



Paradise Lost: Re-reading Percy FitzPatrick's “Jock of the Bushveld”

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Abstract

Sir Percy FitzPatrick's “Jock of the Bushveld” is one of the most successful books ever written by a South African writer. Set in the 1880s in the Lowveld in South Africa, the work is ostensibly a nostalgic and authentic account of the hunting adventures of a transport rider and his dog, Jock. Critical Theory contends that the ideological motivators behind the actions of social actors should be examined, whether the actors are conscious of these or not. The book is rich in symbolism and metaphor, and the ideological function of the work is scarcely concealed. Changes in societal attitude in South Africa towards hunting, increased interest in conservation, and political changes which occurred towards the end of the 20th century, have tended to date the work and in recent decades its relevance has begun to fade. However, in its documenting of the environmental changes which were occurring in settler economies at the end of 19th century, the work still has relevance: it is a detailed and poignant account of a paradise lost, even though its author appears to be largely unaware of this reality.

Keywords: Environmental history, Kruger National Park, early South African conservation, unsustainable settler hunting

Introduction

The proclamation in 1926 of the Kruger National Park in the Lowveld of South Africa was a political and conservation landmark. The national park has become one of South Africa's foremost tourist attractions, and currently contributes R825 million directly to the regional economy per annum (Kruger National Park Management Plan, 2018: 29). Carruthers (1995) has presented a cogent account of the successful harnessing, from the 1920s, of the Kruger National Park as a unifying symbol, following decades of internecine conflict between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking whites in South Africa. The myth of conservation being “apolitical” and “neutral territory” reduced the temptation, for a time, for national parks to be viewed as sites of struggle and positioned the national park as a unifying icon. The Kruger National Park, therefore, in the perception of many white South Africans, became a resilient patriotic symbol (Braack, 1983; Bulpin, 1974; Labuschagne, 1968; Ewart-Smith, 2005). For generations of urban whites, many who retained nostalgic memories of rural life within recent memory, the national park became more than just, “a physical entity, a geographic area, or a suite of ecosystems and species, but a mirror of society and a vigorous symbol” (Carruthers, 1995: 5).

Sir Percy FitzPatrick's “Jock of the Bushveld” was published in 1907. The original edition is a lengthy book of 475 pages and includes line drawings on every page by the English artist, Edmund Caldwell, as well as 21 full-page paintings (Figures 5, 6). The book was the publishing sensation of 1907 and was reprinted four times before the end of the year (Pienaar, 2012: 237). The book arose from the evening stories that FitzPatrick used to tell his four children in their home in Parktown, Johannesburg, relating to a short period in the 1880s when he was a transport rider (Pienaar, 2012: 237). Rudyard Kipling, author of “The Jungle Book”, encouraged FitzPatrick to publish a collection of these evening tales.



In this paper, I argue that “Jock of the Bushveld” is an account of a paradise lost, although the author appears to be blissfully unaware of this reality. The work is profoundly nostalgic and symbolic and, in addition, it serves thinly-disguised ideological purposes. References from the text are all taken from the March 1957 reprint of the original 1907 publication.

The publication of “Jock of the Bushveld”

FitzPatrick had always wanted to be a writer and as a young man he began to imitate the writings of Bret Harte and Rudyard Kipling (Cartwright, 1971: 17). A major consideration was that the book had to be illustrated by an artist who would capture the story authentically. After seeing a painting of a kudu bull in a gallery in Bond Street, London, that had been produced from a specimen in the London Zoo, FitzPatrick contacted the artist, Edmund Caldwell. Caldwell was virtually blind without his spectacles and had never been to South Africa. FitzPatrick arranged an expedition consisting of four waggons pulled by mule teams and the entire family and Caldwell left Bronkhorstspuit in 1906 and travelled to the Lowveld to enable Caldwell to complete the artwork (Figure 11) (Cartwright, 1971: 148, 149). Caldwell was commissioned to produce a total of 750 line drawings (a few images are repeated) for the 466-page book, excluding end notes. The final draft was finished in July 1906, and the book was published by Longmans, Green and Company in September 1907 and had to be reprinted three times in November 1907 (Cartwright, 1971: 149, 155). Because there have been a number of editions, including one which removed some of the racial stereotyping and, at times, blatant racism, it is difficult to obtain an estimate of the total number of copies printed, but by 1975 a total of 600,000 copies had been sold (Gray, 1987: 1).

The book was published during a tumultuous time in South African politics. The South African War, supposedly a “white man’s war” fought between the British Empire and two Afrikaner republics, had embroiled all South Africans in a protracted conflict which resulted in the collapse of agriculture in many districts of South Africa, severe disruption of the gold mining industry and significant casualties, including at least 48,000 civilians who died in concentration camps (Pretorius, 2019: 4). The war began on 11 October 1899, and on 5 June 1900 the British forces occupied Pretoria, but guerrilla actions continued until May 1902 when the last Boer commandos surrendered (Aitken, 2000: 14). The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging of 31 May 1902, which ended the existence of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) and the Orange Free State as independent Boer republics. The Union of South Africa was established as a dominion of the British Empire in 1910, exactly eight years after the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging (SA History).

The first decade of the 20th century was therefore a period of political uncertainty in South Africa, and the publication of “Jock of the Bushveld” in 1907 was more than just the publishing of a collection of adventure tales for children: the book is very much an expression of FitzPatrick’s political philosophy.

Jock of the Bushveld and Lowveld mythology

In the decades of the 20th century which pre-dated television, the internet and the ascendance of social media platforms, books exerted important influences on society. “Jock of the Bushveld”, although essentially a hunting story, helped to introduce generations of white South Africans¹ to the allure of the Lowveld and its profusion of wildlife. The Lowveld became more than the sum of its ecological patterns and processes, or merely a vast region of semi-arid

¹ From 1926 national parks were harnessed in the service of Afrikaner Nationalism and until the 1980s scant attention was given to black visitors. While not specifically excluded by apartheid legislation, black visitors were not explicitly encouraged and very few accommodation units were allocated to black visitors. In the 1960s a “blacks only” game reserve, Manyeleti was established on the western boundary of the Kruger National Park near Orpen.



savannah that was visited by frequent droughts, instead it took on political, religious and psychological significance.

A considerable amount of this mythology was due to FitzPatrick's best-seller, which became an essential companion for anyone who was vaguely interested in African wildlife. Although three generations of white South Africans were raised on the book, the same people who have become, in the words of Stephen Gray, "animal-lovers, gamespotters, nature-buffs, even ecologists and conservationists" (Gray, 1987: 4), very little scholarly attention has been given to the work. From a Critical Theory perspective, an attempt should be made to understand the ideological purpose of the work, and its recent decline in popularity, as this casts light on important changes which have occurred in South African society.

The appearance of geographic authenticity

As the place names mentioned in the book still exist, and can be easily located, the work conveys the illusion of authenticity. One of the tourist roads which radiates from Pretoriuskop, the oldest rest camp in the Kruger National Park, closely tracks the route followed by FitzPatrick and other transport riders (Pienaar, 2012: 317, 318). "Jock" therefore became closely associated with the south-western region of the Kruger National Park and the book widely accepted as a work of non-fiction. The tourist road, which closely follows the waggon road used by FitzPatrick, is named the "Voortrekker Road". The original track was surveyed in 1844 when Andries Potgieter and a party of horsemen established a route between Ohrigstad and the port at Delagoa Bay, and markers along the roadside indicate sites of historic interest (Figures 1, 3, 4) (Map 1) (Pienaar, 2012: 638).

In the undulating terrain produced by the tributaries of the Biyamiti River cutting through granitic sands, a rise and fall between spur and tributary would either reveal or obscure distant hills to the waggon riders. Prominent granite inselbergs, and other prominent geological features, such as Legogote, Numbi, Shabeni, Pretoriuskop, Sithungwane, Ship Mountain, Newu and Rooikop (from west to east) were important route markers along the road between the Drakensberg at Spitzkop and the Nellmapius Drift across the Crocodile River, and would also have lessened the chance of getting lost in the veld when the men were out hunting. Later, when FitzPatrick gets lost and ends up walking in a circle, none of these prominent landmarks are visible (FitzPatrick, 1957: 131-151)

The site where FitzPatrick says that the puppies were born in May 1885 is indicated by a plaque, and a windmill near the Afsaal picnic site is named after Jock (Figure 3, 4) (Map 1). The name chosen for the picnic site, when the new tarred H3 road was completed between Skukuza and Malelane in 1983, commemorates the transport riders described in the book. As the waggons outspanned for much of the day at intervals of between 22 to 25 kilometres along the road, in order to allow the oxen to graze in the surrounding veld, the waggon owners used to hunt in the surrounding country to provide meat for themselves and their workers. The Voortekker Road was the setting for many of the encounters described in the book (Map 1).

Paradise Found

FitzPatrick's father was a supreme court judge in the Cape Colony, but he died when FitzPatrick was 18 years old. As the oldest son, FitzPatrick had to leave the South African College in Cape Town, where he was studying, and went to work as a bank clerk for Standard Bank to support his mother and siblings (Cartwright, 1971: 10; Pienaar, 2012: 237). The discovery of gold at Pilgrim's Rest attracted him to what was known as the Lydenburg Gold Fields, but he was persuaded by his mother to remain at the bank until the



Map 1: A portion of the Pretoriuskop region of the Kruger National Park indicating sites referring to “Jock of the Bushveld”. Source: Author’s own

age of 22 years (Cartwright, 1971: 13). However, FitzPatrick resigned one month before his birthday and in June 1884 he left the bank. After boarding a ship to Durban, FitzPatrick caught a train to then-railhead in Pietermaritzburg and then undertook a 5-week-long waggon journey to the gold fields (Cartwright, 1971: 14).

The peak of prosperity at the Pilgrim’s Rest gold diggings had been in 1874, and during the first eight months of 1875, so the diggings had passed their heyday when FitzPatrick arrived there a decade later (Cartwright, 1974: 43; Gray, 1987: 4). However, Fitzpatrick was offered a job on a claim by the Australian digger, Teddy Blacklaw, but the claim could not support him and he was dismissed after three weeks (Cartwright, 1971, 15; Cartwright, 1974: 183; FitzPatrick, 1957, 7). FitzPatrick then found employment at a store in Mac Mac, the mining camp named by President Thomas Burgers in August 1873 because of its large number of Scottish residents (Cartwright, 1974: 35).

J.P. Taylor encountered FitzPatrick in the store some time in 1884 and described the encounter, “the store was a flimsy affair of mud and grass, with a few gin cases as a counter. Behind this stood a typical *rooinek* (Englishman) – a youth of about twenty – red-haired, burnt, blistered and freckled by the sun, eyes that twinkled with merriment and a smile that captivated us” (Cartwright, 1971: 16).

The discovery of gold in Pilgrim’s Rest in 1873, and later in Barberton, had attracted fortune-seekers from all over the world (Cartwright, 1974: 39). In response to a high demand for



goods in the rapidly expanding mining settlements, transport riders carried goods on ox waggons from the port in Delagoa Bay (Maputo), in present-day Mozambique, to the gold fields. The ZASM railway line from Pretoria to Delagoa Bay was completed only in October 1894 (Minnaar and Pienaar, 2012: 356). In the 1870s and 1880s there were no all-weather roads or railways, and there was a high demand for consumer goods in the mining camps (Cartwright, 1971: 31; 1974: 37).

This demand opened a window of opportunity for waggon drivers for a few years until the railway was completed (Figure 7). However, malaria was rife, road conditions were very poor and high river levels during summer months restricted the transport riders to about four months during winter. When FitzPatrick married Lillian Cubitt in 1886 he was already financially secure, and he had walked into Barberton bankrupted by the loss of his oxen due to tsetse-fly-borne disease at the end of the book (Cartwright, 1971: 41; Pienaar, 2012: 237). In Barberton FitzPatrick became the editor of the *Barberton Herald* (Pienaar, 2012: 237). As the FitzPatricks left Barberton in 1889 for Johannesburg, the incidents recorded in the book could only have taken place during no more than three short winter seasons (Gray, 1987: 4).

The waggons were pulled by 16 to 18 oxen and carried loads of up to three tons. At the freight rates of 6 to 10 shillings per 100 pounds (45 kg) to Pilgrim's Rest, and 15 shillings to Lydenburg, income for a 10-day trek was between £35 to £40. Each waggon had two black drivers who were paid about £2 per month. An ox had a limited life expectancy because of the harshness of the journey, and each ox cost about £8. A span of oxen represented a capital investment of about £128, and the total investment needed for a span of oxen and a waggon was £250 (Cartwright, 1971: 20, 21).

The rough road from the gold fields, which descended the Drakensberg and forded the drifts across the Crocodile and Komati rivers, was used from 1883 until 20 June 1892 when the Eastern Line railway from Delagoa Bay reached Nelspruit and rendered waggon transport redundant (Minnaar and Pienaar, 2012: 351, 353, 356). As the transport business could only operate during the drier winter months between May and September, and as profits were by no means guaranteed, the transport riders kept their costs low by sleeping in the veld and hunting wildlife such as reedbuck, steenbok and kudu along the route.

After securing funds from his family in Cape Town, FitzPatrick commenced his transport business in April 1885. According to FitzPatrick's diary, a typical daily trek would be from 6h00 to 8h00 and again from 22h00 to 0h30. The first trek between Lydenburg and Pilgrim's Rest earned a profit of £8, which had been FitzPatrick's monthly salary as a bank clerk in Cape Town (Cartwright, 1971: 22). At the end of "Jock of the Bushveld", before he is bankrupted, FitzPatrick had acquired four waggons and approximately 70 oxen (Cartwright, 1971: 30, 36; FitzPatrick, 1957: 429).

FitzPatrick's first waggon trip to Delagoa Bay took place in May 1885 (Cartwright, 1971: 24). FitzPatrick provides considerable detail of the birthplace of Jock in an earlier book, "The Outspan", published in 1897. In "The Outspan", a German companion, Soltké, accidentally shot himself and died after three days and was buried under a big thorn tree close to the road and on the banks of the Samarhole Spruit near Ship Mountain (Figures 2 - 4). It was the same tree where Soltké had earlier knelt and prayed on a Sunday morning (FitzPatrick, 1897: 58, 73). In "Jock of the Bushveld", FitzPatrick identifies this outspan site as the precise location where the puppies were born to the bull terrier, Jess, in early May 1885 (Figure 3) (FitzPatrick, 1957: 50; Pienaar, 2012: 316). On 10 May 1885 he recorded in his diary, "we started Jess's pups on condensed milk today", which would place the birth of the pups at some time between 30 April and 10 May 1885 (Cartwright, 1971: 22, 24).

As the trek in May 1885, when the puppies were born, was FitzPatrick's first Lowveld trek, and he had only arrived on the Lydenburg gold fields in late July or early August 1884, the story of



Soltké cannot be based on his personal experiences (Cartwright, 1971: 14, 24). The tragedy of Soltké, as recorded in “The Outspan”, is probably based on stories relayed to him by other transport riders. Similarly, other short stories in “The Outspan” refer to Christmas 1873 on the Kimberley diamond fields, and November 1883 in the De Kaap Valley, both dates which place it firmly as a work of fiction (FitzPatrick, 1897: 172, 187).

Paradise Lost

Critical Theory seeks to interpret the influences which result in considerable changes in societal attitudes. Scholars such as Bienart (1995, 2003), Coates (1995), Grove (1987, 1997), MacKenzie (1988) and Pringle (1982) have given considerable attention to the unsustainable exploitation of wildlife in the 19th century in southern Africa by settler economies. By the 1890s, a decade after FitzPatrick had hunted in the Lowveld, the “game populations of the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State and South African Republic had been almost completely worked out” (MacKenzie, 1988: 86). MacKenzie (1988) examined the Victorian hunting ethos where (quoting the hunter, Denis Lyell) it was natural that a boy, “in his spare time will pore over books of sport and travel, and it will be his dearest wish to visit the countries he has read so much about, when he is a man. At nights his dreams will be about shooting elephants and lions, or getting to a country where no white man has been” (MacKenzie, 1988: 46). MacKenzie (1988: 116) provides a systematic explanation of the processes which resulted in the virtual absence of the larger game species in “Jock of the Bushveld”:

“...fewer regions of the world had richer and more exploitable game resources than southern Africa. Even fewer witnessed such a dramatic decline in the space of half a century...It is almost possible to construct charts of the retreating frontiers of individual species – the elephant always in the vanguard, closely followed by rhinos and hippos, then the more favoured antelope like eland, followed by the formerly prolific wildebeest and hartebeest...The game was simply worked out, like a mineral seam.

It was a vital support to European expansion in a complex combination of trade, relations with Africans, and the important meat subsidy. The European conquest of southern Africa would have been a great deal more difficult without this mobile resource. Hunting went hand in hand with exploration. It was the essential concomitant of missionary endeavour and the initial survival mechanism of the frontier. Stock-rearing and cultivation may have rested uneasily with the continued presence of game, but the wiping out of game constituted the initial asset-stripping that made settlement possible”.

In the book, FitzPatrick does not once encounter an elephant, giraffe, rhino or hippo (Table 1). Eland tracks are seen once in the higher country near the Drakensberg, but this antelope is not encountered in what is now the Kruger National Park (FitzPatrick, 1957: 265). Sable are encountered twice in the book in the rugged terrain between the De Kaap and Crocodile rivers, 15 kilometres southwest of the south-western corner of the current boundary of the Kruger National Park, and tsessebe only once about 12 kilometres south of the Crocodile River in the vicinity of Wilson’s Kop (FitzPatrick, 1957: 319, 433, 436). The American fortune-seeker, Rocky, had previously hunted elephant, buffalo, rhino and lion in “the sweltering heat of Africa”, but in FitzPatrick’s Lowveld of the 1880s these species had largely vanished (FitzPatrick, 1957: 27, 28, 46, 47).



Figure 1: The original route of the transport rider's road is indicated by a marker near Pretoriuskop rest camp in the Kruger National Park. Source: Author's own.



Figure 2: Ship Mountain, a prominent outcrop which reaches a height of 665 metres above sea level, served as an important landmark along the transport rider's road in the 1880s. Source: Author's own.



Figure 3: The anthill and tree on the banks of the Samarhole tributary of the Biyamiti River, which Kruger National Park rangers determined to be the site where the dog, Jock, was born in May 1885. Source: Author's own.

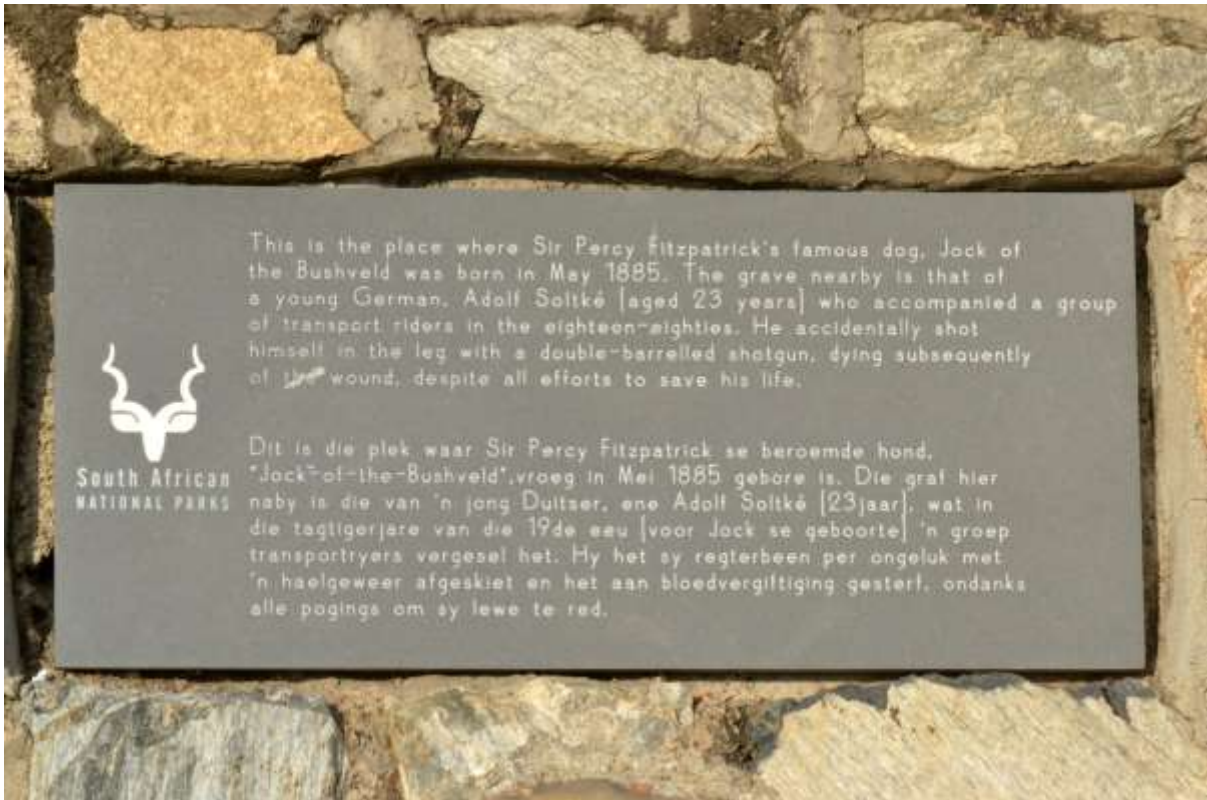


Figure 4: Inscription on the plaque on the banks of the Samarhole tributary of the Biyamiti River in the Kruger National Park, 6 kilometres south-east of Pretoriuskop rest camp. Source: Author's own.



"JOCK"



"AND THERE AT MY HEELS WAS THE ODD PUPPY"

Figure 5 and 6: Edmund Caldwell's painting of the dog, Jock, and one of 21 full-page paintings included in the book on page 67. Source: FitzPatrick (1957: frontpiece, 67).

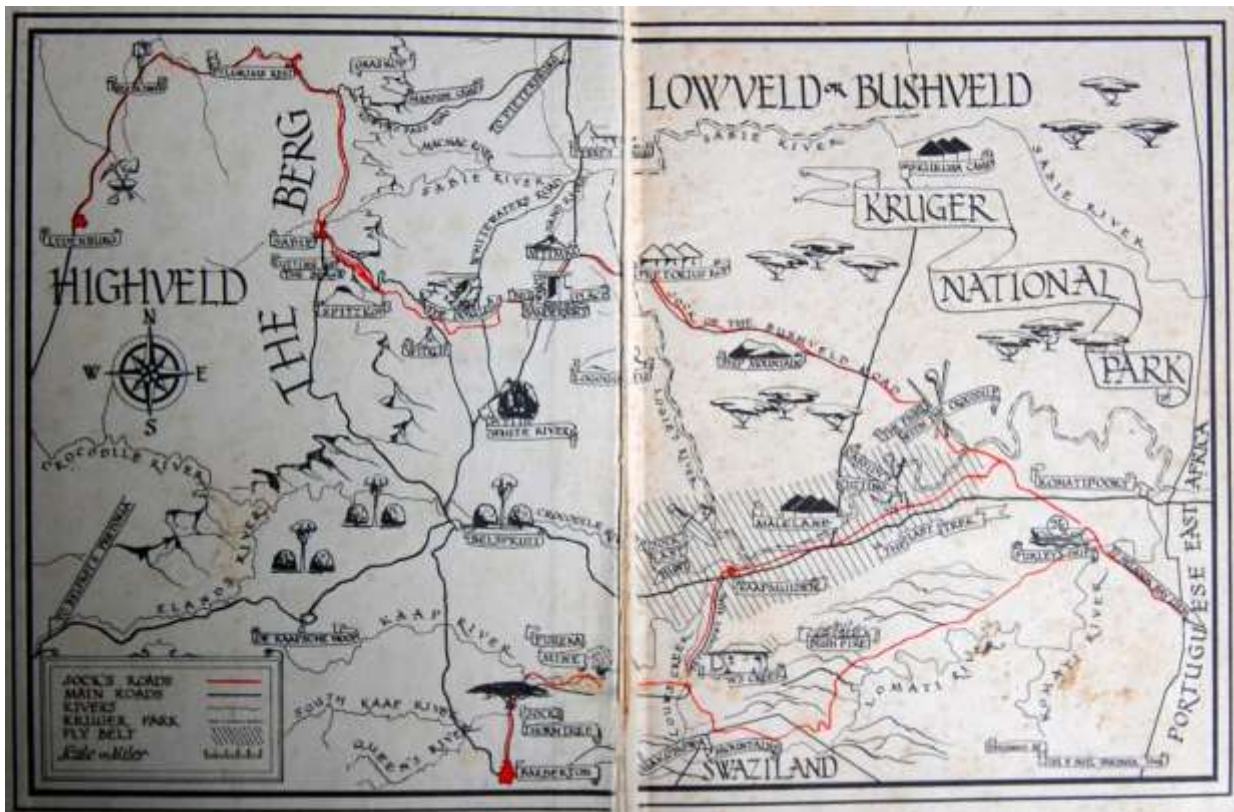


Figure 7: Map indicating the routes followed from the Lydenburg Gold Fields and Barberton to Delagoa Bay by the transport riders and their ox waggons in the 1880s. Source: FitzPatrick (1957: inside cover).

Table 1: Number of instances that wildlife species are encountered by Percy FitzPatrick in “Jock of the Bushveld”

Grey Duiker	5	Steenbok	5
Common Reedbuck	8	Kudu	8
Bushbuck	4	Blue Wildebeest	5
Tsessebe	1	Waterbuck	2
Impala	3	Sable	2
Eland	1	Oribi	1
Buffalo	1	Zebra	1
Bushpig	3	Lion	2
Leopard	1	Wild Dog	1
Wild Cat	1	Antbear	1
Porcupine	2	Baboon	2
Vervet Monkey	3	Dassie	1

By 1885, the land that was to become part of the largest national park in South Africa before the end of the century, therefore no longer contained many of the larger wildlife species, and many of the antelope species persisted only as relic populations. Curiously, FitzPatrick is apparently unaware that he is an observer of a paradise lost. Early in the book he states, “as for big game, you won’t see any for a long while yet” (FitzPatrick, 1957: 18). FitzPatrick also argues that kudu, “like other kinds of game, were not to be found everywhere: they favoured some localities more than others” (FitzPatrick: 1957, 172). Although he makes reference to a hunter who had shot a giraffe, FitzPatrick does not question why there are no giraffes left in the Lowveld by 1885, or why he does not encounter a single specimen (FitzPatrick, 1957: 264).

Once the profusion of wildlife species which had existed in Africa at the onset of European colonisation had been reduced to remnants by unsustainable hunting in settler economies, what MacKenzie (1988) has referred to as “asset stripping”, influential social actors began to proclaim the first African game reserves from 1894 (Carruthers, 1995: 19). Over the next four years, at least eight game reserves were declared in the ZAR and the Natal Colony, and eventually resulted in the proclamation in 1898 of the Sabi Game Reserve, the forerunner of the Kruger National Park (Carruthers, 1995: 25, 27; Pringle, 1982: 114).

In his seminal work on the Sabi and Shingwedzi game reserves (which would later be consolidated as the Kruger National Park), Lieutenant-Colonel James Stevenson-Hamilton, warden from 1902 to 1946, provides a detailed account of the formative years of the two game reserves. In 1902 Stevenson-Hamilton estimated that there were only 15 giraffes south of the Olifants River. Nowadays, giraffes are common in the Kruger National Park and are estimated to number in the region of 6,000, despite a high population of lions, and their importance as a prey species for lions (Smuts, 1982: 244; Reardon, 2012: 112).

Stevenson-Hamilton refers to an abundance of reedbuck in the early days of the Sabi Game Reserve, from 1902 to 1916, and this abundance was no doubt due to reduced competition from the larger grazers such as buffalo, blue wildebeest and zebra, species which had been seriously reduced by hunters (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1937, 264). Certainly, in “Jock of the Bushveld” reedbuck are frequently encountered in the absence of the larger game species.

Stevenson-Hamilton is highly contemptuous of the type of hunting behaviour demonstrated by FitzPatrick and others. Describing the attitude towards wildlife which was prevalent in the Lowveld, Stevenson-Hamilton (1937: 32) recalled:

“These were the good old days of free hunting and no tiresome game laws. Wild animals existed to be killed with as much profit as was possible to the killer, and biltong – then as now – commanded a good price and a ready sale.



There were no hunting ethics whatever. If a man did not succeed in killing an animal he had fired at, the next best thing for his own glorification was to have wounded it. 'Well, I did not actually get anything today but I wounded a lot of them' was quite an ordinary remark to hear in a bar, even in 1902".

There are, indeed, a number of examples of this type of attitude to hunting in "Jock of the Bushveld". During an early hunt a bullet stuns a reedbuck by hitting a horn, another reedbuck is wounded and a running shot is fired at another reedbuck (FitzPatrick, 1957: 110, 180, 183). When he encounters the first herd of impala, FitzPatrick fires three or four shots, "fired in desperation as they were melting away", without first selecting a clear target (FitzPatrick, 1957: 162). FitzPatrick also shoots at a kudu bull but does not take time to aim, and later in the book a companion, Francis, fires into a buffalo herd concealed in the bush without a clear shot (FitzPatrick, 1957: 183, 282). FitzPatrick later takes a running shot at a kudu cow, but does not follow up on the wounded animal because Jock is injured by being kicked by the same kudu (FitzPatrick, 1957: 325, 327).

The English deer keeper

FitzPatrick reveals his strong cultural connections to the English deer park tradition. The deer park was a category of protected area which arose in England in the 12th century. Deer parks were established for the sole delight of the ruling elite, and the common people were prohibited from hunting in these preserves. At the beginning of the 14th century, the protection of deer for the ruling elite had reached its peak in England, and as much as 20% of extant woodland was set aside as deer parks (Mileson, 2009: 61). In Elizabethan times, a map was produced indicating the location of 700 deer parks, and laws were passed which turned the hunting, or poaching, of game by the common people into a "political and near revolutionary act" (MacKenzie, 1988: 16).

Seven centuries later the same attitude to the "common people" having access to wildlife resources was replicated in South Africa. In the 19th century, several legislatures took steps to prevent indigenous people from hunting, and the rapid disappearance of wildlife was blamed not on unsustainable hunting by settler economies, but on indigenous hunting. Steps were taken to outlaw all indigenous hunting, which was labelled as "poaching" (Carruthers, 1988: 55, 71, 224, 337, 385; Carruthers, 1995: 12, 31, 40, 44; Stevenson-Hamilton, 1937: 99, 108).

The "deer park" approach to preservation was later replicated in the early South African game reserves which were proclaimed mainly to protect "game" mammals such as black rhino and eland. Protection of "game" animals, probably in the hope that populations would recover and sport hunting by the elite could again resume, was the primary motivation for setting aside the first game reserves (Pringle, 1982: 86). Harry Wolhuter (1948) in his account of 44 years as a game ranger in the Kruger National Park, states, "all assegais and rifles had now been taken from the resident natives, and they were no longer allowed to keep any dogs, so very little game was being killed by poaching" (Wolhuter, 1948: 85).

Early game rangers, as did the hunters, had no regard for predators and they were often shot on sight (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1937: 202, 203; Smuts, 1982: 174; Brett, 2019a: 5). Concerning the now-endangered wild dog, Wolhuter (1948) recalls, "as we regarded them as vermin to be reduced without mercy, they afforded us good sport (Wolhuter, 1948: 124). Even Stevenson-Hamilton, who believed that all species have a role in nature, was of the opinion that wild dogs were too numerous (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1937: 55, 77, 266).

In "Jock of the Bushveld" the British deer park tradition is given its full expression. The black staff are not allowed to carry firearms and only once is Jim Makokela allowed to carry a firearm, and that is only when Jock is lost (FitzPatrick, 1957: 165). To FitzPatrick, other predators have no natural claim to hunt "game". He describes the spotted hyaena as, "a high-shouldered



slinking brute”, and of wild dogs he says, “there is something so hateful in the calculated pitiless method that one feels it a duty to kill the cruel brutes” (FitzPatrick, 1957: 179, 298). Animosity to predators by the English “deer keepers” was intense, particularly against the wild dog, and so relentless that they were, “exterminated everywhere in the country except for the Kruger Park and adjacent districts by 1920” (Reardon, 2012: 173).

Although there is no need to hunt them as they are inedible, FitzPatrick reports that he shot a few otters, while another aquatic predator, the crocodile, is described as “horrible and loathsome” and “rouses the feeling of horror and hatred”. The shooting of a crocodile. therefore, “was an act of war: it was enmity and not sport” (FitzPatrick, 1957: 102, 338, 365). Predators, such as lions and spotted hyaenas will kill other predators such as cheetahs and wild dogs in order to reduce inter-predator competition (Reardon, 2012: 161, 164, 181). Although he would never admit it, FitzPatrick’s considerable hostility to predators makes him no better than these “cruel brutes”.

It is apparent from the book that predators were not overly abundant in the Lowveld in the 1880s (FitzPatrick, 1957: 300, 419). In the beginning of the work, FitzPatrick quotes a wise old-timer who cautions the transport riders that they should not expect to see a lion in an entire year (FitzPatrick, 1957: 18). Treks took place at night when predators such as lions, leopards and spotted hyaenas are more active. FitzPatrick says that lions and leopards have “deserted the country near the main drifts”, and when he is lost in the veld he writes, “it was not the dread of a night out in the bush- for after many months of roughing it, that had no great terror for me” (FitzPatrick, 1957: 102, 145). Wild dogs chase an impala ewe into the campsite on one occasion, and lions visit the outspan at night only once in the De Kaap Valley (FitzPatrick, 1957: 301, 419).

Stevenson-Hamilton gives considerable space to opponents of the game reserves, from interest groups such as cattle farmers, who described them as refuges where (sic) “they have been breeding lions for the last twenty-five years”, which has resulted in “a great shrinkage of game” (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1937: 201). Stevenson-Hamilton states that although the game species had been ruthlessly persecuted by hunters in the past, and while very few lions were shot by hunters, nevertheless, he was of the opinion that predators had had little impact on prey animals. However, hunters regarded lions, “merely as vermin, killers of creatures which rightfully belonged to the human predatory animal. When shot they were generally left where they fell” (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1937: 43).

To prove this point, Stevenson-Hamilton mentions that the veteran hunter, Bill Sanderson (“Saunderson” to FitzPatrick, 1957: 19), had shot only six lions in 30 years of hunting (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1957: 43; Pienaar, 2012: 235). Despite Stevenson-Hamilton’s reservations about killing predators, the early game rangers of the Sabi Game Reserve considered it their duty to shoot most predators (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1937: 202, 203; Smuts, 1982: 174). Stevenson-Hamilton contradicts his belief that predators have little impact on prey species by saying that wild dog packs, “seemed a serious menace to the continued existence of the game in its then depleted state” (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1937: 55).

The Law of Diminishing Returns

Apart from a few encounters in the book with “big game” such as sable, tsessebe, waterbuck and blue wildebeest, the majority of the animals hunted consist of those species, such as grey duiker, steenbok, reedbuck, bushbuck and kudu, which are able to survive in stock farming regions that do not contain high human populations. The majority of the hunting incidents in the book took place in the mixed woodland vegetation, overlaid on granite, which covers the major portion of the country between the Drakensberg and the Crocodile River. If this vegetation type is compared to similar vegetation in stock farming regions in the granite region



of Zimbabwe, then the species hunted by FitzPatrick were all widespread and common on stock farms surveyed in 1979 (Smithers and Wilson, 1979: 123, 127, 130, 135, 137, 140).

FitzPatrick describes the foot of the Drakensberg within a day's march from Graskop as having an abundance of wildlife and being "riddled with game tracks" of reedbuck, kudu, eland, bushbuck, grey duiker and bushpig (FitzPatrick, 1957: 265). Later, Francis and FitzPatrick track the only buffalo encountered in the book. The buffalo were located in the hill country rising towards the Drakensberg and considerably to the west of the present-day Kruger National Park (FitzPatrick, 1957: 276). Today this region, which receives a higher rainfall than the Lowveld and is known as the "middleveld", is dominated by extensive timber plantations and fruit orchards and contains no significant wildlife populations.

The impact that settler "asset-stripping" had had in the Boer republics is never approached in the work. Ivory exports dominated the ZAR's exports for three decades before the discovery of gold in the 1870s, but FitzPatrick never explains why elephants no longer occur in the Lowveld (Figure 8) (Beinart and Coates, 1995: 21).

The Zoutpansberg hunting and trading community, centred around the capital of Schoemansdal on the southern slopes of the Soutpansberg Mountains, 12 kilometres west of Makhado (Louis Trichardt), was one of three Boer republics established from 1847 to 1857 within what would become the ZAR (MacKenzie, 1988: 109). The primary source of income for the settlers was elephant hunting (de Vaal, 2012: 178, 179). In 1858 Piet Huer reported that the Zoutpansberg Boers were shooting several thousand elephants a year, and hunters even ventured as far as present-day Zimbabwe and Mozambique (de Vaal, 2012: 179). In order to regulate an important economic and diminishing resource, the Zoutpansberg Volksraad passed a law in 1858 prohibiting the hunting of elephants during the seven warmest months of the year (Carruthers, 1988: 53-56)

When the Portuguese trader, Casimiro Simões, a resident of Schoemansdal, died in 1865 he left 7,843 kilograms of ivory as part of his estate (de Vaal, 2012: 180). Some of the famous hunters of the Zoutpansberg included Francois Lotrie (Pienaar, 2012: 220-222). By the 1860s the Boers were arming African hunters to hunt elephants in the country north of the Limpopo River, and as far afield as the Chobe and Zambezi rivers (MacKenzie, 1988: 122).

The hunting of elephants in the northern and north-eastern districts of the ZAR was so unrelenting, that the proclamation of the Sabi Game Reserve in 1898 came too late to protect the last elephants. It was only some years later, after the end of the South African War, that the first two elephants were seen on the Olifants River by Harry Wolhuter, after having migrated into the reserve from Mozambique (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1926: 221; Wolhuter, 1948: 86).

Although his book documents a paradise lost, FitzPatrick exhibits very few signs of introspection. He describes the beauty of indigenous forests, in keeping with the British cultural tradition, where the floor of the forest, "was carpeted with a pile of staghorn moss a foot thick, and maidenhair fern grew everywhere with the luxuriant profusion of weeds in a



Figure 8: A scene on the Mlambane River in the southern region of the Kruger National Park, 3.7 kilometres south of the original transport rider's road, which would have been impossible in the 1880s as elephants had already been exterminated in the region. Source: Author's own.



Figure 9: At the end of the book, FitzPatrick observes a male waterbuck at a distance of 5 metres and writes, "there was no thought of shooting: it was a moment of supreme enjoyment. Just to watch him: that was enough" (FitzPatrick, 1957, 444). Source: Author's own.



tropical garden". In this idyllic setting, "the common enemy- man- seldom indeed intruded" (FitzPatrick, 1957: 268, 269). However, he is not opposed to cutting down the forest trees to make money (FitzPatrick, 1957: 243).

There are moments in the work where there is a hint of a realisation of the destruction that unsustainable settler hunting is having on the African fauna. The valley between the Crocodile and Komati rivers, which sustained an abundance of game and was accidentally discovered, is deliberately kept a secret from other hunters (FitzPatrick, 1957: 318). Similarly, a waterhole is discovered north of the road, and near to the Crocodile River, "where the white man seldom passed and nature was undisturbed". FitzPatrick observes that, "it was a delightful field for naturalist and artist, but unfortunately we thought little of such things, and knew even less" (FitzPatrick, 1957: 336). Wildlife, therefore, as in England in the 12th century, existed chiefly as an economic resource for the exclusive use by the elite.

Only near the end of the book does FitzPatrick begin to exhibit the beginning of a nascent conservation ethos. He encounters a waterbuck bull about five metres away and writes, "the noble carriage, as with head held high and slightly turned to windward he sniffed the breeze from the valley, the nostrils, mobile and sensitive, searching for the least hint of danger; and the eye, large and full and soft, luminous with watchful intelligence....There was no thought of shooting: it was a moment of supreme enjoyment. Just to watch him: that was enough" (Figure 9) (FitzPatrick, 1957: 444).

A few days earlier, in the De Kaap Valley, where his four spans of oxen were dying of tsetse-fly-borne diseases, FitzPatrick had shown that he was capable of compassion for animals and had shot his front ox, Zwaartland, who he describes as, "the brave old fellow", when it was obvious that the ox was dying (FitzPatrick, 1957: 422). FitzPatrick also believes that oxen have personalities, "there are no two alike! You find them nervous and lethargic, timid and bold, independent and sociable, exceptional and ordinary, willing and sulky, restless and content, staunch and faint-hearted – just like human beings. I can remember some of them now far better than many of the men known then and since" (FitzPatrick, 1957: 232, 233). These words were written 20 years after the events depicted in the book.

Paradise Restored

In the formative years of the Sabi Game Reserve wildlife numbers were exceptionally low. Stevenson-Hamilton, the newly appointed warden of the Sabi Game Reserve, described the paucity of wildlife that he encountered in the region where FitzPatrick had hunted 15 years previously. Stevenson-Hamilton (1937: 46) entered the game reserve on 6 August 1902:

"even allowing for the time of year and the consequent lack of water in the veld, one would have expected to see at least some indication of larger wildlife. Yet there was not even an old spoor to indicate that anything of the kind ever had existed there. Indeed it was not until the fourth day, our progress having been delayed by a broken *disselboom*, that we came across a few tracks of zebra, waterbuck and impala. The following morning I saw, in the flesh, a reedbuck ewe, a duiker and two jackal, and in the evening was much heartened by the appearance of a herd of nearly thirty impala".

In 1902 Stevenson-Hamilton estimated that the territory between the Sabie and Crocodile rivers, the stage for much of "Jock of the Bushveld", contained a relic 5 giraffe, 5 tsessebe, 8 buffalo, 12 sable, 2 roan, 15 hippo, 35 kudu, 40 blue wildebeest, 100 waterbuck and large numbers of impala, reedbuck, steenbok and grey duiker. However, within seven years Stevenson-Hamilton reported that elephants had returned to the combined game reserves (Sabi and Shingwedzi) and he estimated the game population at 25 elephant, 7 or 8 black rhino (white rhino had been completely exterminated), 50 or 60 buffalo, numerous hippo and

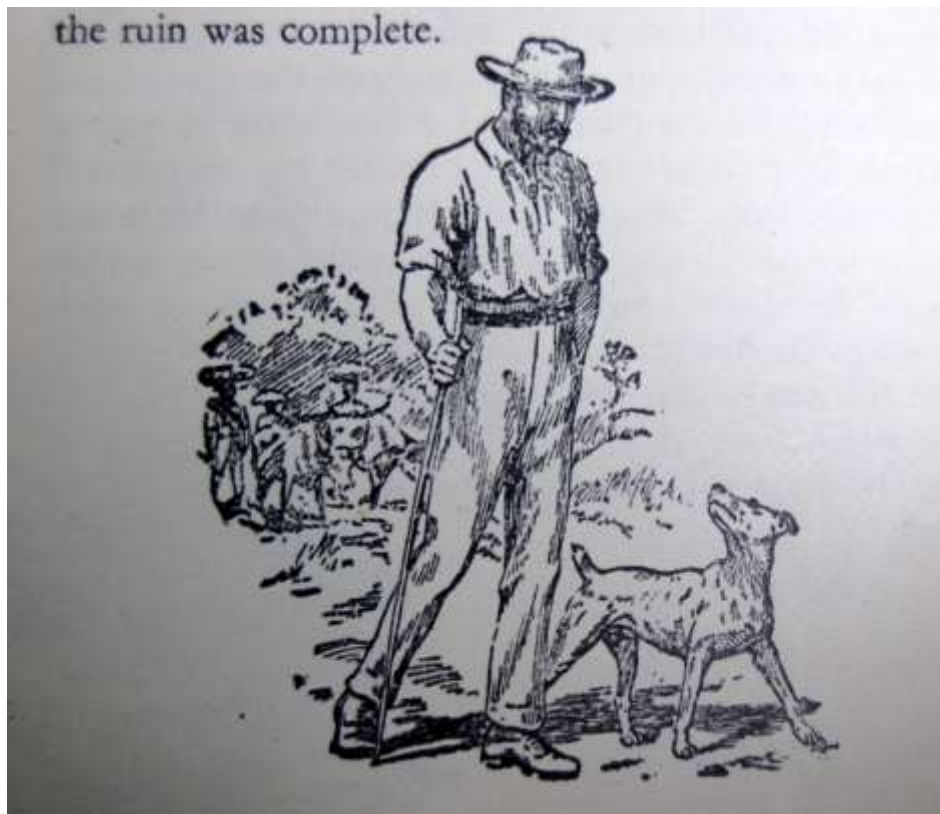


Figure 10: Edmund Caldwell's sketch of FitzPatrick and his dog, Jock, at the end of the book when tsetse-fly-borne disease resulted in the loss of all 4 spans of oxen. Source FitzPatrick (1957: 448).



Figure 11: Edmund Caldwell and Cecily FitzPatrick, at the age of 6 years, during the 1906 expedition to the Lowveld to produce artwork for "Jock of the Bushveld". Source: Cartwright, 1971: 118).



eland and large herds of roan, tsessebe, kudu and other species (Carruthers, 1995: 44).

In 1903 Stevenson-Hamilton, expressed the opinion that wildlife numbers had been so seriously depleted by the combined onslaught of decades of unsustainable hunting and the South African War that, “it will unfortunately be necessary to not only reduce carnivores to their proper relative proportion numerically but at first even to a lower figure, in order to give prey animals a chance to increase” (Smuts, 1982: 170). Over a period of 25 years from 1903 to 1927, in what would be inconceivable to modern conservationists, game rangers killed more than 18,000 animals which were regarded as a threat to the “game” (Table 2).

Table 2. Minimum number of animals killed by rangers in the Sabi and Shingwedzi game reserves from 1903 to 1927 (Smuts, 1982: 174).

Lion	1272	Leopard	660
Cheetah	269	Hyaena	521
Wild dog	1142	Caracal	250
Serval	678	Cape wildcat	417
Jackal	3133	Civet	1644
Crocodile	635	Python	402
Genet	1900	Polecat	821
Otter	50	Honey badger	87
Baboon	2006	Poisonous snakes	1363
Hawks	510	Eagles	558
Giant eagle owl	110		

The impact of “asset stripping” in the settler economies of South Africa was so severe that it would take many decades for wildlife populations to exhibit signs of recovery. By 1925 the wildlife populations of the two game reserves were estimated by Stevenson-Hamilton to total 130,000, which was a fourfold increase since 1912. Using three different methods, Stevenson-Hamilton estimated the lion population at 600 compared to the current estimate of 1,600 (Smuts, 1982: 176, 177; Reardon, 2012: 133).

Stokes, writing 55 years after FitzPatrick’s treks, reported that there were only 273 elephants and 126 bontebok in national parks in South Africa, and 300 white rhinos in the Zululand game reserves (Stokes, 1941: 71, 72, 349, 372, 391). The Orange Free State province had a single game reserve, which was established to protect antelope, and 6 black wildebeest were re-introduced to the reserve (Stokes, 1941: 188, 408). In 1954 four provincial nature reserves were established in the Transvaal as sanctuaries for roan, sable, tsessebe, red hartebeest, gemsbok, eland and black wildebeest, all antelope species which were still exceptionally rare at the time (Bigalke, 1968: 23, 25, 26, 27).

The ideological purpose of “Jock of the Bushveld”

Critical Theory contends that the ideological underpinnings of the actions of social actors need to be critically analysed, whether the actors are conscious of these ideological influences or not. Gray (1987) rightfully regards the book as being much more than a mere collection of African adventure tales. Gray (1987: 1) argues that FitzPatrick “displaces his autobiography onto the biography of his pet hunting dog” and an:

“animal biography is told as a historical documentary which describes the 'old life' of the pre-industrial wilderness to a new generation, to whom the pioneering ideals of loyalty, athleticism, sportsmanship and the procedures for domesticating nature are becoming lost. The readers of the 'new life' are thus addressed in cautionary terms and with a didactic purpose, and *Jock of the Bushveld* is devised to reactivate in the present the youthful virtues of obedience, self-reliance, adventurousness and common sense which FitzPatrick sees as having epitomised the arrival of the European spirit in Africa”.



But Gray (1987: 9) argues that this device is more contrived that the reader may at first realise:

“Since the real man stays so shadowy behind his conventional mask in *Jock*, much of FitzPatrick’s real intention becomes clear if you study the dog. In truth, he so garbles human and canine characteristics throughout the work that one tends only too often to reflect the other”.

A deeper analysis of “*Jock of the Bushveld*” reveals that it has a powerful ideological function. It is a moral tract which instructs the young reader in the types of behaviour which are expected of “civilised” people, namely subjects of the British Empire. FitzPatrick contends that his dog, Jock, is worthy of respect as, “he is quick to learn and very obedient”, and exhibits the qualities of dignity, patience and self-control (FitzPatrick, 1957: 83, 88). Because FitzPatrick frequently projects his own personality onto that of Jock’s, the dog is described as capable of feeling the same emotions experienced by humans (FitzPatrick, 1957: 89). Certain animals, we are told, can also mimic the leadership qualities found in humans and, “strength of character or clear purpose will establish leadership among animals, as among men” (FitzPatrick, 1957: 310).

FitzPatrick’s belief in the supremacy of the British Empire emerges in a number of instances. Regardless of the fact that the British Empire invaded the independent state of Zululand in 1878, he refers to the battle of Isandlwana as “the awful day”, and the Anglo-Zulu War had ended because, “the Great White Queen had laid her hand upon his (Zulu) people and said, ‘There shall be peace!’” (FitzPatrick, 1957: 193). Of course this account of the subjugation of the Zulu people by the British Empire bears very little resemblance to the historic facts.

Is the work non-fiction, or does FitzPatrick, at times, combine all the fireside stories told at the outspan into one monumental tribute to a dog that he only knew for a few years? In several passages FitzPatrick is scornful of those who lie and exaggerate (FitzPatrick, 1957: 351, 377). FitzPatrick disapproves of the KhoiSan waggon driver, Jantje, whom he claims possesses no hint of honesty and truth, and is incapable of deciphering between fact, fancy and superstition, (FitzPatrick, 1957: 343, 346). He is also critical of “Lying Tom” who was, “full of the wildest yarns, always good and amusing, but so steep that they made the most case-hardened draw a long breath” (FitzPatrick, 1957: 380). In the preface of the book he makes the claim that the story was told, “As Kipling says, ‘Just so!’” (FitzPatrick, 1957: viii). FitzPatrick would, therefore, have us believe that no artistic license has been applied to the work, and he asserts that the story belongs to his four children, the “Little People”, as “their requirements were defined- ‘It must be all true! Don’t leave out anything!’” (FitzPatrick, 1957: x). FitzPatrick then defends any inconsistencies that the reader may detect by saying, “it is a true story from beginning to end. It is not a diary: incidents have been grouped and moved to get over the difficulty of blank days and bad spells” (FitzPatrick, 1957: x).

Gray (1987), is dismissive of such claims of strict adherence to truth and states, “any modern reader who takes the work too literally as a true history has only himself or herself to blame” (Gray, 1987: 8).

Although FitzPatrick describes the ruthless Field Cornet, Seedling, who was the only official in the district between Lydenburg and Pilgrim’s Rest and one employed by the ZAR government, and words derived from Dutch are frequently used such as “rietbuck”, “tiger-cat”, “disselboom”, “voorslag” and the oxen, “Zwaartland” and “Rooiland”, the reader could be forgiven for thinking that the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) was a British colony (FitzPatrick, 1957: 43, 233, 245, 392, 449). The Voortrekkers are once referred to as, “a gallant little band of Boers under Potgieter”, but the fact that the ZAR was an Afrikaner republic is simply ignored. Nowhere in the book is there any explanation of the origin of place names such as Graskop, Lydenburg, Spitzkop and Kruger’s Post, and the reader who is unaware of South African history is left none the wiser (FitzPatrick, 1957: 21, 193; Gray, 1987: 8).



FitzPatrick describes how Jim Makokela, the proud, loyal, hard-working, and occasionally hard-drinking, Zulu driver, has divided the human race into three main divisions: whites, Zulus and other blacks (FitzPatrick, 1957: 209). But because Jim Makokela is an uncritical defender of Jock, he earns eternal respect (FitzPatrick, 1957: 192, 209, 213). At the end of the book, when FitzPatrick is bankrupt and has to abandon his waggons, all the leftover equipment is given to Jim Makokela and FitzPatrick writes, “and Jim, with all his faults, had earned some title to remembrance for his loyalty. My ways had been his way; and the hardest day had never been too hard for him: he had seen it all through to the finish, without a grumble and without a shirk” (FitzPatrick, 1957: 449). Here FitzPatrick clearly articulates his views concerning the attributes of a “good man”.

Earlier in the work, FitzPatrick alludes to Jim Makokela’s divisions by stating that his KhoiSan worker, Jantje, “differed in character and nature from the Zulu as much as he did from the white man” (FitzPatrick, 1957: 343, 344). Thus, FitzPatrick finds agreement with the “natural chain of order” as expressed by Jim Makokela.

A few years before he wrote the book, at a banquet held on the occasion of a visit by the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, to South Africa in January 1903, FitzPatrick proposed a toast to Lord Alfred Milner with the words, “I believe in the British Empire. I believe in its glorious mission. I believe in the honesty of purpose of its Government. I believe in the man who has proved himself. I believe, sir, in this our people. I believe in this my native land” (Cartwright, 1971: 125).

Unquestioning loyalty, blind obedience and unrelenting commitment to work, FitzPatrick’s summing up of Jim Makokela’s qualities, may have been personality attributes commendable at a time when the supremacy of the British Empire, and by extension the inherent superiority of British subjects, was viewed as natural in the beginning of the 20th century. But are these attributes acceptable and compatible in a modern democratic and multi-lingual African state. And does a decline in belief in these attributes lessen the legitimacy of the work?

It is clear that the book’s ideological function is never far removed, and we need to reflect on why its significance as a work of literature has begun to fade in recent decades? Many of the hunting scenes do not sit well with modern audiences, especially children. In addition, FitzPatrick’s stereotyping of other races, his tolerance at times of injustice and an uncritical acceptance of white supremacy and British imperialism make the book a problematic text in a country that is struggling to shrug off a legacy of colonialism and racial discrimination. But despite the work’s many flaws, it contains numerous observations which are useful from the perspectives of Critical Theory and environmental history.

FitzPatrick – the Last Tek

At the end of the book, FitzPatrick uses Jock as a metaphor for his own fear of mortality. After a life of adventure in the African veld, the thought of Jock having “a life of ease and idleness” as a suburban dog, barking at strangers and hunting for rats and moles in the garden, is a life devoid of meaning. When FitzPatrick writes, “for to fade slowly away; to lose his strength and fire and intelligence; to outlive his character, and no longer be himself! No, that could not be happiness!” he is really expressing his own very real fear of mortality (FitzPatrick, 1957: 464). If the truth be told, he possesses no intimate knowledge of a dog’s understanding of meaning and happiness, or whether a dog even perceives these ideals in a way that humans do. FitzPatrick suffered from diabetes and in 1904 he was admitted to a nursing home in Cavendish Square, London, and later to Bad Kissingen in Germany for treatment (Cartwright, 1971: 81, 111, 129, 133, 135). His fear that Jock would “fade slowly away”, is therefore his own rather personal fear of fading health and the resultant mortality.



After his brief stint as a transport rider, FitzPatrick became a wealthy Rand baron, a farmer and a politician. In 1902 the Transvaal Game Protection Association was formed in Pretoria with Justice Curlewis as president. One of the patrons of the Witwatersrand branch was FitzPatrick (Pringle, 1982: 84). His palatial Parktown house was surrounded by a 40-hectare garden and FitzPatrick kept 8 horses and 23 dogs in the grounds (Cartwright, 1971: 114, 145).

In October 1902 FitzPatrick bought a 2000-hectare farm near Harrismith in the Orange Free State for £10,000. The South African War had devastated the wildlife on the farm which, "had been shot at by machine guns and killed by bayonets and scattered far and wide", but within 6 months of the end of the war FitzPatrick estimated the blesbok on the farm and on a neighbouring property to number between 5,000 and 6,000 (Cartwright, 1971: 119). The farm was named "Buckland Downs" and FitzPatrick, once the hunter, stocked the farm with eland, black wildebeest and springbok (Cartwright, 1971: 120). In 1904 FitzPatrick donated his collection of captive animals to form the nucleus of the Johannesburg Zoo (Cartwright, 1971: 145).

In the January 1906 general election the Conservative Party in Great Britain was defeated by the Liberals who favoured responsible government for the Transvaal. A total of 69 constituencies were subsequently demarcated and FitzPatrick won a seat in Pretoria for the Progressives on 20 February 1907. The Progressives won a total of 21 seats compared to the 37 seats won by Jan Smuts' Het Volk Party (Cartwright, 1971: 142).

Sir Percy FitzPatrick died on the 24th of January in 1931 at the age of 68 (Cartwright, 1971: 252). His wife, Lillian, and three sons, Nugent, Oliver and Alan had all died during the 10 years between 26 December 1917 and 26 December 1927 (Cartwright, 1971: 210, 238, 248, 249). FitzPatrick spent the last 18 years of his life devoted to establishing citrus orchards in the Sundays River Valley near Port Elizabeth (Cartwright, 1971: 199, 201, 206). He acquired a 600-hectare farm, Amanzi, near Uitenhage, the 2000-hectare farm, The Lookout, at Summerville and a third property, Mfuleni, on the Sundays River near Kirkwood (Cartwright, 1971: 199, 202, 215). In 1917 the government announced that the scheme would be assisted by the construction of a dam on the Sundays River in the Suurberg mountains. The dam was later named after Colonel Mentz, the Minister of Lands, who had been persuaded to provide government support to the scheme by FitzPatrick (Cartwright, 1971: 206, 215). The Eastern Cape currently accounts for 26% of the land devoted to citrus production in South Africa, and the Sundays River Valley accounts for 80% of the citrus orchards in the province. In fulfilment of FitzPatrick's dream, the Sundays River Valley has become one of the most important citrus-growing regions in South Africa (Directorate Marketing, 2017: 6).

In the 1920s the largest extant elephant population in South Africa found refuge in the dense Addo bush, 17 kilometres east of FitzPatrick's farm, The Lookout (Hall-Martin, 1992: 69). In 1919, in response to complaints from citrus farmers, the Cape Provincial Government hired Major Philip Pretorius, a big game hunter, to exterminate the elephants (Hoffman, 1993: 24, 25). From June 1919 to August 1920, Pretorius shot at least 80% of the elephants. The complete extermination of the only surviving elephants in the Eastern Cape was eventually halted by two influential scientists and Major Pretorius himself (Hoffman, 1993: 29, 36, 37). Six months after FitzPatrick's death, a forest reserve covering 4,517 hectares was declared a national park on 3 July 1931 to protect the remaining 12 elephants (Brett, 2019b: 5). FitzPatrick had not been involved in the proclamation of the national park.

Conclusion

FitzPatrick's unshakeable belief in the superiority of the British Empire, and white supremacy, make "Jock of the Bushveld" a difficult work to read, and one upon which many a reader will stumble. Although some of the details in the book have been conflated and artistic license



has been taken, it is unimaginable to believe that the hunting stories are figments of his imagination. FitzPatrick's description of hunting a reedbuck can therefore not be assumed to be description of a kudu hunt. In its account of a bygone age, and its documenting of the environmental history of the Lowveld of the 1880s, the book remains a valuable reference. Despite its many faults, which have been partially documented in this paper, the work offers insight into the last two decades of the 20th century. These were crucial decades in South African environmental history when the first tentative steps were taken to establish game reserves, some of which would later give rise to the Kruger National Park (Carruthers, 1995: 15, 16, 18, 21).

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