he added as a postscript:

I forgot to mention Mrs T J. She is I fear impossible as a minister and this is the opinion of the one or two other members I have spoken to. No doubt she would be troublesome if left out but I am afraid that will have to be faced. (161)

On 13 December, Coghlan omitted Ethel from the negotiations between the RGP[arty] (formerly the RGA) and the Labour Party¹⁶² and he suggested that Ethel be replaced on the party Executive by the running

158. See *infra*, n.190.

159. [Sir Francis] Newton to Coghlan [copy], 23.11.22, N[ewton] F[amily] P[apers], (in the possession of Dr H C Hummel).

160. Newton to Coghlan [copy], 1.12.22, NFP.

161. Coghlan to Newton, 5.12.22, NFP.

162. Selection Committee Minutes, 13.12.22, NAZ RH 8/4/2.

mate Charles Eickoff, or by a nonentity named Pulbrook.¹⁶³ Now that the objects of RG had been achieved their populist alliance began to crack. Her contacts with Labour could well have proved invaluable in keeping it intact. Newton later wrote to Coghlan:

I have been reading with interest the report of the Agricultural Congress and can detect that Mrs Jollie is flirting with Labour, towards which she has always had a tendency. (164)

Obviously this did not go down well with the RGA - which was anxious to bury the hatchet with the big business 'establishment'.¹⁶⁵ The price of this reconciliation was the ditching of their Labour Party allies, in spite of Ethel's opposition.¹⁶⁶

Ethel was too loyal a party member to allow her flirtation with Labour to get out of hand. The referendum was not the end of the RG story. Negotiations between the Imperial Government and the BSA Company continued to 1923 and the settlers wondered when the new constitution would be brought into effect.¹⁶⁷ There was no reason to be complacent. Unionist forces tried to block a final settlement and use the delay to revive their cause. On the RG side, Newton threatened to seek Crown Colony status instead of RG, a proposal which would cost the Imperial Government dearly if put into effect.¹⁶⁸ At the end of March a protest meeting caught the mood of the RG camp.¹⁶⁹

163. Selection Committee Minutes 4/1/23 NAZ RH 8/4/2.

164. Newton to Coghlan, 19.4.22, [Historical MSS Collection: Newton Papers], NAZ NE 1/1/1.

165. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.96.

166. Ibid.

167. Ibid.

168. Newton to Coghlan, 14.6.23, NAZ NE 1/1/1.

169. Gatooma Mail, 30.3.23.

Hadfield¹⁷⁰ called on the British Government to fulfill its side of the bargain:

The Imperial Government ought to grant us our constitution and establish us as a self-governing people so that we can be represented at the Imperial Conference to arrange such points as mutual defence, mutual trade arrangements etc ... [It] is a matter of urgency to us ... we ought to have it because it was definitely promised to us. (171)

Another speaker called on the British Government to give priority to their colonies, over foreign affairs:

If another 'scrap' was to take place it would not be to France or Germany that Great Britain would look for help - it would be the colonies. (Cheers). (172) If the colonies were good enough in war, they were much better in peace. Rhodesia had done its 'little bit' during the Great War for Great Britain and now was the time for Great Britain to do its 'little bit' for Rhodesia. (173)

Ethel was equally impatient. She publicly called on the party to 'Howl, Howl, Howl!' until the new constitution was granted.¹⁷⁴ This annoyed Coghlan still further probably because she had advocated similar extremist tactics during Coghlan's visit to London at the end of 1921.¹⁷⁵ Her impatience was further compounded by Coghlan's neglect of the party machine and particularly his failure to consult with party members outside of Bulawayo. She doggedly opposed the trend towards greater party centralisation, and advised the expansion of

170. Hadfield, Francis b. New Zealand, 1873. Missionary in Rhodesia from 1904. Secretary of the first Labour Party and RGA MLC for Bulawayo South. Subsequently clashed with trade unions and resigned from Labour Party. Was considered to have negrophilist tendencies.

171. Gatooma Mail, 30.3.23.

172. "Meeting at Umvuma", RH, 13.4.23.

173. Ibid.

174. Coghlan to Newton, 5.3.23, NAZ NE 1/1/1.

175. Ibid., ETJ to Editor, RH, 30.9.21.

grass roots, local branches instead of overloading the Central Committee.¹⁷⁶ She wrote to Newton:

We hear nothing of the future here, and Sir Charles, doing a bit of professional [legal] work for the first time for many years, has apparently no time for anything else. No one knows anything ... or hears any reports, and yet Sir Charles is surprised that the organisation shows signs of decay and that people are not paying up yet. Bulawayo might be in another world, and [T.B.] Hepburn [a Bulawayo accountant] as secretary of the whole party organisation is quite hopeless, he never moves out of Bulawayo. (177)

She reluctantly accepted the need for the RGP to conciliate business interests in Rhodesia and the proposed candidature of Major Percy Inskipp, the Company's commercial manager, even though he was 'evidently out for parliamentary honours'.¹⁷⁸ She thought they needed a 'Best man government and a best man ministry' because, although she did not believe in a 'Business Government' in principle, the most pressing problems of the new administration would be economic.¹⁷⁹ The RGP's 'great difficulty' was to find people in their own ranks who could "really afford to go into politics without making a living out of it, and also men who had business interests".¹⁸⁰

With the negotiations between the Company and the Imperial Government dragging on, many party members were beginning to accept that the next general election would have to be postponed until 1924. She completely opposed this.¹⁸¹ If, as it was expected, the constitution

176. ETJ to Party Organization, 2.2.23, NAZ RH 8/4/31.

177. ETJ to Newton, 13.5.22, NFP.

178. Ibid.

179. Ibid.

180. Ibid.

181. Ibid.

was granted on 1 October, 1923, she could not see why the election could not be held immediately after that. In the meantime she thought that Coghlan should form a provisional government consisting of as few members as possible.¹⁸²

Unfortunately, Coghlan was not in the humour for advice. His brother had died in Kimberley at the beginning of the year, and when he returned from there he was suffering from a 'bad liver'.¹⁸³ When he met Major Inskipp, the Company commercial manager in February, he was in an angry mood:

C[oghlan] came to see me [in] B[ulawa]yo & lashed himself into perfect frenzy over the delay by the C[olonial] O[ffice] ... He talked a great deal of nonsense about the dangerous feeling which was being aroused by this delay and said that if the C/O wanted another Kenya Colony on their hands they c[ould] have it. (184)

At that time relations between the Kenyan white settlers and the British government were at their lowest ebb over Indian immigration and voting rights. The settlers threatened to take up arms in support of their demands, and Coghlan observed to Newton: "If 10,000 [Kenyan settlers] can give all that trouble, what can we with 35,000 do if need be?"¹⁸⁵

Interesting though the sentiment was, this was mere talk, because Coghlan restrained the only 'hotheads' in his party which were capable of initiating such unconstitutional action, notably Leggate and

182. ETJ to Newton, 13.5.22, NFP.

183. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.421.

184. Inskipp to Smuts, 16.2.23, quoted *ibid.*, p.422.

185. Newton to Coghlan, 5.4.23, NAZ NE 17/171.

Ethel.¹⁸⁶ However, he did little to continue and revitalise the party machinery which had won him the referendum. He was not equipped to organise a party and relied entirely on the 'smooth functioning organisation' he had inherited from Ethel in 1919.¹⁸⁷ As a reluctant convert to the cause of women's emancipation, Coghlan "was irritated by Mrs Jollie's bustling self-confidence, energy and eagerness", which earned her the nickname of 'Egeria'.¹⁸⁸ It was a worthy nickname: in Roman mythology Egeria was a nymph who instructed the ancient Roman king Numa Pompilius, hence any woman who gives a man his inspiration. But her influence on Coghlan was waning. She held him responsible for the infrequent meetings of the party hierarchy to discuss policy and co-ordinated strategy and the consequent lack of guidance and direction. She was virtually helpless as she watched the party machine she had carefully built up and nurtured over six years, crumble for lack of direction.¹⁸⁹ Her only close confidant was Newton; she wrote to him:

I think Sir C[harles] is getting into wrong hands. He has just appointed Mr Cyril Allen as his private secretary, which is not very fortunate for the Party. The 'Party' does not exist in fact, and Sir C has no idea of how to bring it into being. I have a vision of "To your tents on Israel - now see to thine own House, David". (190)

It was difficult for Coghlan to do so from the distance of Bulawayo. 'He hates Salisbury', Ethel told Newton. More than that, Coghlan wanted the party to be run from Bulawayo by Bulawayo men.¹⁹¹

186. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.422.

187. Ibid., p.420.

188. Ibid.

189. Ibid.

190. ETJ to Newton, 28.5./23/, NFP.

191. Ibid., 17.6./23/, NFP.

Certainly Bulawayo had a more congenial, egalitarian, free and easy air; full of egalites, and few clever women to upstage him.¹⁹² "Sir C [is] very fussed and irritable", she reported to Newton.¹⁹³ "I think an election this year would kill him. He simply cannot stand being hustled".¹⁹⁴ Particularly when a woman was doing the hustling "because he saw in her his own limitations exposed", as Coghlan's later biographer has noted.¹⁹⁵

This controversy continued while the territory was in a political limbo. The elected members were in a dilemma when the LegCo met on 28 May. In framing the Budget for 1923-24, the Company behaved as though its administration had terminated on 31 March, while the elected members had no clear idea of when the new constitution would come into effect.¹⁹⁶ In the meantime the Company agreed to carry on as caretaker without any further liabilities and, to offset their previous costs, they appropriated the surplus of revenue over expenditure since 1921-22, approximately £130000.¹⁹⁷ Ethel recalled the detrimental effect this was having on the progress of the territory:

[T]he net result of the [Company's] financial policy was that, during the years 1920-21-22, when the country was crying out for development, for roads, bridges, telephones, hospitals, schools, experimental farms, encouragement to prospectors and many other needful things, the company was able to save no less than £130,000 out of current revenue which it put back into its own pocket as against the old deficits. This amount was accordingly

192. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.420.

193. ETJ to Newton, 17.6./23/, NFP.

194. Ibid.

195. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.420.

196. ETJ, RR, pp.109-110.

197. Ibid., p.109.

written off the sum adjudged due to them by the Imperial Government in the Cave Award. Rhodesia was called upon to pay, not indirectly, through the sale of the land, but directly out of the taxation of the people, part of the Imperial Government's debt for the acquisition and early development of the country. (198)

In these circumstances the elected members rejected the Budget, and the council was adjourned. Ethel supported this tactic, provided they could get control of the land revenues payable since 31 March. The Company did not realise how weak their RGP position was, she confided to Newton.¹⁹⁹ Nonetheless, she thought it was a 'useful gesture' but wondered whether the Company might dock their 'magnificent salaries' as a reprisal.²⁰⁰ The Company was "certainly screwing every penny [out of them] and cutting down expenditure".²⁰¹ If there was no movement soon, she warned Newton, they would 'proceed to break the furniture'.²⁰² If the 'blessed financial settlement' did not materialize, they were 'in the soup'.²⁰³

Coghlan had been a major stumbling block in refusing to accept a general financial settlement under which the incoming Rhodesian government would purchase the Crown Lands, even though he had advocated such a policy in 1920.²⁰⁴ Newton and Ethel were both in favour of an overall settlement as soon as possible.²⁰⁵ Only in that way could the new administration avert a financial crisis on coming

198. ETJ, RR, p.108.

199. ETJ to Newton, 17.6./23/, NFP.

200. Ibid.

201. Ibid.

202. Ibid.

203. Ibid.

204. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", pp.421, 424.

205. ETJ to Newton, 28.5./23/, NFP.

into power. Coghlan eventually became more amenable to Newton's persuasion and an agreement was reached by July and the territory was formally annexed to the Crown on 12 September, and its new constitution was granted on 1 October.²⁰⁶ The RGP leadership was keen to conciliate former Unionists once that party agreed to disband in November. This reconciliation was made easier by Coghlan's renunciation of the alliance with Labour. He was confident that any defection of Labour leaving RGP members would be more than counter-balanced by accessions from the old Unionist Party. In December, despite opposition from 'diehards' opposed to having any truck with Unionists, the RGP congress changed the party name to the Rhodesian Party (RP).²⁰⁷

Ethel was one of the 'diehards'. "Are [the Unionists] converted"? she asked McChlery in the LegCo.²⁰⁸ She was equally abrasive with the wife of the outgoing Administrator, Lady Chaplin, who was keen to know who the new governor would be.²⁰⁹ From Ethel's description of their meeting, we can see why she often brushed people the wrong way:

I saw Sir Drummond on Saturday at polo, and he said he 'knew nothing'. Her ladyship asked me who was to be the new governor, to which I replied (wishing to annoy) that I had a very good idea but was not at liberty to say. To which she replied "Is it ... Chancellor?" I said that doubtless we should all know very shortly. (210)

Ethel was not entirely inactive during the final months of the Company administrations. Her chief concern was to sell the potential of the

206. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.424.

207. Ibid.

208. LegCo, 8.10.23, p.976.

209. ETJ to Newton, ?.8./23/, NFP.

210. Ibid.

new colony in Britain. She believed that in spite of having had to pay for even the cost of their public buildings, they could 'make good'.²¹¹ "We believe in Rhodesia", she affirmed in United Empire, "we believe that she enshrines something worth preserving, and we cling to our heritage not merely for its own sake but because of what it may mean to South[ern] Africa and the Empire later on".²¹² The Rhodesians were 'essentially optimists' and the referendum had provided proof of their faith in their country:

It has been freely asserted that Union is our ultimate goal, but as to this we desire to keep an open mind. We do not find Newfoundland accused of a ridiculous particularism because she kept her identity [by refusing to join Canada] ... [I]t is generally allowed that what is called sentiment played the greatest part. There was no division between British and Colonial born, both being found in either camp, but, on the whole, new English settlers were inclined to Union and men from Natal or the [Cape] Colony were its bitterest opponents ... In the controversy it was clear that, young as the colony is, it has a strong sense of nationality, and, not merely of British, but of Rhodesian identity. Probably to people at home all South Africans (Rhodesians included) are alike. We do not recognise this, and if you ask "Where do you come from?" the answer will be "From Natal", "From Rhodesia", never "From South Africa". That Rhodesia has an atmosphere and a flavour all her own even the most casual visitor will testify. (213)

But her tour de force was The Real Rhodesia, published by Hutchinson in 1924. She had originally conceived it as 'Rhodesia and the Rhodesians', a travelogue, an apologia, an historical and statistical reference book, and a handbook for new settlers rolled into one.²¹⁴ "It has a quality of vividness and 'snap' in parts, which should commend it to the person for whom it was written - the general

211. ETJ, "Britain's New Colony", UE, Vol.14, 1923, p.14.

212. Ibid.

213. Ibid., pp.13-14.

214. ETJ to Newton, ? .8. [23], NFP.

reader", she told Newton in all humility.²¹⁵ She completed its 315 pages, including appendices, in eight weeks, start to finish, and, as she pointed out in her preface, this was no easy achievement.²¹⁶ Her life was "divided between the farm, where lack of references and primitive postal arrangements [made] serious literary composition almost impossible, and visits to the towns, where political duties [took] up most of her time".²¹⁷ It had "long been [her] dream to contribute to [Rhodesia's] future history by a serious historical study ... but circumstances forbade."²¹⁸ She had a "strong desire to rewrite and polish it into quite a different sort of book - a real history of Rhodesia". It was 'slapdash' as it stood. "But it will have to stand" she told Newton.²¹⁹

She was in a hurry, as usual. The dust from the referendum campaign had not yet settled for she was aware that pro-Union propaganda had given the impression in Britain that Rhodesia was a financial liability for the Company. It would seem an even more risky proposition in the hands of a small and relatively unknown settler community.²²⁰ This was not merely an exercise in public relations; it was a bread and butter issue. The new colony would need two essential elements: an influx of new settlers, vital to the long term security of white settlement, and new investment to provide a sound economic base. The 'motif' of the book was "the fact that Rhodesia [did] not

215. ETJ to Newton, ? .8. [23], NFP.

216. ETJ, RR, pp.xiv-xv.

217. Ibid., p.xiv.

218. Ibid.

219. ETJ to Newton, ? .8. [23], NFP.

220. Ibid.

draw its revenue from the Company but vice versa".²²¹ She had two main objects in portraying the country as a good business proposition:

One is to defend Rhodesia from the libel that has smirched her reputation and still stands between her and a successful future - that she has been a bad bargain for the Chartered Company. Rhodesia has not been a disappointment, financial or otherwise, except to the early speculators who thought they were getting a second Rand very cheap, and to some of the pioneers who have laid their bones in her soil, but whose spirits go marching on.

The second is to try to give a true picture of a British community which is unique in many of its conditions of life, both politically and socially. The conditions are changing. Rhodesia is in a state of transition ... [T]his means ranging from high politics to pig-breeding, with a consequent superficiality unless one becomes too prolix for the average reader, but no other form of treatment would convey an adequate idea of the many-faceted life of this young community, which is the process of finding a soul. (222)

The Real Rhodesia received a mixed but generally favourable reaction. "Mrs Jollie ... writes lucidly and with the authority of the 'first woman' elected to Legislative Assembly in the British Dominions". The Times Literary Supplement reviewer wrote, but he was less convinced by her financial arguments.²²³ Chartered shareholders had not yet drawn a dividend while, if her account was accurate, the average settler seemed to have a far better lifestyle than his English counterpart, so the Company cannot have been so bad.²²⁴ He was more convinced by her account of the referendum campaign, in which the central issue, he believed, was racial. She presented Rhodesia as a 'strategic outpost' of Empire, and argued that the Afrikaners had a deep smouldering

221. ETJ to Newton, 28.5./[23], NFP.

222. ETJ, RR, p.xv.

223. "Rhodesia and its Problems", [Review of Ethel Tawse Jollie, The Real Rhodesia], TLS, 7.2.24, p.71.

224. Ibid.

longing for complete independence and for the wiping out of the last hateful 'vestiges of subservience' to that Empire.²²⁵ The internal problems of Rhodesia were equally racial, with its 'prepondering Coloured [i.e. Black] population'.²²⁶ It was not a plantation country like Kenya, but the settler nonetheless required a higher standard of living than the black. There was not yet a poor white problem on the Union scale, and the settlers were obviously alive to that danger and regarded education as 'the way of escape for the whites'.²²⁷ He noted that Ethel had advocated 'inducements' to black advancement but he faulted her for not specifying them.²²⁸

The African World was less equivocal. "Mrs Tawse Jollie's informative volume controversial but fascinating throughout" was the subtitle of its review.²²⁹ Mrs Jollie is a keen and intelligent observer ... a gifted author ... famous as the hon. secretary and organiser of the Responsible Government Party ...", the reviewer reported.²³⁰ She had collated 'very useful [and] original' information particularly relating to the mining industry.²³¹ She could "well claim the right to give us a fascinating record of Rhodesia's romance and realities. [That] task [had] been so well carried out as to preserve her volume for ever amongst those which will be treasured as reference books on the subject".²³² Her account of the RG campaign was 'told in simple

225. "Rhodesia and its Problems", TLS, 7.2.23, p.71.

226. Ibid.

227. Ibid.

228. Ibid.

229. "The Real Rhodesia", [Review] African World, 1.3.24, p.1.

230. Ibid.

231. Ibid., p.2.

232. Ibid., p.1.

and charming phrases'.²³³ "Written in a fresh and vivid style throughout, [her chapters] come to us like the cool breeze from the veld, and yet they do not lack the serious and maturely considered views of a prominent legislator", the reviewer enthused, while in her descriptions of the country's beauty, she excelled herself.²³⁴ However, like the TLS, he had his reservations about her treatment of the Company's record and her harsh criticism of Smuts:

However, steam has to be let off at all times, and we may view this particular outburst as such, and can only pray General Smuts will survive the tender sermon administered by his fair critic ... Rhodesia's combatant lady MLA. (235)

The staunchly imperialist journal, South Africa, was even more laudatory, if not hyperbolic:

Here is a plain tale from the Matopos, a history of land and people from within, told with wonderful fairness to all persons and parties concerned, and the final impression is that this is indeed the real Rhodesia ... In simple, straightforward English, Mrs Jollie brings Rhodesia home to us ... Rhodesia, you feel, took the right turning [in the referendum] ...

... The material for a great book was there; and the authoress has handled it with skill, judgment and insight. This is a great book ... [T]he whole story of Rhodesia's coming of age is told clearly and comprehensively, with penetrating insight into men and their motives and an understanding of the true inwardness of things. (236)

The reviewer also thought she was 'a little grudging' when it came to the Company's record.²³⁷ Nonetheless it was "stirring reading ... an Epic of Enterprise without dwelling in the merely emotional region or

233. "Rhodesia", African World, 1.3.24, p.1.

234. Ibid., p.2.

235. Ibid., p.1.

236. "The Real Rhodesia", [Review] South Africa, 29.2.24., pp.1-2.

237. Ibid., p.1.

trading on mere sentiment. There is no abandonment to the mood of ecstasy.²³⁸ Not all Rhodesians were her heroes. Her bêtes noires included the press, vested interests with big bank balances and "careerists 'out' for themselves, caring little for the country".²³⁹ In spite of this, "Mrs Jollie, who has never spared herself as one of the country's legislators, is proud of the small band of brave men who set out in 1890 to carry civilisation northward, to intercept German conspiracies, to conquer and tame the elemental and the savage".²⁴⁰ In this way she succeeded in conveying the essence of Rhodesian identity:

[Y]ou cherish the very ground you tread on, warning the world off and taking a deep delight in the goodly heritage the pioneers have handed on. That is what it is to be a Rhodesian. (241)

She achieved two of her other objectives as well. Firstly, her 'illuminating and valuable' description of the domestic side of life made the colony attractive to new settlers, 'matters we learn best from a woman's pen'.²⁴² Her glimpses of the intimate life and of the conditions governing everyday existence was part of "great charm of Mrs Jollie's volume; it is not a highbrow book, though it deals with matters of high politics ..."²⁴³

Secondly, she conveyed Rhodesia as a strong link in the Imperial chain. At a time when, the pessimists alleged, the Empire had

238. "Rhodesia", South Africa, 29.2.24., p.2.

239. Ibid.

240. Ibid.

241. Ibid., p.1.

242. Ibid.

243. Ibid.

effectively 'lost South Africa', it was reassuring to have an Imperial bulwark in Southern Africa:

Rhodesia still remains to us a loyal land and a devoted people, who have preferred the patriotic way to the primrose path, responsibility to great riches; and one is glad that beyond the Limpopo a stronghold of Empire still is. (244)

More than that, Ethel excited in imperialists the need to build up and defend this valuable link:

[The Real Rhodesia] is at once a tribute to the First Forty Thousand who have made Rhodesia ... and an intelligent summons to one and all of us to cherish the good things they have added to the Empire and to protect them by all means in our power against encroachment from without and indifference within. There is, you feel, on reading these glowing pages, a duty upon us to hold Rhodesia against all odds for ever, and to people and prosper the land beyond the Limpopo, where Rhodes laid well and truly a foundation of Empire and saved Africa for us. (245)

Even the Rhodesia Herald, her old adversary, did not withhold its praise. An "Intimate Account of the habits and customs of the town dwellers and the backvelders" ran the headline.²⁴⁶ She had written "an excellent book on the country ... notable for its refreshing candour ... based on personal experience and the close observation of a keen intelligence".²⁴⁷ She had "most successfully attained" her object of describing life in the territory.²⁴⁸ This she had done with a "sure and vivid brush ... she writes of what she knows".²⁴⁹ While Chartered shareholders might dispute some of her conclusions, the book was 'of the utmost value' and 'deeply interesting'.²⁵⁰

244. "Rhodesia", South Africa, 29.2.24., p.1.

245. Ibid., p.2.

246. "A Browse on Mrs Tawse Jollie's New Book", RH, 15.3.28. (The author is indebted to Mrs Paddy Vickery of Bulawayo for this reference.)

247. Ibid.

248. Ibid.

249. Ibid.

250. Ibid.

Whatever the drawbacks, or merits of the Real Rhodesia, it remained for decades the sole account of the campaign for self-government,²⁵¹ and it must have been of considerable importance in publicising the country when it was getting on its feet and desperate for new investment and settlers.²⁵² It is a period piece, but it remains an invaluable source for all who wish to understand the Rhodesia of her time.²⁵³ For many years, this and her subsequent accounts were virtually the only pictures of the country available to outsiders.²⁵⁴ They saw Rhodesia through her eyes. She never got around to writing a serious history. Perhaps it was just as well: propaganda was, after all, her forte.

Ethel's monograph added to the general approbation which greeted the new colony. "I like to think that [Rhodes's] spirit is present today,

251. Hummel, "White Rhodesian Nationalism", p.75.

252. Hummel op cit sees the value of "The Real Rhodesia" as a primary source. In contrast, H A Averill's review of the 1971 reprint edn. Rhod Hist, Vol 2, 1971, pp.117-118, missed this aspect almost entirely. He was puzzled by her ambiguous loyalty to the Empire and showed no awareness that conditional loyalty characterised all British colonies of settlement to some degree.

253. Kennedy, op cit., p.185; Schutz, "White Settler Society", p.109. As late as 1945 Admiral Tait, the Governor of Rhodesia, wrote to Ethel:

I have ... read with the greatest interest your book "The Real Rhodesia"; especially Chapter III ... Written by one who played such a prominent part, I found this account as instructive as it is authoritative. I wonder if the younger generation of Rhodesians is aware of what it owes to the old RG Party!

Tait to ETJ, 18.5.45.

254. See for example ETJ, "Southern Rhodesia's Fortieth Birthday", UE, Vol.21, 1930, pp.533-536, "Greater Rhodesia", ibid., Vol.22, 1931, pp.492-497, "Try Southern Rhodesia", National Review, Vol.68, 1932, pp.87-94, "Twenty Years in Southern Rhodesia", UE, Vol.26, 1935, pp.357-358, Umtali and district: the eastern gateway of Rhodesia, the garden of the Colony, [written for the Empire Exhibition at Wembley 1924], (Umtali, 1924).

a silent witness of an important stage in the fulfillment of one of his dreams",²⁵⁵ the new governor, Sir John Chancellor, said at the swearing in of the provisional cabinet on 1 October, 1923:

So long as the people of Rhodesia show that they possess those characteristics of their race ... in addition to the loyalty, courage, and tenacity they have so abundantly displayed in the past, the future of Rhodesia is assured, and Rhodesia will form a worthy member of the Commonwealth of Nations ... (256)

The British press was full of praise too, with some newspapers exaggerating the self-governing colony's status. The Daily News referred to it as 'A New Dominion',²⁵⁷ while the editorial headline in The Yorkshire Herald ran 'The Birth of a Nation'.²⁵⁸ It was just the beginning:

[I]t is not difficult to foresee that not many years will pass till ... the whole of that vast territory lying between the Transvaal on the South, the Belgian Congo on the North and the Portuguese and late German territories on the North-east will become one great united dominion bound to the Empire by even closer cords. (259)

The new premier, Sir Charles Coghlan, exuded a similar confidence. He told how he had remarked to Sir Winston Churchill that they were not so interested in dominion status as in the right to manage their own affairs.²⁶⁰ For the present they did not require ambassadors in foreign capitals, but "[m]aybe one of these days they would have dominion status ... extending to the far North".²⁶¹ In the meantime,

255. "Rhodesia", African World, 27.10.23.

256. Ibid.

257. The Daily News, 7.11.23.

258. The Yorkshire Herald, 2.10.23.

259. Ibid.

260. Ibid.

261. Ibid.

reconciliation with the Unionists was his priority. "They wanted a united party behind them", he said. "Let the past bury the past".²⁶²

That is largely what happened. Most of the Unionists and Company retainers allied with Coghlan's Rhodesian Party (RP) at the expense of the RP's alliance with the Labour Party, "so that Responsible Government did not prove to be the radical and destructive 'poor man's' government that had been feared, and it continued many of the traditions established by the Company".²⁶³ As a result of the reconciliation, the general election of 1924 proved to be an anti-climax, because political enthusiasm had spent itself on the referendum campaign.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless the campaign was a 'vigorously fought affair' with Ethel's organising skills once again in demand.²⁶⁵ She was asked to stand for the Northern constituency, where McChlery was being considered as an RP candidate.²⁶⁶ But she had not forgiven him for his late conversion to Unionism and was willing to stand there if it would keep him out of the Assembly.²⁶⁷ One of the RP candidates there, Major Hastings, was 'perfectly willing to stand down' for her. "In my humble opinion", Hastings told the RP secretary, "all of us of the RG persuasion are in her debt".²⁶⁸

In the event she stood for Umtali, where she felt she was on familiar ground and could be of most use against the Labour Party's

262. The Yorkshire Herald, 2.10.23.

263. Lee, "Rhodesian Referendum, 1922, p.98.

264. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.436.

265. Minutes, Central Executive Committee, 23.2.22, NAZ RH 8/4/3/1.

266. A Curling to Renniker, 5.2.24, NAZ RH 8/1/1/2.

267. ETH to Renniker, 9.2.24, 13.2.24, NAZ RH 8/1/1/2.

268. L M Hastings to Renniker, 7.2.24, NAZ RH 8/1/1/2.

candidates.²⁶⁹ She had Charles Eickhoff as her running mate. The RP fought the campaign on a platform of social reform.²⁷⁰ It promised the improvement of roads, railways and telephones; assistance for farmers and miners; and the acquisition of mineral rights, still in the hands of the Company, "provided the price [did] not impose an undue burden of taxation on the people". A more equitable customs agreement would be concluded with the Union, and storage and marketing facilities provided for farmers. Land settlement would be promoted, while machinery would be introduced "to give the natives the opportunity of expressing their views on matters which directly affect[ed] them, and to obviate the registration of natives on the voters' roll". Some form of definite land segregation would be introduced. Ethel's hand could be seen on the social side of the party programme. Medical facilities for country dwellers would be improved. The educational system would be run more efficiently with greater emphasis on technical education for boys and domestic science for girls. More boarding schools would be provided. In defence, the keynote would be efficiency, with the prospect of compulsory national service.²⁷¹

Ethel elaborated this policy in her Address to the electors of Umtali district in which she again proclaimed her special concern for the 'small man'.²⁷² She promised to work for the country and the Eastern district in general, and for women in particular:

269. ETJ to Renniker, 13.2.24, NAZ RH 8/1/1/2; A Curling to Renniker, 18.2.24, NAZ RH 8/1/1/2.

270. ETJ, To the Electors of Umtali district: Address, [RP pamphlet] (Umtali, 1924), p.2.

271. Ibid.

272. Ibid.

I have always been proud to be the first woman legislator in the British Dominions and the second in the Empire [sic] but the responsibility is also great, and I should not seek this honour again, but that I know what a disappointment it would be to women all over the territory if they had no representative of their sex in the first Legislative Assembly ... (273)

In their campaign against their two Labour and two Independent opponents, she and Eickhoff emphasised the need for "Unanimity, Singleness of Purpose and Stability" which, they claimed, the RP alone could satisfy.²⁷⁴ They warned against the return of Independents to the House "representing sectional interests, grinding their own axes, taking the parochial rather than the national view ..." ²⁷⁵ Her pamphlets emphasised the democratic nature of the RP. The voters were encouraged to vote for it 'Because you are a Rhodesian' and

Because the Rhodesian Party stands for a sane, progressive party of development based upon a thorough confidence in the resources of the country and the capabilities of its settlers, and a lively appreciation of the privileges accorded to this generation of adding to the might and security of the British Empire. (276)

The general election was held on 29 April and both Eickhoff and Ethel were elected.²⁷⁷ She had earned the reputation of a tireless worker

273. ETJ, To the Electors of Umtali district: Address, [RP pamphlet] (Umtali, 1924), p.2.

274. It is your Duty: Vote for Jollie and Eickhoff, [RP pamphlet], (Salisbury, [1924]).

275. Ibid.

276. Why You should Support the Party with a Programme and Vote for Mrs Tawse Jollie and C Eickhof, [RP pamphlet], (Salisbury. [1924]).

277. The results in detail were:

Charles Eickhoff	(RP)	506
E Tawse Jollie	(RP)	403
W R Love	(Rhod. Labour Party)	378
J A Methuen	(Rhod. Labour Party)	299
F R Myburg	(Ind.)	206
T B Hulley	(Ind.)	130
60% poll. Source: Willson, <u>op cit.</u> , p.119.		

and the result 'confirmed her constituents' faith in her', an historian of the Eastern districts recalled.²⁷⁸

Thus Ethel became the first woman elected to a legislative assembly in the British dominions and the third in the Empire as a whole.²⁷⁹ Both of her predecessors, Countess Markievicz and Nancy Astor, were unrepresentative of their respective societies;²⁸⁰ Ethel, an intellectual woman in a masculine and largely philistine community, was no exception.

"Politics makes strange bedfellows!" Coghlan once remarked at a dinner party when asked about his close association with Ethel. But, now that RG had been achieved, Ethel's direct influence over the party leadership began to wane. Nevertheless, Coghlan's expectation that her exclusion from the cabinet would mean trouble proved correct. She could not be silenced in the Legislative Assembly, where she made her mark on key legislation in the formative years of the Colony in an effort to mould Rhodesia into the kind of efficient society advocated by the Radical Right in Britain before 1914.

278. C M Hulley, Memories of Manicaland, (Umtali, 1980), p.93.

279. See *supra* Introduction, p.2.

280. Countess Markievicz (n  e Gore-Booth), came from an Anglo-Irish ascendancy family, became a feminist and a socialist revolutionary, and was sentenced to death for her role in the Easter Rising of 1916, but she was subsequently reprieved. Nancy Astor, was also an outsider, an American from Virginia who married into the Astor family. See D Norman, Terrible Beauty: A Life of Constance Markievicz, (London, 1986) and C Sykes, Nancy: A Life of Nancy Astor, (London, 1972).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Rhodesia's combatant Lady MLA

...[S]till, we fear, the day draws near
When Women will no longer heed us,
When beings in skirts will scorn our shirts,
And bid the heathen savage feed us:-
They may eject the present sect
Of Legislators (should we grudge it?),
May deal us smacks in Income Tax
And even re-adjust the Budget!

(H Cullen Gouldsbury: "For Women Only")

Ethel was "probably the most feared person in the first parliament" of Southern Rhodesia.¹ "The hon. member has certainly appointed herself as the critic of the House", one of her colleagues, Max Danziger, remarked:

[A]lthough [she] is a lady, one is justified in treating her as man to man, because she is certainly the equal of the rest of us ... I₃ feel like the naughty boy who will certainly be whipped² later.

She could be too forthright in her criticism, "preach[ing] like a consciously sane chaplain addressing the inmates of a home for imbeciles".⁴ "[H]er words are something to buck me up", Coghlan's successor, Howard Moffat, conceded.⁵

But Coghlan himself was not so generous. Once RG came into operation he followed a stringent fiscal policy and he became very annoyed with members who wanted money for their own areas and interests from the budget. "If each one wanted to be a law unto himself or herself ... the remedy was simply to take our place", he warned them,⁶ and he singled out Ethel for special hostility: "[W]e have still got the lady member and she is, between ourselves, a bit of a nuisance, as she thinks she knows everything", he confided to his sister.⁷

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1. "The History Makers", RH, 22.5.74, (Golden Jubilee of Parliament Supplement).
 2. (A very appropriate simile, since in Scotland a 'tawse' was an instrument of chastisement used in schools!)
 3. Southern Rhodesia, [Debates of the] Leg[islative] As[sembly], 19.5.27, p.605.
 4. Ibid., p.606.
 5. Ibid., 5.6.28, p.580.
 6. Coghlan to Mrs A Buller, 27.8.24, NAZ [Historical MSS Collection: Coghlan Papers: Correspondence: Personal]
 7. Ibid.

Relations between Coghlan and Ethel deteriorated sharply after 1924 when she emerged as the leader of a group of dissidents within the RP who complained about Coghlan's "autocratic attitude and impatience of criticism and suggestions".⁸ He and his Bulawayo associates became increasingly remote from the party rank-and-file. The RP caucus was no longer consulted on important matters of policy as it used to be, and Coghlan turned down Ethel's suggestion that weekly meetings of the caucus be resumed to afford Cabinet ministers an opportunity of taking party members into their confidence on government policy. So, on her own initiative, she decided to hold weekly caucus meetings without Coghlan and his ministers.⁹ Although a staunch party member, she did not confine her challenge to Coghlan to the internal machinery of the party; she also pursued him on the floor of the House where he could not easily ignore her remarks.¹⁰

In May 1925 she complained to the House that ministers were becoming out of touch with both members of the Assembly and with the electorate. While voters no longer had the benefit of fully covered parliamentary debates in the newspapers, members came to the House with 'very meagre knowledge' of government policy, she claimed. She called for statements of policy in advance.¹¹ "Until I know this", she complained, "I am not in a position to make an intelligent anticipation or appreciation of what [the Government] may or may not be able to do".¹² She did not wish to appear to be a 'carping critic

8. Governor to S of S, 9.7.24, PRO C0.767/2.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *LegAs*, 4.5.25, pp. 312-316, 19.5.25, pp.609-611.

11. *Ibid.*, 11.5.25, pp.333-334.

12. *Ibid.*, p.335.

of the Government', or to give the opposition any cause for 'unholy joy', but there was "no other method open to the member to express the views of constituents".¹³ She and other backbenchers came to the House "without any special instructions or advice or help from the Government", so she had to rely on open criticism to force any replies from the Cabinet.¹⁴ She pointed out that in other countries with more developed political systems, political parties kept in touch with, and had some influence over the government of the day. She hoped that they would eventually evolve such a system. In the meantime they would be roughly divided into the Government and the elected members, and she blamed this division on the country's political immaturity.¹⁵ While conceding a degree of praise to the Government and to Coghlan, she voiced the 'general feeling' of party dissidents that budget funds could be more wisely allocated.¹⁶ She envied Kenya and other colonies which had far less potential than Rhodesia, yet were able to get large loans to facilitate development. She urged a bold policy on Coghlan, warning that governments which never made mistakes never made anything. "We feel that responsibility has been too heavy on the shoulders of some hon. Ministers and they want more pluck and, if I may say so, a little more faith", she matronised, " 'Woe be unto thee when all men speak well of thee' ... From that calamity the staunch supporters of the Government are determined to save our premier".¹⁷

Coghlan, however, held little brief for her brand of salvation, so she

13. LegAs, 11.5.25, p.344.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., pp.344-345.

17. Ibid., p.345.

was largely confined to the role of a garrulous gadfly. As she had once put it: "She was not an old hand as compared with some hon. members; she belonged rather to the new order in more senses than one".¹⁸ She maintained this confidence throughout her parliamentary career in her determination to secure 'the highest possible rate of efficiency'¹⁹ in the administration of the Colony.

After a year of fruitless attempts to change Coghlan's attitude to the party caucus Ethel went over his head by bringing the matter before the Governor, Sir John Chancellor, who was equally concerned about the unstable state of the RP. She expressed her views to him with 'considerable vehemence', and she named several members of the party who felt so strongly about Coghlan's aloofness, that they considered resigning their seats, although she claimed that she was still a strong supporter of the government.²⁰ Chancellor agreed with her that members had grounds for complaint and he assured her that he had on several occasions urged ministers to take members and supporters into their confidence: "[The Cabinet had to] remember that [it] was a democratic government and that their remaining in power depended upon their retaining the confidence of the people".²¹ He urged Ethel to be more tactful and to precede her remarks with compliments to ministers on what they had achieved.²²

Ethel raised the question again at a party meeting on 20 May 1925.

18. LegCo, 11.12.22, p.240.

19. Ibid., 12.5.21, p.604.

20. Governor to S of S, 20.7.25, PRO Co.767/4.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

Coghlan undertook that the Cabinet would study ways of keeping in closer touch with both caucus and constituents via the press or otherwise. "This undertaking has given satisfaction to the members of the Party", Chancellor concluded.²³

Chancellor had also noticed that Coghlan had been in 'a state of nervous irritation' throughout the session, even to the extent of making hostile comments and interjections while other members were speaking, greatly embarrassing his colleagues and the Speaker in the process.²⁴ This unruly behaviour had led to 'one or two unpleasant incidents'.²⁵ Coghlan had been thoroughly tired out by the strain of the previous four years.²⁶ His addiction to alcohol was not conducive to National Efficiency. Ethel must have been all too familiar with the symptoms, with her own husband's drink problem and her acute financial worries. She could hide Jack's liquor while she was at home, but he had free rein when she was in Salisbury attending debates.²⁷ Coghlan's grog, however, was altogether beyond her control.

So to a great degree was the general character of Rhodesian

23. Governor to S of S, 20.7.25, PRO Co.767/4.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid. See also Wetherell, "Populism in Rhodesian Politics", p.54.

27. Hereward Cripps of Vumba, Zimbabwe, a former cattle inspector recalls the Tawse Jollies well. He used to call regularly at Chibuzana in the 1920s. On one occasion he arrived just in time - or so he thought - for a sundowner and sat in thirsty anticipation on the stoep. Ethel asked him: "Black or White". "Yes please", Cripps replied, think he was being offered the famous Scotch. "Black or white coffee", she glared back at him. (She had disposed of Jack's remaining supply, or what she could find of it.) Cripps interview, 2.9.84.

'democracy' once RG came. As one writer describes it, it "closely resembled the British eighteenth-century in its political manifestations".²⁸ The franchise was limited, there was no strong party system and personalities counted for more than policies among the groups who jostled for power:

The purpose of politics was to preserve privilege and property. Conflicts of interest were settled by bargaining and compromise and never allowed to become so sharp as to threaten the structure of society. Maize prices, railway rates, cattle marketing, tobacco exports, rural roads and telephones, state lotteries, mineral rights, hospital and school facilities - such were the issues which won or lost elections. (29)

Ethel was adept in such issues, but she kept longing for the development of a true party system with the 'Outs' making it their business to find fault with the 'Ins' and she was glad when the Assembly's Independents formed themselves into an opposition 'Progressive Party' in 1926.³⁰

Despite her public criticisms, her loyalty to the Party was beyond doubt and when it was opposed, she closed ranks. When an opposition member claimed that the government was unresponsive to the RP rank and file - a criticism she had often made - she retorted that if the Cabinet was guided by the majority opinion in the party the Cabinet

28. F Clements, Rhodesia: The Course to Collision, (London, 1969), p.44. For more detailed analyses of the character of Rhodesian politics see C Leys, European Politics in Southern Rhodesia, (Oxford, 1959), which emphasises the relative cohesion of the European body politic in the face of a perceived threat from Africans, and Murray, *op cit.*, which argues that the dynamics of the Rhodesian political system derived from intense competition between rival European pressure groups.

29. Clements, Rhodesia, pp.44-45.

30. LegAs, 18.5.27, pp.573-577.

would be a farce. "I have never been privileged to attend [a Cabinet meeting], and I am not likely ever to be privileged to attend such an august assembly", she remarked, "but I imagine that all sorts of discussion takes place ... and the Cabinet form their own opinion on a great deal of information, some of it confidential."³¹ It would be impossible, she claimed, for the Cabinet to have every issue thrashed out again at the Party caucus, or else "the caucus would be usurping the functions of this legislature".³² She wanted the caucus to have greater access to government policy, not to dominate it. Having to toe the line was not easy for her, but it was the rule of the game. "It is rather humiliating to some of us private members, because we all started from an equal footing a few years ago", she confessed.³³ "We were all private members, and it is perhaps because the present Cabinet came in fresh to their work, and without experience, that some of us felt we could have done better".³⁴ Unfortunately, after the General Election of 1923, the party organisation had 'ceased to exist', as the RGP transformed itself into the RP with the accession of former Unionists.³⁵ She felt the Party should have been thoroughly reorganised at that point, but they had all been "very busy [with] few people with time to spare for organisation and the hon. Ministers ... absorbed in their own work".³⁶

The gulf between the Cabinet and the parliamentary party was never

31. LegAs, 18.5.27, p.577.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., pp.577-578.

bridged in Ethel's time. It was only in the 1960s with the rise of the Rhodesian Front - Rhodesia's penultimate echo of the Radical Right - that the caucus assumed a direct and ultimately disastrous control over the Cabinet.³⁷ Part of the problem was one feature which Rhodesian politics held in common with National Efficiency: the cult of the leader. Like the doubt-ridden patriots of Edwardian Britain, it was the Rhodesian political tradition to choose personal rule by a champion; initially Rhodes and Coghlan; thereafter Huggins, Welensky and Smith.³⁸ Ethel too, in her magnanimous moments, succumbed to this phenomenon. In 1927, when Coghlan was under attack from an ex-member of the party who was one of the opposition, Ethel sprang to Coghlan's defence:

Now I say this ... The fact of the matter is that we have as our Premier one who is not a politician ... There are two things about a politician - about a typical politician - which make the hon. the Premier unable to fit the bill. [He] is essentially sincere and always generous - (Ministerial cheers) - and these are two qualities which do not distinguish the average or even the super-average politician. The hon. the Premier is far better than a politician - he is a statesman - (Ministerial cheers). I do not claim to be anything more than a politician. (39)

The last sentence was certainly true. Her husband had his addiction; hers was politics. It was relatively easy for her to dominate the debates of the first parliament. For intellect, her only rival was Sir Francis Newton, but in 1925 he was appointed as High Commissioner in London.⁴⁰ For colour and controversy, her role equal had been Jock McChlery, disciple of John Bright, Irish Home Ruler, champion of the

37. See L W Bowman, "Organisation, Power and Decision-making within the Rhodesian Front", Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies, Vol.7, 1969, pp.145-165.

38. Clements, Rhodesia, p.45.

39. LegAs, 18.5.27, p.578.

40. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.251.

underdog, opponent of flogging, alcohol and the exploitation of Africans. In debate his fiery, Kirk-inspired oratory could resemble the radicalisms of seventeenth century Leveller.⁴¹ No wonder Ethel was determined to keep him out at all costs after he had changed to the Union side, and she must have been relieved when he was defeated for the Northern constituency in 1924. Their partnership had been crucial in the early years of the RGA, and even after they fell out in 1922, McChlery did not harbour any bitterness. In 1923 he told the LegCo that the one who should go over to Britain "to make a show ... in keeping with [Rhodesia's] dignity as a young colony" should be Ethel, because she "was recognised as a platform speaker of great talent" who could competently address meetings at the RCI and throughout the provinces.⁴²

From 1924 to 1928 she took a prominent part in virtually every debate with little verbal competition, for she was rarely short of a mot juste. Her only challenge came in 1927 when Lt Col Frank Johnson, the man who had organised the 1890 Pioneer Column, returned to Rhodesia to take up an active political career. In the meantime he had won a DSO on the North-West Frontier of India where he earned a reputation amongst right-wing Tories as a man who would stand no nonsense from 'cheeky babus'.⁴³ Johnson, an archetypical hearty pugilist, rejoiced in this reputation for toughness with indigenous

41. See for example McChlery's contribution to the debate on juvenile crime, LegCo, 16.6.20, p.876; and his opposition to the exploitation of Africans, ibid., 29.4.21, p.164; 4.10.23, p.853.

42. Ibid., 4.10.23, p.856.

43. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.263.

rac⁴⁴. He fully supported General Dyer's violent dispersal of a crowd at Amritsar in 1919,⁴⁵ and he found his own administration of martial law in Lahore 'a most interesting experience':

It was a kind of perpetual cricket match, during which I was continually batting against a constant change of bowlers (without any 'intervals'), all doing their best to get my middle stump, demanding from me various strokes and a straight bat. (46)

Johnson was also a follower of the National Efficiency creed - "hard discipline and stern efficiency ... go hand in hand with true happiness".⁴⁷ Before the Great War he became chairman of the London Branch of the Tariff Reform League. Joseph Chamberlain appointed him to the TRL Central Executive, where he gained extensive experience as a public speaker on tours throughout Britain.⁴⁸ So he had much in common with Ethel, apart from his harsh views on race. In 1927, backed by considerable personal wealth, he won a by-election in Salisbury South, a constituency largely composed of white working class voters, where he appeared "a forceful, courageous, bullet-headed kind of man, an excellent speaker who could bewitch his audience by vigorous

44. Johnson proudly republished the following poem, originally published in The Englishman, [Calcutta], and dedicated to him:

You do not say, 'Oh, dearie dear',
When handing out a big thick ear.
Or, 'Oh babu! How you vex us'
When striking at the solar plexus.
Nor do you bale out reams of law
When plugging someone on the jaw ...

See F Johnson, Great Days: The Autobiography of an Empire Pioneer, (London, 1940), p.362. He had at least one benevolent moment, however, when he called for equal pay for equally qualified non-white teachers. "Payment should not depend upon ... colour", he declared. LegAs, 9.6.27, p.1233.

45. Johnson, Great Days, pp.286, 313.

46. Ibid., p.313.

47. Ibid., p.315.

48. Ibid., pp.250-251.

argument and a flood of inaccurate statistics".⁴⁹ He stood out as one of the foremost representatives of right-wing radicalism mixed with racialism. His platform included the possession of a west coast port at Walvis Bay, the acquisition of the railways and mineral rights from the Chartered Company, which he accused of sucking out the nation's life blood, the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias, and the creation of a 'Whiter Rhodesia' based on small holders and more intensive agriculture. This last scheme, like his plan to introduce silkworms proved to be impractical. Nevertheless, he cut substantially into the Labour Party's support and was joined by a number of RP defectors.⁵⁰

He was a recent refugee from the effects of British socialist government,⁵¹ and his National Efficiency was more zealous than Ethel's, which had been moderated by the peculiar problems and conditions of Southern Rhodesia. The differences between them, however, were more personal than intellectual. With good reason she held him responsible for the resignation of Archibald Colquhoun as Administrator back in 1890, so this was an old score she had yet to settle. For his part, Johnson ridiculed her domination of parliamentary proceedings. On one occasion he sarcastically enquired of the Premier what position she held in the Cabinet for "whenever we ask an hon. Minister a question she invariably interposes herself and replies for him with all the assurance of a Cabinet Minister".⁵²

49. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.263.

50. Ibid., p.264; Blake, op cit., pp.206-207, 218.

51. Johnson, Great Days, p.315.

52. LegAs, 16.6.27, p.1577.

She could give as good as she got. Like an Indian babu she went straight for his middle stump, too fast a bowler for Johnson. It was his "misfortune to find [himself] invariably in conflict with [her]",⁵³ he was forced to admit. The conflict between them in the Budget Debate of 1927 well illustrates Ethel's amazonian parliamentary style at its zenith. Johnson confidently proposed his schemes for a 'Whiter Rhodesia' and a new silk industry, illustrated by a piece of Rhodesia silk which he passed around the House, but, unfortunately for him, he mixed up his statistics and referred to the year 1825 instead of 1925!⁵⁴ This gave Ethel the ammunition she required:

I cannot congratulate the Leader of the Opposition ... He has my sympathy, because personally I dislike figures intensely ... and generally I leave them alone to people who should know better, but do not always know better - (Laughter). At any rate, I am not in the habit of mislaying millions or centuries - (Laughter) - or of turning pounds sterling into avoirdupois - (Laughter) ... I tried to extract matters of substance, but when I had finished with the hon. member's speech I had no matters of substance left - (Laughter). That, of course, cramps my style - (Laughter). I agree with the hon. member on many of the small things, but not on matters of substance. We can always agree with the Opposition on matters that are not of substance. I agree that the election of the hon. the junior member for Salisbury South (Lieut. Colonel Johnson) did not make the slightest difference to the credit of the Colony one way or another ... I know the hon. Member - (Laughter). He left nothing to chance; his organisation was admirable. I know him, and I knew him in the old days in England. He is a good political agent. My congratulations to him; I like to see work well done, whatever work it is. I do not like bad work ... This realistic exponent of Parliamentary histrionics has ... given us a highly-coloured account of the reception of his victory in the country. He wants the Government to realise [that] his popularity means that the Government is unpopular. [He] does himself an injustice. No matter what platform he is on his picturesque personality would make him a popular person wherever he goes - (Laughter) ... [I]n my own township, I think they enjoyed him so much that they did not care what he talked about. He spoke for an hour and a half, and they would have gone on

53. LegAs, 8.6.27, p.778.

54. Ibid., 18.5.27, p.572.

listening to him for another hour no matter what he talked about - (Hear, hear and Laughter). But, if you will forgive me using a colloquial expression, as a politician he did not cut any ice at all. (55)

She went on to ridicule his silk worm scheme. She did not want "to drown a single silk worm by pouring cold water upon them", but it was industry which required African, not European labour.⁵⁶ That was the problem. A friend of hers had tried the scheme and found that the silk worms began to decrease in number, while the picannin assigned to look after them grew fatter and fatter! "Eventually it was proven beyond a doubt that silk worms are an exceedingly attractive article of native diet - (Laughter)", she mocked.⁵⁷ As a final insult, she was "bound to say that the methods [Johnson] introduced into [the] House remind[ed her] rather of the hustings than of the forum to which any parliament like[d] to approximate itself".⁵⁸ During the Tariff Reform Campaign in Britain she had seen speakers produce loaves of bread to illustrate their point, but Johnson had surpassed that:

At [a] psychological moment [in the debate] he produced, like a conjurer out of his hat, out of his drawer, that fascinating piece of silk which he passed around the House. I have never seen that done in any Parliament. It is a most cheery innovation - (Laughter). The hon. Member is out for a brighter Rhodesia - (Laughter). If he will pass samples of ladies' costumes and so forth round the House I think it will be brighter than it was yesterday - (Laughter). (59)

Johnson was out in the next General Election (1928) and returned to England two years⁶⁰ later, and Ethel's constant sniping may well have

55. LegAs, 19.5.27, pp.594-596.

56. *Ibid.*, p.597.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, p.595.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Blake, *op cit.*, p.218.

contributed to his demise. Her waggish didacticism earned her many enemies both inside and outside the party, and more than justified her nom de guerre - 'Jaws Jollie'.⁶¹ Few Rhodesian men were charmed by a woman who always wanted to wear the trousers, especially if she was cleverer than they. She still had at least one prominent supporter among the ranks of her own sex: Cynthia Stockley, who had earned a considerable reputation as the writer of torrid romantic novels. She provided Ethel's one and only entry into the pages of fiction. After Coghlan's death Stockley became disillusioned with Rhodesian politics, now dominated by dull, 'retired professional and commercial men' who had brought to the country 'the stale old ways of cities' and she mourned the passing of a land that had once seemed so filled with romance.⁶² She formed this critique in her last novel Tagati: Magic (1930) in which wild fellowship survives only in the country districts (- Ethel's preserve). One of the characters, a Salisbury doctor, complains that he had hoped to find "a fresh and free existence with the wind blowing through it; the adventurous type of man, and something more or less than the ordinary type of social woman, battling audaciously, even outrageously with new conditions". Instead he found "the old crew, and the same old game! People living beyond their incomes and breaking their necks to 'keep up appearances' and keep in the swim". His companion, Felicia, sadly concurs. The name of the Salisbury game is 'Progress' and she recalls a Salisbury which was once "the camping ground of adventure and adventuresses ... Strange, outrageous and heroic deeds".⁶³ Even in parliament, she finds the

61. Rosin interview, op cit.

62. Quoted in Chennells, op cit., p.290.

63. Ibid.

same social climbing mediocrity prevails; only Ethel is the exception:

The one woman member, pretty and alert, struck a single note of fervour in a crowd who seemed anxious not to strike any note at all ... It seemed a pity there were no giants left! (64)

While force of personality enabled Ethel to dominate debates, her interrogatory, if not inquisitorial, manner undermined her effect on government policy. Nevertheless, she continued to wield influence through her maverick meetings of the RP caucus, - her membership of the party Executive; within the limitations of Coghlan's parsimonious purse-strings, she attempted to ginger the Government to follow its stated objective of "build[ing] up in Southern Rhodesia a strong and united nation ... in the cause of developing and civilising Southern and Central Africa".⁶⁵ For her, RG had never been an end in itself; it was merely the sine qua non for her larger purpose: the creation of an efficient nation which would become an asset to the British Empire in Africa:

Not for Gold, nor for Trade, nor for Strategy, nor for Pride of Dominion only has this work been done, but because the Briton ... knows that his children must have wider horizons if they are to breed true to type, that the path of adventure must ever be trailed anew for the race, and that they will never be more true to type and more worthy of their race than when they are making fresh Britains across the seas. (66)

The problems facing the government after 1923 were numerous. As an ideology born out of adversity in the centre of Empire, National Efficiency could be adapted to adversity on the periphery of Empire

64. Quoted in Chennells, *op cit.*, pp.290-291.

65. Section 21(C) of RP Constitution, RP Annual Congress 1925, NAZ RH 8/4/1.

66. ETJ, RR, p.241.

as well. New Zealand, that other 'ultra British' periphery, offers a useful parallel. There, after the turn of the century, major welfare legislation was passed dealing with a range of social services, including health and education, industrial relations, and economic measures dealing with tariffs, land settlement and taxation. Traditionally New Zealand welfare policy has been seen as an example of colonial progressivism motivated by humanitarianism, but this view has been challenged by W H Oliver who has discerned in it a "strong aspiration towards an efficient and well disciplined society".⁶⁷ New Zealand politicians looked to the ideas of National Efficiency in particular to cope with the beginnings of problems which had developed more fully elsewhere. They too felt a call to "to do their bit to raise a healthy race for the Empire".⁶⁸ During the Edwardian period, New Zealand legislation bore the hallmarks of National Efficiency: school medical inspection, the regulation of industrial schools, the protection of infant life and maternity care, compulsory military service, financial support for charitable organisations, workmen's compensation and land settlement. Although women had been granted the vote as far back as 1893, their primary duty was generally regarded as that of mother and wife.⁶⁹

The similarity with the Rhodesia of the 1920s is striking. Like White Rhodesia, New Zealand had great resources, a small settler population and a low immigration rate; circumstances which underlined the need to preserve infant life and to initiate "a sustained drive towards

67. Oliver, "Social Welfare or Social Efficiency", p.33.

68. *Ibid.*, p.26.

69. *Ibid.*, pp.25-26.

increased agricultural production and higher levels of efficiency, towards a regulated and disciplined rural work force, and towards a morally sound society based on rural occupancy".⁷⁰ But in Rhodesia, where white settlers formed only a tiny minority of the population, these measures were even more imperative in order to safeguard the future of 'the Race': Ethel was more aware than any other Rhodesian politician of the spectres of rapid urbanisation, unemployment, class conflict and social degeneration. She had served her political apprenticeship in the Black Country of Staffordshire, the East End slums of London, and among the theorists of National Efficiency in advanced Imperialist circles in Britain. Here was an opportunity of avoiding the social problems of the 'Old World' and building an efficient nation from its foundation.

In the course of her eight year parliamentary career, Ethel took part in almost every debate (apart from her absence in Australia in 1926 as the Colony's representative in the Empire Parliamentary Association's tour of that country).⁷¹ She merited the label of busybody, since everything interested her from the smallest quibble about administrative expenditure to questions of national importance; she was a Jill of all trades and a mistress of some.

"It is a goodly heritage, this country", Ethel wrote in 1924; "what it wants now are more men and women of imagination and courage to bring its promise to fulfilment".⁷² Land settlement was fundamental to her

70. Oliver, "Social Welfare or Social Efficiency", p.31.

71. See *infra*, Ch. Nine, pp.486-98.

72. ETJ, RR, p.129. See also LegCo, 5.10.23, p.932.

philosophy. The whole future of the colony, political, economic and social depended on the opening up of the land. True to her English Tory origins, Ethel's essential Rhodesia lay in the countryside and its farmers.⁷³ Without them the towns would wither and die. "[T]he farmer was the most satisfactory mythopoeic embodiment of the ordinary White Rhodesian".⁷⁴ It was more than mere atavism. Farmers had been crucial in the populist alliance of small workers, commercial employers and ratepayers which formed the bedrock of the RG campaign. The extraordinary influence farmers exerted on the Rhodesian electorate can be partially attributed to the belief that the farmer was altruistic and above the 'sordid manipulations of Capital'.⁷⁵ This was a long established feature of British culture too, and it became current in the white dominions: "Personal property, what hold has the nation of them? What security for the payment of their taxes?", the reactionary Scottish judge, Lord Braxfield, asked in 1793, "They may pack up all their property on their backs and leave the country in the twinkling of an eye, but landed property cannot be

73. ETJ, RR, p.143. For anti-industrialism in British culture see Wiener, *op cit.*, p.235, esp. ch.4 and P Rich, "The Quest for Englishness", HT, (June, 1987), pp.24-30.

74. Chennells, *op cit.*, p.235. See also A Roving Rhodesian, "Why I came back", *Rhod[esian] Ann[ual]*, pp.29-30. For a psychological critique of this ethos see A C Beckman, "Hidden Themes in the Frontier Thesis", CSSH, Vol.8, (1965-66), pp.361-382. Doris Lessing (*Going Home*, (London, 1968), p.14) noted:

The myths of this society are not European
They are of the frontiersman and lone-wolf;
the brave white woman home-making in
lonely and primitive conditions ...

75. Wetherell, "Populism in Rhodesian Politics", p.74.

removed".⁷⁶ Ethel agreed with this premise:

The Rhodesian [farmer] is now, for the most part, a family man, and the family man whose money is invested in cattle forms a very appreciable part of the Rhodesian population and one of the most valuable from the settlement point of view. It is he who goes, with his family, to the more remote districts, where he builds his homesteads, plants his gardens, and sets his cattle to tame the veld, until the wilderness becomes habitable. (77)

Between 1920 and 1923 Ethel was highly critical of the Company's failure to establish an effective immigration scheme to take advantage of the post-war demobilisation of British troops. With good reason she attacked the Company's official Settlers' Board for serving unofficial interests and assisting the marketing of private land for private profit.⁷⁸ Political uncertainty combined with economic depression

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76. Johnson, A History of the English People, p.202 n. For Commonwealth echoes of this see Harris, op cit., pp.26-29; Fairburn, op cit., pp.3-21; Bolton, op cit., pp.307-328; J R Hirst, "The Pioneer Legend", HS, Vol.18 (71), 1978, pp.316-337; R Ward, The Australian Legend, (Melbourne, 1958); R M Crawford, "The Australian National Character: Myth and Reality", JWH, No.3, 1955, pp.19-40; R M Crawford, "The Birth of a Culture" in C Wallace-Crabbe, The Australian Nationalists, (Melbourne, 1971), pp.33-38; M Roe, "An Historical Survey of Australian Nationalism", Victorian Historical Magazine, Vol.42 (4), 1971, pp.656-678.
77. ETJ, RR, p.143. For more detail on this kind of outlook see J A Edwards, "Southern Rhodesia[: the response to adversity, 1935-1939]", (University of London, unpublished Ph.D, 1978), pp.13-14; L H Gann, "The White Settler[: A Changing Image]", Race, Vol.2 (2), 1961, pp.28-40; R S Roberts, "The Settlers", Rhodesiana, Vol.39, 1978, pp.55-61; Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa", pp.211-246. And for contemporary echoes see W M MacMillan, "The Development of Africa: Impressions from Rhodesia", Political Quarterly, Vol.3, 1932, p.557; L M Hastings, "Southern Rhodesia Today", Empire Review, No.52, 1930, p.361; R Hoare, "Rhodesian Jottings", Cornhill Magazine, No.150, 1934, pp.467-476.
78. LegCo, 16.5.22, pp.394-396. For details of the Settlers' Board see Kennedy, op cit., pp.181-182.

severely curtailed immigration in those years, but after the granting of RG in 1923, a positive campaign was inaugurated by Coghlan's government.⁷⁹ Ethel optimistically looked to the appointment of a new Land Settlement Officer who would not have 'money-making' as his main object.⁸⁰

In 1924 the Rhodesian Government reduced the recommended financial requirements for new settlers from £2500 to £1000 and established a new Land Bank with special schemes for intending settlers.⁸¹ In the following year an agreement was signed by the Rhodesian and British governments which provided for assisted immigration from Britain in terms of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922.⁸² An office was opened in Edinburgh to recruit 'hardy Scotsmen' at country fairs and other rural gatherings. Prospective settlers were offered cheaper land-purchase conditions provided they served one year's training on Rhodesian farms. The objective was to bring in 'lower strata' settlers from agricultural backgrounds who were willing to work small scale farms.⁸³ The scheme brought in a varied lot, ranging from remittance men (whom the government did not particularly want) to men like Alfred Cook Tayler, son of a poor bank clerk and head cook, who was attracted by the Rhodesian stand at the Wembley Exhibition in 1924 (and who was, incidentally, the father of Doris Lessing).⁸⁴ The scheme attracted too many of the upper classes and city born so the Government brought

79. Kennedy, *op cit.*, pp.175-176.

80. ETJ, RR, p.298.

81. Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.186.

82. *Ibid.*, p.187.

83. *Ibid.*, pp.187-189.

84. *Ibid.*, p.190.

in two other schemes: Scheme B, which provided for settlers drawn from small farmers, crofters, ploughmen and blacksmiths who were prepared to work hard to take up managerial jobs. Scheme C, modelled on a New Zealand scheme, offered (3rd class) free passage for immigrants nominated by Rhodesian farmers, a sort of 'big-brother' scheme.⁸⁵ The timing of the last two schemes was unfortunate. In 1928 there was a collapse of prices on the world market. One fifth of settlers depended on the tobacco crop so that the effect on the Colony was devastating. After a brief recovery in 1924, the Schemes were abandoned with the onset of the Great Depression.⁸⁶

The only major success during the period was largely due to Ethel's efforts. In 1927 the Rhodesian Government signed an agreement with the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women (SOSBW) to provide free passage to British single women to take up domestic work as governesses.⁸⁷ 127 such women were brought out in the first year of operation. White women particularly the British-born, were a precious commodity in colonial Rhodesia and women immigrants had no difficulty in finding husbands. As one propagandist earlier observed:

85. Kennedy, *op cit.*, pp.190-191.

86. *Ibid.*, p.193.

87. *Ibid.*, p.196 -

(Perhaps, we need not fear, indeed -
 This dim, mysterious committee
 May plan to aid the Marriage Trade,
 And, if they don't - well, more's the pity.
 Perhaps they think to lessen drink,
 To tame the Bachelor Colonial,
 And callow youth may find, in truth,
 The scheme is - purely matrimonial!

H Cullen Gouldsbury, "For Women Only")

[A] girl of very homely appearance will loom a veritable beauty before the excited imagination of the up-country colonist, whilst a girl comely in look and figure will have the male population at her feet. (88)

Ethel retained her pre-war concern for the dilemma of the 'Superfluous Woman' in Britain⁸⁹ and she was acutely aware of the continuing disparity of the sexes in Rhodesia (1000 males to 771 females), "one of the highest disproportions in the Empire".^{89A} She actively promoted the Colony as a niche, if not a marriage office, for the 'superfluous' type.⁹⁰ There were plenty of vocational openings for women particularly in the nursing and teaching professions. She believed that English teachers, rather than South Africans, would help to overcome Rhodesian 'narrowness of vision'.⁹¹ She regretted that the Civil Service discriminated against married women because, in principle, she was in favour of equal pay for equal work, regardless of the private affairs of the worker. On the other hand she held that the state had a duty to encourage married women to remain at home to produce more children.⁹² She had particular regard to women who, like herself, were willing to forego many of the advantages of urban life in order to build up homes in the back veld. "[T]he well-bred Englishwomen, who has lived all her life in well appointed houses, makes the greatest success of housekeeping ...", she assured intending immigrants, "and this is because in most cases she is accustomed to training servants".⁹³ For Ethel it was a noble calling to be 'loaf

88. Quoted in Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.121.

89 See *supra* Introduction pp.29-34, Chapter 1, pp.74-6, and Chapter 2, pp.100-106, 124 and 130.

89A. ETJ, "The Women of Rhodesia", *African World*, Vol.97, 1926, p.249.

90. *Ibid*; ETJ, RR, p.302.

91. ETJ, "The Women of Rhodesia", p.249.

92. *Ibid*.

93. *Ibid*.

giver [and] provider'.⁹⁴ It was also one which would enable women to demonstrate their superiority over men:

[T]his is a country for men and women who like to fight, and it is, perhaps, a pity that many women cannot enjoy a fight as men do, or take it in the same debonair spirit, but when you do meet a real pioneer woman, she is not only a better fighter than most men, but she will carry on her own burdens and her man's as well ... On the back veld no woman is superfluous, and the wife and mother is so much in the centre of the picture that we forget to put her on a pedestal .. [T]o be the mainspring, the focus of family life, ... to make a little world of one's own and to make it beautiful, then the woman in the backveld need envy no-one. She is the supreme artist, and the raw material of her craft is Life itself. (95)

Men had to fulfil their side of the arrangement as well by providing children to keep these 'mothers of the Race' busy, and on this score she urged the Government to encourage young men to get married early and get down to business!⁹⁶

More generally Ethel was critical of government settlement schemes and here she seemed to forsake the principles of National Efficiency for plain Tory nostalgia. She wanted to see 'a very strong forward policy' to attract an influx of 'people of the right type'.⁹⁷ By 'the right type' she meant people with capital or implicitly, people of her own class who, with special incentives, would open up the more inaccessible parts of the country.⁹⁸ She believed it was a mistake to concentrate on putting the small man on a farm of less than 3000 acres with insufficient capital. If such a course was followed she believed

94. ETJ, RR, p.203.

95. Ibid., pp.203-205.

96. LegAs, 5.6.28, pp.575-576.

97. Ibid., 11.5.25, pp.335-336.

98. Ibid., 6.5.26, pp.506, 513.

that they would never settle the Colony.⁹⁹ She was in favour of companies being allowed to buy land on condition that they used it, as they had the capital to develop it. This, she believed, would enable settlers to come in in the form of managers who could get farming experience without, having to risk their own capital¹⁰⁰ (which course was adopted in Scheme C).¹⁰¹ It would be a 'grave misfortune' if the Land Development wrote over its portals: 'No capitalist need apply'.¹⁰² "I do not want to see a single area locked up", she explained, "I want to see every acre of ground ... beneficially occupied".¹⁰³ In 1926 she proposed that the Government impose a tax on privately owned unoccupied land so that more land could be made available for needy settlers "who were hanging around the bars of Salisbury".¹⁰⁴ Two years later the government passed a Land Tax Act on those lines.¹⁰⁵

After 1926, the emergence of the opposition Progressive Party on a platform of large scale immigration increased Ethel's hostility to swamping the country with small farmers. This 'showy' policy was possible in countries like Canada and Australia, but she doubted it would work in Southern Africa where land was not of a uniform quality, water supplies were difficult to come by, and unskilled manpower was largely carried out by Africans.¹⁰⁶ She attacked the opposition for

99. LegAs, 3.6.25, pp.1107-1108.

100. Ibid., 4.6.25, pp.1114-1118.

101. Kennedy, op cit., pp.192-193.

102. LegAs, 4.6.25, p.1118.

103. Ibid., 3.6.25, p.1108.

104. Ibid., 29.4.26, pp.116-117.

105. Ibid. i.e. The Land Tax Act, No.22 of 1928.

106. See Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.265. n.1.

virtually proposing that Rhodesia accommodate Britain's unemployed and for believing that the production necessary for development was dependent on white settlement. Settlers were essential "to making Southern Rhodesia a worthy member of the British Empire", but they were not, she emphasised, essential to production.¹⁰⁷ Both Nigeria and the Gold Coast (where her brother was now Civil Commissioner) were increasing their production without the presence of White Settlers.¹⁰⁸ She thought it was far better to leave Rhodesia unsettled 'for a time' than to start settlers off with inadequate land and insufficient capital and she believed that all assisted settlement should be stopped for 'the next few years'.¹⁰⁹ The money, she argued, would be better spent on schools, hospitals and roads which in effect would promote land settlement.¹¹⁰ She supported the "individualistic policy [of the government] - placing a man in a suitable position but, having inspected Rhodesian immigration facilities in Britain in 1925 she felt "that propaganda was not being carried out in the right quarters [to attract] a better class of settlers".¹¹¹ The type she had in mind were ex-planters from India, Malaya and China, and she advocated the establishment of modern recruiting offices at Beira and Cape Town to cater for them.¹¹² This, however, was the class which the government wished to avoid, 'stoep-farmers' who would sit on their verandahs all day long, waiting for their army pensions, allowing the land to remain

107. LegAs, 5.6.28, pp.563-564, 15.6.28, pp.1081-1083.

108. Ibid., 5.6.28, pp.563-564.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid., pp.570-572.

111. Ibid., 19.5.27, p.604.

112. Ibid., 29.4.26, pp.112-115.

undeveloped.¹¹³ "[T]he population has achieved quality rather than quantity", she remarked in 1927.¹¹⁴ Ethel took a more idealised noblesse oblige view of them and conducted her own one-woman campaign to attract them. In 1932 (when she herself was on the verge of bankruptcy) she came out in her true Tory colours in an article in the influential British journal [The] National Review.¹¹⁵ By then she was acutely aware that the age of the fortune hunters was over. Emigration had dried up, so she directed the article at "the one class which [was] being driven from Great Britain, not in the heyday of youth";¹¹⁶ retrenched members of the Army, Navy and Colonial Civil Service, who found it hard to get work at Home with an educational background which was out of date.¹¹⁷ British taxation was too high and servants were impossible to employ on a small pension. Besides, she pointed out, the Great War had ushered in a new world with a new standard of values "in which many of us will never feel at home".¹¹⁸ When people of that type settled in Britain expecting to find the England of their youth, the cost of living soon forced them into exile again, usually settling in 'continental cemeteries' the Belgian or French coast where the climate was better and the cost of living lower. She urged this class to "give France and Belgium a miss; and try Southern Rhodesia".¹¹⁹

113. Kennedy, op cit., p.193.

114. ETJ, "Southern Rhodesia: A White Man's Country in the Tropics", Geographical Review, Vol.17, 1927, p.95.

115. ETJ, "Try S/outhern/ R/hodesia/", National Review, Vol.68, 1932, pp.87-94. See also [ETJ], "The Empire's Youngest Colony Where Life is Free and Progress Sure", Rhod. Ann. 1930, pp.121-122.

116. Ibid., p.88.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid., p.87.

119. Ibid.

Such a course would not mean exile, she claimed, Salisbury and Bulawayo were "on a par with the quiet towns of last century in England", but with all the modern conveniences, while their villages were 'villages de luxe' with electric light, water supplies and good hotels.¹²⁰ Their government and private schools were 'most efficiently run' and cheap as well.¹²¹ So were servants, and all Europeans were "because of the native, on the upper shelf, and though they tend[ed] to group themselves together according to tastes or breeding, ... there [were] few social peaks or valleys".¹²² There was "a lack of social strain, a general acceptance of people on their merits ... The richest person [would] make a fool of himself if he trie[d] to cut a dash".¹²³ To Ethel 'class' was not a matter of income but of outlook. In the countryside, with "a vegetable garden, an orchard, bees, poultry, a few cows, a pig, [settlers could] reproduce the old village life of last century - with a car and wireless added".¹²⁴ No other country, she insisted, offered "more facilities for re-creating, in a far better climate, some of the most desirable features of country life in Great Britain".¹²⁵ There was breathing space and elbow room with social events like the local fair, farmers or Women's Institute meetings, and tennis parties at the neighbours, and she completed this idyllic picture with a description of sundowner time: the family collecting on the verandah; a friend or two dropping in, with night falling rapidly as they tune into the BBC to hear 'London Calling'.¹²⁶ "I/t is such fun!", she enthused,

120. ETJ, "Try SR", p.89.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid., p.90.

123. Ibid.

124. Ibid., p.91.

125. ETJ, RR, p.298.

126. ETJ, "Try SR", p.91.

quoting Cecil Rhodes: "[T]he life may be harder, one may die sooner - but it is so much more worthwhile!"¹²⁷

Here Ethel appears to depart from the National Efficiency priority of filling up the wide open spaces with British settlers of all classes. There was, nevertheless, method in her hyperbole. Rhodesia's settlers were (and continued to be) drawn overwhelmingly from the lower middle and skilled working classes,¹²⁸ classes which lacked the kind of intellectual leadership which, she believed, the upper classes alone could provide: "The [upper class] are exactly the type many [colonial] communities need to round off their angles and provide a class which has wider experience of life, and more leisure for thought and reading than is possible to those who are still in the thick of the fight".¹²⁹ Any upper class settler might carry a 'Cabinet Minister's portfolio' in his golf bag,¹³⁰ as she put it. In the course of the 1930s, an increasing number of 'Leisured/Independent' immigrants arrived in Rhodesia, barely a dozen in 1932; 66 by 1939, but they remained a small proportion of the population.¹³¹

There was an added, personal motive in Ethel's summons. By 1932, she had lost her seat in parliament, and found herself increasingly isolated in the RP. Men with less experience and intellect were forging ahead.¹³² It was ironic that while she felt she could manage

127. ETJ, "Try SR", p.94.

128. Kennedy, *op cit.*, Ch.5.

129. ETJ, "Try SR", p.88.

130. *Ibid.*, p.94.

131. Kennedy, *op cit.*, pp.240-242, 432-433.

132. See *infra* pp.430 and 498-508.

other people's affairs, she could not manage her own farm, particularly in the middle of a depression, with few members of her own class about to lend moral support. It remained her dilemma throughout her life; she could not go back to an England that had changed, but she had little in common with many Rhodesian settlers whom she implicitly regarded as philistine and mediocre.¹³³ For all the egalitarianism she exhibited (or affected) during the RG campaign, she remained a prisoner of her class.

"For the politician or sociologist a problem, though still in the future here; for the housewife and home maker a blessing", Ethel

133. ETJ, "Try SR", p.94. Ethel was not the only woman to feel this sense of cultural isolation in Rhodesia. Another woman who endured it was Mrs Robbins, wife of Sir Ellis Robbins the general manager of the BSAC and friend of Ethel. In 1930, Mrs Robbins complained to Margery Perham of feeling "rather stranded among the Rhodesians". "I realised", Perham reflected, "that, English as white Rhodesians are in comparison with older and more mixed colonial societies ... they have already grown away from us, and the language talked by the upper-class Englishwoman is peculiar to her kind and has little in common even with her cousins over here". See M Perham, African Apprenticeship: An Autobiographical Journey, (London, 1974), p.257. Similar observations were made by the Governor of the Colony (1942-44) Sir Evelyn Baring and his wife, Molly. They were very popular among the settlers, but they "were so assailed by the friendly, if raucous and rather coarse humour of the settlers that they used to retire to their bedrooms disgusted with the uselessness, maddeningness and boringness of colonials ... There was something of a cultural gap between them and the Rhodesians, which partially explained why Molly assiduously arranged her entertaining so that the guests were permanently occupied, eating or competing - but not conversing". See C Douglas-Home, Evelyn Baring: The Last Proconsul, (London, 1978), pp.110, 127. Ethel's historical writings provided at least temporary relief to Baring's boredom: Baring to ETJ, 7.9.43 (Jollie Papers: in the author's possession). According to Doris Lessing "Southern Rhodesia was never exactly an hospitable country for those interested in anything but sport and the sundowner". See C Driver, "The Africaness holds these stories together", in E Bertelsen (ed), Doris Lessing, (Johannesburg, 1985), p.83.

understated to prospective patrician settlers.¹³⁴ For all Ethel's talk of "A White Man's Country in the Tropics" and her schemes to resurrect, phoenix-like, Merrie England on the Veld, there was the inescapable truth that the White Rhodesians were a tiny minority, and would continue to be overwhelmingly outnumbered by the indigenous population. National Efficiency offered no answer to this dilemma because it was an ideology tailored for territories where Britons formed the great majority. By implication, non-white races were to provide labour, raw materials and general economic support to the prosperity of white communities within the Empire. For most of Ethel's political generation 'The Race Problem' meant the conflict between British settlers and the poor and prolific Afrikaners, but 'The Native Problem' was altogether more complicated and more fundamental. In Africa the future of the 'British Race' and that of the Empire were inextricable. Ethel regarded the role of the whites as that of a 'sahib class'¹³⁵ and throughout her life she retained the conviction that the Empire was a force for good. Nevertheless her views on the Native Problem altered considerably by the late 1930s.

In her early years in Rhodesia, Ethel regarded the blacks with affectionate condescension. She saw them as childlike, cheerful, impulsive and irresponsible, though often loyal and 'teachable'. She claimed they needed firm guidance: "Indulgence or laxity in enforcing rules or standards are fatal, and will at once lead [the African] to trespass still further, just as a child will take advantage", Ethel

134. ETJ, "Try SR", p.91.

135. ETJ, RR, p.243.

wrote in 1924.¹³⁶ On the other hand she thought it was ludicrous not to regard them as part of the Rhodesian population. In the early years, the shortage of African labour forced many farmers to do their own planting and ploughing, but by the 1920s the Africans were being integrated into the economy:

Although Rhodesia is climatically a white man's country, it does not follow that the whole development of the country can be done by the white race ... [The African population] now performs all the tasks which in European countries fall to the least educated or least fortunate of the people, and because the black man is available for these tasks they cannot be undertaken by the white one .. [T]o rule the native out, as is sometimes done in speaking of 'sparsely inhabited' Rhodesia, is almost as ridiculous as if, in a census of Great Britain, one excluded all people below a certain income or education. (137)

Social inequality was not new to Ethel. She belonged to a social class in England which was bred for authority and accustomed to command. In Africa such settlers were "generally more confident and controlled in their relationships with black servants, for they had been raised in essentially analogous environments at home ... [and] because the roles of master and servant were unambiguous and immutable".¹³⁸ Besides, Ethel believed that hierarchy came naturally to Africans. In common with most settlers she believed (erroneously) that the Shona had been a conquered race before the arrival of the Europeans, and that the Shona lacked the 'redeeming qualities' of courage and loyalty which characterised the dominant Ndebele. Like the Sikhs and Pathans of India and the Zulus of Natal, the Ndebele were the 'noble, warlike savages' of Rhodesian folklore. Now the settlers had displaced them in

136. ETJ, RR, p.266.

137. *Ibid.*, p.243.

138. Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.243.

the hierarchy of the interior.¹³⁹

The bulk of Ethel's new compatriots, however, were not drawn from the upper class. The majority were South African-born and generally retained the attitudes prevalent in the Union.¹⁴⁰ As for the British-born, most of them had never had a servant before, and some of them had been in service themselves. In an uncertain economy like Rhodesia's, the frontier of poverty was never far removed for a great number of settlers, so that former blacksmiths, seamstresses and the like could not be expected to be liberal or enlightened in their dealings with blacks. Liberalism could never flourish on that frontier.

Nowhere was this insecurity more apparent than in the question of miscegenation.¹⁴¹ In the early days many white settlers kept black mistresses, hence the small but visible coloured (mixed race) population. This practice was severely curtailed by the arrival of larger numbers of white women who provided marriages and a hardening of attitudes as well. Sexual intercourse between white men and black women was one thing, not to be spoken of in polite company, but it did not seriously threaten the racial hierarchy. After all the white man

139. ETJ, RR, p.25; Chennells, *op cit.*, Ch.2.

140. Kennedy, *op cit.*, Ch.5.

141. See LegCo, 25.5.21, pp.1127-1138; ETJ, RR, pp.274-276; Kennedy, *op cit.*, Chs.9-10; M C Steele, "The Foundations of a 'Native' Policy in Southern Rhodesia, 1923-1933", (Simon Fraser University, unpublished Ph.D thesis, 1972), pp.125-126; R Gray, *The Two Nations*, (London, 1960), pp.180-181. For manifestations of 'Black Peril' in Rhodesian fiction see Chennells, *op cit.*, Ch.6.

was conqueror and any child from such unions would be reared by the subordinate group. Far more serious was the prospect of sexual union between a black man (the 'conquered male') and a white woman (the 'matriarch' of the white group). Such unions were seen by settlers as a threat to the very existence of white settlement, and even worse than treason. The steps taken to prevent such activity was extreme. Just as the poor Afrikaners reminded them of what they might resemble if they became poor, the coloured population was a warning against further miscegenation.¹⁴² Incidences of genuine attempted rape by black men on white women were extremely rare. Nevertheless, this paranoia remained a feature of Rhodesian society, particularly among women living on lonely mines or farms. In 1903 extramarital interracial sex was forbidden by law and the death penalty was imposed for attempted rape. Frequent attempts were made by missionary organisations and the Rhodesian Women's League (RWL) to equalise the law so that men could be prohibited from such intercourse.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, Ethel refused to present the RWL petition to the LegCo in 1921, so McChlery did so instead., She had 'a sense of loyalty to her own sex' and she sympathised with "the passionate desire of women to preserve race purity, which was so important for the future",¹⁴⁴ but she did not believe in either equality of the sexes or that of the races before the law. Sometimes, as in this case, women had to be afforded extra protection, but she thought it was impossible and hypocritical to maintain that the races were equal before the law.

142. Ibid.

143. Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.394.

144. Ibid., p.524.

Apart from the minority of Africans who had been in touch with missionaries, most blacks were polygamous and had different ideas on sexual subjects to the whites. Hence the special protection of white women - "laws [which] had really been directed towards securing the integrity of the [white] family which to her mind was the most important factor in the State ... Any abnormality in the exercise of sexual functions was ... detrimental to the interests of the family and society".¹⁴⁵ The whites had to impose rules on Africans which they did not consider necessary for themselves, she argued:

So long as we maintained that we were the superior race, she thought it was really a quibble to say that we were going to try to carry out logically and completely any theory as to the equality of the races before the law. (146)

The answer to the problem of miscegenous white men, she claimed, lay largely in the hands of white women, "that admirable movement for the purifying of social life".¹⁴⁷ As well as their impact on public opinion, they could bring up children with greater 'self-control'.¹⁴⁸ She was also a strong believer in the power of religion in instilling moral codes. Instead of equalising the law, she proposed the establishment of a commission to enquire into the question of illicit intercourse and its effects, especially venereal disease which threatened the health of the community. The proposal was accepted,¹⁴⁹ (but nothing was done about the inequality of the law until 1960).

145. LegCo, 10.5.21. p.524.

146. Ibid., p.522.

147. Ibid., p.527.

148. Ibid., p.528.

149. Ibid., 26.5.21, p.1247.

A less chimeric and more immediate problem than 'Black Peril' was the danger of commercial competition of black farmers. In spite of the efforts of the BSAC to support white farmers, African agriculture remained a considerable threat before 1920.¹⁵⁰ In times of depression, white farmers would leave the land and black farmers, who demanded a lower standard of living, were able to compete, particularly in maize production, and were able to pay the taxes designed to force them on to the labour market. There were still large numbers of black squatters and tenants on white-owned land, and white farmers constantly complained of overgrazing and disease-ridden African cattle. Nevertheless blacks were feeling the squeeze and missionaries demanded land segregation to protect them and their traditional way of life, but the main pressure for segregation came from the whites.¹⁵¹ In 1925, a commission was set up by the Imperial Government under Sir Morris Carter to examine the distribution of land. Much of it had already been decided. Out of a total of 96 million acres, 31 million were already owned by whites and 21 million were reserved for blacks. The Commission allocated the remaining 43 million acres in this way: 17 million for white purchase, 7 million for black purchase and the remaining low quality land remained unassigned. After much discussion, these proposals received the approval of the British (Labour) Government in 1930 and became law in Rhodesia as the Land Apportionment Act in 1931. It became the 'Magna

150. See Palmer, "Agricultural History", p.238; and for a more detailed account see R Palmer, [Land and] Racial Domination [in Rhodesia], (London, 1977), pp.131-159.

151. Palmer, "Agricultural History", p.240.

Carta' of the white settlers,¹⁵² so sacrosanct as to risk the future of any government that attempted to liberalise it.

Ethel opposed any rigid scheme of segregation:

A great deal of nonsense is talked about the necessity of preserving land for European occupation, for there are many regions where white settlement will never take place, and there is plenty of land for white and black if it is properly utilised. (153)

Social integration was not desirable in her view, but black farmers ought to be able to buy land 'build a decent house, and live comfortably'.¹⁵⁴ In the Assembly she urged members not to act on the Carter Commission's findings too quickly. It ought to be debated fully before any measures were implemented:

The question of the relations between white and black ... is the most fundamental question that we or any state in Africa have had to face ... It is a very important subject and one of far reaching consequences, and that it should be dealt with prematurely, or without full knowledge or consent ... is unthinkable. (155)

If the white man was to retain his position in Rhodesia she believed it had to be by "the superiority of his attainments ... [not] merely by keeping the natives at a low level".¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, in the end she went along with and defended the Land Apportionment Act, though she claimed she had considerable difficulty in persuading her constituents to accept 'a holus bolus partition of their country'.¹⁵⁷

152. See M Rifkind, "Land Apportionment in Perspective", Rhod Hist, Vol.3, 1972, pp.53-76.

153. ETJ, RR, p.279.

154. Ibid.

155. LegAs, 29.4.26, p.118.

156. Ibid.

157. ETJ, "Native Administration [in Southern Rhodesia]", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol.83, 1935, p.986.

In the 1930s more discriminatory legislation was passed by Godfrey Huggins's government, notably the Maize Control Amendment Act (1934)¹⁵⁸ which ended black competition in maize production and the Industrial Conciliation Act (1934)¹⁵⁹ which prohibited Africans entrance to skilled and semi-skilled trades which were monopolised by the white trade unions as well as the right to strike. Even though her own farm had been ruined by the Depression a year earlier, Ethel 'held no brief'¹⁶⁰ for the Maize Control Act and opposed the white workers closed shop as well. She wrote in 1932:

The native, whether as an industrialist or farmer, must be fitted into the economic system by the only logical means - that his work or his produce is paid for on its equality. If the white man cannot compete on these terms, he will eventually disappear from the African scene. (161)

The most striking feature of Ethel's attitude to Africans was her relative ability to change. "English-born people are usually curious about native life and customs, and inclined to be sympathetic, whereas most South African-born men and women regard the native as a necessary evil, and have absorbed all sorts of stereotyped ideas about him",¹⁶² Ethel noted in in 1924. She did not believe that the African's 'faults' were peculiar to his race: the more she saw of them, the more they reminded her of a "superior race whose education and surrounds

158. See C F Keyter, Maize Control in Southern Rhodesia, 1931-1941: The African Contribution to White Survival, (Salisbury, 1978).

159. See Palmer, Racial Domination, pp.195-196.

160. ETJ, "Southern Rhodesia's/ Native Policy", UE, Vol.28, 1937, p.338.

161. ETJ, "Land and the Native [in Southern Rhodesia: The Southern Rhodesian Experiment]" in American Geographical Society, Pioneer Settlement, (New York, 1932), p.191.

162. ETJ, RR, p.281. See also ETJ, "Land and the Native", p.178.

[had] left them unsophisticated".¹⁶³ They also reminded her of the poorer people she had dealt with in the East End of London who also suffered from malnutrition, poor housing and lack of education.¹⁶⁴ She believed that greater contact, not segregation, was the answer and that it was the duty of the whites to bring an end to polygamy, ignorance, sickness, superstition and sorcery, and so advance the Africans along the 'path of civilisation'.¹⁶⁵ She tried unsuccessfully to liberate African women from the practice of 'lobola' (brideprice). "[A]s long as you regard the native woman as the equivalent of so many head of cattle, you will not be able to raise the standard of the native very much",¹⁶⁶ she told the Assembly. She believed that the real solution of the native problem lay in the 'elevation of the women folk'.¹⁶⁷ She was one of the first politicians to urge the provision of purchase areas for individual African ownership to give Africans incentives to stay on the land. This was largely because she believed that detribalised urban life would deprive women of occupation and so demoralise traditional family life.¹⁶⁸ "[No native] is quite uncivilised - for the bulk of the natives are wise in their own world",¹⁶⁹ she told the Assembly. She wanted to know more about 'the affinities, traditions and migrations' of African tribes which she thought could best be studied through the medium of African languages and dialects.¹⁷⁰ She thought that white

163. ETJ, RR, p.259.

164. Ibid., pp.266-267, 283.

165. Ibid., p.283.

166. LegAs, 11.6.28, p.821.

167. Ibid.

168. ETJ, "Land and the Native", p.186.

169. LegAs, 8.6.27, p.1183.

170. Ibid., 11.6.27, p.802.

officials were too much in contact with the small, articulate and educated minority of Africans, and that it would be more advantageous to set up Native Councils to enable Native Commissioners to meet Africans "on more or less equal terms [and] get at their ideas and their ways" to introduce them to the 'strange new world' ... they were being asked to join.¹⁷¹

Education was crucial for this process in Ethel's view. She was a keen supporter of the setting up of industrial training schools like the one at Domboshawa near Salisbury, where the emphasis was on practical training to enable Africans to build up the Reserves and the avoidance of the creation of a detribalised black proletariat which would become a political threat to the whites. She was influenced by the ideas of the American negro, Booker T Washington and his experiments at the Tuskegee Institute in Virginia.¹⁷² She urged the Assembly to be 'honest':

We do intend that the Europeans shall occupy a certain position in the country. Let us frankly say that within these limits we shall give the native child an education which will fit him for the place we think he should occupy ... We do not intend to hand over this country to the native population or to admit them to the same social or political position as ourselves, but we do wish to do them justice and to enable them to better their position in every way; but we should make no pretence of educating them in exactly the same way as we do Europeans. (173)

Yet Ethel's perception of race differences was not definitive. In the same passage she urged the propagation of Christianity among the

171. LegAs, 8.6.27, pp.1182.

172. ETJ "African Dilemma", African Observer, Vol.6, 1936-7, p.39. For the ideas of Booker T Washington see H H Johnston, The Negro in the New World, [1910], (New York, reprint edn. 1969), pp.405-420.

173. LegAs, 5.5.27, p.84.

blacks. They had a duty, having destroyed their old system of ethics, to replace it with a new one, and not to ditch them half-way between the two civilisations. Her appeal contained a measure of universality:

We have got ... to get established the motive power which has raised our own race out of barbarism. (174)

She returned to this theme again a decade later. She questioned whether it was possible to patch the white and black cultures together into a coherent whole when they differed fundamentally from both the material and the spiritual point of view. This was the 'African Dilemma' and a serious one at a time of growing international tension, when a "backward or inefficiently organised state [would] be at once a menace and a temptation to its neighbours".¹⁷⁵ She was not sure whether the white man's ethics were so superior, for he approved of war and capital punishment in certain circumstances, while condemning ritual murder and other African practices. The real difference was that whites were fighting material enemies and the blacks spiritual enemies. That was why she was certain that "only religion [could] replace religion in a people as spiritually sensitive as the Abantu".¹⁷⁶ "[T]hese children of the sun ... [were] eager to eat of the tree of knowledge". "How", she asked, "can we tell them that all this furniture of civilisation by which we set such store is vanity of vanities, and that we, the wise white man, spend most of our time snatching at the shadow and losing the substance of happiness?"¹⁷⁷ But

174. LegAs, 5.5.27. pp.85-86.

175. ETJ, "African Dilemma", p.36.

176. Ibid.

177. ETJ, "Native Administration", p.979.

she rejected the notion of preserving the so-called 'noble savage' or 'unspoilt native',¹⁷⁸ euphemisms for segregation.

In the 1930s Sir Godfrey Huggins's United Party government embarked on a policy of segregation, the so-called 'Two Pyramids Policy', of which Maize Control and Job Reservation were symptomatic.¹⁷⁹ The policy was invented by N H Wilson, a prominent Radical Right ideologue and MLA.¹⁸⁰ It envisaged a white pyramid in which black competition would be prohibited and which with immigration would become entirely white' and a black pyramid in which all trades and professions would be open to blacks. The white would, of course, retain overall control. It was an attractive policy for whites at a time of economic depression, when the government was being forced to resort to provision of poor relief for the many white unemployed.

Ethel was still the colony's chief publicist and apologist and now she was a member of Huggins's party.¹⁸¹ She initially went along with territorial segregation as the only practical answer to a difficult problem (though she publicly opposed maize control and economic segregation).¹⁸² In an address to the Royal Society of Arts and the Royal African Society in London in 1935 she presented land segregation as a 'modus vivendi'.¹⁸³ They did not, she explained, envisage building up native states within the Colony nor did they wish to

178. ETJ, "African Dilemma", p.36.

179. Palmer, "Agricultural History", p.244.

180. Wetherell, "Populism in Rhodesia", passim.

181. See infra pp.508-509.

182. See supra pp.415-418.

183. ETJ, "Native Administration", p.982.

preserve 'obsolete and inefficient' social systems, because the Africans had little desire to live as their fathers had lived and were anxious to learn the white man's ways, "but we do not think it in their best interests to take them too rapidly along a path whose end we cannot yet see".¹⁸⁴ At a time when, internationally, segregation was still generally accepted as a solution to the problem of two races living in the same territory, even by the Soviet Communist Party.¹⁸⁵ Ethel's apologia was surprisingly indefinite:

[N]o one, however optimistic, can claim to have found a solution ... It is an even more difficult question than that of colonies destined to be black and self-governing, because at a time when European settlers are having to face competition in various fields from a quarter with much lower standards of living. The logical solution is to raise the natives' standard, but this again is difficult in a country which depends on cheap labour for its economic existence. We are just discovering that native unskilled labour is not necessarily cheap ... If we do not find much inspiration elsewhere, it is probably because our own conditions are not similar to those either in colonies which have direct rule or in our neighbouring Dominion. Our design is to make our native people an integral, locally autonomous part of our body politic but not our political equals. Beyond that at present we cannot go, and, be it remembered, it is only twelve years since we began to govern ourselves. (186)

By 1937 she had become more circumspect about segregation. Until recently, Rhodesia had prided itself that its native policy was more

184. ETJ, "Native Administration", p.982.

185. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.275. Segregation was also acceptable to many socialists in Australia. See the series of essays edited by A Curthoys and A Markus, Who are our Enemies?: Racism and the Australian Working Class, (Sydney, 1978); especially G Osborne, "A Socialist Dilemma: Racism and Internationalism in the Victorian Socialist Party 1905-21", pp.112-128; and F Farrell, "International Solidarity?: White Australia and the Australian Council of Trade Unions", pp.129-137.

186. ETJ, "Native Administration", p.983.

realistic than that of colonies further north and more humane than the Union's, and that they had established a 'workable compromise'.¹⁸⁷ But she had noted a considerable volume of criticism of their policy lately, not because it had changed, but because it had not, while public opinion in Britain had moved on.¹⁸⁸ She realised that this change had resulted from an increased appreciation of African capabilities. She herself realised that, after twenty years in Rhodesia, her own ideas had undergone a radical change, and she rejected the "theory of a child race, of a brain capacity essentially inferior to Europeans, and of a literal interpretation of the Biblical curse on the sons of Ham".¹⁸⁹ Blacks were proving the equal of many European workmen, and she could see no hope of preserving the European standard of living if African wages were not increased accordingly.¹⁹⁰ While the white farmer had an important role to play in development, she thought that the priority in both white and black agriculture ought to be the maintenance of "a high level of efficiency both in production and marketing".¹⁹¹ European supervision and training were needed for this.¹⁹²

She believed that it was now too late to inquire whether the blacks were paying too high a price for European rule.¹⁹³ It was too late to retrace their steps and create separate native states¹⁹⁴ She took

187. ETJ, "Native Policy", p.336.

188. Ibid.

189. Ibid.

190. Ibid., p.339.

191. Ibid.

192. Ibid.

193. Ibid., p.340

194. Ibid.

issue with Lucy Mair, an historian from the London School of Economics, who had attacked Rhodesian native policy as a cover for exploitation.¹⁹⁵ Ethel listed the recent creation of native welfare departments, including Education and Development, designed to keep Africans in touch with the land, and bring them into the capitalist system. There were leper settlements and a school for the blind, though she conceded that more should be done in the area of health. She argued that at least the whites had provided a "practical recognition of [the African's] rights and claims as a human being".¹⁹⁶ She was less than enthusiastic about the Government's plans to strengthen tribal authority in the reserves so that certain cases could be handled by the chiefs. In her mind there was "no question that the Rhodesian native [had] to be fitted into a composite civilisation", and that any hope of letting him develop through 'all that is best in his culture' [was] a fallacy".¹⁹⁷ The Africans had to be integrated into the new order and saved from "the economic disaster of being landless and homeless".¹⁹⁸ On the other hand, like Mary Kingsley, the Victorian explorer and amateur social anthropologist, she was aware of the possibility of creating a semi-educated black leadership, cut off from its cultural roots: "/W/e must avoid the mistake of creating too rapidly a small highly educated class too far above their own people to represent them".¹⁹⁹ The growth of a black

195. ETJ, "Native Policy", passim.

196. Ibid., p.340.

197. Ibid.

198. Ibid.

199. Ibid. For Mary Kingsley's Ideas see P B Rich, Race and the Empire [in British Politics] (Cambridge, 1986), p.32 and Ch.2.

commercial middle class was, she claimed, "by far the best chance of raising the level of a large number by slow but sure degrees".²⁰⁰

She declared her opposition to political, economic and territorial segregation as a final solution. The interests of black and white were 'inextricably interwoven'.²⁰¹ They all depended on the development of their country and it "[could not] be divided into watertight compartments labelled white or black".²⁰² She took some consolation from the fact that the white farmer was no longer so fearful that he would be swamped by the lower standard of living. He was "beginning to perceive that the depression of the bulk of the community to a subsistence level [was] no foundation for an expanding economy", and she believed that the "humanistic social ideology ... evident in Great Britain [would] have an effect on Africa".²⁰³ It was all a question of time:

So far as political evolution goes, we may not be at the end of our own history. Under present conditions political or social equality would not be accepted by the white race and could not be exercised by the black one with any advantage to themselves, but permutations and combinations may open out a compromise as yet unforeseen. (204)

Black political rights were a question which would have to be faced and it gave her "some ground for hope to remember that neither educationally, politically nor economically [had the White Rhodesians] got to the end of [their] resources in social organisation".²⁰⁵

200. ETJ, "Land and the Native", p.191.

201. ETJ, "Native Policy", p.340.

202. Ibid., p.341.

203. ETJ, "African Dilemma", p.39.

204. ETJ, "Native Policy", p.341.

205. ETJ, "African Dilemma", p.39. See also Gray, op cit, pp.24-25.

Given Ethel's dogmatic intellectual background it was remarkable that she could provide no final solution or Grand Theory to deal with the native question. It was an era when there was felt on the colonial periphery an urgent need to generate a coherent and definitive social theory.²⁰⁶ Nevertheless, Ethel's ideas remained anchored to that narrow empiricism, so characteristic of English social thought, that eschewed grand theory.²⁰⁷ Her own personal economic circumstances ought to have made her more hardline, on Marxist grounds, but in fact she became more liberal on the periphery. She never envisaged black majority rule in Rhodesia in her lifetime, but she did show an ability to change. From her writings on the subject it is clear that she found it increasingly difficult to justify white supremacy in principle. It was the only subject that muddled and perplexed her. Her imperialism clouded her judgment and prevented her from making any imaginative leap.

At the beginning of her parliamentary career, Ethel took a pessimistic view of the general economic prospects of her country. The close fraternal co-operation of the dominions in the Great War had heartened many of the old imperialists who looked forward to a revived form of Imperial Federation based on some protective tariff. But they were bitterly disappointed. Ethel believed that none of them would ever again enjoy the standard of prosperity and leisure they had had before the war. They would have to make do with a lower standard of living and a more strenuous way of life.²⁰⁸

206. Rich, Race and Empire, p.92.

207. Ibid.

208. LegCo, 23.5.21, p.969.

Most white farmers had never known any other lifestyle. The imperial propagandists portrayed them as 'big, broad and tanned', ruling vast domains with firmness, pluck and British benevolence.²⁰⁹ The reality was often a hand-to-mouth existence "in conditions that resembled those of Australian rural slums", in mud huts with red corrugated iron roofs.²¹⁰ "Most people were very poor", Doris Lessing recalled, "[r/]ich, of course, compared with the Africans, but most of them lived with petrol box furniture, dyed curtains from flour sacks. This kind of level was terribly common".²¹¹ They had to cope with heavy debts, drought, high transport charges and unreliable markets. "This was the type of man who is going to be driven out if the Rhodesian Government cannot help him and help him soon", Ethel warned in 1924.²¹² Many were indeed driven out, often with the immediate prospect of being declared a Distressed British Subject (DBS) dependent on government rations, a state subsequently described by one Rhodesian prime minister as 'something considerably less than a decent native'.²¹³

To Ethel, this was a matter of urgency, of Efficiency, but it was not as keenly felt by her colleagues. There were many farmers in the first

209. Gann and Duignan, "Changing Patterns of a White Elite", p.107.

210. *Ibid.*

211. E Bertelsen, "Interview with Doris Lessing", in Bertelsen (ed), *op cit.*, p.99.

212. *ETJ, RR*, p.143.

213. Quoted in Gann and Duignan, *op cit.*, p.121. See also Gann and Duignan, *Rulers*, p.356. Gouldsbury described the fate of the DBS thus:

Set him straight on the Northern track -
Give him a gun and his Ration B -
Pray to God that he never comes back ...!
That's what they did to me.

("Ration B")

parliament, but only Ethel and J L Martin, member for the Eastern Division, were wholly dependent on agriculture for a living.²¹⁴ She was keen to emphasise that the farmers were not asking for doles, but for easier credit to tide them over a difficult period: 'They were not a pamper class'.²¹⁵ A new Land Bank was set up with easier credit terms shortly afterwards.²¹⁶ In parliament, Ethel's economic interests were widespread. She was a vociferous supporter of the development of the cotton industry, experimental farms and more visits to farmers by agricultural experts to help in the improvement of the tobacco industry.²¹⁷ After her visit to Australia in 1927, she suggested that the government look to that country for a stable and direct market for tobacco, but this course was only followed during the Second World War and after.²¹⁸ Her chief concern was the acquisition of more reliable markets, and she thought that businessmen ought to be recruited to deal with that end of agriculture, as well as the employment of a qualified Trade Commissioner in London.²¹⁹ Farmers wanted to produce 'efficiently and economically', she assured the House.²²⁰ Rhodesian farmers were economic nationalists²²¹ and Ethel articulated their views. In 1927, she advocated secession from the South African Customs Union (SACU) and the establishment of their own customs area. "I think it would administer to the national feeling

214. LegAs, 14.6.27, p.1145.

215. LegCo, 5.10.23, p.908.

216. Kennedy, *op cit.*, p.187. Land Bank Act, No.20 of 1924.

217. LegAs, 3.6.25, pp.1084-1085; 11.5.25, p.341.

218. *Ibid.*, 19.5.27, p.600. See also Clements and Harber, *op cit.*, pp.107, 132, 143.

219. LegAs, 5.6.28, p.570.

220. LegCo, 25.6.28.

221. See Arrighi, *op cit.*, p.58.

to know that we are standing upon our own feet in this respect, and dealing as an equal with some of the countries outside the African borders".²²² (However Rhodesia remained in the SACU until 1935.)²²³ She was in favour of buying British industrial goods, even if they were more expensive and less satisfactory, because they should demonstrate that they were prepared to carry their share of Imperial preferences. On the other hand, she opposed government intervention in agriculture, particularly the Cold Storage Agreement (1924)²²⁴ which was highly beneficial to cattle farmers:

I am definitely opposed to government interference with economics, and to any attempt on [its part] to act as Almighty Providence to any industry. (224A)

She backtracked on her earlier support for small miners in the interests of greater efficiency. The country no longer needed so much of the prospector and donkey to open up new areas. What was needed now, she claimed, were "efficient, scientifically equipped expeditions with ample means" to exploit new possibilities. She did not like big concessions, but in a developing country they could not apply an anti-big concession principle too rigidly.²²⁵ So, under the pressure of local conditions and in the interests of National Efficiency, Ethel moved away from the populism she had displayed in the RG campaign.

Fundamental to economic and social development was the improvement of roads and communications and in the Assembly Ethel assumed the role of

222. LegAs, 19.5.27, p.599.

223. Blake, op cit., p.223.

224. See Article 12 of the Schedule to the Chilled and Frozen Meats Export Act 1924, further reference to which is made in Section 8 of the Cold Storage Commission Act (No.37) of 1937.

224A. LegAs, 14.6.28, pp.1004-1005.

225. Ibid., 6.5.25, pp.200-201.

mater viarum She regarded this area as her special concern since it was the Company's neglect of communications (except where its own interests were concerned), which first spurred Ethel towards an active political career in Rhodesia.²²⁶ She campaigned energetically for the improvement of facilities in the Eastern districts, the territory's 'Cinderella' which she believed had great economic potential if it were opened up.²²⁷ By 1921, she succeeded in getting more telephones installed, but the roads remained in a very poor state, which made her political campaigning very difficult.²²⁸ In 1923, two of her friends took two days to reach her farm, having to contend with bridgeless rivers and poorly maintained roads with protruding tree stumps and boulders. The last leg of the journey from Chipinga to the farm had to be completed on horseback.²²⁹ After the grant of RG, Ethel's campaign began to yield more concrete results. The roads were better maintained and work was begun on the Sabi Valley road, which would enable commuters from Fort Victoria, Chipinga and Umtali to avoid the difficult terrain of North Melsetter. She gave up her initial idea of getting more railways built because of the expense involved and concentrated instead on motorised mail services and telephone installation. In 1925, she had a survey of the Eastern districts

226. ETJ, "The Back of Beyond", p.775.

227. See LegCo, 14.6.20, pp.603-604, 777-779; 16.10.20, pp.932-934; 2.5.21, pp.219-220; 17.5.21, pp.715-716; 20.5.21, pp.1028-1047; 26.5.21, pp.1198-1200; 27.5.21, pp.768-770, 1255-1261. LegAS, 11.5.25, p.609-612; 28.5.21, pp.904-906; 2.6.25, pp.1036-1037; 8.6.26, pp.690-691; 19.6.28, pp.1231-1257.

228. Sinclair, The Story of Melsetter, p.100.

229. Ibid., pp.100-101.

carried out at her own expense.²³⁰ By 1928 communications in the region had greatly improved, though her ambitions only came to fruition in the 1930s with the introduction of macadamised strip roads and the building of the Birchenough suspension bridge over the Sabi.²³¹ Ethel laid the foundations for the expansion of services in the Eastern Highlands, but, unfortunately for her, J L Martin (MLA East.Dist.) received the credit in the 1928 General Election.²³²

Ethel was a keen supporter of military preparedness in Rhodesia, as she had been in Britain before 1914. From the Radical Right point of view, Rhodesia was fertile ground for this concern, where, in parliamentary debates, even the Boy Scout movement was discussed under the heading of 'Defence'.²³³ Baden Powell could scarcely have wished for more. The Rhodesians were not especially militaristic, but they were martial, and a cult of the Pioneers did not take long to develop. "The 'men of the '90s' were venerated both as Imperial heroes and as

230. LegAs, 11.5.25, pp.337-338.

231. Sinclair, The Story of Melsetter, Chs.12-13; ETJ, "Life and Progress in Southern Rhodesia: Mrs Tawse Jollie's Tribute to the Land she Loves", South Africa, 28.12.35, p.399.

232. Sinclair, ibid., p.102; Bogie, op cit., p.362.

233. See tables of contents in LegCo and LegAs debates, 1918-28.

founders of the Rhodesian nation.²³⁴ Ethel herself dedicated her Real Rhodesia to Archibald Colquhoun, Frederick Selous the legendary hunter and other Pioneer Column members who had 'passed over the top' and she rejoiced in the title of "A Pioneer's Wife".²³⁵ The possession of an heirloomed Pioneer sabre or bandolier was the mark of the Rhodesian 'aristocracy'. Flag-raising ceremonies and Empire days attended by

234. See Chennells, op cit., pp.235-284; Gann, "The White Settler", pp.31-32; Edwards, "Southern Rhodesia", pp.14-17, 213-214; Schutz, "White Settler Society", pp.42-78; 109-118; Clements, Rhodesia, Chs.1-3; Gann, Southern Rhodesia, pp.314-315; T O Ranger, "Making Northern Rhodesia Imperial: Variations on a Royal Theme", 1924-1938", African Affairs, Vol.79 (316), 1980, pp.349-374. For Ethel's role in the apotheosis of the Pioneers see ETJ, "Southern Rhodesia's Fortieth Birthday", UE, Vol.21, 1930, pp.533-536; "The Race for Manica: 'The Lion Who Walks By Night'", ibid., Vol.23, 1932, pp.442-445; "Twenty Years in Southern Rhodesia", ibid., Vol.26, 1935, pp.357-358; "The Rhodes Idea[: Portrait of a Great Imperialist]", Review of Reviews, Vol.80, 1930, pp.717-723; "What Today Commemorates: The Story of September 1890", New Rhodesia, 12.9.47, p.6; Ch.2 "How they made Rhodesia", RR, pp.10-34. For other contemporary Rhodesian hagiography see C D Don, "On Occupation Day", Rhod Ann 1912, pp.12-13; Anon, "The Story of Shangani: Most Heroic Page in the History of Rhodesia: ibid., 1927, p.29; 'Pioneer', "Rhodes - The Man; by one who knew him", ibid., p.74; 'Scribbler', "Almost Forgotten: Thoughts at the Mangwe Fort", ibid., 1929, pp.121-122; L Lyster, Ballads of the Veld Land, (London, 1913). Executive Committee, Matabeleland 1893-1933: An Illustrated Record of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Occupation, (Bulawayo, 1933); and Executive Committee, Occupation of Matabeleland: A Souvenir, (Bulawayo, 1933). Edwards ("Southern Rhodesia", pp.17-18) refers to this phenomenon as "the 'ancestor cult' ... which offered a kind of therapy and a renewed vigour for the task of settlement ... By such rituals [as Occupation Day] the cult of ancestors retained its power. In the general atmosphere of nostalgic pride, history became an instrument of nationality ... By shedding a glow of emotion [over the 1890s] the Rhodesian linked himself to a time of triumph, past and future". In this respect, Rhodesia was very similar to Australia and New Zealand. See Hirst, op cit., passim, and Harris, op cit., passim.

235. ETJ, RR, p.vii. See supra Chapter 1, pp.34-5 and fn.54, Chapter 2, p.144, Chapter 3, p.152 and Chapter 5, p.281.

members of the Loyal Women's Guild, Scouts and Guides,²³⁶ the BSA Police in their smasher hats and bandoliers; the armoured knight of 'Knowledge' slaying the dragon of 'Barbarism' on the cover of the Native Affairs Department journal; monuments, chapel memorials and school names;²³⁷ all recalled the hardy and stirring qualities of the Pioneers and emphasised the duties that devolved on their successors. The motif of this ethos was the Last Stand of Allan Wilson's patrol on the Shangani in 1893. The aura of the 'heroic defeat' had an ancient lineage and a peculiar didactic appeal. This was Rhodesia's equivalent of Thermopylae and the Alamo. Ballads modelled on the Song of Roland circulated about it and paintings of the scene were hung in Rhodesian schools and public buildings. For Ethel it was "the saddest and most

236. For the atmosphere of Empire Day see ibid., pp.239-240; RA, 28.5.14, 27.5.15; Gwelo Times, 28.5.20; "Young Rhodesia celebrates Empire Day: Britain's Baby Dominion", Rhod Ann 1932, p.45 And for the fortunes of Empire Day in Britain after the Great War see J M Mackenzie, "'In touch with the infinite': The BBC and the Empire, 1923-53", in Mackenzie (ed), Popular Culture, pp.163-191.

237. Challis, op cit., Chs.2 and 4; Blake, op cit., pp.109-110. Allan Wilson Technical High School in Salisbury was in this tradition. From its foundation in 1939, the school was "influenced considerably by the fame of its namesake [the leader of the ill-fated Shangani Patrol]". It adopted a Kiplingesque school hymn, "Hold on and Win", based on the Patrol legend, in 1945. See I P McLaren (ed, Down Memory Lane: Some Renowned Rhodesian Schools 1892-1979, (Bulawayo, 1981), p.23. The Shangani Patrol was a powerful motif, as Baden-Powell realised in 1916 when he encouraged boy scouts to re-enact it in pageant form. See J Richards, "Boys' Own Empire: Feature Films and Imperialism in the 1930s" in Mackenzie (ed), Popular Culture, p.149. Contemporary British-Canadian and Australian schools performed a similar function, see R M Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists", in A Chaiton and N MacDonald (eds), Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity, (Toronto, 1977), pp.100.115. In Australia, schools were the most effective purveyors of the pioneer legend. See Hirst, op cit., passim.

glorious incident in Rhodesian history".²³⁸ A secondary symbol was the Mazoe patrol of 1896 when two telegraphists, Blakiston and Routledge, were killed in an attempt to bring relief to beleaguered settlers at Alice Mine, particularly the women who were in danger of 'disgrace' at the hands of the rebels. These chivalrous exemplars were also immortalised in song and on canvas.²³⁹ This Pioneer legend helped to smooth over class differences within the white community, as it did in other new societies.²⁴⁰

To this tradition was added the Colony's contribution to the Great War. In 1924, Ethel remarked that it was 'a very militant

238. ETJ, RR, p.21.

239. - A chivalrous and knightly deed
Rhodesian annals tell
Of Blakiston and Routledge, who
In Honour's tourney fell
To save Mazoe's women from
The gaping jaws of Hell ...

(Lyster, *op cit.*, "The Mazoe Patrol", p.89.)

Blakiston Junior School, Salisbury, was established in 1943 with houses named after the heroes of the Mazoe incident, which was marked by impressionable annual ceremonies and essay competitions on "What it mean/t/ to be a Rhodesian". (When the author was shown around the school in 1984, little evidence of these traditions remained. The ceremonies were extinct and there were marks on the teak walls of the hall where the portraits of the 'Heroes' used to be. Only the House crests remained, awaiting imminent name-change. (Incidentally, Blakiston himself was - appropriately - a devotee of Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome", Blake, *op cit.*, p.134.)). The author is grateful to Miss Cradock for showing him the school and its memorabilia.

240. See *supra* n.234. "... [O]rdinary men ... not kings, cabinet ministers, generals or even professional soldiers ... but clerks, miners, storekeepers, even servants ... There were our forefathers, the Pioneers of the past, who laid the foundations of our country's greatness". H Rousseau, Blakiston Day Address, 1956. The author is grateful to the headmaster of Blakiston Junior School for access to the school archives.

population,²⁴¹ with ex-servicemen strongly represented in all the trades and professions, though they did not generally use their 'hard won titles'.²⁴² There were plenty of Rifle Clubs and gun clubs for women too.²⁴³ More recently, Doris Lessing recalled the farmers who lived near her family in Banket in the '20s:

/T/hey'd been in the war as soldiers, and they were all wounded. They'd lost arms and legs and so on, and they were lucky to be alive .. /T/hat's what the men talked about, the trenches. (244)

It was to this element - 'those who were totally broke in our wars'-²⁴⁵ that Ethel's patriotic appeal in the RG campaign had been largely directed. Rhodesia went through little of the soul-searching latent in Britain after 1918, and they enthusiastically believed that the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods subsisted in their Empire. Heavily outnumbered by blacks, they could ill-afford Siegfried Sassoon's cynicism or Robert Graves's sarcasm. It was vital to re-affirm martial and hierarchical values for each generation.²⁴⁶ Kipling and Henty would have recognised this ethos. Lord Meath, faced with an uphill battle for the recognition of Empire Day in Britain and Australia would have envied it.²⁴⁷ John Buchan chose it as the basis for his fictional Rhodesian-born secret agent, 'Richard Hannay'.²⁴⁸

241. ETJ, RR, p.33.

242. Ibid.

243. Ibid., p.237; Kennedy, op cit., p.314.

244. Bertelsen, "Interview with Doris Lessing", p.99.

245. ETJ, RR, p.33.

246. Edwards, "Southern Rhodesia", pp.17-18.

247. See J S Mangan, "'The Grit of our Forefathers': Invented traditions, propaganda and imperialism", in Mackenzie (ed), Popular Culture, pp.113-139.

248. Who made his appearance in Buchan's The Thirty-Nine Steps, (London, 1915). For some of the background to Buchan's imperialist idealisation of Southern Africa see P Rich, "Milnerism and a Ripping Yarn: Transvaal Land Settlement and John Buchan's novel, 'Prester John'", in B Bozzoli (ed), Town and Countryside in the Transvaal, (Johannesburg, 1983), pp.412-433.

This 'backs to the wall' ethos provided some comfort in times of economic and (later) political adversity,²⁴⁹ but the security of the Colony had to be put on a firmer footing than that. An 'efficient' defence force and the introduction of compulsory national service were among the platforms of the RP in the 1924 general election.

Before 1926, the defence system was modelled on that of the Union: a small citizen militia with officers elected by the ranks, grouped around the para-military BSA Police. This provided a highly mobile striking force in case of insurgency.²⁵⁰ While the militia organisation enhanced the egalitarian flavour of the white community, it was not conducive to military efficiency. Ethel had been critical of this 'Bolshevik' method under the Company,²⁵¹ but after 1923 the settlers had full internal control of the armed forces and she regarded this control as a mark of virtual political sovereignty.²⁵²

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249. Edwards, "Southern Rhodesia", pp.13-15. "The White Rhodesians .. Constitute a micro-nation", Margery Perham noted more than a generation later. "The newly arrived clerk or hairdresser quickly absorbs a spirit of independence which looks back to the founding fathers". See M Perham, "The Rhodesian Crises/: The Background/", International Affairs, Vol.42 (1), 1966, p.2. The ability of the legend to assimilate new immigrants is also made by Patrick Keatley (The Politics of Partnership (Harmondsworth, 1963), pp.227-228), and Kenneth Young (Rhodesia and Independence, (London, 1969), p.9). After UDI in 1965, there were a number of popular recorded ballads about the Pioneers written by John Edmond and very similar to Australian banjo-style bush ballads. (The NAZ in Harare have a complete collection of these songs.)
250. See L H Gann, "The Development of Southern Rhodesia's Military System, [1890-1953]", in National Archives of Rhodesia Occasional Papers No.1., (Salisbury, 1965), p.70.
251. See LegCo, 31.5.20, pp.337-338, 342; 17.5.21, p.710; 21.5.21, p.932.
252. ETJ, "Southern Rhodesia: A White Man's Country in the Tropics", Geographical Review, Vol.17, 1927, p.91.

Though less fearful of rebellion than many of her colleagues, she gave her full support to the government's Defence Act of 1926²⁵³, which embodied many of the principles she had advocated in Britain through the NSL before 1914.^{253A} The Act introduced compulsory military service for all white males between 19 and 23 with 10 days annually under canvas, where they would be well trained in the use of Lewis and Vickers machine guns. This provided an efficient trained reserve for the BSA Police and the new Permanent Staff Corps of the Defence Force.²⁵⁴ Ethel also advocated the establishment of an airforce which would provide a 'cheap and efficient' means of quelling unrest,²⁵⁵ but this course was only followed in the 1930s. The only opposition to the Defence Act came from the Labour Party, whose leader, Jack Keller, accused the government of 'Fascism' and planning to use conscripts against white strikers.²⁵⁶

Thus Rhodesia acquired a defence system which established a tradition of efficiency and proved its worth in the world war which followed in 1939.²⁵⁷

253. Defence Act, No.23 of 1926.

253A. LegCo, 12.5.21, p.603; Gann, "Rhodesia's Military System", p.70.

254. Edwards, "Southern Rhodesia", pp.29-30.

255. LegCo, 26.7.23, pp.686-687. This opinion was echoed by Sir Francis Newton, Rhodesian High Commissioner in London. "[The Royal] Air Force [was] used to good effect in Afghanistan", he noted, adding that the Rhodesian defence force could do with such a force for quelling strikes. He feared that Britain was slipping behind Germany and the USA in aviation. Newton to [HU] Moffat, 28.2.29, NAZ NE 1/1/7.

256. See J Keller, The Fascists of Southern Rhodesia, ([Rhod. Labour Party] Bulawayo, 1926). In fact, the Government were more concerned with the dangers of black unrest than the threat posed by white workers. During a strike by white railwaymen in 1929, a special parliamentary police was recruited ostensibly to prevent sabotage by white workers, but actually to prevent a possible black uprising. See Kennedy, op cit, pp.320-321.

257. See J G MacDonald, The War History of Southern Rhodesia, 1939-45, (Vol 1, Salisbury, 1947).

Further down the scale of the military system were the School Cadet Corps, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides which Ethel, like the government and the British Radical Right, grouped together as an essential component of military efficiency.²⁵⁸ In the 1920s, she was very impressed by the organisation of annual camps where the young were taught shooting, veld craft, drill and discipline, which were essential to the health and vigour of the country's youth.²⁵⁹ This view was echoed by T G Standing, a senior educationalist and collaborator of Ethel's, who believed that Rhodesian youth made better 'soldiers' than their English counterparts, and were akin to the Norman barons of medieval times.²⁶⁰ The corps were trained to take part in the defence of the entire Empire, but Standing recognised that a time might come when they would have to defend the Colony itself:

There is always this imminence of possible reality about any camp ... /I/t means so much more than in England ... /N/o one can be unmoved ... by the spectacle of the youth of the whole small nation, gathered together, in a common life and under common influences, and not recognize here one of the forces that are moulding the Rhodesian national character. (261)

258. ETJ, RR, pp.236-237; Challis, *op cit.*, p.49.

259. ETJ, RR, pp.236-240.

260. T G Standing, "The Youth of a Nation", *Rhod Ann* 1928, p.67.

261. *Ibid.* "They'll make marvellous cannon fodder for the next war", Rhodesia's deaf - and often tactless - prime minister was heard to remark at the march-past of cadets at Gwelo in 1950. The remark was overheard by Dr Chris Hummel of Rhodes University who was then a young cadet. For the historical roots of the cadet movement see G Best, "Militarism in the Victorian Public School", in Simon and Bradly, *op cit.*, pp.129-146. And for a sociological critique see C B Otley, "Militarism and Militarisation in the Public Schools", *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.29 (3), 1978, pp.321-339. The movement had a profound effect on Rhodesian identity. See Greenfield, *op cit.*, pp.10, 41-43, and Challis, *op cit.*, Appendix II. Interviews the author conducted with Rhodesians confirmed its importance (along with school spirit and sport, which will be dealt with in Chapter Eight *infra*). These interviews included 'Buster' St Quinton (ex-parachute Regt. British Army 1939-45), 23.5.83; Maurice Rooney, MA (ex-RAF pilot 1939-45), 20.7.83; Reg Griffiths (ex-S.African AF 1939-45), 2.10.85; and Lt General Peter Walls (formerly Chief of Combined Operations, Rhodesian Army 1976-80), 8.9.83.

Ethel took a similar view of the Scout and Guide camps, which she had addressed on Empire Days. She felt that "the real meaning of those laborious efforts to conquer this vast country was to be found here, in this field - the Children round the Flag".²⁶² Thus, when it came to 'Youth and Empire', Rhodesia came much closer to the dreams of the Edwardian Radical Right than Britain herself, a trend which Ethel underscored with her contributions to debates on educations, welfare and poverty and the role of women.

262. ETJ, RR, p.240. The scouting movement played a lesser, though not inconsiderable role in Rhodesian identity. "[T]here is no more damnable country in the world for scouting", Baden-Powell recalled in 1933, for it was there that his idea had germinated. In his characteristic idiom, he noted that Rhodesian children were not 'molly-coddled' and he urged them to look to their Pioneers for example. See "Lord Baden-Powell's Message" in Executive Committee, Occupation of Matabeleland: A Souvenir, p.85. In the inter-war period the movement was strongly conformist (eg 'Gilrhode', "Discipline", Woodsmoke, Vol.3 (1), 1936, pp.9-10); martial (S.Rhod. Defence Force Special Order 1.11.27, NAZ [Hist. MSS Collection: Scout Association Papers] BO 8/1/1/1; Editor of Woodsmoke to C P Forder Hon.Sec., 23.4.38 NAZ BO 8/1/5/1; Editorial, Woodsmoke Vol.4 (5), 1937); and racially exclusive ("[I]t is extremely undesirable that the principle [of brotherhood] be enshrined indiscriminately to white boys and others ... Native or coloured [movements] must be kept entirely distinct" - Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting of the Scout Association, 14.6.27, NAZ BO 8/1/1/1.) The Government preferred to employ teachers with scouting experience. See L M Foggin, Director of Education to Capt. A Borrowdaile, Acting Commissioner 24.12.32, NAZ BO 8/1/65. Editorials in Woodsmoke, the movement's magazine, placed a great deal of emphasis on the creation of a local patriotism. (See for example the issues of April and November, 1936.) Also remarkable was the continuing use of the imagery of chivalry in scout literature. One of the movement's stated purposes was "to train a young man in the paths of chivalry and honour during one of the most difficult periods of his life ... so, as in the days of King Arthur, this young page may acquire ... the character embodied in his knight [and] earn his spurs". See "The Rover Squire", (paper presented at the 3rd Southern Rhodesian Scout Movt, Salisbury, 12-14 July, 1936) in NAZ BO 8/1/5/2. See also Woodsmoke, Vol.8 (2), 1941, p.5 and - for the ultimate in Rhodesian medievalism - see the columns of the 'Fiery Scribe' which featured ibid throughout the 1930s. All this was strongly reminiscent of the ethos described by M Girouard, The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman, (New Haven, 1982). In contrast, the British scout movement in the 1920s was beginning to shed its militarist image. See A Warren, "Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides, and an imperial ideal" in Mackenzie (ed), Popular Culture, p.242.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A New Britannia?

National Efficiency on the Veld

Think of the wives who languish
In swamp and veld and vlei,
Who bear their babes in anguish
Ten thousand miles away!
Those are the ones, today,
Who earn a martyr's crown,
Not hammer flinging harpies
In a humdrum English town.

They do not quake at the issue
In heathen lands afar -
They are made of finer tissue
Than your high-born ladies are!
And still the steady star
Shines out and holds them true
To the crowning needs of England, to
their husbands and to you ...

Drive your youth from the city
From squalor and disease -
In wide, farseeing pity
Hound them across the seas,
Lest the taint spread out from these,
And you find when the War Drum beats,
Only your football critics left
to guard your London streets.

(H Cullen Gouldsbury,
"From the Outposts")

Ethel's belief that the popularity of imperialism was on the wane in post-1918 Britain¹ was widely held in the 1920s, and this view was largely accepted by historians until recently, when John Mackenzie and other scholars² demonstrated that popular imperialism was far more pervasive and enduring after 1918 than has been hitherto realised. "[I]t was scarcely possible to buy a bar of soap or a tin of biscuits without being reminded of the idea of Empire. Packaging, postcards ... cinema, boys' stories and school books, exhibitions, ... parades ... scouts ... all conveyed the message that Empire was an adventure and an ennobling experience".³ Anti-imperialist exposés such as E M Forster's A Passage to India (1924) and the iconoclastic works of George Orwell, Siegfried Sassoon and Robert Graves were, Mackenzie argues, largely representative of an intellectual élite which had lost touch with the still patriotic masses.⁴ Another historian, John Darwin, convincingly challenges the orthodoxy that British imperial policy between the wars was flaccid, in retreat, and lacking in direction in the face of dominion nationalisms, trouble in India and pressing problems in Europe. Instead Darwin argues that British imperial policies were more devious and scarcely less controlled than before.⁵

Yet there was a change in British attitudes to Empire after 1918,

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1. See ETJ, RR, p.102.
 2. See Mackenzie (ed) Popular Culture, and J M Mackenzie, Propaganda and Empire/: the manipulation of British public opinion 1880-1960/ (Manchester, 1985).
 3. See cover Mackenzie, Propaganda and Empire.
 4. Ibid., pp.10, 80.
 5. Darwin, op cit., pp.657-679.

despite the dramatic propaganda of the Empire Marketing Board (EMB) and the confident memorandums of Colonial and Dominions office mandarins. Perhaps the sheer scale of imperialist propaganda in the '20s and '30s was in itself an admission of how far the post-war angst had gone. It was a rearguard action. The Radical Right had lost much of its constituency in the trenches where the officer class had been decimated so that the Right emerged after 1918 more fractured than ever.⁶ The British presence in India was no longer so assured, while the Anglo-Irish Treaty (1921) dismembered the United Kingdom itself. "In no single theatre are we strong enough", the Chief of Imperial General Staff complained in 1919", not in Ireland, nor England [where the government feared a Bolshevik-style putsch], nor on the Rhine, nor in Constantinople, nor ... Egypt, nor Palestine ... nor Persia ... nor India".⁷ In 1922 the British conceded naval parity to the USA, while the Chanak crisis exposed the equivocal loyalty of the dominions. In Britain the catch-phrase was no longer 'National Efficiency' but 'Disarmament' and, to imperialists of Ethel's kind, government seemed to vacillate between socialism and Tory 'muddling through'.

When one 'ultra', Rawdon Hoare, returned home in 1934 after fourteen years in Rhodesia and the Empire, Britain struck him as decadent, pacifist, hedonist and Americanised, and the countryside was being

6. See Weber, *op cit.*, and Lunn and Thurlow, *op cit.*

7. C E Callwell, Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, (2 Vols. London, 1927), pp.240-241. See also K Middlemas, Politics in Industrial Society: The experience of the British system since 1911, (London, 1979), pp.152-154.

destroyed by unregulated urban development which was, he believed, largely directed by Jewish land speculators.⁸ Ethel was no anti-semite but she shared Hoare's pessimism: "[Cecil Rhodes's] philosophy ... was becoming out-of-date before the Great War shattered our self-complacency and made an ever-changing kaleidoscope of our moral values", she recalled in 1930, "His policies, pace General Smuts, have been warped and wrested so that he would not recognise the results; his ideas are superceded; only in his country of Southern Rhodesia there still lingers a little of the old faith; the old religious sentiment about the Flag, the Empire and the Traditions of our Race".⁹

The belief that only in the Empire could England remain young was an enduring feature of Rhodesian identity. "We look to the colonies to help us", a Rhodesian heroine is told by an English bishop in one of Gertrude Page's novels (- the bishop believed that 'the Race' was decaying because public schoolboys had begun to take hot-water bottles to bed!).¹⁰ In the 1960s a leading Tory backbencher put forward much the same belief:

Rhodesia represents Britain in its halcyon days: patriotic, self-reliant, self-supporting, with law and order and a healthy society. (11)

8. Quoted in Wiener, op cit., and R Hoare, This is Our Country, (London, 1935).

9. ETJ, "The Rhodes Idea", p.722.

10. G Page, Where the Strange Roads Go Down, (1913), quoted in Chennells, op cit., p.307, n.55.

11. Harold Soref MP, quoted in J Taylor, "Memory and Desire on Going Home: The Deconstruction of a Colonial Radical", in Bertelsen, op cit., p.90. For the same sort of sentiment see Group Captain Sir Douglas Bader, DSO, DFC, "Your Kith and Kin, Wilson called them ... Now we're selling them out", Sunday Express, 14.8.77.

In the '20s and '30s the British Radical Right fragmented into a host of organisations, still patrician in leadership, but on the fringes of British politics. The more moderate, non-anti-semitic who were concerned chiefly with defence, tariff reform and the like - roughly approximate in outlook to Ethel - remained close to the Conservative Party. The remainder ranged from the respectable, if highly eccentric British Israelites¹² and 'back-to-the-land' atavists,¹³ through to various fascist movements which had more in common with the authoritarian and eugenicist ideas of the Radical Left than either would have liked to admit.¹⁴ Believing England, to be finished many of the Radical Right persuasion headed for the periphery of Empire where their values were still cherished, hoping to find there a kind of second Troy where England could be built anew. Of course most emigrants went simply to better themselves or to retain some sort of social respectability, but the core of ideologues, with their greater sense of commitment, were bound to affect or reinforce the political and social tendencies of new communities, as Ethel had done in Rhodesia.¹⁵

Many authors have touched on the subject of Rhodesia's intellectual divorce from Britain and, perhaps with its ultimate futility in mind,

12. J Wilson, "British Israelism", Sociological Review, Vol.16, 1968, pp.41-57.

13. Wiener, op cit., pp.107-109.

14. D Paul, "Eugenics and the Left", JHI, Vol.45 (4), 1984, pp.567-90 and M Freedman, "Eugenics and Progressive Thought: A Study in Intellectual Affinity", HJ, Vol.22 (3), 1979, pp.645-71.

15. See D O Mannoni, Prospero and Caliban: the psychology of colonisation (trans. P Powesland, London, 1956).

describe it as a heedless rejection of the external world.¹⁶ However, it was not heedless but deliberate. As we have seen, many Rhodesians were well aware of changes in the world and their divergence from Britain. To them the apparent vacillation of the metropole was ill-suited to a community still struggling to survive in Central Africa. What the settlers required was certainty, singlemindedness and purpose; confirmation of the wisdom of their 'civilising' role, or at least justification for their presence, a need which was particularly felt in times of adversity.

This need for reassurance is well-illustrated by one (1926) short story, tellingly titled "The Making of a Rhodesian", an allegorical romance in which the heroine, Evelyn Shereham, an accomplished musician and femme de culture, accompanies her husband, Guy, to Rhodesia to enable him to convalesce after a gas attack he sustained in the Great War.¹⁷ Guy has a gallant go at farming, but Evelyn cannot bear the heat and drought and isolation from European civilisation. So, with Guy's assent, she returns to England for a vacation. She is impressed by 'the Old Country' but a walk in Hyde Park one afternoon gives her "a glimpse of the strife and bitterness of a highly industrialised country; everywhere was unrest, everywhere was dissatisfaction, and [her] thoughts turned to the quietude of [Rhodesia] and the camaraderie which was there in such overflowing measure".¹⁸ This realisation prompts her to return to Rhodesia.

16. See, for example, Edwards, "Southern Rhodesia", p.13; Clements, op cit., pp.42-43.

17. F W Bain, "The Making of a Rhodesian", Rhod Ann 1926, pp.25-26.

18. Ibid., p.26.

"After all, we are of some good [in Rhodesia]", she soliloquizes, "whilst over here we are only human ants who, by virtue of circumstances cannot make any difference to the well-being of the Old Country".¹⁹ On her return Guy assures her of the necessity of putting up with inconveniences for the sake of the larger gain: to make Rhodesia a 'little England'.²⁰ "That's how I feel now, Guy", she concurs, "I'll always love England, but this to me is now home".²¹

Among the disillusioned diaspora who deliberately turned their back on contemporary Britain were school teachers, the most pervasive purveyors of Edwardian-style imperial sentiment. "[After 1918] the Empire was already a conscience-laden embarrassment, one emigré poet-pedagogue, Noel Brettell, recalled:

The tricolour gestures of Kipling and Newbolt had become tawdry and slightly ridiculous in that grey decade of the Waste Land ... Rhodes [was] gross and unfashionable ... I suppose we had a chip on the shoulder, the angry young men. We had something to be angry about. The depression lay on England like a blight ... [M]any of us had reached the point of 'do anything, go anywhere' to escape the grey paralysis of England. (22)

Brettell escaped to Rhodesia where, in the educational establishment, he and other crusaders found a place for 'archaic chivalry' and the "exhilarat/ion/ of adapting the mellow traditions of English education to such a new and ramshackle mould".²³

19. F W Bain, "The Making of a Rhodesian", Rhod Ann 1926, p.26.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. See N H Brettell (et al), Ruzawi: The Foundation of a School (Salisbury, 1968), pp.3-4.

23. Ibid., p.7.

That was Ethel's aspiration too. Education was as imperative to the white community as it was fundamental to the gospel of National Efficiency. On this issue hinged the future, indeed the permanence of White Rhodesia.²⁴ "[W/e are attempting what has never been done before", an influential educationalist, R W Hammond, noted in 1925, "- the founding of a white nation in a land wholly within the tropics and containing a native population preponderating in numbers".²⁵ There was greater social mobility in Rhodesia, Ethel believed. Thus every schoolboy was a potential prime minister; every schoolgirl a possible leader of society, so the quality and ethos of the school system was crucial.²⁶

By the beginning of the '20s, when Ethel entered the LegCo, the structure of the educational system had already taken shape.²⁷ It was a combination of government and private religious schools, concentrated chiefly in Bulawayo and Salisbury. Umtali, Gwelo and Plumtree had one high school each. Apart from Afrikaans-speaking schools, they were all - whether government or private - based on the ethos of the English public school with all its fetishes: prefects, fagging, caning, quads, cadets, chapel, school hymns and sport.²⁸ This was no accident. The aim was to produce a caste of 'aristocrats'.²⁹ As a later prime minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, put

24. ETJ, RR, pp.238-239.

25. R W Hammond, Education For Rhodesia, [Address to the Rhod. Scientific Assoc.], (Bulawayo, 1925), p.2.

26. ETJ, RR, p.239.

27. Challis, op cit., pp.5-28.

28. Ibid., Chs. 1, 4.

29. Ibid., pp.31, 310.

it: "What the country needed was young men who had fagged at school and had been flogged at school, people who knew how to command and obey and knew how to handle their black labourers".³⁰

Not many of the settlers came from English public school backgrounds, but they generally subscribed to the ideal of the warrior-explorer-engineer-administrator-imperial paladin. The white community could ill-afford to import class distinctions from Britain, so the educational system played a vital role in assimilating the children of new immigrants from various social and cultural backgrounds and turning them out as Rhodesians. The system had the highest proportion of boarders in the world, so that schools were probably of greater importance than parents in the inculcation of values, and it is not surprising that as early as 1911 schools were recognised as the chief disseminators of the Rhodesian accent.³¹

Another, no less significant, component of Rhodesian identity fostered by the system was athleticism. "There is perhaps no more effective symbol of a country than a team of its best sportsmen competing against another national team - especially with thousands of spectators offering appreciative and emotional support - a symbol more vivid, lively and active than a flag, coat-of-arms or national

30. Quoted in L H Gann and M Gelfand, Huggins of Rhodesia, (London, 1964), p.70.

31. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.315.

anthem", G T Caldwell wrote of Australia.³² It was equally true of Rhodesia, where the British cult of athleticism was imported lock, stock and barrel. It was held as vital to national physique; but, more than that, it conveyed the essence of imperial duty: courage, endurance, self-control, self-reliance, assertion, initiative, loyalty and obedience. Indeed, like their British and colonial cousins, the Rhodesians believed that sportsmanship was a preparation for war. "Playing the Game", and "Batting for your side" were often used in connection with the Great War, and the first history of Rhodesian sport was full of references to the sporting and military prowess of the Pioneers and the beneficial effect of sport on the national character.³³ Sport heightened provincial pride in games against Union sides, while Rhodesian participation in South African Springbok teams emphasised their links with the south. Furthermore, the games ethic idealised the man of action and contributed to the anti-intellectual

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32. See G T Caldwell, "Sport and Australian Culture", Politics [Australia], Vol.7 (2), 1972, p.181. See also his "Sport and Australian Identity", Hemisphere: An Asian Australian Monthly, Vol.16 (6), 1972, pp.9-16, and "Sport and Canadian Nationhood", Canadian Dimension, Vol.4(1), 1966, pp.37-38.
33. See J de L Thompson, A History of Sport in Southern Rhodesia, (Bulawayo, 1935). For the background to this ethos see J A Mangan's Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, (London and New York, 1981), and The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, (Harmondsworth, 1986). J A Cooper, "The British Imperial Spirit in Sport and War", UE, Vol.7, 1916, pp.581-586. For South African parallels see P Randall, Little England on the Veld: The English Private School System in South Africa. (Johannesburg, 1982). For the Rhodesian association of sport with military prowess see Editorial: "Playing the Game", RA, 4.12.15; "Cricketers Playing the Game", ibid., 13.5.15; "Sportsmanship", Gatooma Mail, 20.11.18; Southern Rhodesia Government, Report of the Education Commission, (CSR 27), (Cape Town, 1929), p.14; and N H D Spicer's poem "Play the Man", [The motto of Milton School, Bulawayo] in J Snelling (ed), Rhodesian Verse 1888-1938, (Oxford, 1938).

bias in the settler outlook, as Ethel recognised.³⁴ While initiative was encouraged, dissent was discouraged, and few desired the label of 'swot', 'sneak', 'cissy' - or worse - 'kaffir boetie'.

Athleticism and cadet corps complemented other traditions and activities of the schools in the creation of a Rhodesian consciousness. In 1912, one school had a band of soldier nurses and, two years later, one headmaster equated the imperialism and militarism of school history lessons with the 'blood and thunder' curriculum of Imperial Germany.³⁵ At least one school library did not extend beyond the 'ripping yarns' of G A Henty, R M Ballantyne and the like.³⁶ The Beit Scholarship examination syllabus emphasised 'the teaching of Empire History and Geography'.³⁷ The Director of Education, Lancelot Foggin, maintained a close relationship with the Imperial Studies Committee of the RCI and he placed great reliance on the recruitment services of the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women (SOSBW) in which organisations Ethel had played prominent roles.³⁸

Though anxious to build a race 'true to type' Ethel cautioned that it was no use trying to instil loyalty by teaching Rhodesian children the

34. ETJ, RR, p.236. The Director of Education was aware of this imbalance, see L M Foggin, "Schools and the Scholar in Southern Rhodesia", Rhod Ann 1927, p.33. Anti-intellectualism was also a strong feature of the English public school system. See J Wellens, "The Anti-Intellectual Tradition in the West", in P Musgrave (ed), Sociology, History and Education, (London, 1970), pp.58-64. See supra Chapter 4, pp.271-2.

35. Challis, op cit., p.21.

36. Greenfield, op cit., p.45.

37. Challis, op cit., p.21.

38. Ibid., n.30; ETJ, RR, p.302; ETJ, "The Women of Rhodesia, p.249; "RCI Essay Competition", African World, 8.12.23.

work of their forefathers in England. They were not the same as English children and therefore, she argued, patriotism could only be built with a local orientation and idiom.³⁹

The system undoubtedly contributed to (what Ethel described as) a Rhodesian 'tendency to collect together' when they went to the Union where they were regarded as not only 'intensely British', but quite 'intolerably Rhodesian'.⁴⁰ Despite the parochialism of local politics and the small and scattered nature of the population, they had "a very distinct sense of their own political and social identity ... they [had] evolved an atmosphere and a freemasonry among themselves which [was] rapidly ripening into a national spirit".⁴¹ They were inclined "to vaunt themselves, to be puffed up by the mere fact that they [were] Rhodesians"; wherein Ethel discovered 'the true romance of Rhodesia';⁴² what Margery Perham later described as a 'sense of enhanced personality'.⁴³ This largely explains why and how the settlers were able to control vastly superior numbers with a minimum of active force, like the British in the Empire at large. A hierarchical scale of loyalties to House, School, Team, Prefects, Colony, Race and Empire, prepared scholars to accept that society at large was, like their schools, hierarchical and privileged, with the

39. ETJ, RR, p.241.

40. Ibid., p.7.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Perham, "The Rhodesian Crisis", p.2.

exception that African 'fags' would never become prefects.⁴⁴

But feeling larger-than-life was not sufficient. When Ethel entered the LegCo in 1920 there were still serious defects in the system. There was discrimination between rich and poor and between town and country. Many of the existing schools were overcrowded, insanitary, undermanned and underfinanced. There was an excessive emphasis on academic education, to the detriment of technical education, or, in the case of girls, domestic training, two of the requirements of National Efficiency.⁴⁵ Moreover, education was still not compulsory for whites, at a time when there were almost five times as many blacks in mission schools.⁴⁶ With a serious Poor White problem looming in the territory the urgency of the education question was obvious.⁴⁷

Ethel was not alone in seeing this as a matter of Efficiency. So did R W Hammond whose work as headmaster of Plumtree she praised.⁴⁸

44. One product of the system who never developed beyond it was D C 'Boss' Lilford (1908-1984), land baron and eminence grise behind the Rhodesian Front and UDI in the 1960s. A fetishist for "Patriotism, Discipline and Order", he became convinced that true Britishness survived only in the dominions and - particularly - Rhodesia. "Discipline was ingrained in me at [Plumtree] school", he proudly recalled, "Our masters came straight from the World War I battlefields. They did not tolerate sloppiness of any kind, or deviation from the rules. I have followed this method with anyone under my jurisdiction be it a child of mine, or an employee". His family motto was "Preserve What You Have Won". He was murdered on his farm 'Lilfordia' in 1984. (His fag at Plumtree, Meredith Price, now living in Dublin bitterly recalls Lilford as a bully and regards the Rhodesian Front as the personification of Lilford's authoritarian outlook). See B White, "Boss", Illustrated Life Rhodesia, 31.7.69, pp.17-18.

45. Foggin, op cit, p.33; Hammond, op cit., p.11.

46. Challis, op cit., p.31.

47. Ibid., p.111.

48. ETJ, RR, p.232.

Hammond thought that the vocational type of education laid down for Royal Navy cadets - "the keenest, the most efficient and the most resourceful of any in the nation" - could be a model for Rhodesia.⁴⁹ Mrs Greta Bloomhill, Secretary of the Rhodesian Women's League, echoed many of Ethel's sentiments about the goal of girls' education. According to Bloomhill the objective was not only 'more homes' (Rhodes's maxim) but 'better homes'.⁵⁰ She reflected traditional Radical Right concerns: domestic science including "the science of infant welfare, the care and feeding of babies and young children, child psychology and the teaching of sex and general hygiene ... since the stamina of the future generations depend[ed] a great deal on the health of the mothers ... Motherhood and wifehood [were] careers - the most important careers in the world ..."⁵¹ Apart from listing the traditional careers open to women, like Ethel, Bloomhill emphasised the nursing and medical professions. Medical women and 'Plunket Nurses' in Canada, another land of vast spaces, had, she noted, led to "a rise in the efficiency of the children ... [a] fall in infant mortality". Here again Rhodesia had imported one of the classic concerns of the pre-war Radical Right, as New Zealand had done a decade earlier.⁵³

Ethel's seminal role in propagating and applying this gospel of

49. Hammond, op cit., p.11.

50. G Bloomhill, "Careers for Women", in B B Hill and T G Standing (eds), Careers for Rhodesian Boys and Girls, (Bulawayo, 1926), p.7.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid., pp.9-10.

53. See Oliver, op cit., passim; Fairburn, op cit., pp.13-14; Foggin, op cit., p.33.

domesticity and fitness will be dealt with more fully later.⁵⁴ In parliamentary discussions, she assumed the role of Mother of the Race, in the absence of a family of her own. Firstly, she campaigned - year in, year out - for the improvement of the sanitary and environmental conditions of schools, the provision of more hostels and the direction of funds from the Milner Loan (1921) and the Beit Trust to those purposes, particularly in the case of the Umtali High School.⁵⁵ She railed against the undue centralisation and overcrowding of schools in Salisbury and Bulawayo, and campaigned for the relief of poor farmers who were unable to pay school fees.⁵⁶ Drawing on her experience as a polytechnic teacher in pre-war Britain and the writings of R W Hammond and Lord Eustace Percy the then British Minister of Education (and advocate of Efficiency),⁵⁷ Ethel called for greater emphasis on technical and agricultural education for boys, and domestic, maternity and nursing training for girls.⁵⁸ By 1925, she was growing 'rather tired' of hearing that Rhodesia was not ready for such things:

I think we have to make up our minds in this way and to use the Boy Scouts' motto 'Be Prepared', or we shall never be prepared for anything in this country. We must be prepared for the employment of boys and girls ... and we must give them something more than the education they are getting at present. (59)

54. See *infra* pp.462-5.

55. *LegCo*, 24.7.23, pp.551-555, 557; *LegAs*, 11.5.25, pp.343-344; *ibid.*, 29.5.25, p.946; *ibid.*, 8.5.26, p.683. (As a result of her intervention a new hostel was built at Umtali High School in 1928. It was named Eickhoff House, perhaps because 'Jollie House' might have proved an incitement to ill-discipline!)

56. *LegCo*, 11.5.22, p.238; *ibid.*, 15.5.22, p.345; *ibid.*, 24.7.23, pp.554-557; *Challis, op cit.*, pp.84-95.

57. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p.170.

58. *LegAs*, 27.5.27, pp.885-887; 9.6.27, pp.12435-1236; 20.5.25, p.663; *Challis, op cit.*, p.96, n.10.

59. *LegAs*, 27.5.25, p.887.

Two years later she again expressed dissatisfaction with the curriculum and the long school hours. She thought they could gain from the experience of Australia whence she had recently returned, where the school day was shorter.⁶⁰

Though many in the Assembly shared her 'National Efficiency' views,⁶¹ it was in the question of siting new schools that she fell foul of her parsimonious colleagues. She earned the epithet of 'babbling brooks' for suggesting the establishment of a government school at Ruzawi, where in the open countryside children could be nurtured close to nature and freed from the corrupting influence of the 'overcrowded' towns.⁶² That, after all, was one of the reasons for her escape to Rhodesia and how else would they prevent degeneration and rear a Race sturdier than their forefathers. The Farmers' Union thought likewise but her parliamentary colleagues believed it too costly a venture.⁶³ Almost immediately the Anglican Church rushed in where the government feared to tread and built a preparatory school which was (and remains) an anachronistic monument to the adaptation of the Gothic Revival in the Rhodesian locale.⁶⁴ Gothic in spirit that is; the architecture was

60. LegAs, 7.6.27, pp.1153-1154.

61. See for example, LegCo, 15.5.22, pp.319-346.

62. LegAs, 5.6.25, pp.1165-1179; 26.5.25, pp.796-797. Ethel's ideas strongly resemble contemporary New Zealand opinion. See Fairburn, op cit., p.13.

63. LegAs, 5.6.25, pp.1165-1179; 26.5.25, pp.796-797.

64. See Brettell, op cit., passim, and Anon. [possibly ETJ] "The Traditions of Grenfell and Fairbridge", Rhod Ann 1931, pp.115, 117. The author is grateful to Mr David Carver, son of one of the founders of Ruzawi, for his valuable insights into the ethos of the school.

Cape Dutch, but the flavour was strongly medievalist.⁶⁵ Here Noel Brettell 'discovered' 'Merlin's Isle of Gramarye', and a merry company of war-scarred teachers eager to inculcate long-cherished but half-forgotten values.⁶⁶ The motto was 'Learning Knights' and there were a host of chivalrous allusions: the chapel adorned with a rough Flanders Cross and a delicately chaste Saint Cecilia balanced by a chain-mailed 'Young Warrior'; the school houses named for Kingsley Fairbridge and - that modern Hotspur - Julian Grenfell; the Scouts cubbing amid the vleis and tending the market gardens and Pioneer graves of Marandellas.⁶⁷ This 'paladinesque' atmosphere was 'most imaginatively contrived', Brettell approvingly recalled, "exactly right for young boys in a country school in a pioneer country".⁶⁸

Ethel also thought Ruzawi was 'excellent'. But she believed that a couple of years 'finishing' at the Cape or in England was still desirable to overcome parochialism.⁶⁹ She also called for the provision of tertiary education in Rhodesia so that children could be

65. Brettell, *op cit.*, *passim*. Architecturally no school went as 'Gothick' as St George's College (founded 1896) which moved to castellated premises in Salisbury in 1926. It was in keeping with the ideal of its anglophile founder, Fr Barthelemy SJ "to establish as this extremity of the Empire the traditions which form an English gentleman ... so dear to Mr Rhodes". Quoted in N D Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians: A History of Educational Policy in Rhodesia*, (London, 1972), p.32. This peculiar Gothic revival was further strengthened by the provision of Beit scholarships for young women to study at a teacher training college run by the Community of the Resurrection sisters in Grahamstown, S.Africa, where the flavour was strongly medievalist. See Challis, *op cit.*, p.89.

66. Brettell, *op cit.*, pp.21-22, 35.

67. *Ibid.*, pp.10, 38-40, 50, 53, 55.

68. *Ibid.*, p.10.

69. ETJ, "Try SR", p.89.

educated 'within our own borders'. But that was chiefly for children with ability. She was more immediately concerned with the welfare of more than 250 children not in attendance and the attendant danger of poor whitism and race deterioration. The only answer, she believed, was compulsory education. She thought it should be generally free as well, since the existing provision of free education for those in need had a stigma attached to it.⁷¹ In 1920, 1925, 1927 and 1928 she introduced motions calling for compulsion so that the divisions between town and country and rich and poor could be eradicated.⁷² By 1928, she had grown weary of spendthrift attempts to provide more (and in her view) inferior farm schools. After eight years of calling for a reconsideration of the question of education, 300 children were still not at school.⁷³ She strongly urged the appointment of a commission to examine the whole question.⁷⁴

This time the government took heed and in 1929 a commission was appointed. It was the embodiment of National Efficiency.⁷⁵ It was led by Frank Tate, former Director of Education in Victoria, Australia, and one of the most dynamic personalities at the Imperial Education Conference of 1927 - the Empire's foremost 'think-tank' on National Efficiency-orientated education.⁷⁶ He had already carried out similar

70. LegAs, 29.4.26, pp.115-117.

71. *Ibid.*, 25.5.27, p.710.

72. *Ibid.*, 20.5.25, pp.662-683; 13.6.28, pp.948-947; RP 5th Annual Congress, Salisbury, March 21-22, 1928, NAZ RH 8/4/1.

73. LegAs, 11.6.28, p.837.

74. *Ibid.*, p.838.

75. See S[outhern] Rhod[esia], [Report of the] Education Commission, (CSR 27), (Cape Town, 1929).

76. Atkinson, op cit., p.56; Mackenzie, Propaganda and Empire, pp.76, 237.

enquiries in Samoa and New Zealand⁷⁷ and had been a fellow guest of Ethel's at a banquet given by the Premier of Victoria in Melbourne in 1926.⁷⁸ The commission's first term of reference was "the efficiency and suitability of the present system of education" and with phrases such as: 'the danger of degeneration'; 'moral stamina [and] tenacity'; 'the effect ... of the ubiquitous presence of the untutored native ... on the sex-life of young children'; 'the greatest resource /of Rhodesia/ is in the brain and sinew of its youth'; 'feeble-minded pupils'; 'Housecraft'; 'team spirit'; 'the aim of the good home and of the good school is the same ... to make of the youngsters fine Rhodesians, manly men and womanly women, efficiently trained to follow some worthy career and serve in it with good will to their fellows ...';⁷⁹ the intellectual lineage of its Report is unmistakable.

The commission was a vindication of Ethel's strenuous campaign. It came out wholeheartedly in favour of compulsory education.⁸⁰ To improve the lot of rural children it recommended correspondence tuition on the Australian model, the improvement of governesses' qualifications, the reduction of the inefficient farm schools by providing transport to larger centres, special classes for backward pupils and a greater stress on manual training. It recommended the establishment of a Rhodesian University, but it shared Ethel's distaste for the settlers' preoccupation with examinations.⁸¹ It

77. Atkinson, *op cit.*, p.56.

78. [The] Sun, [Melbourne], 29.10.26.

79. S.Rhod, Education Commission, passim.

80. *Ibid.*, sections 237-238.

81. *Ibid.*, pp.27-28, 54. For Ethel's opposition to examination orientated education see LegAs, 29.4.26, p.115.

praised the work of the SOSBW in recruiting women teachers and echoed Ethel's preoccupation with the preparation of girls for 'housewifery, hygiene and motherhood', so essential to offset "the most regrettable feature of a pioneering life - the depressing, unlovely environment of settler homesteads".⁸² Art work for girls was equally essential, "even though the power of execution may not be great, [to] fill the home and the general environment with beauty ... "⁸³

Apart from compulsion the most significant feature of the Report was its great emphasis on the need for the fostering of a 'Rhodesian spirit' or identity, since "it [was] necessary to create and maintain a community that [must] be, in every aspect of its life, characteristically Rhodesian".⁸⁴ "No primary curriculum can be imported bodily from another country ... it must be home grown", it warned.⁸⁵ Because of the black majority, the spiritual and cultural inheritance of the West had to be maintained but education would become "effectively European only as it succeed[ed] in becoming genuinely Rhodesian".⁸⁶ It recommended a comprehensive method "to train up generations of children [with] a real and understanding feeling for Rhodesia as their Motherland",⁸⁷ while emphasising the need to strengthen co-operation with the Union which faced similar dangers, internal, external and economic, and which "aimed at producing much the same type of citizen".⁸⁸ To lessen the dangers of

82. S.Rhod, Education Commission, p.21.

83. Ibid., p.46.

84. Ibid., p.12.

85. Ibid., p.33.

86. Ibid., p.13.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid., pp.17-18.

dry formalism and bookishness it called for nature and agricultural studies which would in turn reduce the danger of degeneration resulting from over-reliance on native labour.⁸⁹ It deplored the 'psychological effect' of the proximity of black servants to white school-girls.⁹⁰ It urged the inculcation of a sense of responsibility and considerateness towards blacks, essential to any ruling caste - "[t]he man who ill-uses a horse is ... a worse man if he is allowed to do such things with impunity", the Report tactlessly analogized.⁹¹ It discouraged the learning of African languages as unnecessary.⁹²

Here we can see that the Colony's intellectual divergence from contemporary Britain was deliberate. "Because a child [was] of British stock it [did] not follow that he [would] have the same kind of mental outlook as a child in Britain", and there were "elements in the social and educational in Britain" which the commissioners were 'not anxious to see imported into Rhodesia'.⁹³ They pleaded for the teaching of "the history of African history, both heroic and prosaic" and the provision of books about "the stirring history of Rhodesia ... and the dangers and privations [of] the pioneers".⁹⁴ They called for a Rhodesian-centred rather than a British-centred history curriculum:

[The child's] initial standpoint must be there ... History ... like Geography ... should set out from his own home ... The central interest of history teaching ... lies surely in that course of change in the modern world which [established] Southern

89. S.Rhod, Education Commission, pp.14, 63.

90. Ibid., p.79.

91. Ibid., p.12.

92. Ibid., pp.46-47.

93. Ibid., pp.13-14, 15.

94. Ibid., pp.19-20.

Rhodesia. There is something almost miraculous in the very existence of a modern European community with most of the amenities of a twentieth century civilization here in the interior ... and the first duty ... should be to make the Rhodesian child conscious of this fact ... [and] realise the burden that is to be laid on him to maintain and develop this civilization. For [his] community lie[s] cheek by jowl with ... simple barbarism ... [T]he result should be a very live understanding ... no mean equipment for future citizenship ... While the Rhodesian child ... should feel the glow of appreciation for Drake and Nelson, for Cromwell and Wellington, and the other great ones of his race; should he not also know how George Stephenson and Pasteur and Ronald Ross have made it possible that he should be living in Rhodesia today? (95)

Yet for all this apparent racism there was a grudging measure of universality:

The contrast of his own home life with the life of the kaffir-kraal will demonstrate in a startling way even to the child what that human achievement is which forms the theme of history. Our ancestors lived in Caesar's time much as these natives do. And now! Or he notices the subservient life which the kaffir lives and how few his privileges. Yet the gulf between him and dominating white man is no greater than existed between the lower classes and the ruling classes in the England of the past. (96)

Like Ethel, the Commissioners were cultural chauvinists rather than biological racists.

Compulsory education for children between the ages of 7 and 14 was enacted in 1931^{96A} and can be regarded in no small part as Ethel's achievement. How far the recommendations of the Report permeated the system is more difficult to assess. It may well have contributed to the lessening of poor whitism after the end of the Depression. More primary pupils went on to secondary schools.⁹⁷ On technical education

95. S.Rhod, Education Commission, pp.34-35.

96. Ibid., p.35.

96A. Education Act (to provide for the education of Europeans and Non-Europeans in the Colony and for purposes connected therewith) No.35 of 1931.

97. Edwards, "Southern Rhodesia", p.19.

there was major failure. A second commission convened under Herbert Fox in 1935 deplored the continued emphasis on academic literary education. The whites seemed determined to create a Herrenvolk regardless of the abilities of the majority of pupils.⁹⁸ Despite the public school pretensions of the few technical schools that existed, the settlers - many of them artisans - continued to frown upon manual or technical education for their children.⁹⁹ It was "a clinging to assumptions inappropriate to the hard ideology of survival".¹⁰⁰ The Colony continued to rely chiefly on imported white artisans while excluding the Africans from skilled employment, to Ethel's chagrin.¹⁰¹ On Rhodesian identity the Report was more successful. In 1935 Ethel was consulted on the writing of a history textbook whose influence was intended to 'extend beyond the limits of childhood',¹⁰² while she herself conducted talks on patriotism to schools.¹⁰³ A year later a Mashonaland branch of the Royal Empire Society (formerly the RCI) was founded on Empire Day with a well-attended conversazione and an address by Ethel on patriotism.¹⁰⁴ These efforts combined with the effect of the burst of local patriotism in the 1930s had important political effects. "Among many young Rhodesians a growing feeling of

98. Edwards, "Southern Rhodesia", pp.19-20.

99. Ibid., p.20.

100. Ibid.

101. ETJ, "Native Policy", p.338; "Land and the Native", p.191.

102. T G Standing, A Short History of Rhodesia and her Neighbours, (London, 1935), p.ix.

103. Mrs J H Howman of Harare recalls one such school visitation to the Dominican Convent, Salisbury. She and her fellows called Ethel "Mrs Droopie Drawers ... [Ethel] was somewhat stout and short and ... had the bowest legs [she] had ever seen ... [Ethel] certainly could not have stopped a pig in a poke [but she was] a very tough and resolute person, fearing neither man nor beast". The Hon J H Howman ID, GLM, to Colonel the Hon G Hartley, 25.3.87. The author is indebted to the latter for this reference.

104. Reese, op cit., p.212.

nationalism is noticeable and an increasing desire to feel proud of their country", Sir Evelyn Baring (Governor, 1941-44) wrote to the Permanent Secretary at the Dominions Office on the eve of his departure.¹⁰⁵ Baring urged him to "tactfully emphasise [this] growing sense of nationalism".¹⁰⁶ "There may be a side to this sentiment critical to the British government - the powers they retain in their attitude to amalgamation", he conceded, "but there is also another side resentful of patronage by the Union and fearful of absorption in it."¹⁰⁷ The [nationalist] movement is too strong to check and might possibly, I believe, with good fortune, be used to help to maintain Southern Rhodesia as a buffer state between the Union and Colonial Office territories".¹⁰⁸

Underlying Ethel's educational campaign were two of her long cherished principles: a "free and happy childhood in a normal home", and a healthy body, which she regarded as more important than intellect.¹⁰⁹ These principles were reflected in the parliamentary concern for the spiritual and physical aspects of moral education: religious instruction, temperance and hygiene.¹¹⁰

In 1921 it was lamented that Africans were learning more Scripture in mission schools than European children in government schools, despite the belief of the agnostic Cecil Rhodes that "experience teaches us

105. Douglas Home, op cit., pp.133-134.

106. Ibid., p.134.

107. Ibid., p.135.

108. Ibid.

109. EC, Vocation, p.267.

110. See Challis, op cit., pp.51-52.

[that] the world prefers religion in its instruction to the young".¹¹¹

Ethel shared the Founder's trust in the utility of religion in the moulding of a civic-conscious population, a view shared by the pre-war Radical Right. But it was more than mere utilitarianism. Like her mentor, Sir George Parkin, Ethel believed in Christianity. She held it as essential to women in particular - the 'bearers of life itself - and to the Empire in general, which for her was the closest practical approximation to the Sermon on the Mount.¹¹² She lent her support to a motion calling for ten minutes daily compulsory scripture reading in schools, which would "serve to remind those children that they were Christian children in a Christian country ... brought up in the ideals of the Christian faith".¹¹³ The Bible was 'the greatest moral teacher',¹¹⁴ she claimed, a view which was echoed by Jock McClhery whose radicalism compelled him to point out its educative value: "The language of John Bright, the greatest orator of his time, was ennobled and adorned by the English Bible".¹¹⁵ Ethel regretted that many

111. Challis, op cit., p.52; Atkinson, op cit., p.41.

112. See Cook, op cit., pp.21, 23-27. Ethel's brother Ted, Civil Commissioner of the Gold Coast (1911-26) and Acting Governor of Sierra Leone (1930-31) took a more utilitarian view of religion than Ethel. He thought it was too hamstrung by creeds and dogmas but that it was essential to good citizenship. The duty of the clergy, he held, was to promote charity in this world rather than the preparation of mankind for an afterlife, as Jesus was primarily "a social reformer". See Captain C E Cookson, CMG, The Key to National Unity, (London, 1938), Ch.7: "The Practical Aspect of Religion". Cookson also advocated compulsory national service "to stave off the fate of Athens in the 4th century BC". Ibid., pp.77-79.

113. LegCo, 27.4.21, pp.54, 56.

114. Ibid., p.55.

115. Ibid., p.58.

white children were growing up in the Colony without religion in the home, though she considered it a sacred obligation on the parents' part, and schools could not compensate for that.¹¹⁶ There were denominational problems too; Coghlan, a devout Catholic, was unenthusiastic about unguided Scripture reading, though he shared Ethel's fears about the 'pagan' state of the community.¹¹⁷ In 1923 a new Bible syllabus was introduced but it had little effect on the community's very low rate of religious attendance or high divorce rate.¹¹⁸ "Deistic rather than atheist", Gann has described them, "secular-minded more than Christian, admiring Martha more than Mary, the European colonist[s] stuck to the past century's inherited optimism, and sought to make the best of this world rather than search for salvation in the next".¹¹⁹ The Colony reflected the growing religious indifference of Britain itself, accentuated by life in a 'new country'. "God seems so far away out here and the things that were so vital at home seem ... of little account", one fictional Rhodesian apostate remarked, "It is all so hard and cruel and elemental ..."¹²⁰ Thus religion, which Ethel regarded as fundamental to the unity of the family and conducive to good race relations,¹²¹ never matched her expectations on the veld.

Equally ineffectual was the attempt to instruct the young on "the

116. *Ibid.*, pp.57-58.

117. *Ibid.*, p.62.

118. Challis, *op cit.*, p.52; Gann, *Southern Rhodesia*, p.319.

119. Gann, *op cit.*, p.319.

120. H Cullen Gouldsbury, *God's Outpost*, (1907), quoted in Chennells, *op cit.*, p.188. For a similar outlook see Tredgold, *op cit.*, pp.261-262 and Young, *op cit.*, pp.119-120.

121. EC, *Vocation*, *passim*.

physiological effects of the consumption of alcohol" which Ethel supported, and McChlery initiated as a "first start towards that great goal of prohibition".¹²² It was "a national economic question, a question of national efficiency".¹²³ McChlery marshalled statistics and speeches from Lord Rosebery and Lloyd George to Woodrow Wilson, from New Zealand to the USA, in support of a referendum to restrict the liquor trade.¹²⁴ Besides, McChlery was concerned about its effects on Africans who, he warned, would not put up with an alcohol restriction or any other form of racial discrimination much longer.¹²⁵ Ethel stopped short of promoting prohibition (though she had good personal reasons for doing so), but her suggestion that temperance teaching be introduced was followed by the Education Department.¹²⁶ But, like her husband, like her political leader, the settlers clung to the tradition of regular sundowners. Her emphasis on temperance was not simply a matter of national fitness or a puritannical hangover; it was a vehicle for women's liberation from the irresponsibility of their menfolk.¹²⁷

In the course of her legislative career she introduced the territory's first comprehensive Workmen's Compensation Ordinance, bringing Rhodesia into line with Britain and the white dominions.¹²⁸ But she

122. LegCo, 4.5.21, p.301.

123. Ibid., p.302.

124. Ibid., pp.303-322.

125. Ibid., p.309; 18.5.21, pp.750-752.

126. Ibid., 4.5.21, p.325; Challis, op cit., p.52.

127. As in Australia, see Hyslop, op cit., pp.27-49, and Grimshaw, "Women and the Family in Australian History", pp.416-419.

128. LegCo, 10.6.20, p.871; 21.5.21, pp.908-909, 917-918; 25.5.21, pp.1116-1119; 9.5.22, pp.124, 128-129, 132; 24.5.22, p.746. Workmen's Compensation Ordinance No.1 (No.20 of 1922) subsequently and successively enacted as No.31 of 1925, No.17 of 1930 and No.19 of 1936.

met with no success in her opposition to the Married Persons' Property Act (1929).^{128A} Prior to 1 January 1929, Rhodesia followed South African marital legislation: all marriages were contracted in community of property with the husband as senior partner and the wife as junior. In 1926 the Government proposed to bring the Colony into line with Britain so that all marriage contracts would be out of community of property, unless stipulated to the contrary in an antenuptial contract. Ethel opposed this change, not only on the grounds that the Act would weaken the marriage bond by emphasising the spouses' separate rights and therefore undermine the unity of the family as the microcosm of society, but also because she claimed, it disadvantaged the woman of no property. Under the English system, a propertied woman was better off, she conceded as the property she possessed at the time of marriage would be her own in the event of desertion or divorce. But a poor woman under the same system could be left destitute by her husband. In contrast, under the existing South African, Roman-Dutch system, the husband had certain obligations to his wife, even if she had had no property, so that she could not be left destitute. The Act as proposed had no such safeguards for poor women, she argued.¹²⁹ Her (all male) colleagues, however, were not convinced by her arguments.¹³⁰

128A. Married Persons Property Act, No.10 of 1928.

129. LegAs, 7.5.26, pp.563-564; 18.5.28, pp.124-128; 29.6.28, p.1792. For the legal background to the Married Persons' Property Act see H R Hahlo, "Law of persons and family relations: Husband and Wife", in G W Keeton (ed), The British Commonwealth: The Development of its Laws and Constitution; Vol. 5: South Africa, (London, 1960), pp.392-440, esp. p.409 and n.25.

130. LegAs, 29.6.28, p.1792.

Ethel's opposition to the Act reveals her social conservatism and her idealism. In the period following the Great War, divorce was coming to be socially acceptable, a trend which Ethel had long regarded as symptomatic of excessive individualism. In her view, it was the state's duty to uphold monogamy and the family and not to weaken that principle because of practical considerations. Perhaps because she endured a marriage that was childless and fraught with poverty and alcoholism, she expected others to do likewise.

She met with greater success on the subjects of hygiene and general health. Here she felt especially qualified as a woman and as the daughter of a physician.¹³¹ She regarded health as "a question of the greatest importance".¹³² She believed that "a great deal of education was wasted unless the children were fitted with a sound physique",¹³³ and she was convinced that improved maternity facilities would reduce the Colony's high rate of infant mortality.¹³⁴ She called for the provision of more district nurses, nursing homes, first aid and maternity clinics and mobile doctors and dentists to provide free care for children.¹³⁵ Ethel's concern paralleled progress in Britain, where, largely at the behest of women the Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918 established clinics throughout the UK.¹³⁶ Ethel

131. LegCo, 4.5.21, p.325; 28.4.21, pp.104-106.

132. ETJ, RR, p.230.

133. LegCo, 15.5.22, p.344.

134. *Ibid.*, 11.5.22, p.239.

135. *Ibid.*, 12.5.21, pp.647-648; 13.5.21, pp.663-666; LegAs, 22.5.25, p.777; 8.5.26, pp.674-683; 22.6.28, p.882.

136. See J Liddington and J Norris, "One Hand Tied Behind Us": The Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement, (London, 1984), p.259.

brought detailed complaints before the Assembly: for example, a Melsetter dentist who spent his time hunting elephant and who relegated dentistry to "the intervals of his more exciting sport (Laughter)".¹³⁷ There was the perennial problem of the Umtali Hospital - "an old, wooden worm-eaten rotten old place", she described it.¹³⁸ She called for a new building, adding "I shall continue to make a nuisance until I get it".¹³⁹

Another of Ethel's concerns was the problem of white destitution. As a member of the Commission on Destitution (1926) she was shocked by the extent of white poverty and the risk of prostitution among young girls.¹⁴⁰ Unlike the UK, Rhodesia had no system of pensions and children's allowances to - in Ethel's words - "relieve people from the stigma of pauperism".¹⁴¹ She thought it was disgraceful that the poor should be "obliged to humiliate themselves ... and be treated as objects of charity".¹⁴² They had a right on the state, "a claim which was recognised in every civilised country".¹⁴³ As it stood the system of outdoor relief made no distinction between drunkards or wastrels, and the incurably ill or those who had fallen on hard times.¹⁴⁴ She also championed the cause of the Rhodesian Children's Home and called for more funds to be directed towards it.¹⁴⁵ A meagre pension system

137. LegAs, 21.5.25, p.748.

138. Ibid., 11.5.25, p.342.

139. Ibid., 29.4.26, p.112.

140. Ibid., 29.4.26, p.117.

141. Ibid.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid. See also ibid., 6.5.26, pp.483-484; 7.5.26, pp.556-557.

144. Ibid., 29.4.26, p.117.

145. LegCo, 26.7.23, p.715.

was introduced a decade later,¹⁴⁶ but, as late as 1942 8½% of white school children suffered from malnutrition,¹⁴⁷ a particularly high figure for a food-exporting country.

Obviously the state would not extend its responsibility for social welfare as far as Ethel would have wished, so she turned to voluntary organisations, wherein she believed women had a unique role. "A woman's ideal life is a little love and much service", Ethel wrote, quoting Olive Schreiner.¹⁴⁸ Fortunately for Ethel, Rhodesian women were responsive to organisation as the referendum campaign of 1922 had demonstrated.¹⁴⁹ There were already a number of women's organisations. The Rhodesian branch of the Guild of Loyal Women (GLW) was founded in 1907 on the lines of the Imperial Daughters of the Empire in Canada, and it maintained close links with the Victoria League HQ in London.¹⁵⁰ The GLW's stated aims were: "To draw together the various races, factions and classes in a common community and to band women together for their mutual benefit".¹⁵¹ It was primarily concerned with Boer-British reconciliation and the elimination of poor whitism and prostitution.¹⁵² It played a crucial role in fostering

146. Edwards, "Southern Rhodesia", p.27.

147. Gann, *Southern Rhodesia*, p.318.

148. ETJ, RR, p.204.

149. M McG, "How the Women of Southern Rhodesia got the Vote", *op cit.*, pp.13, 32.

150. Kirkwood, "Settler Wives [in Southern Rhodesia]", p.159; Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, p.152 and Ch.6 *passim*. See also O Gumprich and E Yates, *Women in Central Africa*, (Salisbury, 1953) and National Federation of Business and Professional Women, *Profiles of Rhodesia's Women*, (Salisbury, 1976), p.154.

151. Quoted in Kirkwood, "Settler Wives", p.159.

152. *Ibid.* LegAs, 6.5.26, pp.484-485.

morale and fund-raising during the Great War and in peace-time it augmented the social work of the Mothers' Union, Girls' Friendly Society, Jewish Ladies' Working Party, Catholic Women's League, Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Red Cross.¹⁵³ Ethel was the GLW's spokeswoman in the Assembly where she championed their work, particularly their provision of orphanages and relief for the destitute.¹⁵⁴ There was also the Rhodesian Women's League (1920), successor to the Women's Enfranchisement League, dedicated to the advancement of women.¹⁵⁵ Ethel herself took a leading role in that cause by the removal of remaining civil disabilities so that women could take their place on town councils and sanitary boards.¹⁵⁶ Until the 1950s, less than 10% of the European workforce was composed of women, so there was plenty of scope for such involvement.¹⁵⁷

The major omissions in this movement of women were the wives and widows of farmers whose presence was intrinsic to permanent settlement.¹⁵⁸ The gulf between the rural population and the urban communities was so wide as to create an antipathy which at times amounted to a kind of class consciousness. Women were more acutely aware of rural depression than their menfolk.¹⁵⁹ There was the chance

153. McLaughlin, *op cit.*, pp.121, 122.

154. *LegCo*, 20.5.21, p.862; *LegAs*, 6.5.26, pp.483-484; 7.5.26, pp.556-557; 10.6.27, pp.1329-1330, 1348-1349. The author also consulted the GLW papers in the NAZ /Historical MSS Collection/ GU 1/2/1-8. See also W J Needham, *A History of the Federated Women's Institutes of Southern Rhodesia*, (Salisbury, 1959), pp.13, 15.

155. M McG, *op cit.*, p.13.

156. *LegCo*, 17.6.20, pp.956-960.

157. Kirkwood, "Settler Wives", p.158.

158. *Ibid.*

159. Edwards, "Southern Rhodesia", pp.24-25.

of freedom from convention; a woman could "be every kind of heretic ... within the bounds of decency", Ethel wrote.¹⁶⁰ On the other hand, the isolation sometimes drove "quite healthy girls to attacks of nerves":¹⁶¹

Nothing is so nerve-racking as monotony. ... [T]here is the lack of feminine society, which is a safety valve for most of the sex. The most understanding man has whole tracts in his nature which his wife cannot explore, and she can be more intimate with a woman she has only just met than with the man with whom she has lived for years. A woman who lives, as the writer has done for many months, in the society of men alone, is bound to miss those points of contact which would often turn a tiresome task or a dull tract of life into a joke to be laughed over with another woman, or a burden to be shared and so lessened. (162)

All this bordered on feminism, perhaps because Ethel, with Afrikaans-speaking neighbours almost as aloof as the Africans; with a husband as convivial as he was jovial; with a farm that was less than solvent, was all too aware of the stresses of women in these 'outposts of civilization'.¹⁶³ Doris Lessing depicted an extreme scenario of this in her The Grass is Singing, (1950).¹⁶⁴

160. ETJ, RR, p.195.

161. Ibid., p.194

162. Ibid.

163. According to Hereward Cripps, in the 1920s the Jollies were "very hard-working ... very poor, but decent". Interview, op cit.

164. See also Chennells, op cit, Ch.6; E Bernstein, "'A Notable SA Novel': Review of The Grass is Singing", [1950] in Bertelsen, op cit., pp.73-74; J Bardolph, "Woman and the World of Things: A Reading of The Grass is Singing", ibid., pp.121-125. Lessing herself, however, did not suffer from this paranoia. See Bertelsen, "Interview with Doris Lessing", p.102. For the hardships of farmers' wives in the depression see H Richards, Next Year Will Be Better, (Cape Town, 1952); M Heald, Rhodesia's Pioneer Women, (Bulawayo, 1979); J Boggie, Experiences of Rhodesia's Pioneer Women, (Bulawayo, 1938) and Doris Lessing's short story, "The Second Hut" in Winter in July, [1964] (London, 1979).

Ethel decided to help organise a Women's Institute in 1926, followed by a Federation of Women's Institutes (FWI) in 1927, and branches were soon established all over the Colony.¹⁶⁵ Ethel was vice-president and sought public funds for this 'work of national importance'.¹⁶⁶ Like the Empire Day Movement, the WI originated in Canada in the 1890s and spread quickly to Britain and the dominions where it became heavily imbued with the ideals of National Efficiency. The Rhodesian WI was based on the English model "with some adaptations necessary to a new country with a scattered population". Its objective was "to improve conditions of both rural and urban life by providing centres for educational activities and social intercourse ... by drawing together women of all classes for mutual help". It took special interest in health and education, and the promotion of 'an active interest in the past'.¹⁶⁷ The inclusion of townswomen was the crucial local adaptation as it was designed to eliminate the Town-Country divide. The movement was also non-party and non-sectarian, though its meetings ended, appropriately, with a rendering of Blake's 'Jerusalem'.

Under its motto, 'Home and Country', Ethel and her colleagues set about establishing "Jerusalem/In England's green and pleasant land". Always a stickler for efficiency, Ethel kept a tight rein on the filing system. Bedrooms for expectant mothers were provided in each WI club so that the (re)production line of worthy members of the

165. LegAs, 15.6.28, pp.1127-1129.

166. Ibid.

167. Ibid., and see Needham, op cit., pp.13-15, 28.

British race could continue uninterrupted by visits to town.¹⁶⁸ With lectures on "first aid, home nursing, child upbringing, etc." the message was clear: keep the babies coming to fill the Wide Open Spaces! There were also lectures and demonstrations of home crafts, and Ethel picked up more ideas on her tour of Australia in 1927.¹⁶⁹

The attitude to Africans combined paranoia about Black Peril with strong maternalism in teaching Africans the virtues of hygiene, nutrition, crafts and the combating of disease.¹⁷⁰ Ethel maintained a commanding distance from Africans, though scarcely wider than the gulf between her and less enlightened white women. Nevertheless she felt a strong bond with her black 'sisters' and called for their upliftment both within their own societies and within the community as a whole.¹⁷¹ She was a "strong advocate of the policy of paternal development and official aid to and control of African education".¹⁷²

There was no denying the unconscious racism of the FWI in the early years. In 1930, Ethel voiced her opposition to male domestic labour on the grounds that there was not "a single Black Peril case which was not traced to a houseboy".¹⁷³ Black men in homes, hospitals and hostels were allowed to perform the most intimate duties. She called

168. LegAs, 15.6.28, pp.1127-1129.

169. *Ibid.*

170. Kirkwood, "Settler Wives", pp.158-159.

171. LegAs, 6.5.25, pp.477-478.

172. Gray, *The Two Nations*, p.179.

173. Report of the Standing Committee of Domestic Service (FWI, Salisbury, 1930), quoted *ibid*, p.180.

on her 'sisters' to follow her example and train up staffs of women servants as "no native would attempt to rape a white woman if a woman of his own race was anywhere near".¹⁷⁴ More extreme was Mrs C Fripp, a self-confessed 'member of the old guard'.¹⁷⁵ Her paper, "God's Stepchildren", read at Gwelo in July 1931, dealt with the 'physiological aspect' of miscegenation.¹⁷⁶ Racial mixing, Fripp claimed was "naturally repugnant ... except in closely related races which are often of a very superior type".¹⁷⁷ "We English ourselves are, of course, an outstanding example of this principle", she confidently added,¹⁷⁸ though she conceded that large numbers of people did not share her aversion, notably Roman Catholics.¹⁷⁸ She divided 'race offenders' into two categories: "Casual offenders; that is [white] men who sin[ned] in passing, as it were, [who were] not confirmed in the practice of this evil; [and] hardened old offenders who had 'gone kaffir'".¹⁷⁹ She advocated an Immorality Act on Union lines to prevent casual relations.¹⁸⁰ Another activist drew attention

174. Report of the Standing Committee of Domestic Service (FWI, Salisbury, 1930), quoted *ibid*, p.180; Vambe, *op cit.*, p.107.

175. [Paper read by] C E Fripp [at Gwelo, 7.7.31], NAZ [Historical MSS Collection: Papers of the Federation of Women's Institutes], WO 5/1/1/3.

176. *Ibid*.

177. *Ibid*.

178. *Ibid*.

179. *Ibid*. Gouldsbury defended this unrepentant type thus:

... His wife was an heathen beauty
 Bought [sic] with an ancient gun,
 Who reckoned no doubt, she'd done her duty
 Once she'd borne him a son ...
 He wasn't a nice example,
 His morals, I grant, were few,
 But there's many a rottener sample
 Renting a stiff-backed pew ...

("The Man Who Wouldn't Go Home")

180. C E Fripp, *op cit.* See also Chairman, WI, Bulawayo to Chairman, FWI, Salisbury, 29.4.34, NAZ WO 5/1/1/3.

to the 'grave risks' attached to white children growing up with black children which "made it difficult for [whites] to adopt the right attitude in their dealings with natives when they grow up".¹⁸¹ There was no need for Fripp to spell out what 'the right attitude' should be. In 1937, the WI seriously considered protesting against scantily-dressed and nude female dummies in shop windows as they could give Africans ideas!¹⁸²

During the Depression (1929-mid-1930s) the WI took an equally hard line with the white unemployed. It believed that no payment was to be made by the State unless it was earned, and this was the tactic followed by the Government.¹⁸³ Large numbers of unemployed whites were put to work laying roads for 7/- a day.¹⁸⁴

On the other hand, it was not all reaction. The WI Report for 1935 passed a resolution in favour of the teaching of 'peace propaganda' in history classes at schools and condemned the manufacture of armaments.¹⁸⁵ It expressed support for the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the establishment of an international police force to prevent war. It regretted that history books on the Wars of the Roses and other wars "arouse[d] no horror", and lamented that there was not enough of Erich

181. Report of [Congress of the] FWI [of Southern Rhodesia], (Salisbury, 1935), p.2.

182. See M C Steele, "Doris Lessing's Rhodesia", in Bertelsen, op cit., p.47.

183. Memorandum by G E M McLeod, Hon. Sec. FWI, Unemployment Committee, Que Que, 24.3.32, NAZ WO 5/1/1/5.

184. See R Carey, "The Locust Years", in Illustrated Life Rhodesia: All our Yesterdays, (Salisbury, 1978), pp.90-92.

185. Report FWI, (Salisbury, 1935), NAZ WO 5/1/1/4.

Maria Remarque's All Quiet on the Western Front (1929).¹⁸⁶ Appeasement was the trend in the WI of the '30s rather as nuclear disarmament became to a later generation of feminists. There was the belief that women, as Mothers, had a special role and interest in upholding international peace. "If we want peace in our time, and our children's time, we must realise that the British Empire is the best means of keeping it", Ethel told the women of Melbourne, Australia in 1927.¹⁸⁷

The Report called for improved pay for black employees and castigated employers who granted insufficient pay and time-off to blacks.¹⁸⁸ The effect of the WI on African women has yet to be analysed objectively, perhaps when the memory of colonialism has receded sufficiently.¹⁸⁹

The WI was an important attitude former in its own right. As Tom Mboya remarked about Kenya, white women were the most dangerous enemies of African nationalism, both because their sympathetic co-operation with African women blunted the cutting edge of resentment against white domination, and because of their tenacious attachment to the homes they had created.¹⁹⁰ This observation was borne out by the conduct

186. Report FWI, *op cit.*

187. "Hard Knocks Have Made Empire", Sun [Melbourne], 29.9.26.

188. Report FWI, *op cit.*

189. They were maternalist, but certainly dedicated. The author recalls accompanying one FWI lady to her sewing class at a mission school in the Vumba in September, 1978, at the height of the Rhodesian War. In spite of the ever-present threat of ambush and landmines she was unarmed and drove an unprotected motor car. Nor was she perturbed, on the day in question, by the deployment by helicopters in the vicinity of a Rhodesian Army 'Fire Force'. She thought it was probably time to get home for afternoon tea!

190. Kirkwood, "Settler Wives", p.160.

of Rhodesian women in the bush war of the 1970s.¹⁹¹ They exerted subtle but powerful influence on their menfolk, and in the 1960s the uncompromising hen-parties of Rhodesian Front wives may well have helped to change the course of Rhodesian history.¹⁹² Perhaps Kipling's 'Female of the Species' proved more accurate than he was given credit.¹⁹³

For behind the WI lay an unshakeable faith in the Empire's 'civilising mission'. Here is Mrs Fripp again (1935):

... Of our achievements ... we may be justly proud ... There is no doubt love of country is a most ennobling thing; and we hope to see it established here, too, in Rhodesia .. [W]e are still only a nation in the making, and few, if any, of us here in this room were born in the Colony; that is a privilege reserved for our sons and daughters. [We are] determined that its future shall be worthy of the heroic founding of this, the youngest British Colony - born of this marriage of the idealism of Mr Rhodes and Mr Robert Moffat. Such an origin - [their] determination ... to bring to Central Africa Christian law and justice, in substitution for barbarism ... [and] a modern civilised state - this creates the urge to make it great ... (194)

The WI were determined to work for their country and they looked forward to the attainment of dominion status, but status of any kind, "whether of a person or a people" was something to be earned, not conferred. "[I]n its fullest form it is synonymous with nationhood", she concluded, "in short, we can only attain it by the efforts of every individual composing the nation .."¹⁹⁵ This was in keeping with

191. Kirkwood, "Settler Wives", p.161. See also P Taylor, "Rhodesia: The fight to the finish", Sunday Telegraph, 17.12.78, pp.10-11.

192. Blake, op cit., pp.390-391.

193. The author is indebted to Deborah Kirkwood, Oxford, and Muriel Rosin, Harare, for their valuable insights into the FWI.

194. Report FWI, (Salisbury, 1935), p.23, NAZ WO 5/1/1/4.

195. Ibid.

Ethel's belief that women had a special responsibility of "binding the Empire together, to widen the scope of their political activities", and to "impress the great cause of Imperialism upon the minds of their children".¹⁹⁶

The WI played a key role in fostering a sense of 'Rhodesian-ness'¹⁹⁷ and it provided Ethel with a position of leadership and influence "in forming public opinion both in print and on the platform", long after she had relinquished her parliamentary seat.¹⁹⁸

In the 1930s she had much to be thankful for. While Northern Europe had begun to worry about its low birth rate, the Colony's whites continued to enjoy a baby boom, one of the highest rates of natural increase in the world.¹⁹⁹ The proportions of men and women began to equalise, and family life was beginning to replace the army-camp atmosphere of the Pioneer era. White society frowned upon women who worked after marriage.²⁰⁰ It was a land of few grandparents, and this youthful optimism was reinforced by the fact that 35% of the settlers in the Rhodesias were born in the territory.²⁰¹ There was "an emergent proto-nationalism, linked to British patriotism, but based on an open-air ethos and an enduring faith in the white man's mission in Africa".²⁰² The settlers were self-consciously up-to-date, and

196. See "Women in Public Affairs ... must be ready to take Knocks: Mrs Jollie's Address", Herald, [Melbourne], 29.10.26.

197. Kirkwood, "Settler Wives", p.161.

198. Keatley, *op cit*, p.261; Doris Lessing to the author, 1.12.86.

199. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.313.

200. Ibid., and Steel, "Doris Lessing's Rhodesia", in Bertelsen, *op cit*, p.52.

201. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.313.

202. Ibid., p.315.

this modernity found concrete expression in the new international architectural styles of Salisbury and Bulawayo and their art deco interiors.²⁰³ This technical modernity helped to lull the settlers into a false sense of ultimate security, and shrouded the reality of their true demographic position in the territory. It reinforced their belief that they were still part of a progressive Euro-centred world-order, that Rhodesia was a 'white man's country' with a European future, like the white dominions.

But, from a National Efficiency point of view, there was much to be concerned about too. The Great Depression hit the Colony hard. "Fourteen per cent of our white population have sunk below the economic level of advanced natives. The chief cause of this is malnutrition and a low grade diet", reported the Select Committee on Unemployment in May 1932.²⁰⁴ The territory was well on the way to having a Poor White problem on its hands. When Jack Keller, the Labour Party leader, proposed a scheme of outdoor relief, he was accused of "trying to make Rhodesia a communistic country and to get everyone down to the same level".²⁰⁵ The Government was forced to concede a relief scheme but despite this, and the system of Empire trade preferences introduced at the Ottawa Economic Conference in 1932, unemployment of even skilled whites lasted until the outbreak of war in 1939.²⁰⁶ The Depression contributed to the continuing high rate of

203. See illustrations in issues of the Rhodesian Annual in the late '20s and '30s for the self-consciously modern flavour of the country's architecture of the period.

204. Cary, "The Locust Years", p.90.

205. Ibid., p.91.

206. Ibid., p.93.

emigration from Rhodesia. However much the settlers felt Rhodesian while they lived in the country, the fact remained that many of them left. Between 1921 and 1956, 184,691 immigrated and 93,215 emigrated.²⁰⁷ In the light of this continuing turnover of population, it is remarkable that they evolved a coherent and discrete sense of identity at all.²⁰⁸ The growth in immigration was steady but minuscule, and the chief source of immigration remained the Union, not - as Ethel would have wished - the overcrowded United Kingdom, and this gave the Colony a predominant British South African rather than British flavour.²⁰⁹

As to Ethel's hoped-for intellectual elite of upper class settlers, there was a trickle of emigrants who, like Baden-Powell, found their 'Happy Hunting Ground' in the African Empire between the wars. The novelist, Dornford Yates, found the middle class England of his dreams in Rhodesia in 1941.²¹⁰ So did Marie Ashley-Smith, chief architect of the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY) who emigrated to Umtali and, as Mrs McDougall, described her marital and other 'uprooted' miseries in a theosophical, torridly romantic novel The Golden Bowl, published in the '20s. Like Ethel, she was an associate of Lord Willoughby de Broke.²¹¹ Scores of ex-Indian Army officers arrived as the Raj began

207. Leys, *op cit.*, p.74; Roberts, *op cit.*, pp.55-61.

208. Chennells, *op cit.*, pp.226-227.

209. Gann, Southern Rhodesia, p.314. Schutz's "White Settler Society" deals with this in detail. See also his "European Population Patterns", and "Homeward Bound?", *op cit.*, and P J M McEwan, "The European Population of Southern Rhodesia", Civilisations Vol.13 (4), 1963, pp.429-441. The author is indebted to Professor P R Warhurst for these references. See *supra* Chapter 3, p. (fn.148), Chapter 4, p. (fn.200) and Chapter 6 p. (fn.179).

210. Blake, *op cit.*, p.274.

211. Dr Anne Summers to the author, 31.8.85.

to crumble. They were known pejoratively as 'Bengal Lancers', Umtali - their watering hole - was nicknamed 'Poonefontein'.²¹² Doris Lessing described the ideal society of this disgruntled sahibs class as "a combination of the best parts of Blackheath or Richmond, merged with a really large ranch ... about fifty thousand acres ... [and] pervaded by a pre-1914 atmosphere, or ambience".²¹³ Confronted by an Empire seemingly in retreat, a number of such immigrants embraced the obscurantist, pseudo-scientific and desperate explanations of the eccentric 'British Israelites'. They became convinced that they, as 'The Lost Tribe' had irrefutable title deeds to the Rhodesian corner of a foreign field because of the allegedly Israelite (and therefore ancestral!) origins of Great Zimbabwe.²¹⁴ A more ominous example of

 212. Blake, *op cit.*, p.274; Clements, *Rhodesia*, p.88; M Daymond, "Areas of the Mind: Continuity and Change in The Memoirs of a Survivor and Lessing's "African Stories" in Bertelsen, *op cit.*, p.174; P Worsthorne, "Ian Smith - the last Roman or the new imperial dawn?", *Daily Telegraph*, 10.9.79; C Style, "Post Mortem on the Rhodesian", *Khaleej Times*, [Bahrain], 13.9.81. The immigration of dissatisfied Britons became a feature of Rhodesian society, with far-reaching political results. In the 1950s and '60s they formed the backbone of the right-wing Dominion Party and its successor, the Rhodesian Front. They played on the settlers' worst fears and indulged in their peculiar paranoid: that the Home British were decadent, impotent, and beset by conspirators, Jews, communists and otherwise. See Blake, *op cit.*, pp.273-283; Clements, *Rhodesia*, pp.76-83, 168-182; Keatley, *op cit.*, esp. part 4. For first hand emigré accounts see A Skeen, *The Prelude to Independence*, (Cape Town, 1966), Ch.1; C Dupont, *The Reluctant President*, (Bulawayo, 1978), Ch.1.

213. D Lessing, *In Pursuit of the English*, (London, 1968), p.14.

214. Clements, *Rhodesia*, p.134. For the British Israelites see Wilson, *op cit.*, and W R Martin *The Kingdom of the Cults*, (London, 1967), pp.295-323. Little is known about the movement in Rhodesia though it was quite widespread and grew in influence after UDI. Lord Graham (the Duke of Montrose) was a member of the Rhodesian end of the movement, known as The Covenant. The author recalls one 'poem' (though not the poet) in vogue in right-wing circles in the late '70s, part of which read: "Zambesi south [God] ordered made/Where Israel's sons shall be!" The movement was generally anti-semitic, regarding Jews as 'imposters' who had usurped Britain's 'rightful and destined' control of the Palestine Mandate (1919-48)!

the lunatic fringe was Henry Hamilton Beamish (1874-1948), son of an Anglo-Irish admiral, adventurer, founder of the anti-semitic 'Britons' (1919) and a self-confessed neo-Nazi. From his last redoubt in Rhodesia, Beamish called on that other patriotic periphery, Ulster, to refuse to obey the 'Jew-infested Westminster parliament' whence, he believed, the international 'Kosher War' was directed. Despite his paranoia about Jews, Beamish managed to get elected to the Rhodesian Assembly in 1938.²¹⁵ Taken together, such men hardly ranked as an intellectual élite.

The majority of immigrants were, however, nondescript and ranged in political outlook from Conservative to Labour. In Rhodesia as in all 'new' societies, the instinct was to conform. It was an article of faith to be 'just an ordinary guy' and the Colony, in comparison with Britain, was "less clannish and less stuffy ... less respectful of protocol".²¹⁶ The new settler soon learned the norms of white society.²¹⁷ As Doris Lessing described it:

When old settlers say, 'One has to understand the country', what they mean is 'You have to get used to our ideas about the native'. They are saying, in effect, 'Learn our ideas or otherwise get out: we don't want you. (218)

215. See B Kosmin, "Colonial Careers for Marginal Fascists - A Portrait of Henry Hamilton Beamish", Wiener Library Bulletin, Vol.27, 1974, pp.16-23; G C Leblelter, "Henry Hamilton Beamish and the Britons: Champions of Anti-Semitism", in Lunn and Thurlow, op cit, pp.41-46.

216. Keatley, op cit., p.273.

217. Clements, Rhodesia, pp.89-90; P J McEwan, "European assimilation in a non-European context", International Migration, Vol.2 (2), 1964, pp.107-127.

218. From The Grass is Singing, quoted in Steele, "Doris Lessing's Rhodesia", p.48.

Of course there were those who transcended this conformism. Mrs Gladys Maasdorp became a leading light in Salisbury society, a mayor of Salisbury, a senior member of the Labour Party and a courageous advocate of African advancement in the 1930s and 1940s.²¹⁹ She was a formative influence on Doris Lessing,²²⁰ and Lessing herself managed to rise above her backveld childhood to become a writer of international stature. But these intellectuals stand out precisely because they were exceptions. There was a philistinism to which Ethel herself was eventually to fall victim. For whatever characteristic can be ascribed to her, parochial is not one of them. Always before her was the wider Empire, and it is to this, and the swansong of Ethel's political career, that we now turn.

219. From The Grass is Singing, quoted in Steele, "Doris Lessing's Rhodesia", pp.49-50.

220. Ibid.

CHAPTER NINE

Wider still and Wider

Ours is the wider vision
Under an alien sky;
We know the sleek derision
Of the Nations slinking by!
We are glad enough to die
Unnoted and unknown
So be we guard your Honour - for
your Honour is our own.

(H Cullen Gouldsbury,
"To England: From the Outposts")

[Rhodesia] is still a sapling, but a healthy and growing one, and those us who have tended it in its youth hope to see it spread wider and wider yet, a sturdy British oak, and one of the glories of the Empire which gave it birth.

(Ethel Tawse Jollie, 1930.)

In 1925, Ethel visited England as a member of the Empire Parliamentary Association (EPA) which linked parliamentarians from all over the Empire, whom she met at the EPA centre at Westminster.¹ She was the first woman to sit in the gallery of the House of Commons reserved for overseas legislators.² "[M]y appearance ... caused quite a stir", she proudly recalled, "Naturally women had been on the floor of the House before, but I was the first to appear in the gallery".³ But equally important to her was the contact the EPA provided with other imperial legislators, so that the Rhodesians would not lose sight of developments in the other dominions.⁴ It came as little surprise when, in the following year, she was chosen to represent Rhodesia on the EPA's tour of Australia.⁵ She was uniquely suited to the role of roving ambassador, and the tour also provided her with an opportunity to recharge her National Efficiency batteries. Her attachment to the Empire, like that of George Parkin, was mystical. She dismissed the simile of 'one big family', since kinship was insufficient to hold many families together. She preferred to paraphrase St Paul: "members of the same body, each member being essential to the life of the whole", but that was a simile which could only be maintained by the acquisition of knowledge about other parts of the Mystical Body.⁶

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1. V Cator, From up along Down Under: with the Empire Parliamentary Delegation in Australia, (St Johns, Newfoundland, 1927), p.197. EPA, Empire Parliamentary Association (Southern Rhodesia Affiliated Branch): First Annual Report 1926-27, (Salisbury, 1927); LegAs, 4.5.26, p.309.
 2. Cator, op cit., p.197.
 3. "Women Delegate - Writer - Farmer", Mail, (Brisbane), 29.9.26.
 4. LegAs, 4.5.26, p.309.
 5. Ibid., p.310.
 6. "Women in Public Affairs - Must be Ready to Take Knocks - Mrs Jollie's Address", Herald, [Melbourne], 29.9.26.

By 1926, it was possible for an imperialist to be cautiously optimistic. The British were pulling out of the trauma of the Great War. They held the world speed records on land, on sea and in the air, and already Rudyard Kipling was considering how television - another British invention - could be harnessed to the propaganda machine of the EMB.⁷ The EMB itself, in partnership with Lord Beaverbrook's Daily Express - with a Tariff Reform Knight as its masthead - were laying the foundations for a system of Imperial Preferences, adopted at Ottawa in 1932.⁸ Soon, the imperialists believed, the Empire would be more closely bound than ever by the aeroplanes and airships of Imperial Airways. Australia was a fitting venue for the EPA Tour. The new federal capital at Canberra, due to be opened in 1927, signified the Commonwealth's coming of age. The British seemed to heed at last the warnings of Archibald Colquhoun and others that the mastery of the Pacific would be crucial in the twentieth century. They had abrogated the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1922 - it was hated by the dominions - and, to show that they meant it, they were constructing an enormous naval base at Singapore, the mightiest fortress on earth, and, it was confidently believed, impregnable.⁹

It was against this background that the EPA Delegation convened in

7. S Constantie, "'Bringing the Empire alive': the Empire Marketing Board and imperial propagand", in Mackenzie (ed), Popular Culture, p.208.

8. See ibid., passim.

9. It fell to the Japanese after a few weeks siege in early 1942, the Australians withdrew their forces from North Africa and turned to the Americans for protection, and the Empire in the East was never the same again.

Australia from September to November, 1926.¹⁰ There were delegates from far and wide. The British were led by the Marquis of Salisbury - himself an embodiment of Empire - Sir Evelyn Cecil and Arthur Henderson, the Secretary of the Labour Party and future Foreign Secretary. There were Australians, New Zealanders, Newfoundlanders, Canadians, Maltese, and an Indian. Sir Thomas Smartt, the Milnerite leader of the Unionist Party and one of Ethel's antagonists in the Referendum campaign, headed the South African delegation. Even Afrikaner Nationalists attended; even the recalcitrant Irish.¹¹

But the most remarkable, if not the most talented figure was Ethel.¹² Coghlan anticipated this when he congratulated her on her appointment: "I think it is fitting", he told the Assembly, "and hon members will agree with me, that the hon member (Mrs Tawse Jollie) should be the first chosen to represent this colony where we led the way in according equal rights to women".¹³ He was certain that she would be "a worthy representative [and] an exemplification of the fact that in public affairs Rhodesia [knew] no distinction of sex".¹⁴ For this reason the Australian press played up her impending arrival¹⁵ and thus

10. The author is deeply grateful to Ruth Schmedding of the National Library of Australia, Canberra, for sending a large collection of cuttings dealing with Ethel's EPA tour.

11. See EPA Visit of the Empire Parliamentary Association to Australia September/October/November 1926, (Sydney, 1927), p.19; EPA, Informal Conference, Parliament House, Sydney 6 October 1926 and Informal Conference Parliament House, Perth, Western Australia 15 November 1926, (Sydney, 1927).

12. Cator, op cit., p.197. Most of the Australian articles covering her tour make this point.

13. LegAs, 4.5.26, p.310.

14. Ibid.

15. "A Woman Delegate", Morning Herald, [Sydney], 17.9.26.

she was 'eagerly awaited by the suffragettes' in every city she visited.¹⁶ True to form, she was not intimidated by the all-male cast of delegates or the masculine atmosphere of Australia. "Many women have asked me if I did not feel strange travelling with so many men. Some even went so far as to envy me", she said in Melbourne, nonchalantly adding: "It did not occur to me until I reached Australia".¹⁷

Nor was she intimidated by travelling with the Union delegation, in effect, her former enemies. Her first statement to the press on her arrival at Adelaide was a criticism of the Union's imposition of duties on Rhodesian live meat, which she considered was 'not in accordance' with their customs agreement.¹⁸ In Perth, she criticised members of the British delegation for their vagueness and ignorance of Rhodesian geography and history.¹⁹ This was clearly a break with the atmosphere of mutual admiration which normally characterised such tours. She capitalised on the reputation which preceded her in Australia, where she was well-known as 'a writer of distinction';²⁰ 'a writer of great stature',²¹ 'a fluent and convincing speaker',^{21A} with 'several learned books' to her name;²² 'a recognised authority on

16. Cator, *op cit.*, p.197.

17. "She is Envied - Only Woman Envoy", Sun, [Melbourne], 29.9.26.

18. "South Africans - A Lady Delegate - Arrival at Adelaide", Mail, [Brisbane], 25.9.26.

19. "Migration Policy - Premier's Emphatic Speech - Mrs Jollie's Spirited Address", Western Australian, [Perth], 16.11.26.

20. "Mrs Tawse Jollie", Daily Telegraph, [Brisbane], 29.9.26.

21. "A Woman Legislator - Mrs E Tawse Jollie MLC [sic] - Visitor from Rhodesia", Age, [Melbourne], 27.9.26.

21A. "Women's Non-Party Association - Welcome to Mrs Tawse Jollie", Advertiser, [Adelaide], 10.11.26.

22. "Empire Ambassadors ... The Lady Delegate", Courier, [Brisbane], 29.9.26.

many subjects of prime economic importance';²³ for her 'prominent and effective part in assuring the autonomy of Rhodesia' and for 'her active part in framing its constitution'.²⁴ She was regarded as a friend of Australia since her term as editor of United Empire when she befriended many prominent Australians and as the "widow of the famous explorer and journalist, Archibald Colquhoun".²⁵ "Mrs Jollie is an impressive speaker, and more than held her own among the orators of the party", one Newfoundlander recalled.²⁶ "She has a pleasing voice, and both the matter and the manner of her utterances attract attention and hold it".²⁷ She filled a "rather difficult role ... quietly and unobtrusively ... in a spirit of comradeship, neither desiring nor expecting special recognition, [but] regarding herself as a parliamentarian among parliamentarians, [and] she took an equal part in the proceedings [as] a welcome and honoured guest, and speaker, at many functions".²⁸

Whether she sought it or not, she received special recognition and, from the photographs of her on tour, she visibly enjoyed the limelight.²⁹ "[H]er stirring addresses indicate the possession of the qualities needful to consolidate the Empire", said the Western

23. "Empire Ambassadors ... The Lady Delegate", Courier, [Brisbane], 29.9.26.

24. Cator, op cit., p.197.

25. Ibid., "A Woman Legislator ..." op cit.,

26. Cator, op cit., p.197.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., pp.197-198.

29. See illustrations pp.

Australian, [Perth],³⁰ which also praised her 'Spirited Address' on migration policy.³¹ "From the Heart of Rhodesia - First Woman Politician in British Colonies is 'Go-Getter'", ran the headline in The Guardian, [Sydney].³² She was "a lone hand ... representing the woman's point of view".³³ The Guardian was also impressed by her strong Rhodesian patriotism - 'Advance Rhodesia' was her slogan in the "charm of her clear-cut English pronunciation, and ... her positive knack of remembering names".³⁴ "Nothing more feminine could be imagined than this slim slip of a woman in her early forties", (she was actually 50!), her interviewer recalled: "A bright vivacious woman, with intelligence gleaming from her quick, dark eyes ... addicted to tulle scarves and wide-brimmed, most feminine of hats".³⁵ The Register [Adelaide], found her "a little, bright, and gentle woman, with nothing militant about her".^{35A} Because of her great reputation, the representative of The Courier [Brisbane] approached her for an interview 'with some trepidation',³⁶ but he was relieved to find nothing of the 'Blue Stocking' about her reception:

She possesses a singular charm and grace of manner which inspires confidence and is at once disarming. Of medium height with a fresh complexion, dancing hazel eyes, deep-set and wide-apart, and hair closely shingled, she impresses one at once as a lady with a purpose. She refused point-blank to admit fatigue and her appearance even before breakfast ... gave no impression of the exertions of train travel over the past five days. (37)

30. "Mrs E Tawse Jollie MLA", Western Australian, [Perth], 19.11.26.

31. Ibid., 16.11.26.

32. Ibid., 14.10.26.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

35A. "With the Empire Delegation. Mrs Tawse Jollie MP", Register, [Adelaide], 9.11.26.

36. "Empire Ambassadors ... The Lady Delegate" op cit.

37. Ibid.

Apart from one bout of influenza,³⁸ Ethel was able to withstand the rigours of the tour which took her to all of Australia's major cities: Adelaide, stronghold of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, where the women of South Australia took the lead by gaining the vote in 1894, and helped to build a city 'without slums; of which Joe Chamberlain would have been proud, but the city was still "draped in a dowdy Puritannical shroud";³⁹ 'Marvellous Melbourne' with the grandest club in the Antipodes, which made nonsense of the Australian myth of egalitarianism - not even money per se could buy a man entry.⁴⁰ Very different was sleepy, tropical Brisbane which had distanced itself from its penal origins; Sydney, renowned for its natural beauty, was adding "one of the Great Engineering Wonders of the World": the Sydney Harbour Bridge with the world's longest single-span designed - like the Victoria Falls Bridge - by Sir Ralph Freeman and equally evocative;⁴¹ Perth, capital of Western Australia, like Rhodesia, priding itself on its progress, but feeling neglected by the Federal government; and Hobart, the capital of insulated Tasmania. Ethel and the EPA entourage visited their hinterlands too, and traversed the Outback on a special train which halted at such far-flung places as Kalgoorie, Coolgardie and Toowoomba, visiting sheep stations, schools, national parks, factories and irrigation schemes and planting

38. Age, [Melbourne], 27.9.26.

39. And Adelaide remained prim until the 1960s largely due to the influence of its women. See L Christmas, The Ribbon and the Ragged Square: An Australian Journey, (Harmondsworth, 1987), p.181.

40. Ibid., p.95. (The Melbourne Club remains an exclusive bastion of Anglo-Australia to this day, and it is said that Jews and Catholics are "not all that welcome" in its hallowed halls.)

41. See Morris, Farewell the Trumpets, pp.348-350.

commemorative trees. Keen to impress, the Australians rolled out the red carpet, with governor's garden parties, banquets given by federal and state ministers, and bouquets of flowers for Ethel. Whether because of her sex or her reputation, she usually had the privilege of staying at Government House.⁴² The delegates responded to their hosts with such compliments as "The Great Britain of the South Seas",⁴³ a tribute which, no doubt, the New Zealanders would have hotly disputed.

Ethel was equally keen to advertise her country wherever she went, to counteract the 'dreamy, sentimental' impressions conveyed by Gertrude Page's novels, and to demonstrate that Rhodesia was a going concern for the serious businessman and settler.⁴⁴ "I can assure you we are thoroughly civilised", Ethel authoritatively told The Courier [Brisbane], emphasising her pride in the Colony's 5000 Rhodesian-born white children.⁴⁵ One of the highlights of her tour was her 'Spirited Address' at a special luncheon given in Perth by the premier of Western Australia [WA] and attended by senior civic and ecclesiastical dignitaries.⁴⁶ Ethel paid tribute to the progress of WA, the useful precedent it provided in the Rhodesian RG campaign, and the close

42. See Australian newspaper articles cited.

43. "Delegates Interviewed ... White Australia Ideal", Register, [Adelaide], 6.11.26.

44. See especially "Happy Rhodesia - Steady Progress", Morning Herald, [Sydney], 27.9.26; "Southern Rhodesian Settlers - Not Spoon-fed", Register, [Adelaide], 6.11.26; "With the Empire Delegation - Mrs Tawse Jollie MP [sic]", ibid., 9.11.26; "Mrs Tawse Jollie", Daily Telegraph, [Brisbane], 29.9.26.

45. Ibid., 29.9.26.

46. "Migration Policy ... Mrs Jollie's Spirited Speech", Western Australia, [Perth], 29.11.26.

links forged by her late friend, Kingsley Fairbridge, who established a farm school for British orphans at Pinjarra, WA, in 1913.⁴⁷ She also drew attention to the common problems faced by their two states, and like the Statue of Liberty, she held out the pioneering spirit to those who "might prove failures in the old land":

[T]hey could not expect to enjoy the comforts that were theirs in the old land ... luxuries or easy living, but in exchange .. they could offer them hardship, sacrifices, hard work. (Applause.) All they could offer them as compensation was the open road, the great adventure, and the high ideal of nationhood in a new country. (48)

What Ethel wanted was "some more tangible bond - something real and stable - that will link the Empire more closely still, and it is the duty of statesmen and individuals alike to forge that link".⁴⁹ "What would it mean to us, as members of the British Empire, if we could not hold this Empire together?" she asked.⁵⁰ Women had a key role in Ethel's scheme. She called for the introduction of a 'Big Sister' movement to look after the interests of women migrants.⁵¹ The Marquis of Salisbury said she had "conferred a real service by calling attention to the matter [of women]".⁵² Ethel emphasised their importance in building up rural populations, fostering 'a strong national feeling' which would overcome state divisions, and impressing

47. "Lady Delegate's Great Speech", *op cit.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. "Mrs E Tawse Jollie MLA", *Western Australian*, [Perth], 19.11.26.

50. "Hard Knocks Have Made Empire", *Sun* [Melbourne], 29.11.26.

51. "More of Captain Cook - Less of William the Conqueror", *Age*, [Melbourne], 19.11.26; *Informal Conference Parliament House, Perth WA, [Migration and Land Settlement], 15 November 1926, (Sydney, 1927), p.18.*

52. "W[estern] A[ustralian] Migration ... Big Sister Suggestion", *Mercury*, [Hobart], 19.11.26.

"the great cause of Imperialism upon the minds of their children".⁵³
 In other words, the fostering of the sentiments of Imperial Federation
 via the kitchen and the cradle.

She also had a major impact on Australian women activists who gave
 her a welcome worthy of Emmeline Pankhurst,⁵⁴ a level of attention
 which Ethel encouraged with such statements as:

... British women proved themselves [in the Great War]. The right
 to vote followed naturally. I think that women are quite as fit
 mentally as men to deal with political problems ... Now that
 women [have] the franchise, it [is] incumbent upon them to keep
 in touch with politics in order to use their votes to the best
 advantage for their own and the general good of the
 community. (55)

In an address to the Lycaeam Club, Melbourne, hosted by the wife of
 the governor of Victoria, Ethel emphasised the great role women could
 play in the intellectual, artistic, professional and philanthropic
 life of Australia which was inextricably linked with the nation's
 political life. "/I/f women could use their influence in this
 direction", she advised, "it would be all to the good of the
 Commonwealth, as well as to the Empire".⁵⁶ Turning to direct
 political involvement she said that "the woman who would go into
 politics must forget that she is a woman, and take her place as a
 politician. She must be prepared to take the same knocks as a man, and

53. "Women and the Empire: Address by Mrs E Tawse Jollie MP [sic]"
 Register, [Adelaide], 11.11.26.

54. "Mrs Tawse Jollie MLA", Western Australian, [Perth], 19.11.26; "A
 Woman Legislator ..." Age, [Melbourne], 27.9.26; "Women in Public
 Affairs - Mrs Jollie's Address", Herald, [Melbourne], 29.10.26;
 "Address by Mrs Jollie", Western Australian, [Perth], 16.11.26.

55. "The Woman's Part", Ibid., 26.11.26.

56. Ibid.

to know everything that was to be known about the political side of the work ... although in the end she had no hope of getting any of the 'loaves and fishes'.⁵⁷ "Men did not appreciate the work that women did to the extent it justified", she added in another interview, with good reason.⁵⁸

In Perth, she gave an address to representatives of many WA women's organisations at the invitation of Miss May Holman, MLA, who had followed her example to become the second woman parliamentarian in the British dominions.⁵⁹ Here Ethel lamented the big surplus of unmarried women aged 20-30 in England who had no hope of happiness because of the decimation of British manhood in the Great War.⁶⁰ Appropriately, 'temperant' Adelaide gave her a high profile with an address on imperialism organised by the Women's Non-Party Association where the women were "delighted to meet as a delegate a woman member of Parliament from a sister state".⁶¹ There was a large attendance, including the presidents of the National Council of Women, the Australasian Federation of Women's Societies for Equal Citizenship (FWSEC), and the President of the Australian Senate. Her call for a 'Big Sister' movement gained wide acceptance, as well as her belief that women had a special role in welding the Empire together - "the greatest force towards peace in their time".⁶² Responding, the president of the FWSEC called on women to play their part in framing

57. "Women in Public Affairs ..." Herald, [Melbourne], 29.10.26.

58. "Delegates Interviewed", Register, [Adelaide], 6.11.26.

59. "The Woman's Part", Western Australian, [Perth], 26.11.26.

60. Ibid.

61. "Women's Non Party Association - Welcome to Mrs E Tawse Jollie", Advertiser, [Adelaide], 10.11.26.

62. Ibid.

immigration policy and she said that "the time was ripe for Australian women to take their place in Empire affairs".⁶³ Ethel, however, was keen to stress that motherhood and homemaking comprised 'the highest destiny' of women and that these functions hindered direct political involvement for the majority. She said that if she herself had had children she would 'probably ... not be in Perth now'.⁶⁴ ('Probably' rather than 'certainly': it is difficult to imagine that she would have passed up the opportunity afforded by the tour!)

Ethel learned a lot too. Her meetings with the Countrywoman's Associations - the equivalent of the WI - alerted her to the importance of having a National Council of Women which she campaigned for on her return to Rhodesia.^{64A} Her visit to the giant irrigation scheme on the Murray river led her to campaign for similar projects back home.⁶⁵ She took an active part in the conference on trade and economic development held at Sydney on 6 October in which she called for better terms from British motor-car manufacturers if they were to compete with 'the American invasion'.⁶⁶ She pointed out her country's long-standing contribution to Imperial Preference through the Rhodes Clause which set duties on British goods no higher than 9%.⁶⁷ She

63. "Women's Non Party Association - Welcome to Mrs E Tawse Jollie", Advertiser, [Adelaide], 10.11.26.

64. Ibid.

64A. "Women Delegate ... Women's Institute", Mail, [Brisbane], 29.9.26.

65. LegAs, 19.5.27, p.590. Ethel's husband wrote an article on the subject of irrigation a year later, possibly with Ethel's encouragement. See J Tawse Jollie, "The Sabi Valley Irrigation Scheme", Rhodesian Agricultural Journal, Vol.24, 1927, pp.772-773.

66. EPA Informal Conference, Parliament House Sydney [Trade and Economic Development], 6 October 1926, (Sydney, 1926), p.13.

67. Ibid., p.5.

complimented Britain on its recent concession of a 2/- preference on Rhodesian tobacco which had greatly boosted settlement.⁶⁸ She called for more research into coffee parasites and, in a parting shot, she asked her colleagues whether they smoked Rhodesian cigarettes. She smoked a little herself (- still daring for a woman of her age in the 1920s -) but she was disappointed to find that the cigarettes offered to her in Australia were invariably American Virginia.⁶⁹

Ethel and the South Africans stayed a week longer than the other delegates and sailed for Colombo on 6 December.⁷⁰ From there she entrained for Bombay with the British delegates, in company with the lone Indian, Shanmukhan Chetty, chief whip of the Saraj party, a 30 year old literature student and profound admirer of Gandhi, whose "picturesque dress and swarthy complexion [had] assured him welcome wherever the delegation travelled".⁷¹ From Bombay Ethel sailed for Mombasa en route to Cape Town - "three continents in a stride, so to speak, and never outside the King's Dominions", she proudly recalled.⁷² The tour filled Ethel with renewed energy for the cause of Empire. More than ever she was convinced of the need to develop fresh and friendly markets for British goods, to improve imperial defences, particularly in the Far East against the Japanese, and to

68. EPA Informal Conference, Parliament House Sydney [Trade and Economic Development], 6 October 1926, (Sydney, 1926), p.5.

69. Ibid., p.14.

70. Cator, op cit., p.198.

71. Cator, op cit., p.198.

72. ETJ, "Empire and Life", National Review, Vol.89, 1927, p.139.

rid the British of the notion that colonial settlement meant exile even to the third and fourth generation.⁷³ The British should envy rather than pity the colonials who "in addition to their great inheritance, [had] a future to carve, a name to enrich, a tradition to create".⁷⁴ If the Australian tour taught her nothing else, it was the importance of thinking big, like Rhodes, for when the Empire was called great, to Ethel the quality of bigness was meant. She used the National Review to call on the British to dispense with 'safety first', to come "out of the narrow streets to the open road, the high endeavour, the Great Adventure of building up Britain beyond the seas".⁷⁵ She wanted 'Britain's best':

These are the lands of opportunity in no merely material sense, and every man or woman who chooses this rough road can tread it fortified with the conviction that their lives will not be wasted in crawling around and around a well-worn rut, but that their feet are helping to smooth a track along which the children of our race will pass in time to come to a splendid inheritance. (76)

Ethel was given a great welcome on her return to Salisbury,⁷⁷ but she had to narrow her focus now as the Rhodesian government faced its first test at the polls.

By 1927, Ethel was deeply concerned about the future of the RP. In May of that year, five RP defectors joined with five Independent members to form the Progressive Party under the chairmanship of N H Wilson,

73. ETJ, "Empire and Life", pp.139-146.

74. Ibid., p.140.

75. Ibid., p.146.

76. ETJ, "Empire and Life", National Review, Vol.89, 1927, p.146.

77. See RH, 31.12.26, 4.1.27 and 5.1.27.

with Colonel Frank Johnson as the front man. Ethel herself sympathised with the RP defectors' claim that the RP had ceased to be the party of the people and had become the party of the establishment because of the inclusion of former Unionists in its higher echelons.⁷⁸ There was some truth to the claims that the BSAC's stranglehold over the economy was almost as great as before 1923, that the civil service was still dominated by ex-Company men and that Company monopolies and concessions still functioned.⁷⁹ This sense of disappointment was heightened by the collapse of the tobacco market in 1927 which had a ripple effect throughout the economy. Another populist party, The Country Party, was founded by Rhodesia Agricultural Union dissidents to represent farming interests in the Assembly directly.⁸⁰ To complete the populist opposition there was the Labour Party, led by the fiery Jack Keller, opposed to the 'machinations' of international capital, privilege within the white community, black competition from without, and the general doing down of the white working man.⁸¹

With the RP defections and their attendant challenge to the RP's claim to be 'the people's party', Ethel's (1923) biblical exhortation "To your tents O Israel; now see to thine own house, David!"⁸² proved almost prophetic. By now Ethel was feared, envied - even disliked - within the ranks of those in the party who wished to coast along, but

78. See Wetherell, "Populism in Rhodesian Politics", pp.54-55.

79. Ibid., p.55.

80. Ibid., p.56.

81. For the flavour of Keller's radicalism see J Keller, The Fascists of Southern Rhodesia, (Bulawayo, Rhodesia Labour Party, 1926).

82. See supra, p.362.

if they could not live with her, they could not yet do without her expertise. In March 1927 she was elected a vice-president of the party along with Howard Moffat, the Minister of Mines.⁸³ The party agreed to Ethel's suggestion that a sub-committee be appointed to consider the re-organisation of the RP to enable it to face a general election with confidence.⁸⁴ In July she was elected a party organiser, while Coghlan advocated the appointment - at £800 a year - of a full-time, professional party organiser.⁸⁵ She did "valuable work in reviving interest in the party",⁸⁶ but the chief impediment to Ethel's campaign was Coghlan himself. A veteran social drinker, he was so worn out from long campaigning that since May most of his official duties had devolved on Moffat.⁸⁷ On 28 August Ethel lamented the state of the party in a vivid letter to Sir Francis Newton, now Rhodesian High Commissioner in London and her closest political confidant:

Sir Charles' illness came at a very inopportune time & has made it difficult to come to any decisions - literally, with all one wanted to discuss about party affairs, I have only been able to have 10 minutes consecutive talk with him.

The position as an organiser is complicated by the fact that an outside man should have been on the spot now, to get in touch with constituencies ... which cannot be done in a few weeks.

83. RP 4th Annual Congress Minutes, 25-26.3.27, NAZ RH 8/4/1.

84. *Ibid.*

85. RP Central Executive Minutes, 25.5.27, NAZ RH 8/4/32; RP 5th Annual Congress, Salisbury, 21-22.3.28, NAZ RH 8/4/1.

86. RP Mashonaland Sub-Committee Meeting Minutes, 7.12.27; RP Central Executive Meeting (Mashonaland Section), 8.3.28; RP Central Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, 22.3.28, NAZ RH 8/4/3/2; RP Minutes of Branch Meeting, Grand Hotel, Umtali, 20.2.28, NAZ RE 1/1/1.

87. See Blake, op cit., pp.206-207.

Someone had to organise a campaign of meetings while Cabinet ministers were free to take it on. At first my intention was to accumulate some up to date information merely for the use of the organiser I hoped to get from England, but it is difficult to do this, & I should have to 'nurse' anyone who came up fresh and go over the ground with him, & in short, I don't feel that a new man could relieve me of the job.

Then finance is a difficulty. Sir Charles alone can deal with this & he has been hors de combat, so that I don't really know how we can afford the importation of a good man. We can hear of no one suitable in S.Africa.

If you had heard of any young and exceedingly promising man I think I would have risked it, but the one suggested, 47 with a grown up family, seems to me too much of a responsibility.

So I have offered to carry on for as long as I can, with Teddy Edwards as my secretary in Salisbury and [T E] Hepburn (who is only useful if one tells him what to do) [as secretary] in B/ulawa/yo.

I am in the middle of a series of meetings with Major [later Sir Robert] Hudson [Attorney General and Minister of Defence 1923-28]. He is shaping much better politically and learning to make a platform speech ...

I am sorry to have given you so much trouble - & others too - in the matter of an organiser, but truthfully I have been very anxious to escape the work & responsibility. I have been urged by many people to do it & there is a strong feeling against the importation of a 'paid politician' & that, combined with the delay ... in getting someone from England has decided me. (88)

She ended on a note of cautious optimism, giving the impression that she was in control once more:

The Progressive Party cuts no ice at all anywhere, that I can see, but our party has a number of members who, by their slackness, or too great pre-occupation with their own affairs, or personal unpopularity, will lose any seat that is decently contested. We want fresh men & fresh methods & that is what I am now going to look for. (89)

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88. ETJ to [Sir Francis] Newton, [marked private], 28.8.[27], Newton Family Papers [NFP]
 89. ETJ to Newton, 28.8.[27], NFP.

Ethel's fresh start was closer than she thought. On the day of her letter to Newton, Coghlan died.⁹⁰ For all his faults, his personality and reputation had been as crucial to the RG campaign as Ethel's organising skills. Like Ethel he made no fortune out of his political service - he never even owned a home of his own in Rhodesia - and in his will he asked the Colony to provide for his widow and daughter.⁹¹ His successor was Howard Moffat, who was the son of the famous missionary, John Moffat. By the standards of his time and of his community, Moffat was a liberal in native affairs, but when he succeeded to the premiership he was unable to fill the void caused by Coghlan's death. Of the RG giants, only Ethel was left on the political stage, but a woman premier - even a woman cabinet minister - in the 1920s was unthinkable.

Newton, writing from London, urged Moffat to abandon plans to import a British election organiser and concentrate instead on finding a suitable Rhodesian.⁹² An outsider - particularly one of the sahib type - would be unpopular, Newton thought, though Ethel believed that an outsider would be free from prejudices and jealousies.⁹³ Based on his experience in the referendum and the 1924 general election, Newton advised Moffat to appoint Ethel, whom he was sure would accept the job:

90. Wallis, *op cit.*, pp.242-243.

91. *Ibid.*, pp.243-244; Hummel "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.502.

92. Newton to [H U] Moffat, 8.9.27, NAZ NE 1/1/7.

93. Newton to Moffat, 8.9.27, NAZ NE 1/1/7.

I don't think she has had enough credit for all the good work she did in those two contests. She is a good organiser, a clever electioneering speaker and she has considerable knowledge of electioneering tactics. (94)

Moffat replied that Coghlan himself had come to that conclusion before he died and "he had even adopted the suggestion that that 'man' should be Mrs Tawse Jollie!".⁹⁵ He reported that Ethel was already at work holding public meetings in different centres.⁹⁶ Her energetic reorganisation of the RP was also brought to the attention of the Colonial Secretary, Stanley Baldwin, by the Governor, Sir John Chancellor. She had had no difficulty in finding suitable candidates.⁹⁷ Ethel's other concern was financial. Coghlan's death had left the party funds in disarray as much of the RP's resources had been banked in Coghlan's name. Pending the legal procedure to release the funds, Newton managed to secure financial backing in England.⁹⁸

The centre of gravity of the RP was now shifting from Bulawayo and the Coghlan coterie to Salisbury and Mashonaland where most of the RP defections had occurred and the Progressive Party mounted the greater challenge. From the government's point of view it was just as well that Ethel was at the helm, as Moffat was in the midst of a scandal since September 1927 involving his ill-tempered brother-in-law, John

94. Newton to Moffat, *ibid.*

95. Moffat to Newton, 5.10.27, NAZ RE 1/1/7.

96. *Ibid.*

97. RP Central Executive Committee Meeting (Mashonaland Section), Minutes, 8.3.28, NAZ RH 8/4/3/2, Governor to Secretary of State for the Dominions [Secret Dispatch], 5.1.28, PRO DO 63/5/1293.

98. Newton to Moffat, 8.9.27, NAZ NE 1/1/7; Moffat to Newton, 5.10.27, *ibid.*; Newton to Moffat, 1.12.27, *ibid.*

Meikle, who had branded an African on the bottom.⁹⁹

Despite the scandal, the RP managed to win a by-election in the Midland constituency in 1928 a result which, Newton told Moffat, reflected well on the RP's electioneering arrangements.¹⁰⁰ In the meantime Ethel had been replaced as party organiser by a nonentity named Colonel Knapp.¹⁰¹ Newton asked Moffat:

... /W/hat about Mrs Tawse Jollie? I hope she is not being disregarded in favour of a newcomer; there is no doubt she has done much good work for the party from the outset of the RG campaign, & one who has not had much reward. I do hope that all is well, & that her undoubted claims are receiving due recognition. (102)

This marked an ignominious end to a remarkable career. With Coghlan gone one would have expected her to increase her influence in the RP for even he had belatedly agreed that she could not be done without. Yet her whole career folded at a time when her star was rising. In the absence of written evidence we can only guess the reasons for this sudden demise. Certainly Moffat was not the same calibre of leader as Coghlan. Beset by scandal, he lacked sufficient authority and force of personality to save Ethel from the wolves and to give her her due. He was unhappy with the choice of candidates and the general rivalry within the party. Perhaps she was the scapegoat for the sake of party peace.

By June, Moffat thought the RP's prospects in the general election

99. See Blake, *op cit.*, pp.207-208.

100. Newton to Moffat, 24.5.28, NAZ NE 1/1/7.

101. Moffat to Newton, 23.4.28, NAZ NE 1/1/7.

102. Newton to Moffat, 24.5.28, NAZ NE 1/1/7.

(due on 19 July) were 'very uncertain' and he did not share the confidence of the rank and file.¹⁰³ No special policy or object united them and there was too much leeway in outlook. The election was overshadowed by the collapse of tobacco and the government's failure to buy out the BSAC-owned Cold Storage Company as well as the government's attitude to the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias and land settlement.¹⁰⁴ In public at least Ethel showed no such despondence. In a parting shot she told the Assembly to loud applause:

The Government of this country has now finished the first lap full of hope and confidence. We have hope and confidence still. We have lost our first leader, but we have found another, and we shall carry on in the spirit, and infuse knowledge of the work done in this country [which] has very often been laborious and thankless and not immediately productive of sensational results, but it is recognised by the country, and I personally am proud to have been one of the party who assisted to put the Government into office. (105)

Ethel remained a vice-president and chairman of both the Mashonaland Sub-Committee of the RP and of the Central Executive, where she exerted considerable influence on the choice and direction of candidates.¹⁰⁶ She decided to vacate the Umtali seat and stand instead for the Eastern constituency which she had held from 1920 to 1924. She "lived in it and she would cede it to none", she assured the RP Umtali Branch.¹⁰⁷ It was not as certain as she thought. She had done much for the Eastern districts generally, even while she represented Umtali (1924-1928) and had greatly improved the transport,

103. Moffat to Newton, 18.6.28, NAZ NE 1/1/7.

104. Ibid., and Moffat to Newton, 6.7.28, Ibid.

105. LegAs, 5.6.28, p.580.

106. RP 5th Annual Congress, Salisbury, 21-22.3.28, NAZ RH 8/4/1.

107. RP Umtali Branch Meeting Minutes, 5.3.28, NAZ RH 8/4/3/2.

health and educational facilities of the area.^{107A} But all the while her replacement as MLA for the region, J L Martin, who made very little impression in the Assembly, got all the credit.¹⁰⁸ He enjoyed another advantage in belonging to one of the area's longest established pioneer families and he was fluent in Afrikaans. In contrast Ethel had put the noses of many Afrikaners out of joint in her referendum campaign -and the none-too-flattering impressions she gave of them in The Real Rhodesia.¹⁰⁹ Added to this, communications were still difficult at times and it took up to two days to cross the constituency, even for an accomplished horsewoman.^{109A}

Martin, as she was keen to point out, did not have the additional responsibilities of party organisation, for he was an Independent, having been in succession RP and then PP.¹¹⁰ He had, said Ethel, "no party ... no policy ... If returned he could rely on the support of neither side".¹¹¹ She concentrated her attack on this issue rather than issues of belief, since Martin presented no intellectual challenge.¹¹²

But it was never a very intellectual constituency and Ethel's arguments failed to gain sufficient support. In a 67.10% poll Ethel polled 221 votes to Martin's 344; not a bad performance against the

107A. See supra Chapter 6, pp.374-6 and especially fn.272.

108. "Death of Mrs Tawse Jollie [- Member of Southern Rhodesia's First Parliament], RH, 22.9.50.

109. See supra pp. 158-159, 209, 311, 348, 353.

109A. LegAs, 18.5.28, pp.132-133.

110. "Meeting at Chipinga" [1.9.28], RA, 4.9.28.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid.

sitting member.¹¹³ Nationwide the results were more positive, the RP winning 25 out of 30 seats, or one seat less than they won in 1924. The opposition PP was reduced to 4 seats, plus one Independent (Martin), but - no doubt to Ethel's delight - Colonel Johnson lost his seat.¹¹⁴ The Rhodesia Advertiser (Umtali), lamented her passing:

Regret at the disappearance from the House of Mrs Tawse Jollie ... will be widely spread, for her political, social and other activities covered the whole colony and her influence extended far beyond. She will be missed from the House. (115)

It was an opinion echoed by the Rhodesia Herald 22 years later:

She was a fluent and impressive speaker, and her contributions to parliamentary debates ... were marked by careful study and a broad attitude of mind ... [I/n all her work [she/ showed a cultivated judgment and a most excellent command of language ... She was a tireless and consistent worker, and the Eastern Districts, probably the most neglected part of the country at the time, received many benefits as the outcome of her advocacy. (116)

Ethel did not throw in the towel yet. She remained a vice-president of the RP until her resignation in 1930.¹¹⁷ She stood again as an RP candidate in Selukwe in the General Election of 1933.¹¹⁸ Her opponent was R D Gilchrist of the Reform Party but she managed to gain only 160 votes against his 507.¹¹⁹ By that time the RP was crumbling. Moffat managed in 1931 to buy out the Company's mineral rights for £2m, a modest sum, but a number of RP MLAs defected to the Reform Party (REF)

113. Willson, op cit., p.124.

114. See Blake, op cit., p.207.

115. Editorial, RA, 27.9.27.

116. "Death of Mrs Tawse Jollie", RH, 22.9.50.

117. 7th RP Annual Congress, Salisbury, 10-11.10.30, NAZ RH 8/4/1.

118. Willson, op cit., p.133.

119. Ibid.

under the leadership of the eloquent and astute Dr Godfrey Huggins. He clashed with Moffat over the mineral rights which he held to be the people's by right not purchase, over the government's handling of the economy during the Depression, and over its alleged failure to secure the future of the white man in the Colony. In 1932 he became leader of the REF and managed to secure 16 seats in the 1933 General Election, against the RP's 9 and Labour's 5. The REF was populist - even radical. Separate development of the races was one of its main platforms. It was far more doctrinaire in a Radical Right sense than the more evolutionary RP had ever been.¹²⁰

Huggins became Prime Minister in 1933. Once in power he suffered the fate of most radicals and became moderate, if not yet a pillar of the establishment. A year later, faced with a revolt from his party's left wing, which believed he had betrayed its populist principles, he crossed the floor to unite his followers with the remnants of the RP, now led by Percy Fynn, to form the United Party. In the General Election of November 1934 the REF's representation was reduced to 1. Populism never emerged as a serious political challenge until the 1950s and 60s with the rise of the Dominion Party and the Rhodesian Front.¹²¹

But for Ethel the true old politicking days were dead. She never stood again as a candidate and she was tactfully squeezed out of the RP as it was made clear that her pension was conditional on her demise. A

120. See Blake, *op cit.*, pp.211-214; Wetherell, "Populism in Rhodesian Politics", pp.60-63.

121. See Blake, *op cit.*, p.216.

senior RP official wrote to Fynn:

I think that Mrs Tawse Jollie has never shown that she was looking for a job for herself and was not really considering the Party. It would, I am sure, be to her interest to drop out of politics for a time, or her pension may be sacrificed either wholly or in part and that would be a great pity because I really think she needs it and has deserved it as well. (122)

She transferred her allegiance to the United Party (UP) where she continued to enjoy the ears of the powerful.^{122A} The only feather in her cap was the award of Officer of the Order of the British Empire (OBE) by King George V in 1930 on the advice of Moffat for 'her services to the Colony'.¹²³

It was said of Ethel and her husband that they lived on 'pigs, politics and pupils' (- student farmers which the Tawse Jollies tutored at Chibuzana).¹²⁴ First the politics went; then in 1932 after a legal wrangle, she lost her postal agency, only 30/- a week but she needed it;¹²⁵ a year later Jack died of a heart attack at the age of 58, leaving Ethel heavily in debt. She had "not [been] assisted by one well versed in the management of estates", her lawyer noted.¹²⁶ It was

122. A R Welsh to Sir Percy Fynn, 13.7.34, NAZ [Historical MSS Collection: The Papers of Sir Percival Fynn], FY 1/1/4.

122A. She transferred her allegiance to the UP because she was by then in dire financial need, according to Dr A J Chennells who heard the story from his mother, the daughter of Sir Charles Coghlan. Interview Dr Anthony Chennells, 21.7.83.

123. RP Meeting of local members of Matabeleland Section of Executive [Bulawayo] Minutes, 17.6.30, NAZ RH 8/4/2.

124. Mrs Theresa Rose to the author, 14.2.88.

125. Smith, *Rhodesia, a Postal History*, pp.76-87.

126. Deceased Estate File, John Tawse Jollie, NAZ DR Vol.40, F.178. See also "Death of Mr John Tawse Jollie - A Matabeleland Pioneer", RH, 2.9.32; "Personalia - death of Mr John Tawse Jollie", *East Africa*, 13.10.32, p.110.

perhaps a symptom of her National Efficiency origins never to say 'Die' for she persevered for another three years. She put a brave face on it; describing herself as 'a successful pig-breeder'.¹²⁷ But in 1935 she sold the farm and the trading store to meet her debts and, with scarcely any money left, she retired to Salisbury.¹²⁸

There she returned to her 'dual vocation' the edification of the family and home - grass roots imperialism - chiefly through the WI, of which she became president in 1935;¹²⁹ and the consolidation of the wider Empire through her propaganda work in British journals.¹³⁰ She continued to have a high profile among the old guard of imperialists both in Britain and Rhodesia. In 1935 she represented the Rhodesian FWI at the International Congress of Scientific Management in London where she was empowered to negotiate with Lady Aberdeen and the executive of the British FWI the draft constitution of the Rhodesian Council of Women to facilitate the co-ordination of all women's organisations in the Colony.¹³¹ At the same time Ethel took the opportunity to publicise the Colony at the Royal Empire Society and the Victoria League where, with the aid of lantern slides she extolled the virtues of her country in her familiar, chatty style.¹³² In 1936 she was chosen to write a short history of her old adversary, the BSA

127. [ETJ] "Record of Mrs Tawse Jollie OBE".

128. Ibid., Fleming interview, op cit.

129. ETJ, "Twenty Years [in Southern Rhodesia]" UE, Vol.26, 1935, pp.358-

130. See Bibliography under Primary Sources.

131. ETJ, "Twenty Years", p.358; Report of Congress of FWISR, 2-4.7.35, NAZ WO 5/1/1/4.

132. ETJ, "Twenty Years", pp.357-358; ETJm "Life and Progress in Southern Rhodesia - Mrs Tawse Jollie's Tribute to the Land she Loves", [Victoria League Lecture], South Africa, 28.12.35, p.399.

Company, for the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg (1936-37).^{132A} In the following year she edited the Rhodesian papers of Sir William Milton.^{132B}

By now (apart from one biting defence of Archibald Colquhoun against Ian Colvin, the biographer of Jameson, who called Colquhoun one of Rhodes's mistakes),¹³³ Ethel's propaganda concentrated on one issue: the creation of a British dominion in South Central Africa which would encompass both Northern and Southern Rhodesia and become a more reliable base for the Empire than the Union of South Africa. As she put it proudly in 1930:

[T]he tree which has grown from the seed planted 40 years ago, in the lifetime of all who are not under middle age ... is still a sapling, but a healthy and a growing one, and those of us who have tended it in its youth hope to see it spread wider and wider yet, a sturdy British oak, and one of the glories of the Empire which gave it birth. (134)

Ethel's advocacy of amalgamation may seem ironic when we recall that the incompatibility of the two Rhodesias was one of her arguments against the ambitions of the Company in 1916-17.¹³⁵ Coghlan shared this view believing that amalgamation would forestall RG indefinitely.

132A. ETJ, "The Chartered Company in Rhodesia", in British South Africa Company, Historical Catalogue and Souvenir of Rhodesia, [Empire Exhibition, Johannesburg, 1936-37], (Johannesburg, 1937), pp.5-31.

132B. ETJ (ed) "A friend of Cecil Rhodes: Extracts from the Milton Papers (Unpublished MSS 1937), Jollie Papers.

133. ETJ, "The Race for Manica: The 'Lion Who Walks by Night'", UE, Vol.23, 1932, pp.442-445.

134. ETJ, "Southern Rhodesia's Fortieth Birthday", UE, Vol.21, 1930, p.536.

135. See supra, pp.213-214.

Once RG had been attained, however, the RP leadership began to look again at the advantages of linking up with the northern territories and possibly 'a slice of Bechuanaland' which would take the Colony further out of the Union's orbit and enable it to control the flow of African labour from these territories which was presently over-influenced by the higher wages paid on the Union mines.¹³⁶ So this had a strong appeal for the Rhodesian electorate, labour-starved farmers and the Company old guard which still owned the railways and looked forward to further expansion and plain anti-Afrikaners in the settler community.¹³⁷ The RP programme in 1924 included amalgamation of the Rhodesias, the incorporation of Northern Bechuanaland and the Tati territory and "the eventual establishment of a Central African Dominion".¹³⁸ Ethel thought that they ought to make every sacrifice to bring that about:

If we watch the evolution of the British Empire we must see that the future for us is to be a much bigger people than we could be as a buffer between the north and the south. (139)

Ethel's optimism seemed justified in the Empire tour of the Dominion and Colonial secretary, L S Amery in 1927-28.¹⁴⁰ Speaking at Kimberley - significantly the starting point of the Pioneer Column in 1890 and the Imperial advance to the North - Amery expressed his faith in Rhodesian nation-building:

136. See I Wetherell, "Settler expansionism [in Central Africa: the Imperial response of 1931 and subsequent implications], African Affairs, Vol.78, 1979, p.211.

137. Ibid., p.212.

138. RP Programme 1924, (Salisbury, 1924), under heading "Greater Rhodesia".

139. LegAs, 5.6.28, pp.579-580.

140. See L S Amery, The Empire and the New Era, (London, 1928).

Mr Rhodes's dream is already being fulfilled ... a country of happy homes, imbued with British ideals ... now marching confidently forward towards ... a great destiny ... the building of a nation. (141)

Five months later he reaffirmed this faith in a speech to the Empire Club, Toronto:

... Cecil Rhodes, that 'dreamer devout by vision led' ... set out to build up there another new nation; and today that young nation ... is growing, developing ... rapidly increasing in prosperity and marking one step further forward in the advance of civilisation right across the continent of Africa ... [A] mighty destiny awaits it ... British Africa, in the wealth of its production, in the richness of its national life, in the wisdom and ability with which it is going to deal with the difficult problem of the relation of the black man to the white man, is going to play a leading part in the history of the Empire and of the world. (142)

Heartened by this support amalgamation in some form had the support of both the RP and the PP in the 1928 Election Campaign; the only argument being over whether Southern Rhodesia should first gain complete control of native affairs and remove Britain's remaining supervisory powers, or whether - as Ethel argued - they should first seek amalgamation in the sure belief that unfettered control would be delivered unto them soon after.¹⁴³ It was not inconceivable that the Imperial Government would at that stage have considered the grant of dominion status to Southern Rhodesia rather than antagonise a friendly base on the borders of the Union whose position in the Commonwealth was very tenuous and where British interests were thought to be

141. "Civic Reception, Kimberley, 24 August 1927", *ibid.*, p.19.

142. "Speech to the Empire Club, Toronto, 19 January 1928", *ibid.*, p.249. (Amery was a staunch imperialist. See L S Amery, My Political Life, (London, 1953) and Grainger, op cit., pp.320-326.)

143. "Meeting at Chipinga", RA, 4.9.28.

seriously threatened by Hertzog.¹⁴⁴ There was, however, no sense of urgency to the Rhodesian desire for dominion status. In 1926, Ethel advocated working under their existing constitution until the time was ripe for its revision. In the meantime, she called for the representation at the Imperial Conference to "advance [their] dignity as a self-governing Colony",¹⁴⁵ a privilege normally reserved for the dominions. In 1932 the Colony was represented at the Ottawa Conference where it was practically treated as a dominion. "We can feel, therefore, that Southern Rhodesia has acquired a new status", Moffat told the RP Congress of that year.¹⁴⁶ As one of the chief supporters of amalgamation, Ethel unwittingly helped to frustrate one of the last possible opportunities for the Colony's attainment of complete sovereignty. It was not complacency: she could not conceive of Southern Rhodesia gaining such a status minus its northern namesake:

[In the] belief that their race and nation has a distinctive contribution to make in Central Africa, the Rhodesias desire to control their destiny, and if one-half of them only achieves this object, they will be crippled. In the increase of population in there will be neither rest nor satisfaction until they attain what, after all, is their birthright - self-control. (147)

But the tide was not in the Rhodesians' favour. The Devonshire Declaration of 1923 - which stipulated that Kenya was an African territory in which native interests would predominate over those of the settlers - set the tone of the age.¹⁴⁸ Even Amery, the traditional friend of the settlers, belied his stirring speeches by refusing

144. Wetherell, "Settler expansionism", p.222.

145. LegAs, 29.4.26, pp.119-120.

146. BC, 8.11.32.

147. ETJ, "Greater Rhodesia", UE, Vol.22, 1931, pp.496-497.

148. See Wetherell, "Settler expansionism", pp.213-214.

representatives from the two Rhodesias the right to discuss amalgamation in 1927.¹⁴⁹ At that time the British government was preoccupied by the question of closer union in East Africa. The first major blow to settler ambitions came in 1929 when a commission convened under Sir Hilton Young to discuss closer union in East and Central Africa.¹⁵⁰

In its Report the commission unanimously supported the federation of East Africa, excluding Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but on Central Africa the members were divided. Sir Hilton Young favoured the partition of Northern Rhodesia into three, Barotseland as a native protectorate in the west, the amalgamation of the eastern portion and Nyasaland into one Crown Colony, and the amalgamation of the so-called Railway Belt linking Southern Rhodesia to the rich mineral deposits of the Copper Belt. The rest, however, thought that nothing should be

149. J R T Wood, The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, (Durban, 1983), p.49.

150. Wetherell, "Settler Expansion", pp.214-217. The Hilton Young Commission's Report and its effects are discussed in greater detail in Wetherell's "The Rhodesias and Amalgamation: Settler Sub-Imperialism and the Imperial Response, 1914-148", (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Rhodesia, 1977), esp. pp.132-161. Chanock, op cit., Chs.8-11, offers a different perspective on British official policy in Central Africa during this period, concentrating on British ambitions to build up a counterpoise to the Union whose presence in the Commonwealth was becoming increasingly tenuous. Wetherell, however, takes Chanock to task for relying too much on the personal statements of various Colonial and Dominion Secretaries, while playing down the differences between ministers and their cautious Colonial Office officials, as well as the dynamics of the ambitions of the settlers themselves. See Wetherell's review of Chanock: "Britain and Rhodesian expansionism: Imperial collusion or empirical carelessness", Rhod Hist, Vol.8, 1977, pp.115-128 and his "Settler expansionism", op cit, passim.

done since amalgamation would weaken Imperial protection for African rights and preclude any future federation with East Africa.¹⁵¹

In 1929 came another blow to the settler position. The Colonial Secretary of the new Labour government was Lord Passfield, formerly Sidney Webb, the Fabian socialist, who had shed his earlier National Efficiency concern with the use of Empire 'to breed an Imperial Race'.¹⁵² He made it clear that he would only consider amalgamation if the settlers would concede greater imperial control over native affairs. As the settlers were loath to accept any diminution of their self-government powers, the Passfield message was a dead letter. In 1930 he followed it up with the Passfield Memorandum which effectively extended the Devonshire Declaration to Northern Rhodesia where native interests would now be paramount. In short, Africa north of the Zambezi was to be 'Black Man's Country'.¹⁵³

Ethel was incensed by these developments, detecting in them a deeper malaise: the betrayal of kith and kin by an Imperial government which had abandoned the sense of mission essential to the expansion of the

151. Wood *op cit.*, p.50. Sir Hilton Young himself was a keen empire-builder and wished to see Southern Rhodesia amalgamated with the central portion of Northern Rhodesia to become "the heart and brain ... of an expanded Imperial territory in central Africa". Wetherell, "Settler expansionism", pp.215-216. Incidentally in 1934, when he was Secretary for Health, Sir Hilton Young appointed a departmental commission to look into the question of the sterilisation of the 'unfit'. It recommended voluntary sterilisation on the lines recommended by the Eugenics Society but this came to nothing largely because of its resemblance to Nazi practices in Germany at that time. See M Freedman, "Eugenics and Progressive Thought: A Study in Ideological Affinity", *Historical Journal*, Vol.22 (3), 1979, pp.667-668.

152. See *supra*, pp.72-6, 100 and 101.

153. Wetherell, "Settler expansionism", p.217.

Empire. For Ethel it marked a period of crisis for the Empire, a poor performance of national moral fibre, almost another Ulster crisis and the Northern Rhodesia settlers led by the fiery Leopold Moore saw it that way too. The Report stretched their conditional loyalty to the point of threatening a settler rebellion.^{153A} Looking back at the origins of the "we won't have interference from Britain attitude" - the 'UDI mentality' - Doris Lessing (b.1919) wrote of this period:

All through my childhood I heard [the settlers] joking: 'What are [the British] going to do then - send gun boats on to the Zambezi?' (153B)

There is no evidence of Ethel inciting rebellion, and it is unlikely that she did so, but in a series of caustic articles published between 1929 and 1931, she put the settlers' case. The Hilton Young Report was, she argued, a "Gordian knot ... wrapped up in a fog of words, quotations, and high sounding philosophy".¹⁵⁴ In its obsession with native paramountcy it had "cut the ground from under the feet of every white community in Africa, since everywhere, the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia included, the native races [were] numerically predominant [and would continue to be so]".¹⁵⁵ It was a threat to the very existence of the Empire:

[F]or it may be said at once, as it is said all over Africa privately, that no European will ever live in Africa on the terms laid down by the Commission. Eastern and part of Central Africa have been developing on different lines to West Africa as lands where Europeans can make a permanent home and build up a real civilization, not the type which is presided over by a few white administrators. (156)

153A. Chanock, op cit., p.215.

153B. D Lessing, Going Home, (Revised edn. 1968), p.305.

154. ETJ, "Europeans in Africa [- Some Thoughts on the Hilton Young Report]", The Countryside, Vol.2, 1929, p.6.

155. ETJ, "Another Lost Dominion?", National Review, Vol.93, 1929, p.303.

156. ETJ, "Europeans in Africa", p.6.

This was the general thrust and tone of her argument: It was ridiculous to classify the North as 'Black' because if that principle had always been applied, Southern Africa would never have been settled by whites. The Rhodesians were apparently lucky to gain RG just in time:

It is fortunate for Southern Rhodesia that, by an exhibition of pluck and determination, her 40,000 settlers were able to secure their own political destiny in 1923; for otherwise there seems no reason why she should not share the fate of her northern sister and be labelled 'Black' for all time. (157)

As she saw it, the whole issue hinged on whether the presence of white settlers in Africa was justified at all. She herself had no doubt about the legitimacy of their presence. As the Hilton Young Commission admitted they were economically essential to the development of British Africa. Ethel believed they were equally essential to their political development. They had "bought these countries with [their] blood" using the same methods the black tribes had used to displace one another and the Bushmen; the same methods that the Americans, Australians and Canadians had used in their conquests,¹⁵⁸ though, she claimed, the Rhodesians were far less ruthless.¹⁵⁹ Both their moral claim and their sense of belonging to these territories were, she argued, no less than any other of these 'conquering races'.¹⁶⁰ Using a logic reminiscent of John Locke, she argued that no race had the right to keep its territory barren, so the blacks had forfeited control to those who could develop the land.¹⁶¹

157. ETJ, "Europeans in Africa", p.304.

158. *Ibid.*, pp.305-306.

159. *Ibid.*

160. *Ibid.*

161. *Ibid.*, p.307.

She believed that for British statesmen, secure in their remote, homogeneous society, amalgamation and the welfare of settlers generally were academic questions,¹⁶² just as Colonial Office officials - "always [a] temporary element" - could not judge the best interests of Africa as well as those Europeans who had made their homes there.¹⁶³ It was a very different issue for those who lived "in the midst of a subject race whose numbers [were] overwhelmingly predominant."¹⁶⁴ They did not share Britain's latent doubts about the justice of their presence. Nor could they accept living under the rule of Whitehall officials:

All that is best in [the] English character comes out of our strong sense of responsibility and independence - qualities which have no place under Crown Colony government. (165)

There were other European nations, she warned, who would have no qualms about developing these areas.¹⁶⁶ On that point, if the war drums began to roll again, the defence of British Africa and its strategic minerals would primarily depend on the settlers, not on the Home British.¹⁶⁷

As to the Africans and the protection of their rights under a settler government, she thought it would be reasonable for the Imperial Government to retain the right of veto over legislation dealing with Africans, a power which Whitehall had retained in Southern Rhodesia

162. "Europeans in Africa", p.6; "Another Lost Dominion", p.304.

163. "Europeans in Africa", p.6.

164. "Another Lost Dominion", p.304.

165. Ibid., p.307.

166. "Europeans in Africa", p.6.

167. ETJ "Another Lost Dominion", pp.304, 306.

after 1923.¹⁶⁸ She was glad to see the passing of the "old time South African 'wallop-your-own-nigger' creed"¹⁶⁹ and she believed that economic equality should, and would be conceded to Africans, together with the devolution of government affecting their own affairs.¹⁷⁰ But "[p]olitical and social fusion [were] the two conditions which the ... settlers [could not] accept, and the result of any attempt to make them 'share the responsibilities' with the predominant native race [would] be to drive them out altogether".¹⁷¹ Numbers alone would secure the future of the black man in Africa, but, unless the Imperial Government was prepared to write across Central Africa the epitaph 'Another lost Dominion', it had to remember that it was "extremely easy ... to eliminate the European" altogether,¹⁷² she warned.

If the British reversed this policy - and she certainly hoped they would - the enormous latent mineral wealth of Northern Rhodesia would enable that territory to be settled and perhaps even outstrip the white population of its southern namesake, all to the advantage of the Empire at large:

The people of Rhodesia, North and South, are said by all who visit them to retain to a degree almost unprecedented their 'English' outlook. Their ties with the Old Country are very close, their racial patriotism, possibly, is stronger than it might have been had their lot been cast in another continent. They inherit a tradition which means a great deal to them. There is no country in the Empire where one man stands for so much as does Rhodes in his country of Rhodesia, and it was Rhodes who

168. ETJ "Another Lost Dominion", pp.

169. "Greater Rhodesia", p.494.

170. "Another Lost Dominion", pp.304-305; "Europeans in Africa", p.6.

171. "Another Lost Dominion", p.305.

172. "Europeans in Africa", p.8.

wrote of his countrymen that "they are the greatest the world has ever seen, but they do not know their greatness, their strength or their destiny ..."

It is the Rhodesian ideal to establish in Central Africa, on either side of the Zambezi, a British Dominion which will, in time, be a fresh source of strength and stability both to the Empire and the African continent. They believe this can best be done by a policy of settlement and development by Europeans ... without dispossessing the natives of any land they can usefully occupy and without cramping their development.

Cecil Rhodes did a big thing in 1890, and his namesake, Southern Rhodesia, did a big thing in 1922, something charged with great future consequences. Some of us believe the next big thing is the foundation of the fifth of the Dominions on a basis of British ideals and justice for all - Greater Rhodesia ... No longer is European development tied to a single line from Capetown. The importance of a strong British state at the centre of this new Africa, in which are found the minerals which provide the life blood for a civilised state, and a market for ... produce ... is not merely political. Both for the industrial advantage to the Empire and as a centre where the native will be secure of British [not Union] justice, this country should play a great part in the future. (173).

This line of argument had an increasing influence on British politicians over the next twenty years, but for the present, on the advice of Colonial Office officials who were out of sympathy with and distrustful of white settlers and Dominions Office officials who wished to avoid a dispute with the Union over the integration of the High Commission territories, the British prevaricated.¹⁷⁴ Still the settlers persevered, mindful of developments both within and without the Empire. The 1930s was a depressing decade for Ethel's breed of imperialist. After 1926, her forbodings seemed to come to pass. The Balfour Declaration of 1926 recognised that the dominions were sovereign and equal partners with Britain. Under pressure from Canada,

173. "Greater Rhodesia", p.8.

174. Wetherell, "Settler expansionism", pp.212, 217.

South Africa and the Irish Free State, Britain gave the Declaration legislative force in the Statute of Westminster of 1931. The 'Mystical Body' of Empire was being dismembered and a nebulous metaphysical 'commonwealth of nations' erected in its place. A member could sever its links any time it chose. There were no rules. Nothing could be further from Ethel's conception of Empire. The Crown was no longer indivisible. No longer could the King-Emperor commit his dominions to war with a single declaration on the advice of his British cabinet. Peace and war were now the prerogatives of each dominion. Pedantic lawyers even speculated whether the King could be at war with himself if one dominion declared war on another.¹⁷⁵

The cracks appeared where, a decade earlier, Ethel anticipated they would. From the 1920s the Irish Free State issued its own passports and appointed its own diplomats. Then, in 1932, de Valera - Smuts's erstwhile correspondent and friend of Hertzog - was returned to power on an avowedly anti-imperial platform. He engaged in an economic war with Britain while one by one he dismantled the provisions of the Anglo-Irish Treaty (1921), culminating in his taking advantage of the Abdication Crisis (1936) to eliminate the king from the constitution altogether.¹⁷⁶ It was a dangerous precedent. In 1931, Newfoundland went bankrupt and reverted to Crown Colony status, a fate which was spared Rhodesia. In the same year the Viceroy of India held talks with

175. See N Mansergh, Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs: Problems of Imperial Policy 1931-39, (London, 1952), and K C Wheare, The Statute of Westminster, (4th edn, London 1949).

176. Ibid.

Mahatma Gandhi, newly released from prison. Churchill was revolted by "the nauseating and humiliating spectacle of this one-time Inner Temple lawyer, now turned seditious fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceroy's palace ... to negotiate and parley on equal terms with the representative of the King Emperor".¹⁷⁷ In 1932, Western Australia tried to secede from the rest of Australia.¹⁷⁸ Closer to home the province of Natal tried to secede from the Union, now governed by the Nationalists.¹⁷⁹ So by the mid-1930s Ethel was deeply pessimistic. In 1935 she returned to England and took part in the General Election.¹⁸⁰ She was shocked to find no reference to Britain's links with the Empire or Commonwealth in any of the speeches she had heard in eight different constituencies.¹⁸¹ She thought Britain could be more forthcoming on inter-Imperial trade than she had been at Ottawa in 1932. There was more at stake than an economic issue, she claimed. Britain herself was not immune from the political extremism which thrived on economic depression:

The collapse, under the stress of economic disaster, of democratic institutions in so many European countries, and the political unrest elsewhere brings into high relief the success of the British race in every part of the world in operating their own particular system. Every other civilised country is reverting to the idea of the State as master, and the individual as its servant. The British peoples still maintain their faith in individualism and in the State as the servant of the people. If, as we believe, this is the true and civilised view and enshrines our most cherished ideals of liberty, then it cannot be a matter of indifference that any change should take place in the orientation of the component parts of the Commonwealth ... I do think that the wider aspect of inter-Imperial relations has been

177. Quoted in Morris, Farewell the Trumpets, p.293.

178. Christmas, op cit., p.181.

179. See T R H Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, (3rd edn. London, 1987), p.305.

180. ETJ, "Food and the Empire", UE, Vol.27, 1936, p.13.

181. Ibid.

obscured of late, and that our Imperial heritage, which is so much wider and deeper than our purely territorial possessions, is in danger of being lost sight of - and, once lost, can never be fully recovered. (182)

For Ethel, unity of Empire never seemed more crucial than now, with Mussolini's ambitions in East Africa and Hitler's stated desire to recover the African territories lost by Germany in 1919.¹⁸³ This, together with the latent commercial hostility of the Union, focussed the attention of politicians in the two Rhodesias on amalgamation once again.¹⁸⁴ An informal conference of 7 unofficial members of the Northern Rhodesia LegCo and 30 representatives of the political parties of Southern Rhodesia convened at the Victoria Falls in 1936. Leopold Moore, Ethel's northern ally in the opening broadside against the Company in 1917, led the Northern Rhodesians.¹⁸⁵ The Conference came out unanimously in favour of amalgamation. The immediate status of a unified Rhodesia would be, they proposed, akin to that of Southern Rhodesia while dominion status would be pursued thereafter. There would be three nominated MPs to represent African interests. The legal codes of the two territories would be retained but with a single High Court in Salisbury. Ethel made her mark as one of the hardliners of the Conference.¹⁸⁶ The pressure it created together with that of

182. ETJ, "Food and the Empire", UE, Vol.27, 1936, p.16.

183. Ibid. (Ethel's brother, Ted, who had recently retired as Colonial Secretary and Acting Governor of Sierre Leone, was also aware of the "German menace", though he advocated - in the spirit of appeasement - the conditional restoration of Germany's former colonies to stave off a European war and, by implication, the collapse of the British Empire itself. See Captain C E Cookson, "A New Conception of Colonial Service", West African Review, May 1936, pp.46-47.)

184. Wood, op cit., pp.56-57.

185. Ibid. See supra Chapter 3, pp.194-5 and especially fn.13 and fn.173.

186. Keatley, op cit., p.261.

the Company and other large interests induced the British government to convene another commission in 1938 led by Lord Bledisloe, a former Governor General of New Zealand.¹⁸⁷ By then Ethel believed that time was running out - "the bogey of the 'Black North' would come south if there was no unity of government".¹⁸⁸ But the commission avoided the issue. Amalgamation was desirable 'in principle' but, because of the differing native policies of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, the furthest it went was to recommend the establishment of an Inter-Territorial Council to co-ordinate economic development.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless Ethel kept up her interest in the question and the final article she published outside Rhodesia in 1947 was a plea for a unified 'Rhodesian Dominion'.¹⁹⁰ In the meantime, a far larger crisis confronted the Colony, which indirectly provided it with greater possibilities of co-operation with the North, and provided Ethel her last public role: the Second World War.

187. Wetherell, "Settler expansionism", p.223.

188. Quoted in Gray, *op cit.*, pp.188-189.

189. Wetherell, "Settler expansionism", pp.223-224.

190. ETJ, "A Rhodesian Dominion?", National Review, Vol.28, 1947, pp.279-288.

CHAPTER TEN

Home and Country

... I shall die where I have fought,
and deem my lot is best;
We hold the hills, we made the roads,
to North and East and West;
Our eyes have seen the promised land,
our feet have crossed her streams,
And she shall rear a sturdy race,
the Nation of our Dreams.

(Madeleine Holland,
"The Pioneer", c.1925)

When Britain went to war with Germany on 3 September 1939 Ethel was no doubt heartened by the fact that Rhodesia was instantly at war as well. Indeed, its tiny air force, stationed on the frontiers of Mussolini's Abyssinian Empire, was the first unit to be placed on alert. Canada took another four days to declare war, South Africa vacillated, and Eire, pace de Valera, kept out altogether on the grounds of its partition. Rather than vehemently or ideologically opposed to Nazism, the Rhodesians were xenophobically pro-British. It was for them a war of decency and fair play against an upstart Austrian corporal who was breaking the rules of the game. So enthusiastically loyal were they that conscription had to be introduced to prevent workers in essential industries absconding for the front. The Colony made a contribution out of all proportion to its (European) numbers, particularly in the Royal and South African Air Forces.¹ As Ethel had predicted in 1922, the Colony was a vital link in the communications chain which linked the Union with East and North Africa. Reinforcements regularly passed through it en route to the North, while the Colony itself provided the main defence of the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt and the chrome mines of Southern Rhodesia, the produce of which was essential to the War effort. The Colony also made a crucial contribution through its participation in the Empire Training Scheme which trained thousands of RAF flying crews in clear, safe skies. The influx of allied airmen had an impact similar to that of the American GIs in Britain. Faced with an invasion of sex-starved servicemen who did not always observe the

1. See J G MacDonald, The War History of Southern Rhodesia, 1939-45, Vol.1, (Salisbury, 1947).

social conventions of the Colony, the Rhodesians became aware of how far they had mutated from the mass of the 'Poms' and 'Chums'.² In one of Lessing's novels, she describes the settlers' impression of them. They had a "look of incompleteness ... [the Rhodesians] could not own these ancestors; their cousins from Home were a race of dwarfs, several inches shorter than themselves. They were not burnt and brown, but unhealthily pale. They were not glorious and rebellious individuals ...".^{2A} Nevertheless, these peregrinating pilots provided a touch of excitement in an otherwise parochial colony, as well as a large number of immigrants after the war.³ Left wing causes were given a new respectability which such movements as the Friends of the Soviet Union, Medical Aid for Russia, the Left Book Club and its Current Affairs Group into which the young Lessing made her way.^{3A}

The crisis did not take Ethel entirely by surprise. She was determined to keep the home fires burning while the menfolk did their bit at the front.^{3B} In March 1939, she joined with other prominent women to form the Women's National Service League (WNSL), a name which recalled her pre-1914 career.⁴ Over 6000 women joined within a few months and engaged in such work as blood donations for the Red Cross and air raid precautions, for it was feared that the Italian Air Force might attempt an attack if they broke through in East Africa.⁵ The WNSL aims

2. Clements, *op cit.*, pp.

2A. Quoted in Chennells, *op cit.*, p.283.

3. Clements, *op cit.*, pp.

3A. See M Steele, "Doris Lessing's Rhodesia", in Bertelsen (ed), pp.51-53.

3B. ETJ to Editor, RH, 23.3.39.

4. WNSL Inaugural Meeting [at Town House, Salisbury], 20.3.39, [in NAZ WO 2/2/1.]

5. MacDonald, *op cit.*, pp.5-6.

were to assist the government in the completion of a National Register of women who could do war work, to encourage women and girls to join the Red Cross and the St John's Ambulance, and to assist government in all other ways that may become advisable and necessary.⁶ Official recognition was granted and the League liaised chiefly with the Ministry of Defence. Ethel was given charge of the WNSL's sub-committee to look after children of mothers engaged in war work.⁷ She also took charge of the National Register and she also became a vice-president of the Women's Auxiliary British Empire Service League, also engaged in war work.⁸ She called for the establishment of a central committee to "provide nationally for national needs" in the supervision of the National War Fund so that the provincial rivalry of Salisbury and Bulawayo could be overridden.⁹

In 1940 she was asked to supervise a government scheme to enable more women to take up clerical work to relieve men. This was gradually merged into the Women's Branch of the Government Employment Service under the Director of Industrial Manpower and Ethel herself became the Officer for Women's (civilian) employment, a position which brought her into direct contact with the Minister of Defence and the service chiefs.¹⁰ This was a responsible position, involving the direction of some 18,223 women aged between 16 and 55, engaged in a variety of functions from driving and motor maintenance to the

6. WNSL Inaugural Meeting, 20.3.39; ETJ to Editor, RH, 23.3.39.

7. ETJ to Editor, RH, 4.9.39; 1.10.41.

8. Ibid., 23.3.39.

9. Ibid., 4.11.39.

10. ETJ, "Personal Record [nd]", Jollie Papers.

management of hostels and canteens.¹¹ As befitted the pioneering manageress of the Paddington Station Buffet in 1914 it is not surprising that canteening was Ethel's forte.

Equally predictable was her general ban on the employment of married women and alcohol at her canteen on Salisbury Station, where she was secretary, treasurer and supervisor. Ever ready to make the best of a crisis, she preferred single women who might find their heart's desire among the dashing pilots of the RAF and so provide baby Britons for the Empire. Besides, servicemen with roving eyes might have a damaging effect if there were married women around. So Ethel and her crew stuffed tea, coffee and sandwiches down the throats of the men, "whether they wanted food or not".¹² Most appreciated it, and a warrant-officer remembered:

The ladies numbered approximately a hundred; the dry canteens were open thirteen hours a day, Sundays included; and the shifts worked in groups were approximately four hours. No concessions were asked by these ladies, not even a drop of petrol was issued to them ... Nothing was too much trouble ... Sewing on buttons, darning socks, mending clothes, were done cheerfully and with a charming grace. Men were encouraged to come to the dry canteens by the atmosphere that prevailed, which was one of welcome. The boys have gone; and they carry with them the memories of service given continuously for which they are profoundly grateful ... (13)

Though now old and ailing Ethel still got up at 6 am every morning to take personal charge of the canteen.¹⁴ "It was an effort, and this

11. Anon. "Colony of Southern Rhodesia [Women's War-Work]" in *African World Annual*, 1942, pp.57-58. See also [Editorial] "Mobilise Every Woman", *New Rhodesia*, 12.7.42, and "Tilda" [Hyde Richards], "Woman Power, *ibid.*

12. Fleming interview, *op cit.*

13. MacDonal, *op cit.*, p.47.

14. "ML", "Late Mrs Tawse Jollie - A Tribute", *RH*, 26.9.50.

she admitted", a friend recalled, "but many of the younger generation preferred lying in bed, or doing more glamorous war work. And rather than it not be done at all, she did it".¹⁵ She was certainly the willing horse and, according to another associate, she attended virtually every meeting of the various voluntary movements in which she was involved.¹⁶ She was not an easy colleague; for she knew what she wanted and spared neither herself nor others in pursuing her objectives. She engaged in running battles, in print and in private, with some of her colleagues over their alleged inefficiency, no matter how socially superior they were.¹⁷ But she was not vindictive or resentful. As a customary peace offering after yet another mêlée with a veteran opponent she would send her a bouquet of flowers (which she could ill afford).¹⁸ She was feared, but respected. In spite of the xenophobia heightened by the war she remained a humanitarian; for example her deep resentment at British and Rhodesian government regulations which forbade the export of clothes and other supplies to the post-war refugees of central and Eastern Europe. She was concerned as always with the fate of children whether 'enemy' or not, who were helpless in such circumstances and she saw these restrictions as a blatant violation of her personal liberty to send help where it was most needed.¹⁹

15. "ML", "Late Mrs Tawse Jollie - A Tribute", RH, 26.9.50.

16. Interview, Mrs Muriel Rosin, 20.7.84.

17. Ibid., and see for example ETJ to Editor, RH, 1.10.41, and Lady Russell, "Reply to Mrs Tawse Jollie", ibid., ETJ to Hon Sec FWISR, 7.5.44, 11.5.44, 6.6.44; Chairman FWISR to Vice Chairman, 29.5.44; Mary Mackenzie to Chairman FWISR, 23.4.44, NAZ WO 5/1/1/4.

18. Interview, Mrs Muriel Rosin, 20.7.84.

19. ETJ to Editor, RH, 2.6.45. I am also indebted to Mrs Deborah Kirkwood for her remiscences of this period of Ethel's career.

Ethel's tenacity and efficiency undoubtedly had a singular effect on the conduct of the Colony's war effort.²⁰ She gave weekly broadcasts for nearly a year on topics of general interest, emphasising to women on lonely homesteads in particular the role of the Colony in events of world wide significance.²¹ She was known for her authoritative talks on the strategic significance of the Burma Road, the importance of the Caucasus and Siberia to the Russian war effort and of the Danube Basin to the German economy; the characteristics of the Japanese; the natural resources of Central and South America; the importance of Panama, Suez, Singapore and so forth. She did so with all the confidence of the Colony's most travelled woman.²² Nothing in human affairs seemed foreign to her.

Her influence contributed to a transformation in the Rhodesian psyche wrought by the war. Confidence in Britain's Imperial role was temporarily restored.²³ Rhodesians paid little heed to the finer democratic details of the portentous Atlantic Charter, or the shift in the balance of power implicit in it; they were much more impressed by Churchill's prospect of a British Commonwealth and Empire lasting for a thousand years. Imported from Britain it reinforced in the white Rhodesians a false sense of ultimate security; the belief that, whatever crisis they might encounter, they would pull through in the end; that Britishers never lost wars; that they would never be

20. MacDonald, *op cit.*, p.5.

21. [ETJ] "Record" [nd], Jollie Papers. The author is indebted to the late R C Smith for telling him about Ethel's wartime broadcasts.

22. *Ibid.*

23. See MacDonald, *op cit.*, Chs.4-6, *passim*.

displaced or dispensed like other national groups - Germans, Poles, Latvians and the like. Had not Churchill himself said that "[f]or a thousand years we have not seen the campfires of an invader".²⁴ To many Rhodesians who had lived through these years of trial and victory, the succeeding decades were, understandably, ones of bitter disappointment. Less acquainted than Ethel with the basic flaws in the Empire, they regarded the abdication of British imperial power in terms of culpable moral decay - lack of discipline, order and patriotism - instead of a belated recognition that Britain had been overstretched for decades, and that the survival of its Empire for so long was in itself remarkable.²⁵

The war also heightened the sense of Rhodesian identity. Huggins had to warn the Colony's troops not to be 'braggarts' when they encountered their cousins from Britain and the dominions because the "home-born Englishman and Scotsman [knew] that he [sic] [came] from the finest race in the world, but he never mention[ed] it", and Huggins urged them to follow this example:

[I]f you in the same way realise that you come from the finest country in the world and say nothing about it, I know that you and they will be good friends. (26)

In spite of his warning Rhodesian military personnel became acutely aware of how much they differed from their cousins, even the English-

24. C Style, "Post Mortem on the Rhodesian", op cit.

25. See ibid for a succinct account of this attitude and its consequences.

26. MacDonald, op cit., p.46.

speaking South Africans with whom they had most in common.²⁷ Though they belonged to different units in the British and Union forces they sported special 'Rhodesia' shoulder tabs, and many belonged to distinct artillery units and 'Rhodesia' squadrons of the RAF..²⁸ Accustomed to command and deliberately groomed by their schools, many of them became officers and a high proportion served in such units as the Long Range Desert Group and its successor the Special Air Service. When the war ended they felt they had 'done their bit' and this sentiment was justified by the large number of medals and awards won by the Colony.

The war was a watershed in the Colony's history. As Lord Harlech, British High Commissioner in South Africa, warned the Rhodesian governor in 1944:

[A/s to the outlook of European Southern Rhodesians ... They are essentially permanent colonists bringing up their children as Rhodesians and nothing else, and showing not a few signs of the outlook of the several North American colonists before the Declaration of Independence in 1776 i.e. the same impatience at criticism or control from those outside their country ... They are emphatically not a country of planters like Malaya or Ceylon or even the West Indies other than Barbados. They are as sharply critical of their own government as they are of the government of

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27. *Ibid.*, p.42; Deborah Kirkwood to the author, 28.4.86. 'Buster' St Quinton, Maurice Rooney and Reg Griffiths interviews *op cit.* The tendency of Rhodesians, when overseas, to gravitate towards other 'colonials' rather than to Home-born Britons is also recalled by Julian Greerfield (*op cit.*, p.49) who, when he was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford in the 1920s, formed his closest friendships with students from the dominions.
28. (One of which still survives as No.44 (Rhodesia) Squadron, RAF Strike Command, with Lobengula's elephant seal as its crest and "The King's Thunderbolts are Righteous" as its motto. Apart from a few London streets this must rank as the last use of the name 'Rhodesia', not counting its partial preservation in the name of the multinational company, Lonrho.)

England .. [T]hey are both self-reliant and ambitious ... [T]here is in this uneasy continent a dynamic potential and the certainty of change and evolution which cannot but be accelerated by the events and ideas which are emerging from this world war ... (29)

Ethel was not entirely impressed by the social changes resulting from the war.³⁰ She was glad that women's capabilities were more recognised than ever before and that prejudice had dissipated; that, largely thanks to the WI, women were more experienced in organising meetings, and that there were "at least three excellent women speakers" in the Colony, where in her day a female orator had been 'a nine day wonder'.³¹ The appointment of women to the 'highest posts' of mayor and vice-mayor in Salisbury and Bulawayo pleased her and she hoped that more younger women would come forward. She hoped that the traditions of service and self-sacrifice would continue in peacetime.³²

Nevertheless she regretted the change in attitude towards the employment of married women caused by the exigency of war. "[T]his must have a serious effect on our social development", she warned: "The problem of a falling birthrate is already upon us and I feel it will be accelerated very rapidly by this latest revolution in the social life of the country".³³ No amount of nursery schools or children's allowances, she insisted, would compensate for the flight of the mother from the home.³⁴ Here again was her classic, Radical

29. Quoted Douglas Home, *op cit.*, p.112.

30. ETJ, "Women's Place [in Southern Rhodesia]", *Rhodesienne*, (March, 1946), pp.6, 11.

31. *Ibid.*, p.6.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*, p.11.

34. *Ibid.*

Right concern. The settlers could not have it both ways: a high standard of living and a low birth rate, if they wanted to ensure their survival in Central Africa. She was not alone in this concern. In 1942, J S Brown, the manager of the Farmers Co-op, cited the warnings of Arthur Hinsley, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, that Britain's birth rate was in decline, a crisis which was compounded by the death in action of only sons. Brown detected the same trends in the Colony which were "reducing the birthrate below the safety level".³⁵ This, he felt, was due to "wrong social habits ... sundowners ... women's involvement with sport continuing after marriage ... and the sterilising effects of ill-considered contraception".³⁶ The attainment of a high standard of living was no excuse and they could not rely on immigration alone to solve their problems. Children were essential to the life of the community and he was convinced that they could "breed and raise a far finer and better type than they could ever hope to import".³⁷

Ethel was also concerned with the improvement of the quality of life:

[T]here is only one thing that women can do, and that is not merely a matter of having children, but of making a real home, with the right kind of atmosphere ... [which] should include an intelligent interest in the affairs of our country. A home whose mental and spiritual atmosphere is bounded by the cinema and the football field is not good enough for the future citizens of a young and aspiring country ... [P]ioneer women ... were concerned with vital matters ... the health, comfort and happiness of a family is a very vital matter to the community. But in a community in which the material things are, so to speak, turned on by putting money in the slot, and require no personal exertion

35. RH, 10.7.42.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

a woman's life may very easily become trivial ... where many of the obligations of life in a more developed society are absent. We are in a transition stage [1946] and in a highly mechanised era, and Rhodesian women must find themselves again as important and responsible citizens. (38)

In other words, Ethel still longed for a class which would provide intellectual leadership and offset the worst drawbacks of colonial philistinism.³⁹ Sir Evelyn Baring (Governor 1942-1944) had detected its absence too, a suspicion which was confirmed by a conversation with an army chaplain:

[The chaplain] told [the Barings] that he did not find the Rhodesian mind up to the English one. General knowledge and culture were completely lacking in the young men who came to the barracks at eighteen to be trained ... He held discussion groups which they seemed to enjoy, but the moment the subject left a purely practical range they were lost ... [A]t that time, there was no university, no learning was attracted to Rhodesia, and therefore there was no intellectual substratum, and certainly no intelligent conversation in private homes. The Barings wondered gloomily what would be the result in another generation, in a country where the climate conspired against thought - hadn't Bernard Shaw said that the curse of South Africa was its climate? which coupled with cheap labour reducing the need for ingenuity and imagination, induced a life of no reflection and all action. (40)

The university had been the traditional imperial vehicle for countering this kind of problem. Imperialists like Cecil Rhodes and George Parkin envisaged Oxford as the nerve centre of imperial universities like one of the great monastic mother-houses of the Middle Ages. Its 'daughter-houses' would be the colleges of the colonies, complete with ivy-covered, reproduction Oxbridge quads and

38. ETJ, "Women's Place", p.11.

39. See *supra*, pp.165 (fn.85), 167-8, 408, 479-83 and 520.

40. Douglas Home, *op cit.*, p.127.

mortar-boarded dons, spreading the gospel of Empire to its furthest extremities.⁴¹ There had been a demand for a Rhodesian university since the early 1920s one which Ethel had voiced in the Assembly.⁴² It was seen as an essential milestone in the Colony's coming-of-age, which would reduce its cultural dependence on the Union and form one of the pillars of a great Central African Dominion.⁴³ In July 1945 a group of concerned citizens met in Salisbury to form the "Friends of the University of Rhodesia". Ethel was elected to the board of the association, together with Lancelot Manfred Hodson, a former headmaster of Grey High School, an imperialist 'crêche' in Port Elizabeth.⁴⁴ The inaugural meeting decided in favour of a teaching university as opposed to a research institution, in other words, a college which would emphasise 'the things of the spirit' as much as practical subjects. The association campaigned to set up branches throughout Central Africa and sought the support of mayors and other prominent officials. Soon afterwards, Ethel and Hodson served on the provisional committee which held discussions with Dr Smeath-Thomas, the Master of Rhodes University College, Grahamstown,⁴⁵ one of the 'daughter houses' which Parkin had been instrumental in founding in 1904 as head of the Rhodes Trust.⁴⁶

41. See R Symonds, Oxford and Empire: The Last Lost Cause? (Basingstoke and London, 1986), for a description of this ideology.

42. LegAs, 29.4.26, pp.115-117.

43. See M Gelfand, A Non-Racial Island of Learning: A History of the University College of Rhodesia from its Inception to 1966, (Gwelo, 1978), Ch.1.

44. Ibid., pp.20-21.

45. Ibid., p.15.

46. Symonds, op cit., p.248.

Ethel's other concern in her later years was the development of drama. She had always had Thespian tendencies and had campaigned on its behalf in the LegCo.⁴⁷ In 1931, drama took a step forward with the foundation of the Salisbury Repertory Players, later known simply as 'Reps'.⁴⁸ By the late '30s she sat on its committee and took a prominent part in its proceedings, though her suggestion that 1940, the Jubilee year of Rhodesia, be celebrated by the construction of a National Memorial Theatre failed because of the outbreak of war.⁴⁹ In 1940-41 she served as Secretary and maintained her involvement thereafter, despite her heavy commitments elsewhere.⁵⁰ She always encouraged the arts, particularly among young girls, true to her conviction that women - not men - set the tone of society.

Ethel was now in the evening of her life. What energy she had left had been largely expended in the war. Financially she was drained too. As she herself had anticipated in the years of her ascendancy, "in the end [a woman] had no hope of getting any of the 'loaves and fishes', now it came to pass."⁵¹ In 1939 she moved to a modest flat in the northern avenues of Salisbury on the proceeds of a small sum of money she had won in the Rhodesian Sweepstake.⁵² She also ran a motor car but she was a very bad driver. Her great nephew who was a land surveyor with Lonrho lodged with her, but he was killed in the

47. LegCo, 30.5.23, pp.28-30.

48. See R Cary, Reps, op cit.

49. Ibid., p.64. ETJ to Editor, RH, 18.7.39.

50. Cary, Reps, p.232. The author is indebted to Mrs Dorothy Leslie (interview, 6.1.87), one of the leading lights of Reps, for her animated memories of Ethel during this period.

51. "Women in Public Affairs ... Must be Ready to Take Knocks", Herald, [Melbourne], 29.10.26.

52. Ibid.

invasion of Abyssinia in 1941.⁵³ By the later stages of the war she was very poor, with an entire income of £22 a month (including 1 guinea for her articles) as against £23 living expenses.⁵⁴ She had to sell her car and then her jewels and make do with glass instead. But, true to form, she kept up appearances. Visitors were still graciously, if very modestly entertained, provided she was given forewarning. Thanks to her friendship with Huggins and Sir Ernest Lucas Guest, the Minister for Air, she remained a regular visitor at Government House and she was usually seen in their company at garden parties.⁵⁵ She manufactured convincing evening dresses out of bathing costumes and dressing gowns, and she carried it off well. She could still be infuriatingly bossy, particularly at bridge parties where she "bullied Lady Guest into the ground".⁵⁶ Her own nieces and nephews lived in fear of 'The Aunt' even though they were not much younger than she, but she seems to have had a way with the younger generation.⁵⁷ She had a few close friends of the solid citizen type, especially Mrs Marie Forder of the Salisbury WQI, sometime secretary of the Catholic

53. Fleming interview, op cit.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid., Sir Garfield Todd to the author, 20.11.86.

56. Fleming interview, op cit.

57. Several of the author's interviewees testified to Ethel's love for, and ease in the company of children, particularly Mrs Nick McNally, the daughter of Mary Forder, Ethel's close friend - Interview: Mrs Nick McNally, 3.1.88. Miss Theresa Rose, now of Harare, lived close to the Tawse Jollies at Chipinga in the 1920s and '30s where Miss Rose's father was Government Medical Officer. She was a favourite friend of the local children and used to give them gifts of books. Miss Rose still possesses one book of Slav Fairy Tales illustrated by the Moravian Society of Artists which Ethel gave her when she was 9 years old (1921). Miss Rose, who later studied painting at Natal University, remembers being greatly encouraged by Ethel and inspired by Ethel's (unpublished) "Flower Book". Miss Theresa Rose to the author, 14.2.88.

Women's League and of the Girl Guides, and Nell Silke, a schoolmistress from the Girl's High School who had been prominent in the campaign for women's rights in the early 30s.⁵⁸ Powerfully built and a pillar of the Anglican Church, Miss Silke was a formidable personality in her own right.⁵⁹ Ethel's associates from these last years remember her as 'extremely dogmatic',⁶⁰ 'dominating the conversation',⁶¹ "extremely well-read and amusing ... busy with good works and trying to 'put things right'".⁶² "[W]e admired her guts and were really fond of her", one of them graphically recalls.⁶³ Mrs Jess Honey, a stalwart of the WI also admired her, but she was "a bit scared of her and watched from afar!"⁶⁴

There was greater excuse now for Ethel's irritability and impatience. She had been in great pain continuously since before the war and she was slowing dying of cancer of the spine.⁶⁵ When her post as Women's

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58. Rosin interview, op cit. Mr Justice N McNally to the author, 25.1.87.
59. The author's supervisor, Dr H C Hummel, recalls Miss Silke as a formidable teacher of Religious Instruction at Salisbury High Schools in the late 1940s.
60. Rosin interview, op cit.
61. Ibid.
62. Mrs. Carol McEwan to the author 14.11.86. The author is deeply indebted to Mrs McEwan for this information.
63. Mr A N Prentice to the author, 9.5.87. On several occasions Ethel had stayed with Mr Prentice when he was on the Cotton Research Station at Gatooma (now Kadome) in the 1930s and he kept in touch with her until shortly before her death.
64. Mrs J B L Honey to the author, 9.10.84. The author is very grateful to Mrs Honey for the help she provided despite her illness in 1984.
65. Mrs Reneira Fleming to the author 25.10.87; Mrs Sybil Cookson to the author, 7.10.87. (Mrs Cookson, now of Worthing in Sussex is Ethel's last surviving sister-in-law, being the widow of Ethel's brother Captain Claude Cookson, CMG who had a distinguished career in the Colonial Service in West Africa. Mrs Cookson must be one of the few living people who can say that her husband's brother-in-law (Archibald Colquhoun) was born in 1848 - 140 years ago!)

Employment Officer came to an end in 1945 she was virtually destitute, a "distressed gentlewoman" and she returned to England soon afterwards to convalesce at Poltimore Castle Nursing Home in Dorset. In early 1947, a WI activist, Mrs Carol McEwan, visited her there and recalls the scene well:

After climbing masses of steps and walking through passages we found her in a nice big room, with a lovely fire burning, sitting in a chair. She burst into tears and it was difficult to compose her and I asked her if she was very ill and happy to be where she was. She said she wanted more than anything to return to Rhodesia. We spent, I think 2 hours with her, and I made up my mind to get her 'Home'. (66)

Ethel told her sister-in-law that this was 'her deepest wish ... She was determined to get home before the end'.⁶⁷

On her return to Salisbury, Mrs McEwan visited Sir Ellis Robins, President of BSA Company, and Bishop Paget of Mashonaland who provided their assistance in bring Ethel home to die.⁶⁸ At his own expense, Sir Godfrey Huggins secured her a private ward in Salisbury General Hospital, and after a period of treatment she returned to her flat in Baines Avenue.⁶⁹ Sir Francis Newton, now into his nineties, remained her faithful and generous friend.⁷⁰

Publicly, she was a spent force, but she remained influential behind the scenes. At its 1947 Congress she was elected to the executive of the United Party and also to a committee charged with drawing up a

66. Mrs Carol McEwan to the author, 12.11.86.

67. Mrs Sybil Cookson to the author, 7.10.87.

68. Mrs Carol McEwan to the author, 12.11.86.

69. Mrs Reneira Fleming to the author, 25.10.87; Fleming interview, *op cit.*

70. *Ibid.*, and ETJ to Newton, 16.10./47], Newton Family Papers which details some of Newton's generosity to Ethel.

policy for the next General Election due in 1948.⁷¹ Huggins's position had been precarious since the election of April, 1946, when his party received considerably fewer votes than the aggregate opposition. Labour was in disarray, but the main opposition now came from the Liberal Party. 'Liberal' was a misnomer, for it opposed vehemently the mildly liberal reforms of Huggins's government, and as a populist party it was a successor to the old Progress Party (and ancestor of the Dominion Party and the Rhodesian Front).⁷² Ethel recognised the threat the Liberals posed, particularly because they had "borrowed a native policy from the Union [Apartheid] which promised complete political segregation as a permanent policy of 'keeping the natives down'".⁷³ She realised that it would never gain the consent of the Imperial Government, but that it had wide electoral appeal. She equally opposed as 'impracticable' and harmful Huggins's counter-proposal to suspend temporarily the African franchise.⁷⁴ She thought the United Party would instead adopt a policy of raising the electoral qualifications which "would also apply to the European voter, of whom some are quite as little qualified as many Africans".⁷⁵

Ethel still had her eye on that "Great Central African Dominion", and a greater urgency entered her campaign in her last years. She had so little influence and energy left now while the Empire was undoubtedly

71. *Ibid.*, and ETJ to Newton, 16.10.[47], Newton Family Papers which details some of Newton's generosity to Ethel.

72. Blake, *op cit.*, pp.236-242.

73. Mrs E Tawse Jollie to Sir Francis Newton, 16.10.[47], Newton Family Papers.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *Ibid.*

on the wane. The Commonwealth lived up to her worst expectations. In 1947, Britain pulled out of India - the 'Jewel in the Crown' - at almost breakneck speed. In 1948, Burma - which Archibald Colquhoun had helped to gain for the Empire - for the defence of which, so recently, thousands of British troops had died, seceded and became a republic. Eire followed a year later, Palestine emerged as the new state of Israel and the rules of the Commonwealth were so stretched as to allow India to remain in as a republic - the final blow to Ethel's conception of Empire. Nearer home, sedition seemed to be rife as the avowedly anglophobe and erstwhile pro-Nazis of the Nationalist Party swept to power on their segregationist policy of apartheid. On top of this, the British Labour Government which had come to power in a landslide election in 1945 was seen as indifferent, if not openly hostile to the interests of the white settler.⁷⁶ Amid the encircling gloom, for Ethel the message was clear:

As Britain moves out of Africa to the north, and as other possessions are lost to her, the African continent becomes of increased importance to the Empire, and with the political tendencies in the Union ... making the future of that country as a Dominion within the Commonwealth uncertain, Central Africa is the only part of that continent which offers the possibility of building up a strong new British Dominion closely allied with the Empire and Commonwealth. (77)

She again defended the cause of amalgamation. It would, she argued, make for more efficient, less costly administration; it would attract larger numbers of immigrants.^{77A} She insisted that the status of the Africans would be improved. Educated Africans in Southern Rhodesia

76. ETJ, "A Rhodesian Dominion?", National Review, Vol.128, 1947, p.287.

77. Ibid., p.279.

77A. Ibid.

were entering a wider variety of trades and professions than ever before, but their "social system [remained] feudal, not to say aristocratic".⁷⁸ Only with education, greater health facilities and Christianity could the Africans' political advance be seen to. She had no panacea but 'the situation [was] not static'.⁷⁹ This was the point at issue between the 'practical' Rhodesian approach and the fanciful 'academic' approach of the British Labour Government.⁸⁰ To Ethel progress and modernity did not primarily indicate political progress, it meant development - economic, technological and medical - Kipling's Empire of 'dynamite and drills'. "It is on deeds and not on theories that Southern Rhodesia claims to be heard",⁸¹ she proclaimed, and she went further:

There is no formula which will solve the problem of race relations between white and black in a continent where the latter is the vast majority and the former the spearhead of civilization and progress. If one wants to keep that spearhead one must give it some encouragement, and if one wants the mass to rise one must give them inducements: leadership and opportunity. To combine these two essentials into a way of life acceptable to both is the real problem (82)

Now that Imperial Federation was out of the question, she came to believe in the desirability of Dominion Status. Southern Rhodesia had "reached the peak of her possible development under her limited constitution, which [gave] her neither the financial advantages of a Colony nor the prestige of a Dominion. She [had] borne the burdens of

78. ETJ, "A Rhodesian Dominion?", National Review, Vol.128, 1947, p.284.

79. Ibid., p.286.

80. Ibid., p.287.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

a Dominion without its rights, and [had] no say in Empire or International affairs. Her ambiguous position hamper/ed/ her in plans for future development".⁸³

It was the last article Ethel published outside the Colony and the attitudes she voiced were among those foremost in the minds of those who laid the foundations of the complicated Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland (1953-63).⁸⁴ She was politically a spent force,^{84A} but even she could never have persuaded the British Government to accept the amalgamation of the territories on the basis of Southern Rhodesia's native policy.⁸⁵

In Rhodesia she remained active as "a constant contributor to the Rhodesian Press and supported the causes in which she believed with skill and ability".⁸⁶ The late 1940s was a momentous time for the Colony. Immigrants escaping the austerity of post-war Britain, many of them embittered opponents of the Labour Government, arrived in unprecedented numbers.⁸⁷ Their children soon assimilated into the

83. ETJ, "A Rhodesian Dominion?", National Review, Vol.128, 1947, p.286.

84. See J R T Wood, The Welensky Papers: A History of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, (Durban, 1983), esp. Chs.3-4 for the most complete account of the arguments for Rhodesian expansion on the eve of Federation.

84A. Sir Roy Welensky to the author, 11.11.87; Sir Arthur Benson (Chief Secretary, Central African Council 1949; Governor of Northern Rhodesia, 1954) to the author, 20.11.86.

85. See Ibid., Ch.3.

86. "Was First Woman to Sit in an Empire Parliament", Umtali Post, 22.9.50.

87. Blake, op cit., Ch.19: "Southern Rhodesian Society 1946-53"; Style, op cit.; and for the optimistic flavour of the period see Rhodesian Graphic Southern Rhodesia 1890-1950: A Record of Sixty Years' Progress, (Salisbury, 1950).

local identity,⁸⁸ while the parents themselves often took only a few years to adopt the attitudes and even the distinct accent of longer established settlers.⁸⁹ Socially, white Rhodesia was more relaxed than ever under the impact and shared experience of the recent world war, though petty snobbery still survived.⁹⁰ In Martha Quest Doris Lessing describes a group of English upper-class women who want the local Sports Club to be socially exclusive, but their children reject this attempt to import the social divisions of the metropole. "[N]ot in the spirit of the country", one of them argues, "This wasn't England ... this was a new country".⁹¹ Typists and clerks, even the waiters, mixed freely with their bosses. Out in the country people "of every degree of wealth" meet "without any consciousness of degree ... it was all back-slapping and Christian names".^{91A} There was also the inverted snobbery of working class immigrants who, despite their aloofness from Africans were anxious to cock a snook at existing conventions and totems. In her last article Ethel attacked the self-righteousness of the younger generation who derided the achievements

88. Young, op cit., pp.8-11.

89. Ibid. Fr McKeown, S J, taught at St George's College, Salisbury, during the 1940s and recalls "the amazing transition or assimilation of new immigrants:

"The children of British immigrants had only a vague knowledge of England, regarding it with affection perhaps, but little more. On the other hand, camping, the outdoor life, accent, schools and sport knitted a community of diverse class origins together. Despite their ancestral home, they tended to cheer for the Springboks - of which Rhodesians formed a part - in rugby matches with the home countries. Similarly the WI and the Club linked adult immigrants to existing settlers".

Interview: Fr S J McKeown, 31.7.88.

90. Blake, op cit., pp.280-281.

91. Quoted in A Chennells, "Doris Lessing and the Rhodesian Settler Novel" in Bertelsen op cit., p.37.

91A. Ibid., pp.37-38.

and methods of the Victorians, one of whom she was proud to call herself.⁹²

After 1947 Ethel was confined increasingly to her flat, surrounded by the remains of a library and, on the wall, a set of Burmese daggers which Archibald had acquired on his explorations in the Orient nearly seventy years before.⁹³ There Ethel would take her visitors back over the span of her life; from the era of the steam ship and hansom cab to the age of the jet, rocket and atomic bomb; from Stafford to Paris of La Belle Epoque and the Victorian East End of London; her world travels, the highlight of which was her dinner with Teddy Roosevelt at the White House; her political campaigns and her parliamentary career.⁹⁴ She could still hold court and vet prospective husbands and wives for worried parents.⁹⁵ Few 'interviewers' would make the faux pas of one young man who once said that he knew Ethel was politically inclined and must have known something about the self-government movement. "Young man", she retorted, "I got self-government for this country".⁹⁶

By 1950 Ethel's illness had become acute and a full time private nurse was provided by Huggins. She died at her home on 21 September within ten days of her old adversary, Field Marshal Smuts.⁹⁷ Despite the

92. ETJ, "What Today Commemorates - The story of September 1890", New Rhodesia, 12.9.47, p.6.

93. Interviews: Fleming, op cit. and Rosin, op cit.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid. and A N Prentice to the author, 9.5.87.

96. Prentice, op cit.

97. Smuts died on 11 September 1950.

coverage given to the Union statesman's demise, the Rhodesian papers and The Times were united in their tributes to her.⁹⁸ "One of [the country's] outstanding figures", reported the Rhodesia Herald.⁹⁹ "An irreparable loss to her relatives and friends and to Rhodesia", one of her admirers wrote:

She was a woman of character, culture and remarkable courage. In spite of a very slender purse she gave help where help was needed ... She was well read; a keen gardener and agriculturist, a lover of birds and learned in a great variety of subjects.

She ranks in stature with that other great Rhodesian, Sir Francis Newton. Long may both be honoured in this land, which they both served and loved so well. (100)

The Rhodesia Herald also marked her passing with an editorial "Parliament and Women", highlighting her distinction as the Empire's first woman parliamentarian.¹⁰¹ She had demonstrated that woman had a useful role to play in government and the editor regretted that no woman had yet followed Ethel's lead and entered parliament since her demise in 1928:

[I]t is incontestable that where women have braved elections and taken their seats in parliament with men they have added distinction to the assembly. There is no abler member of the Union parliament than Mrs Ballinger .. There are women as brilliant as men in every sphere; as eloquent, and as able to present a case ... who can keep in touch with constituencies as closely as men, and can do their share in the work of Select Committees. Women also are often better protagonists than judges

98. "Death of Mrs Tawse Jollie [- Member of Southern Rhodesia's First Parliament]", RH, 22.9.50; "Was First Woman to sit in an Empire Parliament", Umtali Post, 22.9.50; "ML" "Late Mrs Tawse Jollie [- a tribute]", RH, 26.9.50 [Editorial] "Parliament and Women", *ibid.*, 23.9.50; [Obituary] Mrs Ethel Tawse Jollie OBE, The Times, [London], 30.9.50; Obituary, Mrs Tawse Jollie OBE, UE, Vol.41 (6), 1950, p.358.

99. "Death of Mrs Tawse Jollie", RH, 22.9.50.

100. "Late Mrs Tawse Jollie", *ibid.*, 26.9.50.

101. "Parliament and Women", *ibid.*, 23.9.50.

of cases, but the exposition of all points of view at deliberations makes decisions sounder and wiser. Nothing but good can come from the presence of women to represent women in parliament. (102)

She was buried - the day after Field Marshal Smuts - following a funeral service at Salisbury Anglican Cathedral, attended by the Governor's aide de camp, the Secretary to Parliament and other dignitaries. The panegyric was given by Fr Victor, a former headmaster of Ruzawi, the school which so reflected Ethel's educational ideals. Equally appropriate was her request that, in lieu of flowers, donations be made to the Rhodesian Children's Home.¹⁰³

102. "Parliament and Women", Ibid., 23.9.50.

103. RH, 23.9.50 [Funeral Notice]
 "Funeral of Mrs Tawse Jollie", Sunday Mail, 24.9.50. The author visited the office of the Anglican Cathedral, Harare, in July 1984 to search for Fr Victor's panegyric, but, unfortunately their cooperation was not forthcoming, and subsequent requests by post were ignored.

CONCLUSION

The Real Rhodesia

The dark eleventh hour
 Draws near and sees us sold
 To every evil power
 We fought against of old
 Rebellion, rapine, hate,
 Oppression, wrong and greed
 Are loosed to rule our fate
 By England's act and deed.

The Faith in which we stand
 The Laws we made and guard
 Our honour, lives and land
 Are given for reward
 To Murder done by night,
 To Treason taught by day,
 To folly, sloth and spite,
 And we are thrust away ...

The terror, threats and dread
 In market, hearth, and field -
 We know, when all is said,
 We perish if we yield ...
 What answer from the North?
 One Law, one Land, one Throne.
 If England drives us forth
 We shall not fall alone.

(Rudyard Kipling, "Ulster 1912")

A truce to the sleek attorneys
 That ring you snugly round -
 Send them on Empire journeys
 To wider, cleaner ground!
 You are fettered fast, and bound
 In the snares of a slavish clan
 That prate of a 'Little England' built
 on a pigmy plan ...

Shall they grind us down with the harrow,
 Digging us into the dust,
 While British bones and marrow
 Are faithful to their trust?
 We will perish if we must,
 But rather in sheets of flame
 Than yielding to Those Others the
 glory of our name.

(H Cullen Gouldsbury,
 "To England, From the Outposts")

[P]olitical and social equality will never be conceded by a pure white race, living as a minority among a black one, and whether they can permanently maintain this dominance only time - considerable time - can show.

(Ethel Tawse Jollie, 1929)

[T]he Imperial Government, as indicated in the case of Ulster, seems rather to enjoy putting pressure on a small loyal English community to surrender its inheritance and its liberties to the majority disposal of a much bigger one that is - well, not so English and not so loyal ...

("The Question for Rhodesia",
The Independent, 10 February 1922)

"I got self-government for this country",¹ - an exaggerated claim no doubt for, as we have seen there were many factors other than Ethel's contribution involved in the achievement of RG: the shifting allegiances of the various pressure groups; the Privy Council Judgment of 1918 which went against the Company and made RG seem feasible; the feeling of being stampeded by the Imperial Government - by Lord Milner particularly - into the Union; the coincidence of the Rand Revolt with the Rhodesian delegation's visit to the Union in 1922 and the divisions in the Union which the Revolt manifested; the contributions of other RG leaders, most notably Sir Charles Coghlan. All played their part in the Rhodesian vote against Union in 1922. There is, however, some truth in Ethel's boast. Insofar as she contributed to the referendum result, in founding and organising the RGA which transformed the character of Rhodesian politics; by bringing to bear on the Company and the Unionists the energetic, efficient - almost violent - techniques of mass movement organisations perfected in Edwardian Britain; in becoming the RGA's principal propagandist and the sole politician capable of combating the blandishments of General Smuts and his definition of Dominion Status; in mobilising most newly-enfranchised women (who formed approximately one-third of the electorate) behind the RG cause and, lastly, in providing Coghlan with a well-established, ready-made, efficiently maintained political machine when he took over as leader in 1919² - insofar as these factors contributed to the referendum result, then self-government was indeed Ethel's greatest and most lasting achievement. Against great

1. See supra, p.548.

2. Hummel, "Sir Charles Coghlan", p.504.

odds that result changed the course of history in the sub-continent, certainly in the case of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), if not of the Union (now the Republic of South Africa). For had the referendum gone differently it is unlikely that there would have emerged an independent Zimbabwe, South Africa might not have left the Commonwealth, at least in the manner that it did in 1961. More than that, if the territory had not opted to remain outside the Union and so checked South Africa's northern ambitions, then the Union would have extended northwards at a time when Britain was overstretched elsewhere, perhaps as far as the Belgian Congo, if not - as Smuts would have wished - all the way to the White Highlands of Kenya and beyond. But this is speculation.

It may be argued that, because of the economic interests at stake, a majority of the Rhodesian electorate would have voted for RG in any case. Perhaps. But would they have fully recognised their economic interests and acted accordingly without the information supplied and the leadership provided by an under-financed but efficiently run RGA; without the well-managed meetings and lecture tours and the pamphlets produced; without Ethel's erudite apologies and attacks on the Unionist cause; without her special appeal to the numerically crucial women and the xenophobic sentiments of hearth, home and Empire, sentiments which could not be weighed in terms of economic self-interest alone? Without these factors, without Ethel's contribution, the referendum result does not seem so inexorable, so economically determined.

She had an additional influence which is more difficult to quantify

but no less important. Behind Ethel's RG campaign, behind her every action - the construction of roads, communications, hospitals and schools, the building up of the Women's Institute and the political, social and economic infrastructure of a settled society - lay her larger purpose: the creation of an efficient, patriotic, healthy society, technologically modern but firmly based on the traditional family unit, which would assist in the rescue of Britain from imminent decline; the periphery giving added strength to the centre while drawing strength from the centre in the form of immigrants and the motherland's time-honoured traditions. Thus Rhodesia would become another "Ward of the Outer March" - an 'Outer March' which - given the Union's secessionist tendencies - was becoming increasingly precarious. "Give us a population of 200,000 Europeans of our present type with control of our own Defence Force, and secession, as an issue in South African politics, will be dead", said Ethel at the height of the Referendum Campaign.³ She could never conceive of a Rhodesia which was not linked in both sentiment and interest to the metropole. She did, admittedly, see White Rhodesia as a new mutation, as a 'Nation in the Making', as the finest community in the Empire and under the Flag, as a special breed, as a people set apart. She undoubtedly reflected the typical resentments of the frontier against restraint from the metropolitan centre, a resentment which typified frontiersmen from Ulster to Australia, from New Zealand to Canada. But always she considered Rhodesia as a part of a larger whole, indeed a larger mission.

3. "Manifesto to the People of Rhodesia and a Statement of Policy", Independent, 26.8.22. Original typewritten copy in MAZ RH 8/1/1/1.

In the context of the time, this was not a myopic vision. Even in the late 1940s, few could foresee that the European powers would withdraw, helter-skelter, from the continent within little more than a decade. Indeed, after 1945, the British were planning a new Colonial Office, significantly on a bombed site opposite Westminster Abbey, as if to say 'Business As Usual'.⁴ Besides, National Efficiency and the ideas of the Radical Right had always been a rearguard action against fearful odds. She was used to that. Impossible odds and a lost cause - that did not dissuade Ethel when she believed she was right. Better to lose, than never to have fought, was her principle.

Always too poor to rank seriously as an owner of the means of economic production, she was certainly - in the formative years of the Colony at least - an owner of the means of generating ideas. She brought to her host environment a coherent social theory tailor-made for a society which was insecure and lacking in the principles and methods necessary for 'greatness'. This theory gave the settlers a renewed pride in their identity and a consciousness of the need to preserve it at all costs. Pride in their identity was not based solely on the need to preserve a privileged existence. Materially speaking, many settlers were of moderate means for more than a generation after 1922. Foreign holidays and glinting swimming pools, myriads of servants and private tennis courts were features of the post-1950 boom rather than of the lean years of the '20s and '30s.⁵ Perhaps this explains the

4. See Morris, Farewell the Trumpets, p.506.

5. Professor P R Warhurst to the author, 12.9.83.

success of Ethel's philosophy. Most settlers were of what the Edwardian Radical Right would have regarded as the solid, sensible middle-classes and decent artisans, classes which could be convinced of the dangers to the Empire far more easily than either 'decadent' aristocrats or 'indolent' poor. Hence a society which for decades was regarded by observers as 'more British than the British', a paradigm of Edwardian Britain which was - with the possible exception of New Zealand - unique. Not a closed paradigm though; not a quaint collection of neo-Edwardian Rip van Winkels who were completely unaware of the shifting fortunes of Britain.⁶ It was rather an eclectic society which generally rejected those aspects of metropolitan thought and culture which, they believed, if adopted in Rhodesia, might threaten the survival of their society. Intellectual inquiry in Britain might have led to a change in government; in Rhodesia it could have involved a change in the settlers' whole way of

6. Typical of this genre of writing is Patrick Keatley's The Politics of Partnership, op cit., pp.219-243, "The New Bourbons", and, more recently, David Cate, Under the Skin: The death of White Rhodesia, (London, 1982). The latter is a record of Cate's impressions of white Rhodesian society in its last days. What is remarkable about it is not his taking advantage of the unwitting Rhodesians' hospitality and his subsequent publication of their revealing verandah conversations, (possibly ethical for a journalist). It is rather, given his credentials as a socialist journalist, his intellectual and social snobbery. He despises the Rhodesians for what he saw as their lack of taste, their lower middle class and artisan values, in essence, the outlook and values of classes to which the Labour Party in Britain looks for its traditional support. Cate could not deride such values and tastes in Britain without being classed as a snob, but found among immigrants to Rhodesia who formed part of a ruling class, they could be safely parodied in a progressive cause. Perhaps in this way Cate's book can be regarded as an exposé of academic socialist snobbery in Britain rather than of white Rhodesia with which it ostensibly deals. See the following reviews: G Wheatcroft, "An RIP for UDI", TLS, 11.3.83 and X Smiley, "Supremacist Sundown", Sunday Times, [London], 27.2.83.

life, indeed their very presence in the region, a point which Ethel often laboured. Thus the Radical Right succeeded in Rhodesia while it had largely failed in Britain and, until its demise, White Rhodesia was idolised and envied by right-wing British Tories for its heartiness, its patriotism, its "manly men and womanly women", its obedient, well-educated and healthy children, which seemed in such stark contrast to their perception of 'decadent' Britain.

Ethel herself recognised the growing divergence in outlook between Rhodesia and Britain as early as 1929 when she wrote that "no European [would] ever live in Africa on the terms laid down by the [Hilton Young] Commission",⁷ that is, on the basis that it was predominantly a 'black man's continent':

[P]olitical and social equality will never be conceded by a pure white race, living as a minority among a black one, and whether they can permanently maintain this dominance only time - considerable time - can show. (8)

Fifteen years separate Ethel's death from Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), when the Colony, with overwhelming support from the white electorate, severed its ties with the British Government; twenty years separate her passing from the abolition of the Monarchy, also illegal; and thirty years from the territory's independence - legal this time - under the new name of Zimbabwe. All of this is, of course, outside the direct scope of this study. These were all events which Ethel could scarcely have foreseen, let alone

7. ETJ, "Europeans in Africa", p.6.

8. Ibid.

have formulated a response to them. When she died, it was only two years before the Mau Mau Rebellion in Kenya (1952) which began the retreat of white settlers down the continent, and six years before the débâcle at Suez (1956) which brought home forcefully the full measure of Britain's post-war imperial impotence. It is impossible to discover what Ethel's reaction to these events might have been. We know that her friend and colleague, Sir Godfrey Huggins, was not above considering unconstitutional action if Britain did not accede to Rhodesian demands, even within Ethel's lifetime.⁹ Through her support for the Conservative and Unionist stand over Ulster in 1912-14 Ethel demonstrated that she did not oppose this kind of action when the interests, more particularly, the Empire citizenship of a 'loyal kith and kin' were being threatened by an 'unpatriotic' or 'disloyal' Imperial Government.

Ethel did not realise how accurate her prophecy of 1924 might prove to be:

As a chapter in the history of British Colonial policy the story of Rhodesia may some day form one of the most interesting and even exciting incidents in the records of Imperial development. (10)

9. Wood, *op cit.*, p.66: "[Rhodesians] can be just as nasty as S[outhern] Ireland or S[outh] Africa if [the British] force us to be", Huggins, the prime minister, remarked in 1939 at a low period in the amalgamation campaign. In 1956 he told the Federal Assembly:

We have complete control of our own Defence Force. I only hope we shall not have to use it as the North American colonies had to use theirs, because we are dealing with a stupid government in the United Kingdom.

Quoted in A H Richmond, The Colour Problem: A Study of Racial Relations, (Revised edn, Harmondsworth, 1961), p.57. See also L J MacFarlane, "Justifying Rebellion: Black and White Nationalism in Rhodesia", JCPS, Vol.6 (1), 1968, pp.54-80.

10. RR, p.xiv.

The world of the 1960s was very foreign to that of Ethel's heyday in the 1920s and UDI was a reaction to immediate events beyond her ken, so that it would be foolish to hold her in any way responsible for it. Yet UDI, like the Jameson Raid of 1895, like the Ulster Covenant of 1912, like the threat by Kenyan settlers to depose their governor in 1922, was a pivotal event in the decline of British power. "Let lawyers and statesmen addle/Their pates over points of law",¹¹ urged the equivocal poet laureate, Alfred Austin, at the time of Jameson's foray; "If England drives us forth/We shall not fall alone",¹² warned Kipling, while Milner contemplated the overthrow of the Constitution on the Irish Home Rule issue in 1912; "[B/]y the British Empire [the Rhodesian/] stands or falls",¹³ declared Ethel in 1924; "[T/]he people of Rhodesia ... demonstrated their loyalty to the crown and to their kith and kin in the United Kingdom and elsewhere through two world wars ... [and] earnestly [pray] that [the people of] Rhodesia will not be hindered in [their] determination to exercise that same loyalty and devotion",¹⁴ declared the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, in his UDI, in archaic tones reminiscent of the Ulster Covenant, with the same ambiguous ending "God Save the Queen".¹⁵ UDI was not inevitable,

11. "Jameson's Ride", stanza 2, quoted in Longford, *op cit.*, p.77.

12. "Ulster 1912", stanza 6, in R Kipling, The Years Between, (London, 1924), p.12.

13. ETJ, RR, p.92.

14. Rhodesia Government, Proclamation of Independence (Government Notice No. 737N of 1965).

15. In the case of the Ulster Covenant of 1912 it was, of course, "God Save the King". The parallel was not immediately apparent to those who framed the UDI, and the precedent used was the American Declaration of 1776. "We were grossly ignorant - *mea culpa*", admitted one of the signatories, Jack Howman, with an impressive degree of honesty. He only subsequently learned that the egalitarian prologue to the American Declaration of Independence did not apply to slaves. The Hon J H Howman to the author 21.3.88. The author is indebted to Mr W R Whaley, ICD, for putting him in touch with Mr Howman.

but it was in character: the Union Jack under Carson's Covenant; the Queen's portrait behind Smith's UDI. "[N]o more than leave/To reap where we had sown",¹⁶ Kipling pleadingly described this ethos. Substitute "Rhodesia" for "Ulster" and the following words might have easily been spoken by Ian Smith:

If the Ulster people rebelled [in 1912-14] they rebelled as honest Kent rebelled when Lear in his senile frenzy banished his loving daughter from his threshold and divided his Kingdom among the enemies of his household ... If Ulster erred it was in excess of devotion which we take to be no sin, but a rare virtue ... For it was England that placed in Ulster this little garrison of her own sons to support her cause and maintain her flag. (17)

The same sentiment, the same sense of betrayed and unrequited loyalty, the same tendency to choose a champion at a time of perceived national peril, the same sense of "holding the pass" - in the former case - for the Empire, in the latter - since the Empire had gone by then - for 'Western Civilisation'. "I am a Rhodesian", declared P K van der Byl, a Rhodesian Foreign Minister in the 1970s who was given to foppish Churchillian rhetoric:

This is a breed of men the like of which has not been seen for many a long age and which may yet perhaps by virtue of the example it sets, go some way towards redeeming the squalid and shameful times in which we live. (18)

What we can say is that Ethel contributed to certain characteristics in Rhodesian society which, in the event of national crisis, made unconstitutional action not unlikely. Of course the notion of

16. "Ulster 1912", stanza 4.

17. Editorial: Morning Post, [London], 27.1.21, quoted in E Marjoribanks, The Life of Lord Carson, (London, 1923), p.442. See also Appendix A, *infra*.

18. P L Moorcraft, A Short Thousand Years: The End of Rhodesia's Rebellion, (Salisbury, 1980 edn), p.2.

'justifiable rebellion' had already been present in Rhodesia before her arrival, as we have seen in the case of the farmers' revolt over the native labour tax issue in 1911-12 and in the stinging anti-Company broadsides of Leopold Moore, the editor of the Livingstone Mail, during the Great War. Ethel contributed to it more subtly, by strengthening the Rhodesian sense of community and identity at a formative time. "They are afraid of our bilingualism, our nationalism, my views of Empire. In fact they are little Jingoos ...", complained General Smuts at the time of the 1922 referendum.¹⁹ Through her convincing attack, on this imperial statesman Ethel made the greatest single contribution to this xenophobia.

She would certainly not have disagreed with the premise:

That it is an indisputable and accepted historic fact that since 1923 the Government of Rhodesia have exercised the powers of self-government and have been responsible for the progress, development and welfare of their people. (20)

It is not surprising, then, that after UDI in 1965 when Rhodesians were anxious to search for precedents to bolster their identity, that Ethel came to be 'rediscovered' - resurrected almost 'to justify the actions of the present. Her Real Rhodesia was republished in Bulawayo in 1971 "at a time of equally grave transition for the peoples of Rhodesia".²¹ According to L W Bolze her approach was "as valid and relevant today [1971] as it was [in 1923] ... The Real Rhodesia

19. Moorcraft, op cit., p.8.

20. Proclamation of Independence, op cit.

21. L W Bolze, "Publishers Introduction" to E Tawse Jollie MLA, The Real Rhodesia, ([1924] Vol.19 of Rhodesiana Reprint Library, Books of Rhodesia, Bulawayo, 1971), p.1.

performed a valuable service in interpreting to outsiders the peculiar characteristics of Rhodesia and Rhodesians, and in crystallizing and giving expression to the political aspirations at that time".²² In 1973, Mrs Paddy Vickery asserted:

If it hadn't been for her forceful personality and passionate conviction about the worth of Rhodesia and Rhodesians we might today have been a province of South Africa with all the problems which that implies, instead of the Independent Republic of Rhodesia - with all the problems which that implies! But I can only hope that we shall all live to see the day when Ethel Tawse-Jollie's faith in our future will be amply and honourably justified. (23)

But Ethel's most partisan conjurer was Phillipa Berlyn, writer and philanthropist in the Tawse Jollie mould, though not at all forbidding. Shortly after UDI Berlyn discovered Ethel's Future of Rhodesia (1917) and thought the sentiment therein was strangely prophetic. Indeed, she thought it would not have been incongruous if [Ethel's] words had appeared in print recently".²⁴ Three years later, in 1969, Berlyn was again struck by the topical and didactic aspects of Ethel's writings, and she concluded:

[W]ith her dramatically accurate political instinct [s]he stands high on the list of people to whom the Rhodesia of today owes a debt ... It seems that the problems of Rhodesia over forty years ago had much in common with those [it] faces today. We could do with Mrs Tawse Jollie's help once again. (25)

To some of the apologists for UDI at least, if death had precluded Ethel from upholding UDI in the fact, she certainly supported it in

22. LWB, "Publishers Introduction", *op cit.*

23. P Vickery, "Mrs E Tawse Jollie", *Rhodesiana*, No.29, 1973, p.81.

24. P Berlyn, "On Ethel Colquhoun Tawse Jollie", *ibid.*, No.15, 1966, p.68.

25. P Berlyn, "Ahead of her Time", Illustrated Life Rhodesia, 3.7.69.

the imagination, and her political ghost was not an inconsiderable factor, if there is any truth in the assertion - made by Enoch Powell in one of his more astute moments - that "[t]he life of nations no less than that of men is lived largely in the imagination". (26)

These post-mortems were in the realms of conjecture, but we can understand why they were made. The influence she exercised was so pervasive. We have seen how she dominated the first Parliament of the Colony, how she brought singular pressure to bear on the government to improve the infrastructure of the country, from communications and health to public charity, workmen's compensation and the economy. Her successful campaign for the reorganisation of the educational system, culminating in the Education Commission of 1929, was her greatest parliamentary achievement. Not only did it lead to compulsory attendance, its National Efficiency principles stamped the character of the system, thus assimilating generations of schoolchildren into the patriotic ideals of the Edwardian Radical Right.

She did this not only in the face of great unpopularity, but great

26. Quoted in Wiener, *op cit.*, p.v. Powell himself is an interesting metropolitan relic of Edwardian patriotism. In a recent talk on BBC World Service (Saturday, 14.5.88, 0945hrs GMT : 'Personal View'), he described the changes he had witnessed: the withdrawal from Empire, Afro-asian immigration and technological change. Remarkable though these changes were, what really surprised him and made him feel "an exile in the land of [his] birth" were Britain's entry into the Commonwealth Market, which, he claimed, overturned the sovereignty of the British parliament which had been enshrined in the 1688 'Glorious Revolution' and the attempt by the British parliament to - as he saw it - 'jettison' the Ulster Unionists into a united Ireland. Because these courses were adopted "without a minimum of protest" in Britain, Powell could "no longer recognise the qualities of Britishness in [his] countrymen".

prejudice against her as a representative of her sex.²⁷ Here too her legacy was no less profound. The continuing presence of women as wives and mothers was intrinsic to the settlement, as distinct from the exploitation form of colonisation.²⁸ Of course, long before Ethel's arrival in the territory Rhodesian women had a reputation for patriotism, public service, endurance and self-reliance. What Ethel did was to institutionalise this tradition. As the first woman parliamentarian in the British Empire overseas she was, politically, a pioneer and a natural leader of her sex. Few women combined the roles of politician, public 'oratrix' philanthropist, postmistress, sociologist, social-engineer and observer, artist, farmer, botanist, historian, writer, women's employment officer, world traveller and - twice over - wife. Not even her sole predecessors in the United Kingdom, Countess Markievicz and Nancy Astor, had such varied careers; and even they did not have to contend with the handicaps of poor communications, near-poverty and the more pronounced prejudices of a male-dominated frontier society. As such, Ethel was one of the most remarkable women of her - or any - generation.

In parliament and in print - and as far away as Australia - she called for greater recognition of the capabilities of her sex, however cautiously she interpreted them. She encapsulated her convictions in the Women's Institute, which together with the Guild of Loyal Women,

27. Not all Rhodesian women liked her: "That bl..dy old bitch?" remarked Mrs Sarah Webster to the author (interview op cit), "She was an old battleaxe ... but she was a good talker, 'could talk the hind leg off a donkey, 'left her husband at home to fend for himself and drink all the money they had!"

28. Kirkwood, "Settler Wives", p.143.

transmitted these values to a highly receptive community and assimilated new arrivals into its identity. White Rhodesia was a society of 'joiners', a sociologist noted in the early 1960s. 7 out of 10 adult whites belonged to voluntary social organisations, with women's organisations and dramatic clubs 'very heavily subscribed'.²⁹ This was crucial. To Ethel the family was the basic unit of society and parents - the mothers particularly - the first teachers of children - "The hand that rock[ed] the cradle rule[d] the world" - and this had major implications. In Rhodesia the cultural line resided in the matriline where there was a continuously strong tendency for British-born male immigrants to marry Southern African-born females.³⁰ So marriage played the role of assimilator by strengthening the immigrants' sense of permanence in the sub-continent. Only in this way can the apparently nebulous sense of Rhodesian identity be understood. Since UDI in 1965 was a self-proclaimed assertion of the rights of nationhood, it became common among its opponents to point out that at no time in its history did white Rhodesia possess a majority of native-born, and that it always had a high turnover of population, thus discrediting its pretensions to nationhood. Now that those pretensions are a dead issue, we can see how inadequate the repudiations of UDI opponents were. That a Rhodesian sense of identity evolved in spite of these obstacles is beyond doubt, and whether or not this consciousness was illegitimate, it was certainly not false. What its repudiators failed to recognise was that Rhodesianness involved primarily, not birthplace, but allegiance to an idea. When

29. P J M McEwan, "European Assimilation [in a non-European Context]", *International Migration*, Vol.2 (2), 1964, p.112.

30. Schutz, "White Settler Society", p.204.

P K Van der Byl (South African-born) asserted "I am a Rhodesian",³¹ when Sir Roy Welensky (Rhodesian-born), stated "I am an opponent of UDI but I love my country",³² when Ethel claimed to be a Rhodesian, it was on this idea, this claim to uphold the traditional values of the British Empire in a country of singular romantic appeal, that they based their claim.

"Rhodesians are the kind of people who made the 'Great' of Britain", asserted the "Woman for Rhodesia" in 1977, in terms not foreign to Ethel:

They have retained codes of ethics and behaviour, manners and civility. Our children grow up in a clean, unpolluted and healthy climate. Sport and exercise turn them into healthy, strapping youngsters. (33)

In character too was the role of women in the Rhodesian bush war (1968-80) which they helped to prolong by guarding and managing farms, and by working in industry and offices to release men for longer call-ups. The women largely dictated the persistence or evacuation of white farmers during this period.³⁴ Symbolic of their contribution was the National Tapestry. Following a suggestion by the wife of the governor in 1946 that the women of the Colony emulate their medieval counterparts at Bayeux, work began on a tapestry two years later, with Ethel's valedictory encouragement. 42 panels 30 metres long with 5 million stitches were presented to the nation in 1963 and hung in the

31. Moorcraft, *op cit.*, p.2.

32. *Ibid.*, p.21.

33. *Women for Rhodesia, Rhodesia As It is*, (pamphlet, Salisbury, 1977), p.iv.

34. Kirkwood, "Settler Wives", pp.160-161.

dining hall of Parliament "as a memorial to the country's pioneer women", where it remained until 1980.³⁵

Less in keeping with Ethel's ideas were the white community's divorce rate - by 1960 the highest in the world after Israel and the USA, its high alcohol consumption rate, and, though it remained high into the 1960s, the declining fertility rate of its women thereafter, belying the prim, protestant, middle-class conventional image which Rhodesians liked to project.³⁶ Ethel did not approve of the choice of the short-term fruits of affluence over the long-term goal of white settlement and security, and the implications of this were apparent even before she died. The immigration rate was too slow, the editor of The New Rhodesia warned in 1949.³⁷ According to his calculations the African population would double in 25 years so that it would take close on 40 years to rise from 1 to 3 million. Assuming a white population of 120,000 by January 1950, 15,000 immigrants in that year and an annual increase of 1000 immigrants thereafter, together with a healthy excess of births over deaths, then the Europeans should reach 600,000 by 1968, and 1 million by 1975 when the native population would have doubled to 3 million. He saw nothing unreasonable about these targets and even thought that 2 million whites by 1975 would not be unreasonable. But taking the more conservative estimate of 600,000 whites vs 5 million blacks, he was despondent:

35. See FWISR, Rhodesian Tapestry: a history in needlework embroidered by the Women's Institutes of Rhodesia, (Salisbury, 1963)

36. McEwan, "European Assimilation", p.109; P J M McEwan, "The European Population of Southern Rhodesia", Civilisations, Vol13. (4), 1963. p.433.

37. [Editorial] "Expectation of Population", New Rhodesia, 19.8.49, p.3.

Southern Rhodesia would be finished as a white man's country ..
 [If this is the case then] the white man's days in Africa north
 of the Limpopo are numbered .. [W]ithin less than two generations
 he must pack and go. (38)

Even these 'despondent' calculations were way out. In 1975, at its maximum, the white population reached 277,000 with a black population of more than 6 million. Until the advent of the Rhodesian Front government in 1962, by which time the opportunities offered by mass emigration from post-war Europe had dissipated, Rhodesian immigration policy was highly selective. As Ethel advocated in the 1920s, culturally compatible Anglo-Saxon immigrants with adequate means and appropriate skills were preferred, so that existing living standards and the economic and social stability of their society would not be threatened.³⁹ this was based on the assumption that in case of uprising the whites could rely on the support of the metropole and the dominions to supplement their own military resources. Except in the case of South Africa this was proved to be false.⁴⁰

Perhaps Ethel's chief flaw lay in her failure to recognise fully the growing aspirations of the black majority and formulate a definitive social theory to deal with it. Framed for an homogenous white society, National Efficiency offered her no answer. Besides, the

38. "Expectation of Population", *op cit.*

39. Schutz, "The Theory of Fragment", pp.143-154, 227-232.

40. South Africa had long been recognised as the Colony's chief protector, however much the Rhodesians disliked the fact. The late 'Buster' St Quinton told the author that in the 1930s "everyone knew that in case of a scrap with the natives the South African Air Force could be there in a matter of hours". Interview, 23.5.83.

political potential of the black majority only became apparent in the General Strike of 1948 when she was no longer active.⁴¹ Her belief in segregation was primarily practical, based on culture rather than colour and she was not remarkable for this. Even Olive Schreiner, one of the most advanced thinkers of her age and an inveterate opponent of colonialism, was not above the acceptance of contemporary racial stereotypes.⁴² Nor were Marx and Engels,⁴³ and even more recently the distinguished British marxist and geneticist J B S Haldane, who declared in the 1940s that "[e]quality is no part of communism. To each according to his needs and from each according to his ability would be nonsense if that were the case."⁴⁴ Generations of Australian socialists actively upheld racist policies until well after the Second World War.^{44A} Into the 1930s the Moscow Comintern, the 'Vatican' of international communism, advocated the creation of separate black republics in South Africa and the USA in the belief that blacks were not yet sufficiently advanced socially to operate a socialist system.⁴⁵ Is there all that much difference in motivation between the socialist Sidney Webb's call for the development of Empire to alleviate the conditions of the British poor, and Joe Chamberlain's concern for the eradication of poverty, and Ethel's "feeling of impotence in the face of human suffering .. [of] people ... too often

41. Blake, *op cit.*, p.240.

42. See T R H Davenport, "Olive Schreiner and South African politics" in *Olive Schreiner and After*, eds. M van Wyk Smith and D McLennan, (Cape Town, 1983).

43. See D Paul, "[In the Interests of Civilisation:] Marxist Views of Race and Culture [in the Nineteenth Century]", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol.42 (1), 1981, pp.115-138.

44. D Paul, "Eugenics and the Left", *ibid.*, Vol.65 (4), 1984, p.567.

44A. See the series of essays edited by A Curthoys and A Markus, *Who are Our Enemies? Racism and the Australian Working Class*, (Sydney, 1978).

45. See Gann, *Southern Rhodesia*, p.275.

robbed by hard and uncongenial surroundings"?⁴⁶

Even Marx regarded Britain's role in India as progressive, in abolishing feudalism and integrating the sub-continent into the world economy as a prelude to the final apocalyptic age of capitalism.⁴⁷ Even J A Hobson, exorcist of imperialism and philosophical progenitor of Lenin, conceded "the theoretical right of an 'efficient' nation to over-ride the territorial claims of a backward people" on the grounds of international social efficiency".⁴⁸ The present writer does not regard such views as moral justification, the judgment of which in any case lies outside the brief of his discipline. He offers them merely as an illumination of the age in which Ethel lived, in the hope that when the sensitivities of the post-colonial era have faded the lives of Ethel and others of her generation will be studied for the contribution they made to the history of the country in which they lived. This is the trend elsewhere (not least in the present writer's 'own ex-colonial' country).⁴⁹

46. ETJ, Vocation, p.16.

47. See Paul, "Marxist Views of Race and Culture", op cit.

48. Grainger, op cit., p.134.

49. The Republic of Ireland, which has long regarded itself, with some reason, as having been the vanguard of anti-colonialism and a model for revolutionary nationalisms all over the Empire. Irish history writing and teaching has, however, over recent decades, begun to emerge from the anti-imperialist, exploitation and oppression-filled interpretations of that self-conscious stage so characteristic of nearly all emergent nations. This change has occurred despite - perhaps because of - the air of unfinished business which partition has given to Irish nationalism. The younger generation of the Irish is more likely than that of their parents to feel at ease with the heritage of the British Empire which unavoidably surrounds them, and to accept the Anglo-Irish and Scottish-Irish traditions as valid expressions of Irish nationality; and the pejorative epithets 'alien', 'colonial', 'planter' and 'settler' are less in vogue now than they used to be.

"Are we to complain?" asked the Indian nationalist, Jawahadhal Nehru (1889-1964), surveying the many-faceted impact of the British in India, "Are we to complain of the cyclone that uproots us and hurls us about, or the cold wind that makes us shiver? The British represented mighty forces which they themselves hardly realised".⁵⁰ No riches accrued to Ethel for her devotion to the cause in which she believed, only a transformed country and a tradition - however limited by ethnocentricity - of public service. As her husband helped set the eastern frontier of the territory in 1890, she helped to finalise its southern frontier in 1922 and to shape the character of the Colony thereafter. In the Southern African context she represented the same transforming forces which Nehru recognised in India. For this study, that is justification enough.

50. Quoted in Morris, Farewell the Trumpets, p.559.

APPENDIX A

Conditional Loyalty, Rhodesia and Ulster:
A comparative note

The similarities between Rhodesian and Ulster, Britain's youngest and oldest colonies of settlement, have long been noted, not least, as we have seen, by the Rhodesians themselves. They also came to be recognised in Ulster. Both political entities had been created in the 1920s when Britain was anxious to delegate authority and lighten the burden of Empire. Both problems returned to haunt British politicians in the 1960s when that Empire had come to an end. The two territories' ruling groups had been characterised by loyalty to the person of the monarch and to the Empire, though neither confused that loyalty with obedience to the British Government, nor excluded the possibility of illegal action when they thought it justifiable.¹ By the 1960s, however, apart from a handful of right-wing Tory backbenchers, neither could rely on the support of politicians at Westminster. As the New Statesman noted in 1968:

... When Whitehall fusses, Belfast and Salisbury speak the same language in reply: their ties of blood, their loyalty in war, their more intimate knowledge of the desperate ferocity of their opponents. If that fails, they speak the same coarser dialect: Standing on the constitutional rights acquired in the Twenties, they tell the intrusive British to shove off 'Whether it be Wilson [the British prime minister] or anyone else who interferes with the just prerogative of the government ... he does so at his peril'. Was it Lord Graham, the former [Rhodesian] minister of external affairs, or Captain Orr, the Imperial Master of the Orange Order, who threw down the glove? ... [T]he Unionists are a perfect example of a minority mentality. There is no majority like an ex-minority ... Minorities are not scared for nothing; nor merely for their own sins ... (2)

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1. See P Buckland, A History of Northern Ireland, (Dublin, 1981), p.6.
 2. "Ulster will be wrong", New Statesman, 11.10.68, p.449.

RG did not cure the Rhodesian sense of insecurity. Neither did partition and the foundation of a self-governing Northern Ireland statelet remove the unionists' sense of insecurity, and they continued to behave as an embattled ethnic minority, ringed by security laws and armed citizen militias.³ As in the case of Rhodesia, fear of the 'native majority' was a strong spur to unity which smoothed over class differences within the unionist population. Thus the Unionist Party, which governed the province from 1920 until the suspension of self-government in 1972, was a unique, almost Kiplingesque alliance of industrialists, landed gentry and loyalist labour aristocracy whose privileged position was guaranteed by the Orange Order.⁴ (It is noteworthy that Charles Olley, sometime Mayor of Salisbury, journalist, founder of the White Rhodesia Council, and one of the most ultra of right-wing thinkers in Rhodesia from the 1930s to the 1950s, was a member of the Orange Order and that he originally hailed from Belfast.)⁵

Rather ludicrously, Sir Edgar Whitehead, a former Rhodesian prime minister, advocated (1963) Rhodesia's entrance into the United Kingdom on the same terms as Northern Ireland, retaining a government in Salisbury, but with representation at Westminster.⁶

The question of whether British Army officers would have been willing

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3. See B Probert, Beyond Orange and Green: The Northern Ireland Crisis in a new perspective, (London, 1977), esp. pp.50-51, 53, 61-62, 73, 76, 93.
 4. Ibid., pp.124-125.
 5. Keatley, op cit., pp.261-264.
 6. Perham, "The Rhodesian Crisis", p.11.

to crush Rhodesia's UDI in 1965 was less fanciful. According to Paul Moorcraft, a lecturer at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, in 1973-75, British Officers exhibited the same qualms as they had had over Ulster and the UVF in 1914. Over a two year period, 90% of junior officers said that they were unwilling to fight their Rhodesian 'kith and kin' while they had no reservations about fighting the IRA.⁷

Whether the British Government feared another 'Curragh' situation, it is difficult to say. General Peter Walls who was a brigadier in charge of a Rhodesian commando regiment in 1965, told the author that the prospect of fighting British forces was a 'sad one', but he was "absolutely convinced that the forces under [his] command would have carried out their orders, which were to defend the country against any external foes".⁸ "Kith and kin would have gone out of the window after the first shot had been fired", he added.⁹

In the late 1960s, while the British Government confronted UDI in Rhodesia, another crisis arose in Ulster where a civil rights movement was founded to campaign against electoral, housing and employment discrimination. The courageous reforms of Captain Terence O'Neill, the prime minister of Northern Ireland, aroused the anger of hardliners within the ruling Unionist Party. In August 1966, O'Neill lunched with Harold Wilson, his British counterpart. "I suppose", said Wilson,

7. Moorcraft, *op cit.*, p.18.

8. Interview, 8.9.83.

9. *Ibid.* See also Wood, *op cit.*, Ch.28.

"Northern Ireland is rather like Rhodesia".¹⁰ "Maybe it is", O'Neill replied, "but I do not intend to be the Garfield Todd of Northern Ireland [a reference to the reformist Rhodesian premier who was ousted by his party colleagues in 1958]",¹¹ O'Neill was familiar with Rhodesia, which he had visited with the EPA in 1954,¹² and he was a close friend of Sir Humphrey Gibbs, the governor of Rhodesia at the time of UDI.¹³ Writing of the similarities between their two territories O'Neill recalled:

.../I/t is strange to remember that my friends in the Unionist Party used to say 'the trouble is that you are going too far and too fast'. Little did they realise that in fact we were doing too little and too late. Moreover, a most revealing expression was used [in Ulster] when reforms were discussed. 'Haven't we', they would say, 'given them enough concessions?' This, indeed, was the language of the master race ... [R/eactionary attitudes and survival, as the Bourbons discovered, do not go hand in hand. (14)

In December 1968 O'Neill's reformists policies went too far for his cabinet colleagues, some of whom were talking publicly about a UDI to prevent interference from Westminster. Like Garfield Todd, O'Neill was ousted.¹⁵ In his valedictory broadcast, 'Ulster stands at the crossroads' he warned against a UDI:

... There are, I know, today some so-called loyalists who talk of independence from Britain ... Rhodesia, in defying Britain

10. Lord O'Neill of the Maine, The Autobiography of Terence O'Neill: Prime Minister of Northern Ireland 1963-1969, (London, 1972), p.83.

11. Ibid. One writer who saw the similarity between Todd and O'Neill was Eugene Wason, editor of the Belfast Telegraph who had left Rhodesia following the banning of the African Daily News which he edited in 1964. See E Wason, Banned: The story of the African Daily News Southern Rhodesia 1964, (London, 1976), pp.159-160.

12. O'Neill, op cit., pp.32-33.

13. Ibid., pp.86-87.

14. Ibid., p.87.

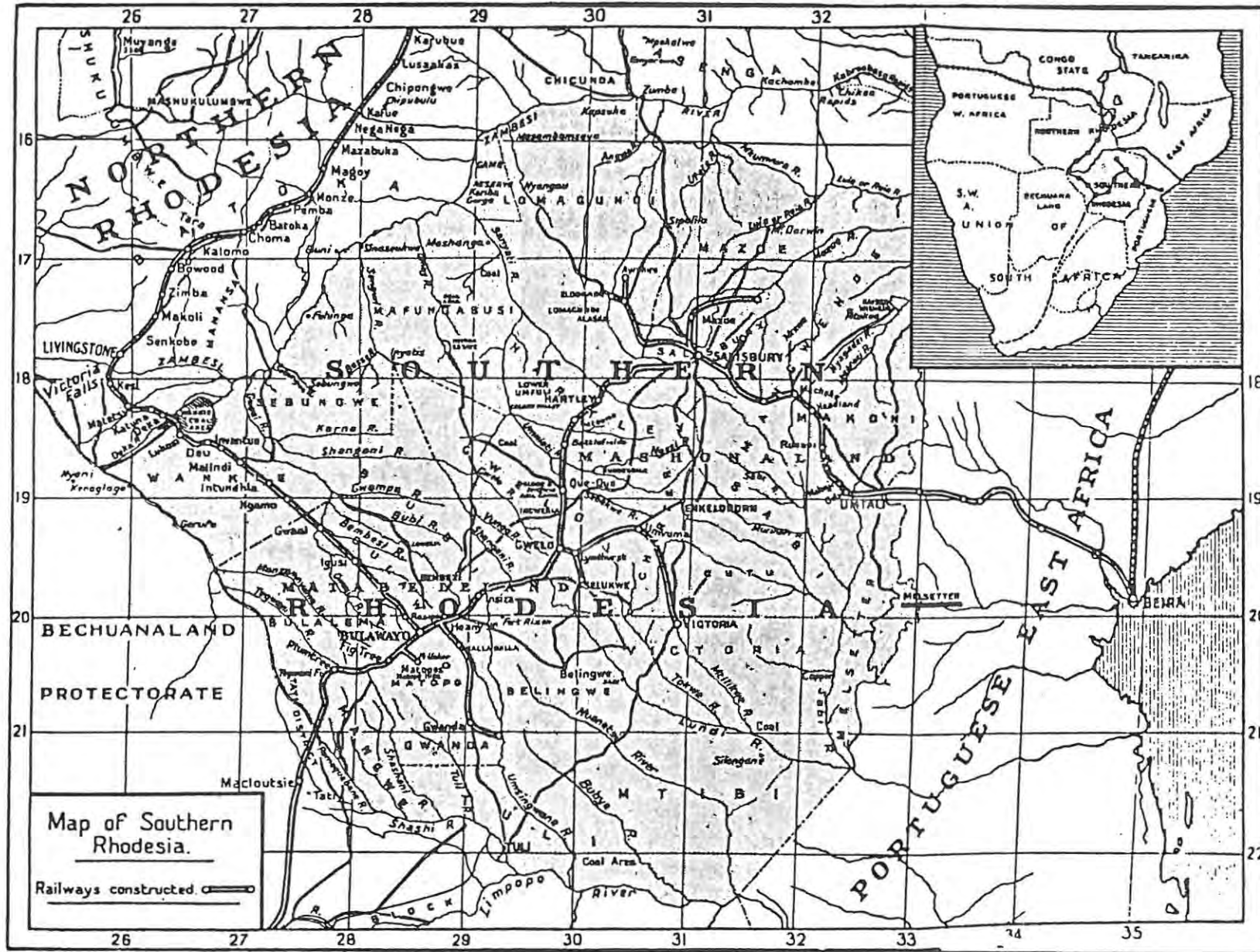
15. Ibid., Ch.12.

from thousands of miles away, at least has an Air Force and an Army of her own. Where are the Ulster armoured divisions or the Ulster jet planes? ... These people ... are not loyalists but disloyalists: disloyal to Britain, disloyal to the Constitution, disloyal to the Crown, disloyal - if they are in public life - to the solemn oaths they have sworn to Her Majesty The Queen. (16)

Following O'Neill's demise the province erupted into widespread violence, forcing the British Government to suspend the NI government and resume direct rule of the province. The UDI sentiment continued to be voiced by the unionist Vanguard movement which flourished in the early 1970s.¹⁷

16. O'Neill, op cit., pp.32-33.

17. Miller, Queen's Rebels, pp.150, 157, 163.



Map of Southern Rhodesia.
 Railways constructed. —

European Birthplaces - Rhodesia

Birthplace	1904		1911		1921		1931		1936		1941	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Rhodesia	-	-	3222	13.7	8308	24.7	n.a.	29.2	n.a.	34.1	23544	34.1
England	7391	52.9	6590	28.0	7405	22.0	"	18.9	"	16.7	13365	19.4
Scotland			1965	8.4	2124	6.3	"	5.6	"	4.9	3283	4.8
Ireland			794	3.4	770	2.3	"	1.8	"	1.5	985	1.4
Wales			268	1.1	245	.7	"	?	"	?	574	.8
South Africa	5811	41.6	7236	30.7	11634	34.6	"	34.5	"	32.8	19240	27.9
Europe	-	-	1886	8.0	1569	4.7	"		"		3872	5.6
Asia	132	.9	208	.9	193	.6	"	}5.4	"	}5.3	449	.6
America	232	1.7	316	1.3	285	.8	"		"		459	.7
Australasia	400	2.9	590	2.5	529	1.6	"	1.3	"	1.0	840	1.2
other Africa	-	-	373	1.6	514	1.5		?		?	1853	2.7
Other	-	-	63	.2	92	.3		?		?	490	.7
Total	13966		23511		33620		"		"		68954	

Source:

D K Kennedy, "A Tale of Two Colonies: The Social Origins and Cultural Consequences of White Settlement in Kenya and Rhodesia 1890-1939",

(Unpub. Ph.D thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1981), p.428.

APPENDIX D

European Immigrants by Nationality - Rhodesia

Year	British Nationality Born in			Other Countries	Other Nationalities
	United Kingdom	Union of South Africa			
		British	Afrikaner		
1890-1914	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1915	821	332	141	42	111
1916	722	405	232	42	101
1917	609	370	322	20	133
1918	670	498	344	25	122
1919	1210	525	428	21	111
1920	2181	625	557	52	227
1921	1543	689	485	70	288
1922	1014	398	227	39	153
1923	677	312	168	36	125
1924	724	462	166	26	177
1925	905	677	218	52	224
1926	1338	949	263	71	214
1927	2143	1746	645	124	326
1928	1618	1994	597	166	398
1929	1309	1523	437	170	301
1930	1090	1383	491	119	191
1931	631	732	232	78	135
1932	528	513	84	79	91
1933	532	627	212	126	124
1934	621	816	200	144	121
1935	731	906	195	166	168
1936	880	970	210	213	237
1937	1078	1103	279	248	300
1938	1237	1213	321	250	488
1939	1254	1079	250	247	451

Source:

D K Kennedy, "A Tale of Two Colonies: The Social Origins and Cultural Consequences of White Settlement in Kenya and Rhodesia 1890-1939",

(Unpub. Ph.D thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1981), p.431.



ETHEL TAWSE JOLLIE O.B.E. (1876-1950)



Sons of the Blood—an empire in arms. This plate, from the *Illustrated London News*, carefully depicts members of regiments from all over the empire.

How British patriots liked to see the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). But the war exposed grave weaknesses in both military performance and national physique, and it created an angst and paranoia that hung over Britain before 1914. The war was instrumental in drawing politicians and intellectuals from across the political spectrum together in a search for an "all-embracing answer to an all-embracing problem". Under the catchcry of 'National Efficiency', their panacea covered almost every aspect of life, including: maternity care, health inspection, compulsory education, industrial, technical and scientific training, housing reform, and national military service, modelled on contemporary reforms in Germany, Japan, the U.S.A. and the white dominions. The adoption of protectionism - Tariff Reform - as part of Conservative Party policy after 1906 destroyed hopes of cross-party cooperation on social reform. The doctrines of National Efficiency became the special hallmark of radical and extreme Conservatives bent on returning to power to 'rescue' the Empire in its hour of danger.

SOCIALISM



Pre-1914 Conservative Party poster Britannia attacked by the 'monster' of socialism. The Edwardian era was a time of unprecedented social and industrial unrest and Labour greatly increased its following. To the Radical Right, socialism was not the main enemy, but a symptom of Liberal mis-government. It was Liberalism with its "malaise of excessive individualism" and 'effete' attitudes to Empire, that the Radical Right most wished to destroy.

THROTTLING THE COUNTRY

The Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Road, London. Founded in 1868 to campaign for some form of 'Imperial Federation', a scheme for the constitutional union of Britain and the white dominions. In 1908-9, Archibald Colquhoun was one of the leaders of the successful campaign to reform the RCI to make it more popular and streamlined, and he became editor of United Empire until his death in 1914, when Ethel succeeded him. (The RCI is now the Royal Commonwealth Society.)



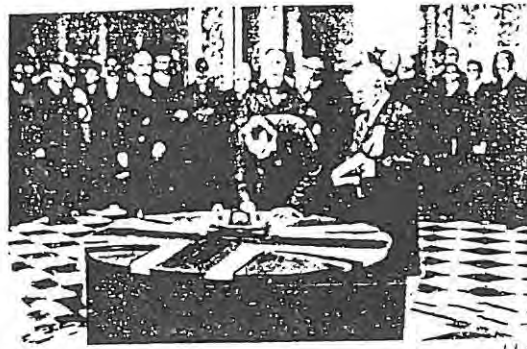
The Royal Colonial Institute Headquarters



LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE, 19th.
Photograph by W. E. B. Duffell

Richard Greville Verney, 19th Baron Willoughby de Broke, arch-reactionary with an innovative political style. He was a leading 'last ditcher' in the constitutional crisis of 1911, although he supported women's suffrage. He presided over the Imperial Maritime League, the hardline Navy League breakaway, in which Ethel became prominent. Regarding the Liberal government's Irish Home Rule Bill as a mortal threat to the Union and to the Empire, he - like Milner - openly declared his willingness to enter into armed rebellion in defence of 'kith and kin' in Ulster.

THE ULSTER CRISIS - RALLYING POINT FOR THE RADICAL RIGHT



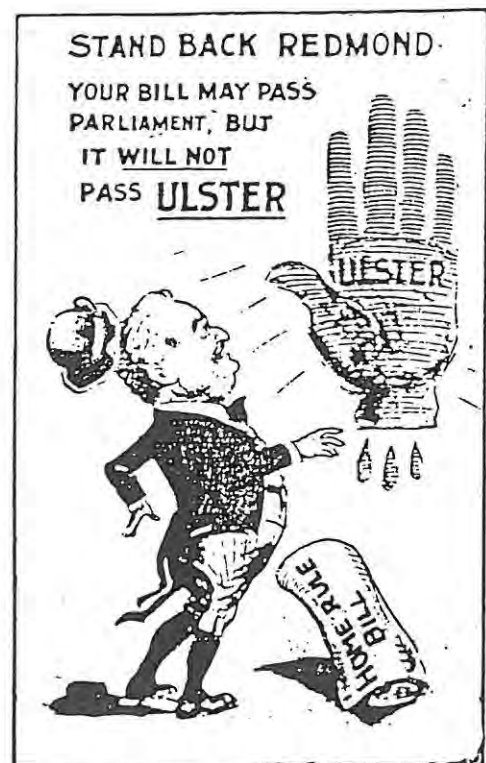
CARSON SIGNS THE COVENANT ON ULSTER DAY 1912

Atop a Union Jack table, Sir Edward Carson QC, the Irish loyalist leader, pledges resistance - in arms, if necessary - to the British government and the majority of his fellow countrymen over the Irish Home Rule Bill. He had the support of the British Conservative opposition and imperialists throughout the Empire, who regarded the Bill as the ultimate act of treason at a time of imperial weakness - the selling out of loyal 'kith and kin' to seditious indigenes. The Conservative Party saw the issue as a route back to power, one which would reunite the Right after the divisiveness caused by the Tariff Reform issue. This posed the greatest threat to the British constitution since the seventeenth century.



THE LADIES SIGN 1912

Above Right: A Women's Covenant was organised throughout Britain and Ulster by the Women's Unionist Association (WUA). The WUA also organised a nursing corps for the Ulster Volunteer Force and made evacuation plans in case of civil war. Ethel sat on its executive.



Above: The Unionists tell Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader at Westminster, where to get off (1912).

Below: The Radical Right ideal, in an age when a healthy and growing population was regarded as essential to great-power status. Imperialists like Ethel believed that the surplus could be absorbed by the colonies, thus strengthening the Empire as a whole.

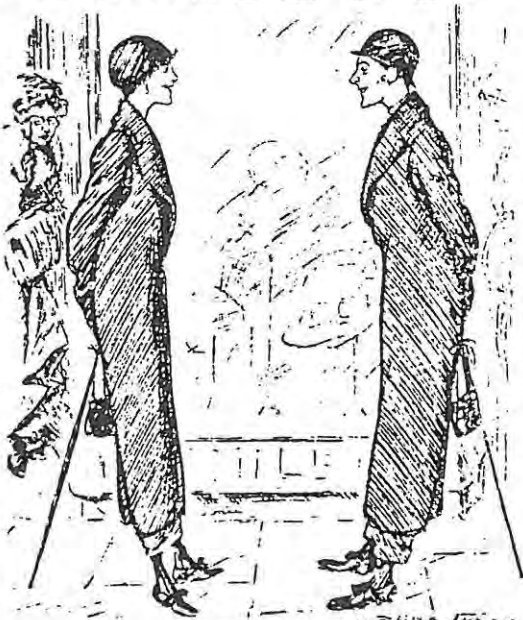


Imperialism and Motherhood



Above: Militant suffragettes in action: In March 1912, they broke windows throughout the West End of London incurring £4-5000 worth of damage. To imperialists of Ethel's outlook it seemed as though anarchy had been loosed on the world, challenging a 'time-honoured' moral order by regarding women as a separate class from men, and attacking 'the Family' as the basic unit of society. She believed that their excessive individualism' threatened Britain's birthrate, and, therefore, the continued existence of the Empire itself. (From the Illustrated London News)

Below: A humorous view of the suffrage issue and unisex clothing (1911). Ethel took it seriously.



THE SEX QUESTION.
(A cartoon by Ross Stribling)



Above: Anti-suffragettes like Ethel liked to attribute the feminist movement to the bitterness of frustrated spinsters - 'the unenjoyed', as Max Beerbohm called them - depicted in this contemporary cartoon.



Left: Sir George Parkin, a Canadian imperialist who passionately believed in the federation of Britain and the white dominions into one "Pan-Britannic Nation", with the patriotisms and identities of each of its parts lending strength to the whole. A former teacher, he believed in the reproduction of the English Public School ideal in the white colonies to foster loyalty to the Empire and the martial values necessary to defend it. He was a leading member of the Royal Colonial Institute, where he gained the admiration of the Colquhouns, who shared his interest in 'geo-politics'. He became the first Organising Secretary of the Rhodes Scholarship Scheme and the chief proponent of Oxford's role as a Great Imperial University. It was said of him that he never got God and Oxford and the Empire wholly separated.

Sir George Parkin, bust in Rhodes House by E. Whitney Smith (1928).



Alfred, Lord Milner, bust by Kathleen Scott in Rhodes House (1931).

Above: Lord Milner, who was converted to the cause of Imperial Federation by Parkin at the Oxford Union. While he was High Commissioner in South Africa he recruited a group of Oxford graduates - the 'Kindergarten' - to assist him in the reconstruction of the Transvaal after the Boer War, which formed the basis for his Round Table movement, an élite group of dedicated imperialists who would quietly lobby British and colonial statesmen in the imperial interest. Despite his Liberal background, many members of the Radical Right looked on Milner as a potential saviour of the Empire, a pro-consul in the Roman mould, who would rescue it from collapse at its centre. He was regarded by many as too cold, aloof and 'Germanic' to become a charismatic figure, but, then, he preferred powerful cabals to the limelight. With the Ulster Crisis of 1912-14 he thought his hour of destiny had struck and he directed all his energies in support of Carson's Unionists, to the extent of subverting the British Army's loyalty to the government, and planning to print an emergency currency for the Ulster rebels, despite the risk of civil war. Even Bonar Law was shocked by his extremism. To Milner, a self-proclaimed 'Race-Patriot', it was the test of Empire: the rescue of a colony of loyal British stock from submersion in a sea of inferior and seditious Celts. Ironically, Ethel, who supported him in this stand, turned against him in 1919 when, as Colonial Secretary, he backed in the inclusion of Rhodesia in the 'un-British' Union of South Africa, the kind of move he had backed Ulster in resisting in 1912-14.



THE STAIN OF CENSURE.

Above: Milner depicted in armour as a chivalrous champion of the imperial cause.

The marriage market. Before 1914, Ethel was concerned about the problem of 'superfluous women', thought to number up to a million in Britain, and the 'shortage' of women in the British colonies. Ethel was a member of the executive of the British Women's Emigration Association, which sought to attract such women to life in the dominions. Their propaganda was chiefly directed towards 'distressed gentlewomen' - middle-class women who could not afford a dowry, and who might fall 'easy prey' to militant feminism.



The marriage market, from an engraving after George du Maurier, 1853. 'Marriage is, as it will continue to be, the grand object in life to every young Englishwoman.' T. H. S. Escott, about 1880

A NATION IN ARMS

BY F.M. EARL
ROBERTS
V.C., K.G.



ONE
SHILLING
NET

LONDON :: 1907
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

This concern was the platform of the National Service League, of which Roberts was president. With over 200 000 members it was the largest pre-war patriotic movement. Ethel was one of its principal speakers.

"NONE SO DEAF—"



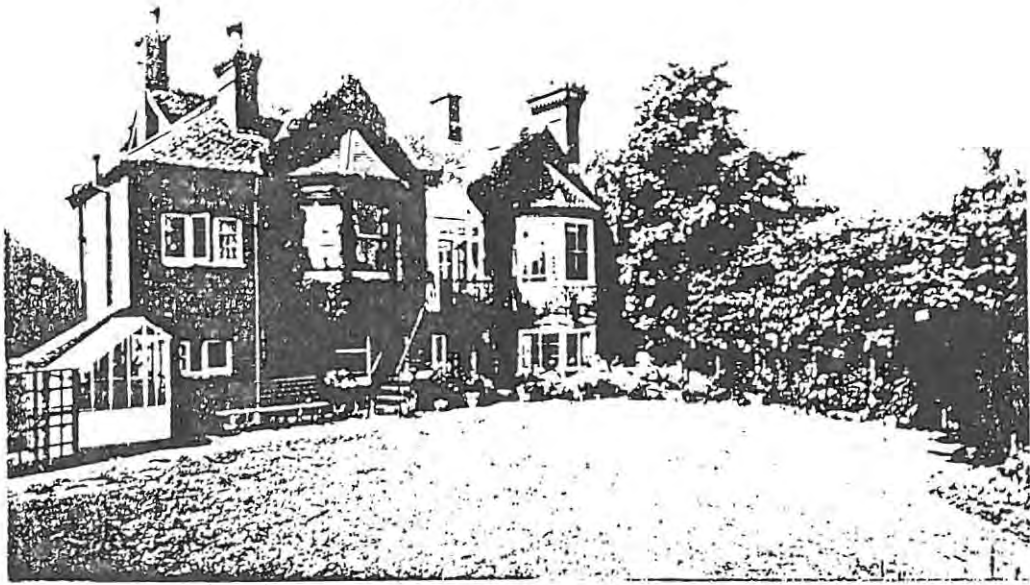
[Reproduced by special permission of the proprietors of "PUNCH."]
"I CONFESS I SOMETIMES DESPAIR OF THE COUNTRY EVER BECOMING ALIVE TO THE DANGER OF THE UNPREPAREDNESS OF OUR PRESENT POSITION UNTIL TOO LATE TO PREVENT SOME FATAL CATASTROPHE."—LORD ROBERTS'S Speech in the House of Lords, July 15, 1906.

Lord Roberts tries to alert the nation to the need for compulsory military service.

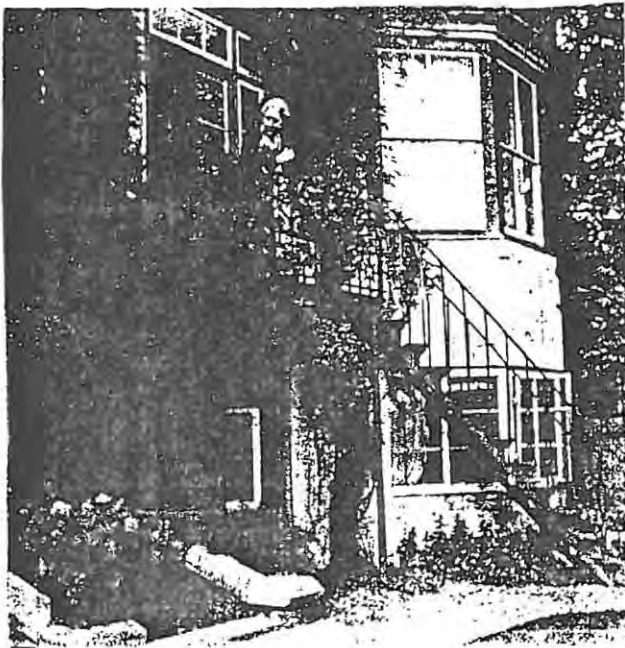
CANADA
IS CALLING YOU
FOR PARTICULARS
as to what it offers.

APPLY TO—
THE ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF
EMIGRATION,
11-12 Chancery Cross, London, S.W.,
or to
THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT
EMIGRATION AGENT
at 48 Lord Street, Liverpool; 139 Corporation
Street, Birmingham; 61 Queen Street, Exeter;
16 Parliament Street, York; 107 Hope Street,
Glasgow; 29 South Street, Aberdeen;
17-19 Victoria Street, Belfast; or
44 Dawson Street, Dublin.

Advertisement from United Empire, 1913. The Radical Right believed that emigration to the overseas dominions would solve Britain's problems of overcrowding, degeneration and class conflict, and regenerate the Empire by filling the 'wide open spaces' with 'sturdy patriotic yeomen'.



Above and below left: Ethel's childhood home in Stafford.



1886.

Ethel's father, Dr Samuel Cookson, in 1886.



Ethel's parents in 1906.



Above: Ethel (left) with two of her sisters.



ARCHIBALD ROSS COLQUHOUN (1848-1914)



Above left: "The Newly Engaged Couple - Anywhere with you darling!". Ethel's sketch from Two on their travels, (1902).



Archibald decides, over breakfast, to take another 'run' to the Far East. (From Two on their travels, (1902)).

Right: More formally, Archibald and Ethel (and unknown, centre) as guests of the city of Prague, Bohemia. (From the Prague Courier, 1907).



Above left: The Colquhouns and friends on an outing.



Above: Ethel (seated, left), with her sisters.

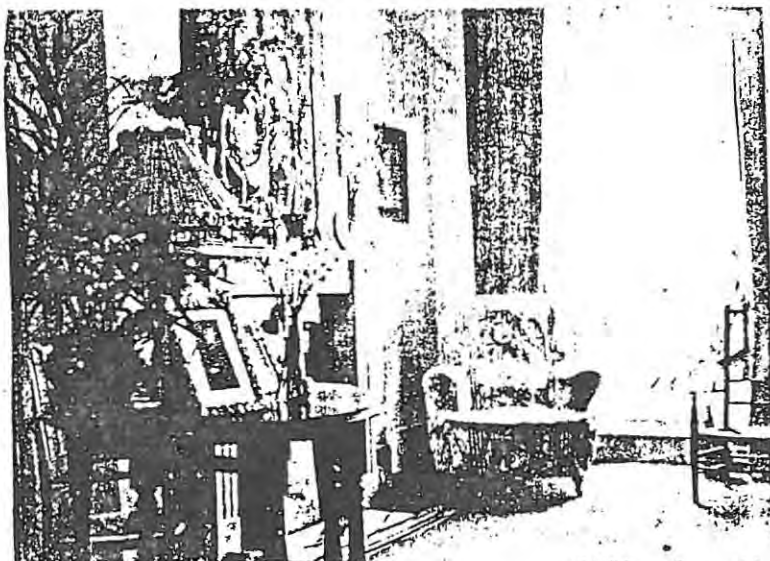


Above: A family group, 1905.

Agnes Goddard



Ethel's half-sister, Agnes, who became one of the Arthur Balfour's election agents. A professional aesthete, she became president of the Society of Women Journalists and the Women's Aeronautical League.



Above and below: Edwardian elegance: Ethel's drawing-room in the 1900s.



March 7th

35.



Elwena C. Jay

Language is given us to
conceal our thoughts.
Talleyrand.

Samuel J. Ford

For she will sing the savaginess
out of a bear! Shakespeare



Ethel Maud Cookson

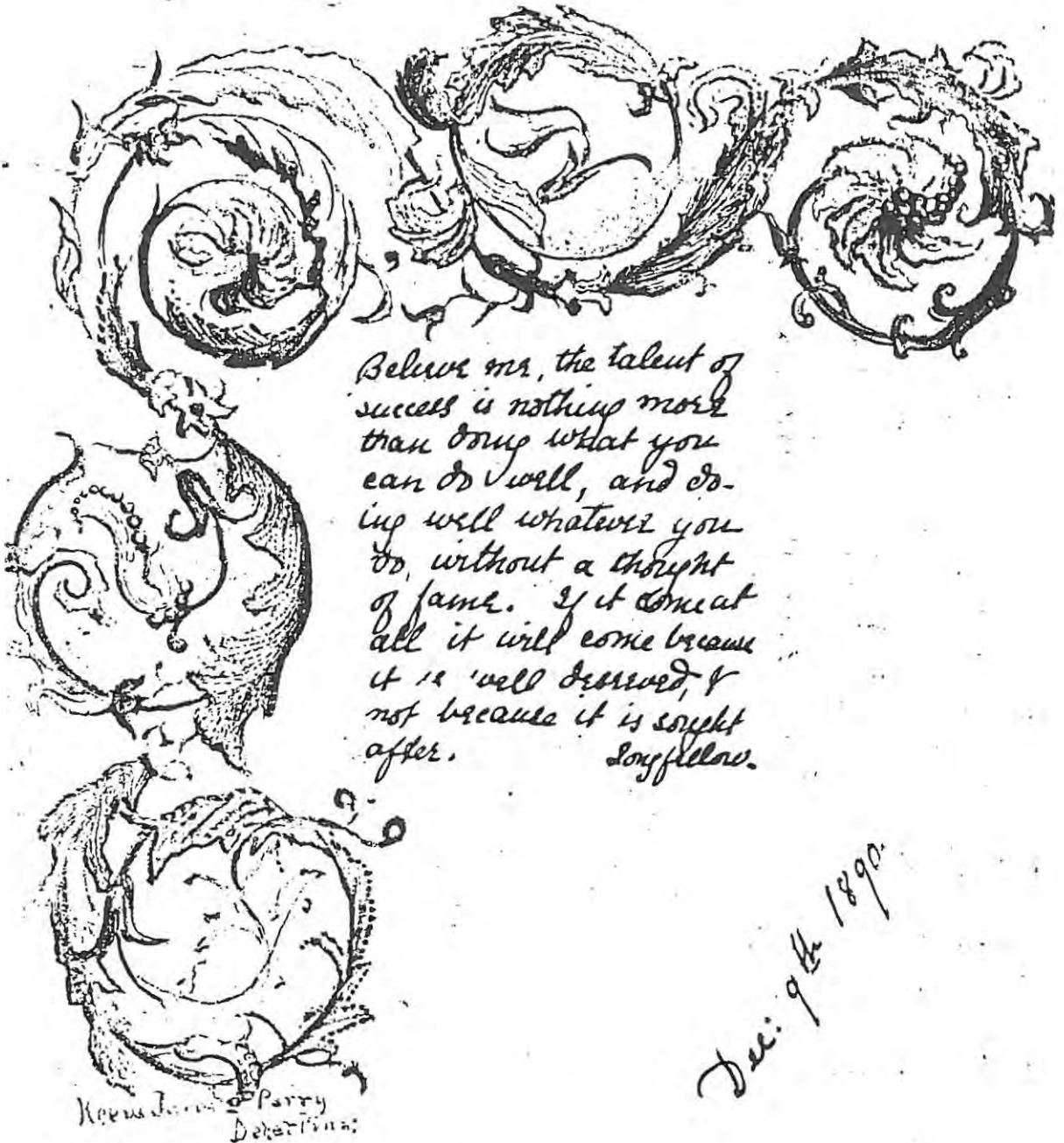
With thee conversing I forget
all evils!
Milton. Paradise Lost.

Halgerda Heyworth
Ethel (Holla)

In her air
There was a something which bespoke
command
as one who was a lady in the land
Byron

A still salt pool, locked in with bars of sand
Left on the shore, that tears all night
The plunging was draw backward from the land

(From Ethel's sketchbook.)



Believe me, the talent of
 success is nothing more
 than doing what you
 can do well, and do-
 ing well whatever you
 do, without a thought
 of fame. If it come at
 all it will come because
 it is well deserved, &
 not because it is sought
 after. Soyfellow.

Dec: 9th 1890.

Keens James & Parry
 Debat'ians

(From Ethel's sketchbook.)



A Japanese lady



RUSSIAN TYPES.



The French women they
can't laugh at us!



Two little women in dainty gray kimono.



A Japanese Excursion Train.



Sda Mildred Cookson

Will you walk into my parlour
 Said the spider to the fly
 It's the prettiest little parlour
 That ever you did spy.

deeds of great men all remind us
 We can make our lives sublime
 and departing, leave behind us
 Footprints in the sands of time.



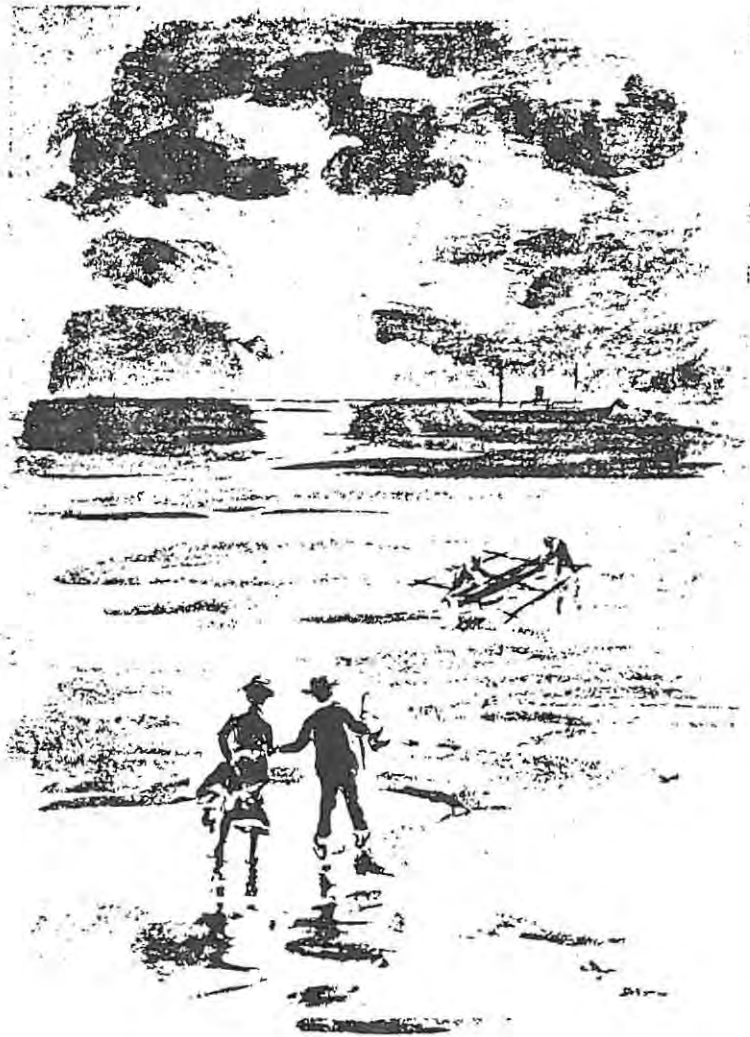
Ethel's sketches from
Two on their travels, (1902)



On the Kotei River - Evening.



A Malay Village.



A WET WALK.

Ethel's sketches from
Two on their travels, (1902)



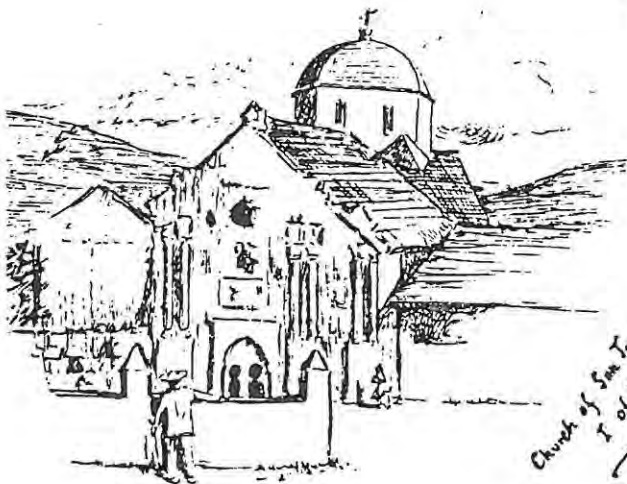
ON THE AMUR.—A COSSACK VILLAGE.



East & West.



A FILIPINO VILLAGE STREET.



Church of San Jose
I of Pany



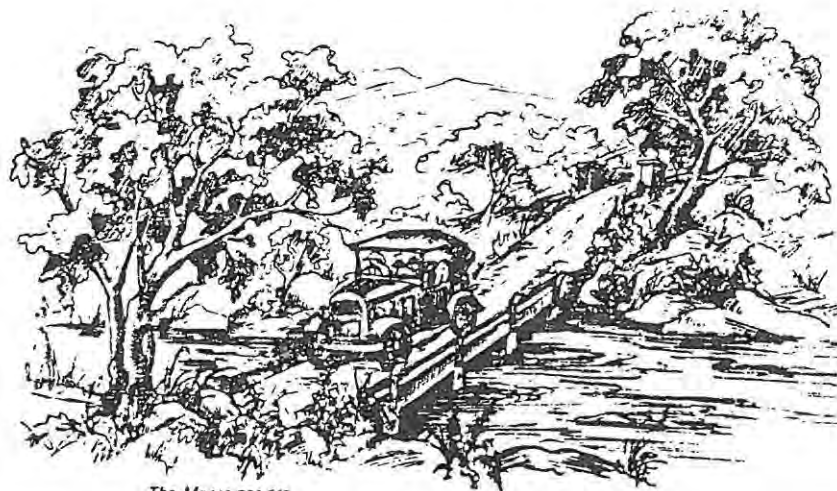
ETHEL IN MIDDLE-YEARS -
POSSIBLY HER WEDDING PHOTOGRAPH (1915)



The Chimanimani Mountains



The Road to Umtali



The Motor car era

Scenes of the Eastern Districts, from S. Sinclair,
The Story of Melsetter

Responsible Government Association.

**—A PUBLIC—
MEETING**

WILL BE HELD IN THE

Drill Hall, Salisbury,

— ON —

Saturday, 28th Jan.,

1922, at 8 p.m.

SPEAKERS :

Mrs. TAWSE JOLLIE, M.L.C.

W. M. LEGGATE, M.L.C.

J. STEWART, M.L.C.

SUBJECT :

“The Constitution.”

Chairman - J. McCHLERY, M.L.C.

Art. Salisbury—076



Jack and Ethel Tawse Jollie and family in the 1920s.



Ethel in old age.



Ethel (front, centre) at a picnic near Chipinga, 1927.



Musical instrument. A thin rod bent in bow shape, and tied with fibre, which is supported on the lip. A rod on which two hollow pods are threaded is rubbed backwards and forwards on the bow, producing a thin but sweet note, which is varied by touching the fibre.



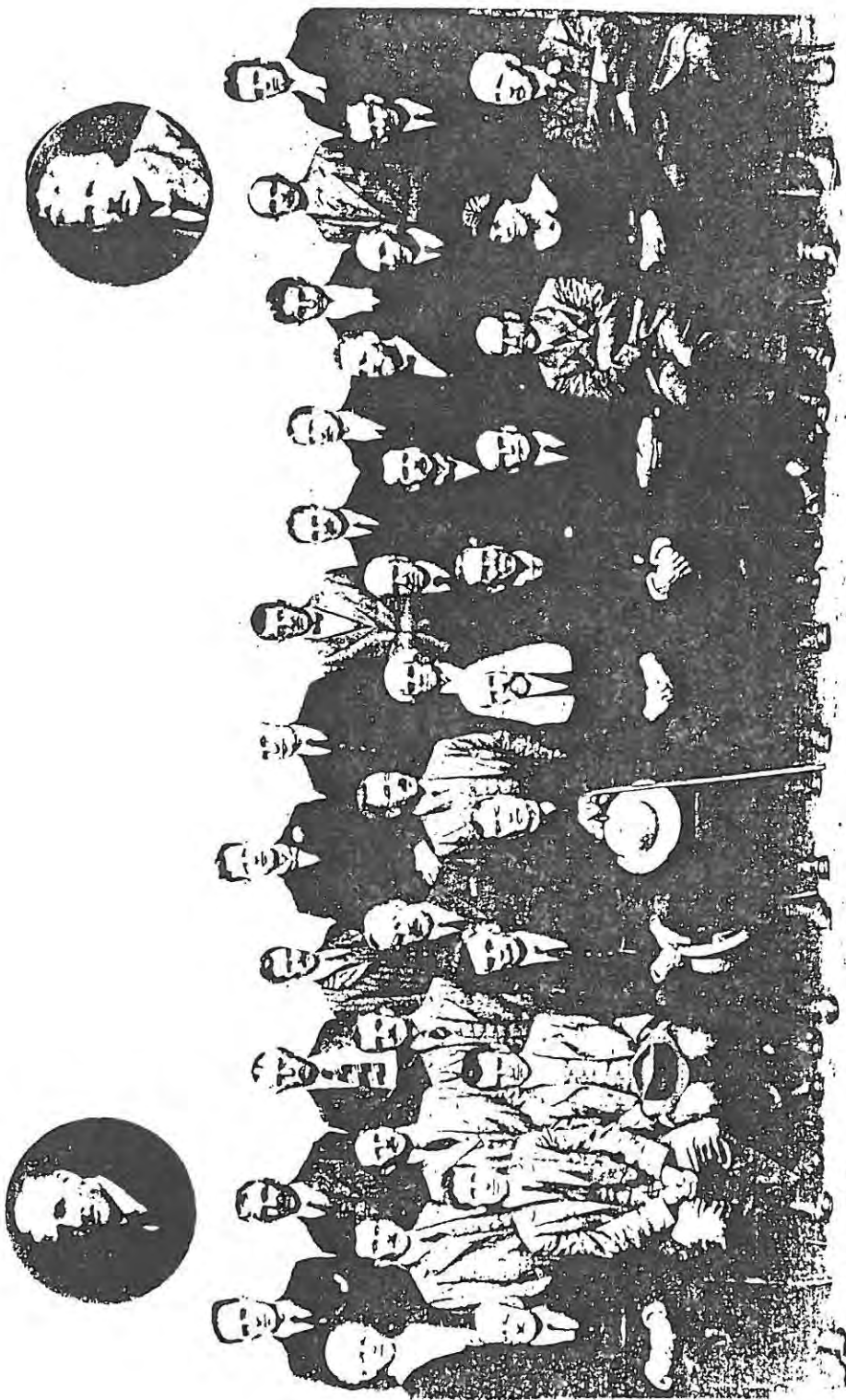
A procession of women with baskets on their heads.



The heathen dress—"Sokkis" and "Foya"
a young buck and little brother.



"Morrow Inkoos." Probably a capitalist.



First Legislative Assembly, 1924

First woman parliamentarian in the overseas Empire, 1924.



Photo by]

Edgcomb & Co., Cape Town.

RHODESIAN AND UNION DELEGATES, April, 1922.

Back Row:—J. H. Eakin, A. R. Home, W. M. Leggate, D. Hawksley, Hon. P. Duncan, Right Hon. F. S. Malan, G. Johnson, I. F. Moore, J. W. Keller.
 Middle Row:—E. C. Baxter, P. D. L. Fynn, Sir Ralph Grey, Right Hon. Sir Thomas Smartt, R. G. Garvin, Sir Kandolf Baker, J. Stewart, Capt. E. Lane.
 Sitting:—J. G. McDonald, R. D. Gikrist, H. T. Longden, Sir Drummond Chaplin, Right Hon. General Smuts, Sir Charles Coghlan, Mrs. T. Jollie, Sir Boerehner Wrey.

Member of the Rhodesian delegation to Cape Town, 1922.



Mrs. Tawse Jollie at Horsham High School.

Pictorial Section
National Library
of Australia

FROM THE HEART OF RHODESIA

First Woman Politician in British Colonies
is "Go-Getter"

The Guardian (Sydney),
29 October 1926.

From the heart of Rhodesia comes Mrs. Tawse Jollie, to represent the woman's point of view—a lone hand, by the way—at the Empire Parliamentary delegation.

NOT the heart of Rhodesia, as pictured by the best novelists, teeming with wild animals and wilder natives, with vast trackless wastes of veldt, she would have you know, but a much more sober and sensible Rhodesia, well equipped with railroads, good roads, hotels, gas, water, and electricity—a Rhodesia rapidly developing into a prosperous and progressive State.

A bright, vivacious woman, with intelligence gleaming from her quick, dark eyes, Mrs. Jollie makes no excuses for her readiness to talk at all times on the subject of her country. "I have been sent out here to tell you all about our country," she says, "so that in future, when you read of Rhodesia, you will be able to visualise it as it really is, and not as you have seen it in imagination." And she proceeds to tell you, with all the charm of her clear-cut English pronunciation, all about this country to which her family went as pioneers, and in which she herself has lived and worked and "pioneered" for the past eleven years.

THE POLITICAL "ITCH"

Her early experience in political campaigning in London stood her in good stead when she went out to Rhodesia, and though she lived some 250 miles from the centre of civic activities, this extraordinarily energetic woman began to get the political "itch" for this adopted country of hers.

Rhodesia, she decided, should have its own politics, and its own responsible government. She talked it over with a few of her neighbours, men on the land, anxious to push forward the interests of the country, and keenly anxious to help this woman who could not only talk, but write about their cause.

Thus she began a political campaign which took her three times up and down the country, until in the end, a definite political policy was framed and a definite constitution formed.

Nothing more feminine could be imagined than this slim slip of a woman in her early forties, addicted

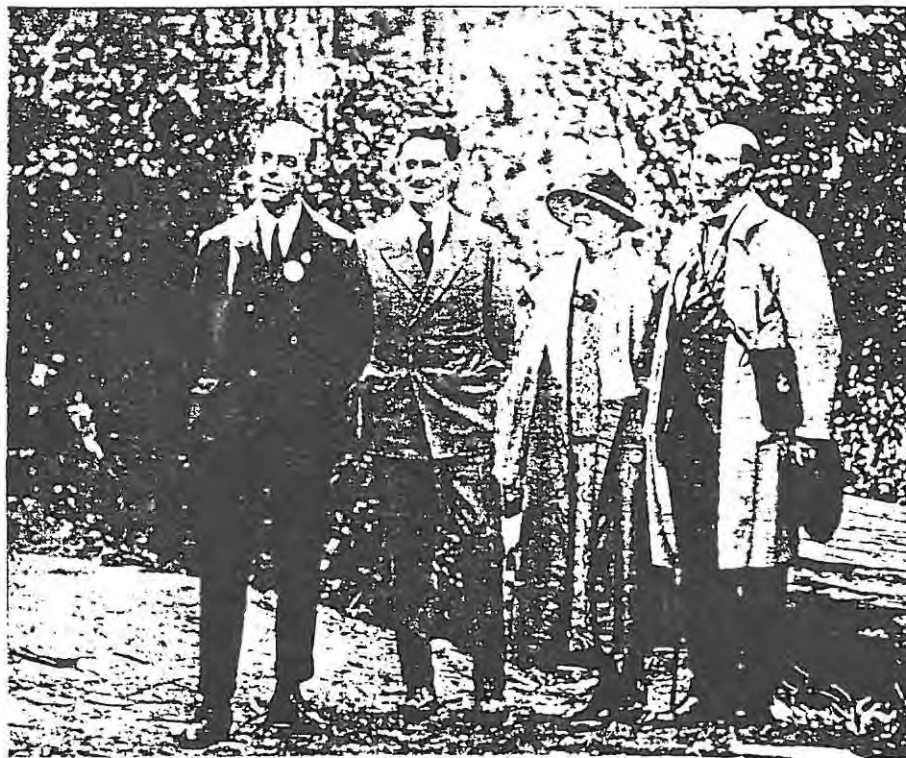
to full scarves and wide brimmed, most feminine of hats, a charming smile, and a positive knack of remembering names.



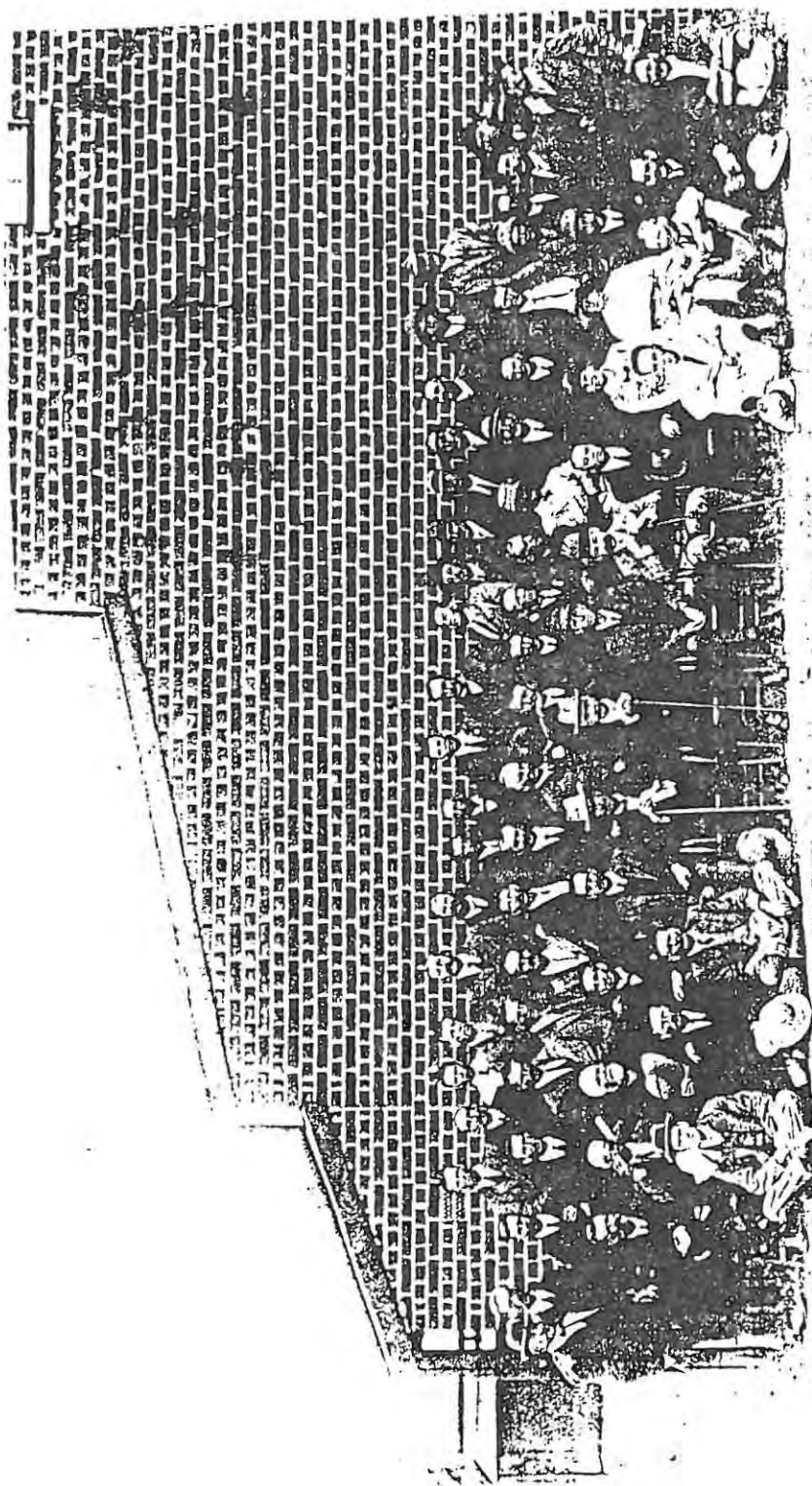


Mr. James Gillis (London Rhodesian)

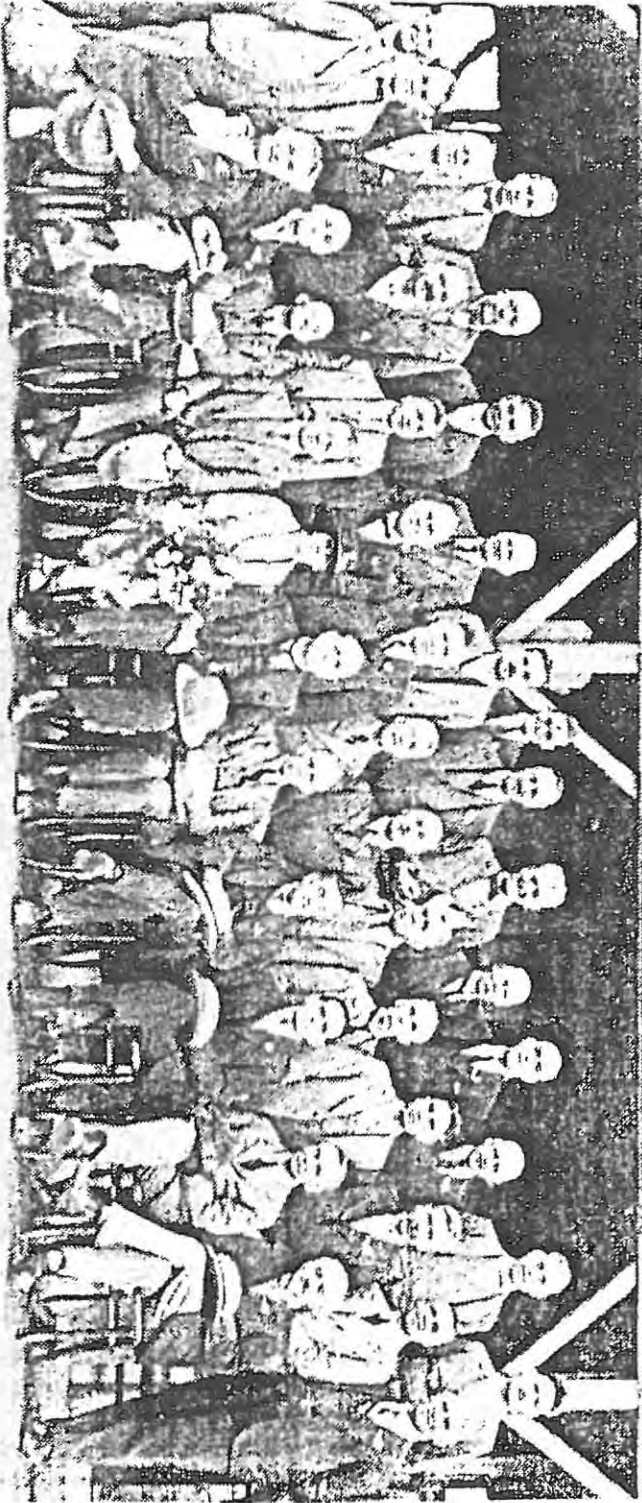
Pictorial Section
National Library
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National Park, Tasmania



Ethel (seated, third from right) at the Rhodesian Agricultural Union Congress in 1920. Support from the disgruntled Mashonaland farming interest provided the RGA's initial strength in 1917.

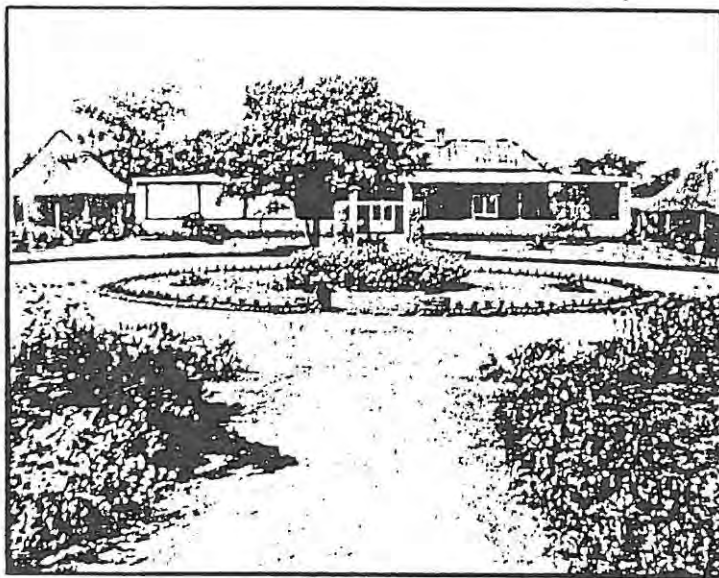
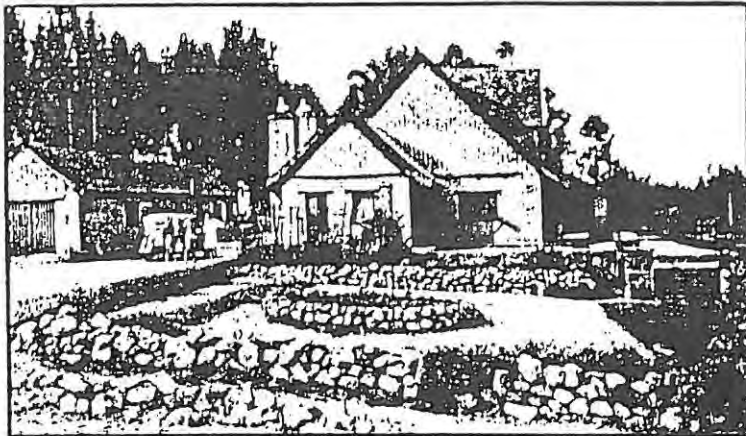


PICTORIAL SECTION NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA

Ethel with imperial delegates at Coolgardie, Western Australia, 1926.

RHODESIAN HOMESTEAD & GARDEN

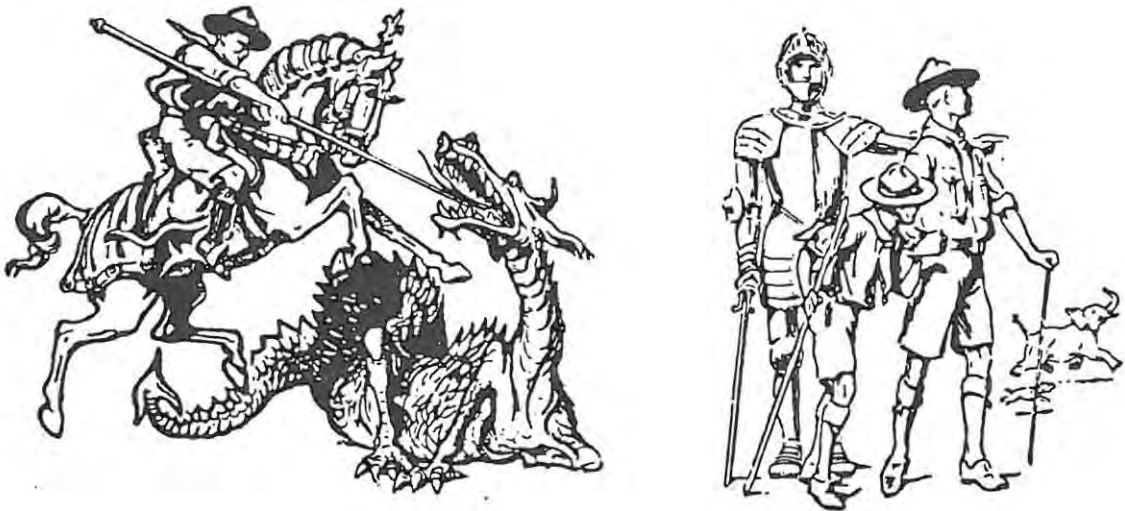
Reminiscent
of an
English
Country
Home



My
Garden
is a
Lovely
Thing

The Janus-face of Rhodesian domesticity, the English rural idyll and the colonial fresh-start. (From the Rhodesian Annual, 1932)

In the 1930s, townspeople also went in for the more non-descript International Style of architecture, symbol of progress and modernity. Meanwhile, the Colony's political development and social structure remained almost frozen.



THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK - Edwardian youth movements and revived chivalry. (Note the interchangeability of the boy scout, symbol of the Edwardian emphasis on health and fitness, and the knight, motif of martial self-sacrifice and patriotism.)



Our Youngest Line of Defence. Boy Scout (to Mrs Britannia). 'Fear not, Gran'ma; no danger can befall you now. Remember I am with you!' *Punch*, September 1st, 1909.

Popular images of boy scout chivalry in pre-1914 Britain.



Cover of NADA, official journal of the Rhodesian Native Affairs Department. The 'Knight of Knowledge' slays the 'Dragon of Barbarism'. In the background, the 'new dawn of civilisation', and the Zimbabwean Ruins, which the settlers fancied as the Ophir of the Bible, source of King Solomon's Mines, ominous symbol of a previous civilisation that had 'failed'.



Religion and Scouting

By "GILRHODE."

The Knight's Vigil - Masthead in Woodsmoke, official journal of the Southern Rhodesian Scout Association (1930s).

The Rhodesian manfully rejects the blandishments of the Union Bagman under the northward gaze of Cecil Rhodes. (From The Independent, 1922.)



RHODESIAN: "What! Do you think I'd sell my birthright for that stuff?"
UNION BAGMAN: "Well, suppose I chuck in another couple of premises?"

Another romanticised view from the Rhodesian Annual (1930s). The lone settler with his sturdy steed, faithful dog and rifle. The reality was often very different. The white population was becoming urbanised, while rural life was often marked by poverty, isolation and depression



But my way's the highway across the rolling
plains,
With the sable and gemsbok, the khorhaan
and the cranes.

"Leaves in the Wind" — N. H. D. Spicer.

The
Rhodesian



SIR CHARLES COGLAN

Coghlan, who took over the Responsible Government Association in 1919 after Ethel had built it into an efficient political machine. He was dedicated but mercurial, and he allowed the party to go into decline after 1923, despite Ethel's vociferous protestations.



SIR FRANCIS NEWTON

Newton, a former BSAC Treasurer, converted to the RGA cause in 1921. The only Rhodesian with anything approaching Ethel's breadth of intellect. The two became life-long friends.

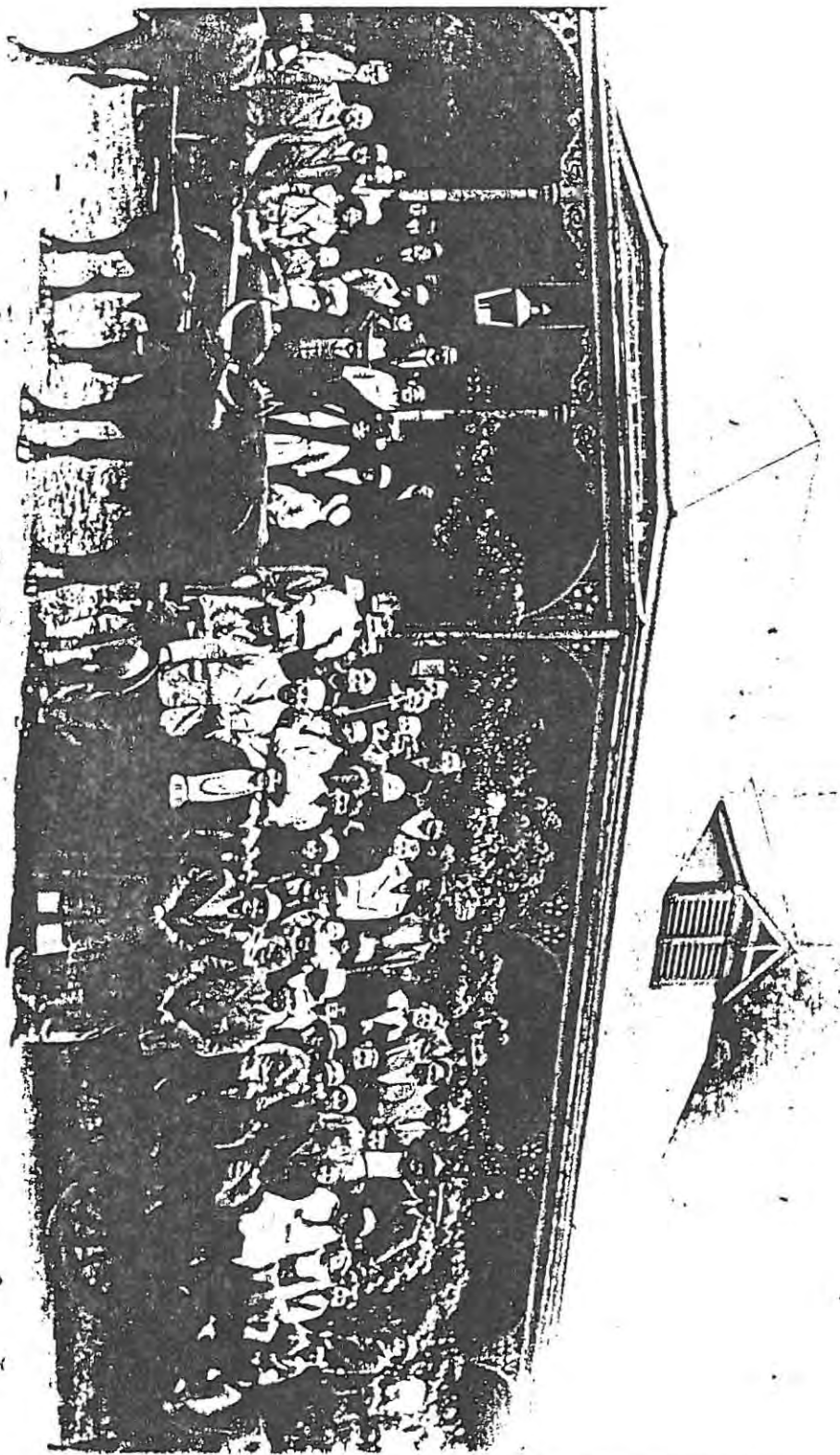


SIR DRUMMOND CHAPLIN



GENERAL J. C. SMUTS

Ethel was the bane of Chaplin and Smuts and she opposed their scheme for union at every hands turn.



Ethel and Jack (with hat in hand) at a Pioneer commemorative picnic at Christmas Pass Hotel (1920s)

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Newton Family Papers.

5. In the author's possession.

Jollie Papers (consisting of several letters, a sketchbook and an annotated photography album).

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W. Stuttaford, ST 1 (1969)
 Philip Abraham Cremer, CR 1
 Mrs Susanna Webster WE 3
 Mrs Angela Cripps CR 2

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Dr R. Challis, Harare, 27.9.83.
 Mr G. Ellman-Brown, Harare, 17.11.86.
 Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Bulawayo, 12.9.83.
 Mr W.H.C. Gurure, Librarian to Parliament, Harare, 4.10.83.
 Colonel George Hartley, Masvingo, 20.3.87.
 Mrs Madeleine Heald, Bulawayo, 2.10.83.
 Mrs Jess Honey, Harare, 19.10.83; 9.10.84.
 Mr L.J. Howe-Ely, Harare, 3.3.87; 2.5.87.
 Mr J.H. Howman, Harare, 21.3.88.
 Mr Nick McNally, Harare, 25.1.87.
 Mr A.N. Prentice, Mazowe, 9.5.87.
 Mrs Hylde Richards, Harare, 12.9.83.
 Professor R.S. Roberts, Harare, 12.9.84; 14.7.86.
 Mr Denis Robinson, Harare, 25.9.83.
 Mrs Theresa Rose, Harare, 14.2.88.
 Mr R.C. Smith, Harare, 14.11.83.
 Sir Garfield Todd, Dadaya, 20.11.86.
 Mr R.W.S. Turner, Harare, 12.4.87.
 Mrs P. Vickery, Bulawayo, 5.10.83.
 Mr J. Ward, Harare, 9.9.87.
 Mr H.T.F. Went, Mutare, 13.5.87.
 Mr W.R. Whaley, Harare, 22.3.88.

South Africa:

Mrs Reneira Fleming, Cape Town, 25.10.87.
 Dr M.E. Lee, Krugersdorp, 12.1.87.
 Mrs Carol McEwan, Knysna, 12.11.86; 14.11.86; 6.1.87.
 Professor P.R. Warhurst, Durban, 17.6.83.

United Kingdom:

Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, London, 17.11.86.
 Sir Arthur Benson, Devon, 20.11.86.
 Mrs Sybil Cookson, Sussex, 7.10.87.
 Mrs Deborah Kirkwood, Oxford, 28.4.86.
 Doris Lessing, London, 1.12.86.
 Mr Donald Simpson, Librarian, Royal Commonwealth Society, London,
 29.5.84; 29.8.85.
 Slade School of Fine Art, London, 15.2.88.
 Mr F.B. Stitt, Archivist, Staffordshire County Council, Stafford,
 4.10.83; 7.6.84.
 Dr Anne Summers, Oxford, 31.8.85; 22.3.86.
 Dr C. Swaisland, Oxford, 7.8.85; 18.12.85; 7.4.86.
 Sir Roy Welensky, Dorset, 11.11.87.

Australia:

Librarian, Parliament of Australia, Canberra, 12.11.86.
 Ruth Schmedding, Librarian, National Library of Australia, Canberra,
 8.12.86.

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Mr Hereward Cripps, Vumba, 2.9.84.
 Mrs Reneira Fleming, Chegutu, 26.7.84.
 Mr and Mrs Herbst, Chipinge, 2.9.84.
 Fr McKeown, S.J. Harare, 31.7.84.
 Mrs Hendrik Moorman, Chipinge, 2.9.84.
 Mrs Bessie Odendaal, Chipinge, 2.9.84.
 Mr Maurice Rooney, Harare, 20.7.83.
 Mrs Muriel Rosin, Harare, 20.7.84.
 Mrs Sarah Webster, Chipinge, 29.8.84.

South Africa:

Mr 'Buster' St Quinton, Grahamstown, 23.5.83.
 Mr Reg Griffiths, Grahamstown, 2.10.85.
 Mrs Dorothy Leslie, Port Alfred, 6.1.87.
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Articles/Essays

Abbreviations:

- AEHR: Australian Economic History Review
- AHR: American Historical Review
- AJPH: Australian Journal of Politics and History
- BJS: British Journal of Sociology
- BSSLH: Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History
- CHBE: Cambridge History of the British Empire, Vol.III, (Cambridge, 1959).
- CJAS: Canadian Journal of African Studies
- CSSH: Comparative Studies in Society and History
- EHR: English History Review
- HT: History Today
- HJ: Historical Journal
- HS: Historical Studies [Australia]
- HWJ: History Workshop Journal
- ICSCSP: Institute of Commonwealth Studies: Collected Seminar Papers
- IHS: Irish Historical Studies
- ILR: Illustrated Life Rhodesia
- IRSH: International Review of Social History
- JBS: Journal of British Studies
- JCS: Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies
- JCH: Journal of Contemporary History
- JEH: Journal of Economic History
- JHI: Journal of the History of Ideas
- JICH: Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History
- JWH: Journal of World History

<u>JRAHS:</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society</u>
<u>JDS:</u>	<u>Journal of Development Studies</u>
<u>JSAS:</u>	<u>Journal of Southern African Studies</u>
<u>PRCI:</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute</u>
<u>NYRB:</u>	<u>New York Review of Books</u>
<u>NZJH:</u>	<u>New Zealand Journal of History</u>
<u>PP:</u>	<u>Past and Present</u>
<u>PS:</u>	<u>Political Studies</u>
<u>PSNZ:</u>	<u>Political Science [New Zealand]</u>
<u>Rhod. Ann:</u>	<u>Rhodesian Annual</u>
<u>Rhod. Hist:</u>	<u>Rhodesian History</u>
<u>RJE:</u>	<u>Rhodesian Journal of Economics</u>
<u>RH:</u>	<u>Rhodesian Herald</u>
<u>SAHJ:</u>	<u>South African Historical Journal</u>
<u>TLS:</u>	<u>Times Literary Supplement</u>
<u>THES:</u>	<u>Times Higher Educational Supplement</u>
<u>UE:</u>	<u>United Empire</u>
<u>VS:</u>	<u>Victorian Studies</u>

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