

BRITAIN AND THE WORLD

HUNTING AFRICA

British Sport, African Knowledge
and the Nature of Empire



Hunting Africa

BRITAIN AND THE WORLD
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Hunting Africa

British Sport, African Knowledge and the Nature of Empire

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For my family

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Introduction: Reconsidering Hunting as a Site of Masculine and Imperial Domination

As a boy, Walter Montagu Kerr's imagination 'was fired . . . with the thought that at some time or another [he] would wander over virgin soil on the dark continent', but when he landed at the Cape in 1883, he had no idea how to get to the lands he had come to see. He could find little help in Cape Town, either, as 'reliable corners' only advised against an expedition into the 'interior', citing the difficulties of fever, language barriers and hostile terrains. Eventually, Kerr decided to contact the already famous big game hunter Frederick Courteney Selous, as he believed that 'no better counsellor [*sic*] could guide early steps into this land of mystery'.¹ Kerr failed to reach Selous, but began making his way north and serendipitously met him in Kimberley. Selous was about to return north to the 'heart of the hunter's home' and invited Kerr to travel with him as far as Bulawayo, the capital of Matabeleland. There, the Ndebele King, Lobengula, gave Selous instant passage in his lands, but Kerr, as a newcomer, had to wait anxiously to learn whether the 'great black king' 'who had so much power to aide or thwart' was going to allow him to pass through his country. Kerr found Lobengula very amenable, and after only a few days—when others had to wait for weeks or months—Lobengula granted Kerr's request, enabling the young sportsman-explorer to begin his trek north into the lands known as the interior some six months after arriving in Cape Town.²

Why Lobengula granted Kerr's request so quickly and easily is unclear. It is possible that being introduced by Selous, who was well known to Lobengula, smoothed the way for Kerr, and as the young man was not seeking to hunt or trade for ivory, Lobengula may have determined that his request was of little consequence. Alternately, the embattled King may have been trying to send a clear message that British men were welcome in his country at a moment when tensions were running high. Lobengula had just imposed heavy fines on four white hunters in an effort, many believed, to assuage Ndebele factions angered by

the growing intrusion of European hunters and traders in their country, but this, in turn, had infuriated the loose community of white frontiersmen. Thus, Lobengula's casual response to Kerr's request may have been another strand in the king's constant struggle to balance the many forces that threatened his sovereignty. More likely, a combination of factors shaped Kerr's treatment in Bulawayo, but either way, the very range of possibilities points to one of the central themes of this book: the complex mix of imperial, interpersonal, and regional relations that shaped and directed hunters' encounters in Africa. As the inclusion of Kerr's account suggests, these interrelated forces linked the experiences and impact of hunters to those of other imperial travellers at the turn of the century, but the social, economic, and political implications of killing wildlife also generated distinctive nodes of contact, resistance and appropriation that structured hunters' personal encounters on the ground and the lived experience of colonialism for many African people.

The growing interest and glorification of African big game hunting after 1880 also made hunters' accounts an increasingly important conduit for information and images of Africa in Britain, and as such, hunters' encounters, as interpreted by themselves, shaped imperial knowledge and myths about Africa. In the opening pages of his travelogue, Kerr stated that 'the fascination which clings to the story of mystery-enshrouded Africa is due to the power of the narratives related by its older explorers', and he was himself intent first and foremost on exploring the 'unknown' lands of the interior. Yet, he viewed that interior as 'the hunter's home', and when he needed advice on how to access that space, it was not explorers, settlers or missionaries he sought out, but Selous, a well-known commercial hunter, whose travelogue Kerr carried with him. Hunting narratives such as the one written by Selous fed contemporary desires for stories of exotic adventures, mainly enterprise and colonial conquest, but they could do so because the depletion of game along Africa's coastlines meant that hunting necessarily took place on and, indeed, beyond the colonial frontier where imperial power was in the making and the tentacles of civilization, as the British understood it, did not constrain the actions of white gentlemen. The natural corollary of this freedom from British social structures was that hunters were entering territories in which African individuals and communities could control their movements and impact the success of their endeavours, and this ensured that sportsmen in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century experienced African hunting not as the smooth march of imperial power, but rather as a series of negotiations,

compromises and uneasy or resigned moments of cooperation that jarred with the autonomy many had come to Africa to seek and which scholars have described as a critical component of the idealized masculinity these men embodied in the British imaginary.

With the spread of colonial control, the ability of African people to exert direct control over British hunting expeditions declined precipitously, but sportsmen and the newly emergent sportswomen still needed help locating and tracking game, finding water and navigating the land, all of which opened the door for African people from the weakest to the most powerful to appropriate British hunting to their own needs and desires. These efforts took many forms. Some were symbiotic or discrete, in that they had barely any impact on the hunters themselves, while others were far more oppositional and generated intense negotiations. The former are often among the least known and most fascinating aspects of hunting expeditions; they were the moments when African and British institutions and trajectories blurred together or operated in tandem. It was in the overt confrontations, however, that hunters came face to face with the limits of their power, and hunters' open narration of many of these incidents in their published narratives makes them essential for understanding the images of imperial control and domination as well as those of Africa and Africans constructed through hunting.

There has been comparatively little written, however, about African control over and utilization of British hunting expeditions or the methods through which such was achieved. By attending to these stories, this study offers a productive counterpoint to the dominant narrative of the sport as 'an ideal tableau of dominance and power'.³ This line of argument is most famously associated with John MacKenzie, who drew scholarly attention to the economic and cultural importance of hunting in 1988 with his monograph *Empire of Nature*. In this study, MacKenzie demonstrated firstly, how British hunting in Africa subsidized imperial expansion and, secondly, how the sport's celebration of elite masculinity and imperial domination was institutionalized and safeguarded in Africa, and in colonial India, by colonial game preservation laws that excluded poor whites and indigenous populations from the symbolically potent sport of big game hunting.⁴ Subsequent research has deepened our understanding of the ecological impact of hunting, the influence hunters had in the colonies over wildlife management and the National Parks movement, and the close connections between the glorification of white masculinity and the twentieth-century reconception of 'primitive' Africa, especially as constructed through the natural

history museums that hunters supplied with specimens.⁵ In many of these studies, African participants in colonial hunting remained 'shadowy background figures'⁶, but a few studies, such as Edward Steinhart's examination of the struggle over wildlife and, by extension, the 'social order' of colonial Kenya, have brought African hunters, trackers and porters to the fore.⁷ The focus within imperial scholarship, however, has continued to centre on the ways in which big game hunting reified white masculinity and symbolized imperial control through the physical domination of the landscape and the relegation of African people to caricatured and subservient roles within hunting expeditions.

Undoubtedly, British big game hunting contributed significantly to the destruction of African hunting institutions across eastern, central and western Africa and to the alienation of people from the land and its resources. As the following chapters show, though, it simultaneously opened up avenues big and small for African individuals and groups not only to challenge and mitigate those changes but also to build their networks and status, reproduce or contest African institutions and shape their individual experiences of colonialism. Hunting was partially, and often mostly, a top-down colonial assertion of power, but it also served as a domain through which those on whom power was asserted navigated the emerging colonial situation and inventively reworked African institutions and made claims of their own. There is more work to be done in this field, but by highlighting these latter elements, this study aligns our understanding of hunting with the rich literature regarding Africans' selective engagement with colonial economic and political systems as well as the select number of studies on the agency of porters in the precolonial and colonial East African caravan systems.⁸ Across the board, 'Africans remained self-interested and consequential actors in the colonial economy, carving out niches for themselves, defining the terms of their participation in colonial economic schemes, and confounding colonial economic expectations in the process', and as this study shows, these processes were very much at work within hunters' expeditions.⁹

Prior to the emergence of the tourist safari industry, hunters' encounters in Africa were as multilayered, contested and syncretic as the more often studied ones that explorers and missionaries had in Africa.¹⁰ In most of the mixed economy societies of southern and central Africa, hunting was a prestigious vocation that was intertwined with social, economic and political structures. It also had important spiritual dimensions and implications. This was precisely why colonial efforts to control hunting and wildlife were so disruptive and intrusive, but by

working with and for British sportsmen, African hunters transformed British hunting expeditions into a site for the creative reproduction and transmission of African practices, values and interconnections. To paraphrase Greg Dening slightly, once 'native and intruding cultures are conjoined . . . Neither can be known independently of that moment'.¹¹ African hunters brought their own understanding and views of hunting into British expeditions, and British hunters' fundamental reliance on these men's skills and knowledge forced them to accept and sometimes even adhere to particular forms. In so doing, British hunters affirmed the efficacy of such practices and ideologies and, in these moments, made colonial hunting symbolic not of imperial but of African technologies and controls over wildlife.

In reconsidering the visions of imperial dominance asserted through hunting, it is also necessary to examine the rise of British women hunters after 1900. There have been several studies in recent years of women hunters in other geographic fields, including British India and the British metropole, but women have been largely omitted from the history of British hunting in Africa. This lacuna has reinforced the perception that African big game hunting was such an exclusively masculine pursuit that women's participation was necessarily marginalized by contemporaries.¹² This conclusion has been seemingly confirmed by studies touching on the American naturalist Delia Akeley, who continued to publicly subsume her hunting under that of her ex-husband, the taxidermist Carl Akeley, even after their divorce.¹³ Attending to British women hunters in Africa, however, shows that while their numbers remained small in the years before World War I, they were active in all areas of hunting and were, moreover, well received by male hunters and the British public as *feminine* hunters. Furthermore, unlike late Victorian women explorers, women hunters did not wear skirts in their travels and yet were less likely to be referred to derogatorily as 'New Women'.

This ability of women to participate in big game hunting without risking or having to defend their femininity offers a critical perspective for re-evaluating the masculinity celebrated through African big game hunting and the contemporary appeal of the sport. Unless one considers women, all the traits and actions associated with African big game hunting appear to be linked to the performance of imperial manliness, but the representations of women hunters demonstrate how these attributes could also be interpreted in terms of imperial femininity. Moreover, the desire of women to experience the wild and free life associated with the big game hunter, and the positive reception they received from male hunters, suggests that the much debated masculine 'flight from

domesticity' in Britain during these years could extend to women as well. The camp life of a hunting expedition offered men and women a certain degree of freedom from the stifling gender codes of Victorian and Edwardian Britain, while simultaneously reifying those standards by linking them to 'civilization'.

This book is at heart a work of recovery. It demonstrates how hunting, long considered in terms of its representation and assertion of imperial power and manliness, also generated opportunities for African people of all ranks and well-to-do British women. These were unequal opportunities, and for African people, must be considered within the broader narrative of dislocation and usurpation that colonialism and colonial hunting represented. Indeed, as colonialism and gender are both relational systems, the opportunities that hunting presented do not stand in opposition to the standard account of imperial dominance and masculinity but rather are fundamental to it. On the one hand, for example, the participation of women hunters confirmed the extension of colonial control over the 'interior' and signalled a clear shift towards the tourist safari. This threatened the image of the interior as an untamed frontier wherein British men could prove their mettle, but that threat was emerging from colonization and colonial rhetoric more generally. The ability of women, however, to embrace a particular imperial femininity while hunting that was overtly different from conventional norms of domestic femininity counteracted this trend. It reinforced the myth of the interior as a distinctive and essentially primitive place, and that helped preserve it as a space of regeneration for white masculinity. Similarly, the ability of African leaders and, perhaps more especially, rural villagers to force British hunters to negotiate the terms of their encounters highlighted the limits of imperial control in Africa, but this was a fundamental aspect of colonization. Incorporating such moments into accounts that highlighted the enterprise and eventual success of British men and women constituted a far more powerful sign of British power than one which rested on physical conquest and submission alone. In effect, hunting was so symbolically powerful in this era because it constructed a vision of control out of two enduring anxieties of colonial rule: the colonizers' dependence on the colonized and the porous nature of social boundaries. The lived experience on the ground could look and feel quite different from this constructed, imperial vision, however, and it is in the lived experience of opposition, adaptation, intermixing, resistance and pleasure that the myth and imagery of imperial big game hunting must be read.

The hunters: Analytical scope and terminology

Colonial hunting in Africa took many forms, including subsistence, commercial and sport hunting as well as the killing of wildlife to defend livestock or crops. The analysis in this book is limited to the encounters and culture of hunting *expeditions*, that is, journeys made in search of sport and/or ivory and other marketable commodities. The dynamics of formal hunts in the colonies, which were akin to British fox hunts, and even that of short day trips in search of food or sport were substantially different, in part simply because they typically took place on or adjacent to settler lands and involved few negotiations. Theirs, in short, is a separate history.¹⁴ Hence, this study also does not often touch upon the hunting of settlers and missionaries, who could ill-afford the time or money needed to launch an expedition into what was known as the ‘interior’ in search of game.

That said, the rapid expansion of colonization meant that by 1900 nearly all hunting areas with the exception of Ethiopia were under imperial control, and the extension of colonial legislation and transportation made such distinctions increasingly deceptive. The British, however, continued to envision big game hunting grounds as separate—what I have termed *extra-colonial*. There was a contemporary effort to portray these lands as ‘pacified’ yet somehow otherwise isolated from the impact of colonization and ‘civilization’. The British recognized that this so-called interior was comprised of diverse topographies and that the communities who lived there were linguistically, culturally and politically distinct, but these distinctions were subsumed under the overarching belief that the interior represented a fundamentally different type of space that was distinct from the modern world and thus presented particular challenges and opportunities. This constructed image of the extra-colonial hunting grounds unified and gave coherence to the increasingly diverse activity of big game hunting and likened hunting under colonial laws and control to that of prior decades before the Scramble for Africa.

In practice, though, big game hunting encompassed a tremendous variation in logistics and experiences. By the late 1880s, British hunters were active in north-eastern, eastern, central and southern Africa, and a select few hunted in West Africa as well. Depending on where and when a hunter travelled, he or she faced widely different terrains, animals and challenges—or comforts. Hunting parties also ranged from a few servants and hired trackers to upwards of 100 people or more, and hunters’ experiences were further shaped by the receptiveness of local

communities to their presence and that of their caravan. The most significant factor shaping these hunts, however, was the shifting political context in which they were travelling. In the late nineteenth century, hunters were operating in a range of sociopolitical circumstances, and their relative power and status varied accordingly. With the spread of colonial control and the institution of game preservation and labour legislation, African options for controlling or influencing hunters' movements and actions declined considerably, but due to the patchy and incomplete nature of colonial control, this shift did not follow a neat chronology. The general trend is clear, but it overlaid a great deal of variation.

The changing relationships and power dynamics occasioned by the spread of European imperialism in Africa coupled with the shift from commercial ivory hunting to tourist safaris makes the period between 1870 and 1914 a particularly fruitful one for reconsidering the contemporary understanding of big game hunting. It also spans the rise of hunting from a relatively marginal frontier activity to its peak in terms of public interest and the production of hunting travelogues and related publications. These narratives form a rich but problematic archive and must be read with care. Hunters' descriptions are framed by imperial ideologies, and they are frequently riddled with misperceptions and frustrating silences. As hunters often referred to landmarks that are now obscure and used idiosyncratic spellings of individual names, it can be challenging even to map their routes and identify the people with whom they interacted. Together, though, they paint a picture of the varied negotiations that structured hunting in this era, and that picture is given depth by those instances when hunters provided sufficient details to identify the particular social and political context in which they were working. Reading such moments in conjunction with anthropological studies and African histories has helped balance the perceptions in these sources, and the analysis in this book, thus, bridges imperial and African historiographies that are too often discrete. These published accounts were also read against and with unpublished diaries and letters, but many hunters wrote these 'private' narratives with some audience in mind, be it family members back home or potential readers of the travelogues they hoped to one day publish. Contemporary book reviews and news articles, however, have helped flesh out the reception of hunters' narratives and the public perceptions of and interest in hunting. The analysis is also grounded in the empirical records created by colonial license sales and the records of ivory and wild animal product imports and exports.

The popularity of hunting in this era and the rapidly changing political context between 1870 and 1914 makes it important to distinguish between the various loose categories of sportsmen and women whose experiences in Africa and reputations as hunters differed so markedly from each other. At the time, respected hunters with long experience in Africa were heralded as 'African hunters', a weighted term that reflected the notion that such men were authority figures or masters of Africa—of its landscapes, fauna and peoples. The contemporary use of the term also relied on the equally weighted counterterm 'native hunter'. As the contemporary meaning of African hunter has been forgotten by all but enthusiasts of imperial game hunting, African men who hunted are referred to as African hunters in this book, while those British men who made their living by hunting as well as the many officials, officers and elite sportsmen who were able to devote significant time over the course of their lives to hunting expeditions are designated under the umbrella term of 'veteran hunters'. The term veteran helps distinguish these men as a group from the 'vacation hunters' who launched relatively few hunting expeditions in Africa, but it is also necessary at times to distinguish between those veteran hunters who hunted primarily in regions outside of colonial control and those who operated under colonial laws and structures. The former will, thus, be described when appropriate as 'frontier hunters' to highlight the contemporary romance attached to them, their role as empire builders and the more variable power dynamics with which they contended. Finally, the term 'professional hunter', which in the nineteenth century was used to refer to those men who hunted for marketable commodities, is eschewed in favour of 'commercial hunter' as the term 'professional' was jealously restricted in the twentieth century to those who guided vacationing sportsmen and women on safaris.¹⁵ Such guides will be referred to by their colloquial name of white hunters.

These differences are developed further in the first chapter, which analyses the rapid rise in the popularity of African big game hunting at the end of the nineteenth century and situates it in terms of its interdependent contexts: the Scramble for Africa, imperial sport and British metropolitan culture. It also charts the reach of hunting-related media, and demonstrates that hunting accounts and images were promoted well beyond the ranks of prospective sportsmen and women, reaching all classes and both sexes, defining what many in the metropole knew and imagined about Africa at the turn of the century.

The next two chapters examine the complicated power dynamics and questions of authority, reciprocity and mutual dependence that

necessarily structured hunter's encounters and interactions with African people. The reliance of hunters on specialized knowledge and cooperation gave African people considerable leverage over their encounters with hunters, but at the same time, hunters threatened elites' power and command over resource distribution and disrupted the many social, economic, and political institutions connected with hunting. The second chapter examines the tools and strategies that African monarchs and chiefs, communities and porters used to direct their encounters with hunters and demonstrates how the success of these efforts forced hunters to acknowledge the limits of their control both in practice and in their narratives even after the expansion of colonial control. The third chapter shifts the focus to consider the intersections between British hunting and African social, economic and political structures. It tracks the broad range of interactions between African people and hunters' caravans, and examines the complex intermingling of networks, practices and authority systems within and through hunting expeditions. Together, these two chapters illuminate the variegated and variably successful efforts of African people to appropriate and adapt hunting expeditions to their purposes and needs.

The fourth chapter takes up the question of British women hunters. In contrast to those scholars who have argued that British women travellers' race and class enabled them to temporarily adopt a masculine persona in colonial Africa, this chapter argues that women hunters presented themselves and were represented by many male hunters and the British media as embodying an imperial femininity. Their portrayals show how many elements of hunting could be recast in terms of feminine ideals, but they also reveal a striking absence of 'black peril' anxieties on safari. I argue that the idea, which was occasionally explicit, that women were safer on safari than in the colonies reinforced the imaginary divide between the settled colonies and the mythical landscape of the interior that was coming under threat with the spread of colonization.

The fifth chapter argues that the increased popularity of African big game hunting after 1900 reflected the sport's ability to support quite different images of hunting simultaneously. The emerging conservation movement and rise of all-inclusive safaris threatened the very idea of African big game hunting as a heroic, manly pursuit. Hunting, however, provided access to and critically reworked the myth of the 'African Interior' in these years, ensuring that in the era of colonization the interior could still be seen as an extra-colonial, wild space in which adventures could be had. This was an era when Westerners began to look to Africa to regenerate the white race through its ability to recall a man to his

primitive manly instincts, but women hunters' references to similar instincts show that such feelings spoke to modern concerns with over-civilization beyond that of masculinity. African big game hunting was defined by imperial power and colonization, but it could be perceived and experienced in terms of a universal engagement with nature.

The book closes by examining the iconic image of the manly, African big game hunter. Despite the control African people routinely exerted over hunting expeditions and the willingness of contemporaries to see women hunters as embodying an imperial femininity, the pursuit of wild game in Africa remained a symbol of imperial and masculine power. The conclusion uses the moment when four European hunters were put on trial by Lobengula for having killed hippopotamuses to demonstrate how veteran, frontier hunters constructed narratives of masculine authority and imperial power out of precisely those events that clearly highlighted their lack of control. The British public believed that hunters' many years of negotiating and working with African people gave them a sympathetic understanding of 'the native'. This combination of intimacy and knowledge made veteran hunters into deeply romantic but liminal figures and offered a powerful vision of masculine imperial mastery. It was a vision built on African agency and was, therefore, a far more powerful and appealing image of British imperial control than one which rested on the physical domination of the lands and peoples of colonial Africa.

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Real Men/Savage Nature: The Rise of African Big Game Hunting, 1870–1914

The popular fascination with African game hunting can be dated to 1848, when a man named Roualeyn Gordon-Cumming returned to Britain after spending five years hunting in southern Africa. He brought home with him 30 *tons* of curios and animal trophies, and two years later he opened his collection to the public. For one shilling, visitors could view his ‘multitudinous victories over the native Lords of the forest and plain’. The exotic nature of the exhibit was heightened by the presence of Ruyter, a Khoikhoi man who had accompanied Gordon-Cumming to Britain and who explained ‘to the public the different objects’ on display.¹ The show proved a tremendous success, receiving, among other accolades, the gracious approval of Prince Albert. In combination with Gordon-Cumming’s two-volume travelogue, which was reportedly ‘read with as much avidity as a romance by all sorts and conditions of man’,² the display transformed the former soldier and hunter into an iconic figure. The press described him as ‘the African sportsman’ or, more colourfully, as ‘the lion hunter of Central Africa, in the prime of manhood’.³ After participating in the Great Exhibition in 1851, Gordon-Cumming toured Britain with his collection and finally settled in Scotland in 1858. There he opened a private museum and collected a ‘goodly toll’ from tourists travelling along the Caledonian Canal until his death in 1866.⁴

Gordon-Cumming was not the first to taste or write of the ‘splendid sport’ to be had in southern Africa, but he was the first to generate widespread interest in it.⁵ It was for this reason that an author writing in 1901 named him the ‘Pioneer or Father of South African Sport’, but he was also a man ahead of his time, at least in terms of marketing his sport.⁶ In the 1840s and ’50s, most British hunters in Africa were traders in search of ivory and skin, and their activities did little to draw the interest of the British public, which was interested far more in explorers’

expeditions or accounts of the slave trade than narratives of sport. By the 1880s, however, interest in hunting was growing rapidly, and by the early 1900s, thousands of British men and women were travelling to Africa intent on hunting the big game of eastern and central Africa. By then, the safari had been born, and to this day, it remains one of the primary tourist products of east and southern Africa.⁷

How can we explain this rapid rise of African big game hunting and the continued appeal of safaris? In the Victorian era, British men hunted all over the world, so why did hunting in Africa become so popular, and once it did, how did this sport come to define Western views of Africa? At a fundamental level, the 1880s marked the beginning of the rapid European colonization of Africa, which made travel in the continent more attractive to Westerners. Historians have also long argued that the particular appeal of big game hunting in these decades was connected to the sport's capacity to symbolize Britain's imperial and manly prowess at a time when many were expressing grave doubts about both.⁸ The ability of hunting to accomplish these twin tasks so well in Africa, however, was a product of the connection it forged between metropolitan Britain and the primitive world Britons imagined the 'African Interior' to be. As the following chapters show, the practice of hunting entailed complex encounters with the societies that inhabited these territories, but the appeal of big game shooting arose in large part from the image of untamed wilderness that it promoted. This was a dynamic era, and the colonization of Africa brought tremendous changes to the logistics, demographics and experience of hunting. Going on safari in 1910 was a radically different proposition than being an ivory hunter in the 1870s, yet the image of untamed wilderness persisted, giving coherence and romance to an institution which in practice represented many different ideas and experiences at one and the same time. Indeed, it was the variety of meanings attached to hunting that made the sport such a significant factor in how Britons imagined and interacted with Africa.

Hunting comes into its heyday

From the earliest days of European exploration, when Portuguese sailors were making their way down the West African coast, hunting furthered Western interests and interest in Africa,⁹ but it was not until the late nineteenth century that the continent began to be thought of as a hunter's paradise and not until the twentieth century that hunting became one of the dominant attractions of Africa. Up until that point, hunting provided Dutch, Portuguese and, later, British settlers with vital

resources and valuable trade goods, but in the latter case, it was African hunters who provided most of those commodities.¹⁰ The expansion of the colonial frontier also owed more in South Africa to the Trekboers' desire to escape governmental controls and in Mozambique to the Portuguese colonists' desire for land and gold than to the demands of hunting.¹¹ European involvement with Africa began escalating in the early nineteenth century, however, and with it European participation in commercial and recreational hunting, but it was only at the end of the century that the new imperial vision of Darkest Africa, colonial expansion, popular and scientific demands for greater knowledge of Africa, and new ideas about masculinity and the sport of hunting itself combined to make African big game hunting an iconic symbol of romantic adventure, imperial dominance, British greatness and manly enterprise. These developments also radically changed the culture and experience of hunting itself.

In 1806, during the Napoleonic Wars, Britain wrested the southern Cape of Africa from the Dutch, and as John MacKenzie showed in his history of colonial game hunting, the trade in animal products began to increase at astounding rates immediately after the war. Between 1815 and 1825, ivory exports alone grew by more than 28,000 per cent, and while they declined thereafter, the continued demand for these commodities spurred British, Boer and African investment in commercial hunting.¹² Most of these hunters were already resident in southern Africa. Only a few men travelled to Africa specifically to hunt, but the travelogues of those who did formed the foundation for the hunting phenomenon that developed in later decades.¹³ In the mid-nineteenth century, though, it was explorers and missionaries who became the undisputed icons of adventure and good works on the continent, and for the vast majority of these men, hunting was at most an ancillary activity. Several did not hunt at all, and others only hunted for subsistence purposes or hired African or European hunters who kept them and their parties supplied with meat, animal products and trade goods.¹⁴ There were, of course, those who engaged in hunting as a sport, but even then, their accounts of it typically comprised only small portions of the lengthy travelogues and memoirs they penned upon their return to Europe or, in the case of missionaries, to promote their work amongst the faithful back home.¹⁵

While hunting was not the focal point of these men's travels or narratives, collectively they created the world that future hunters dreamed about as young boys. Africa had long been thought of as barbaric, and even as a physically unhealthy place for Europeans, but, ironically, the

more Britons travelled there, the more they saw it as the 'Dark Continent', a land of savagery and mystery. As Patrick Brantlinger wrote, 'Africa grew dark as Victorian explorers, missionaries, and scientists flooded it with light, because the light was refracted through an imperialist ideology that urged the abolition of "savage customs" in the name of civilization.'¹⁶ The change in how Westerners perceived Africa was compounded by a related shift in their presumed knowledge of the continent. For centuries, Europeans had collected information from Arab, African and European travellers and missionaries, but by the nineteenth century, new standards of cartography prompted geographers to dismiss much of this data as it had not been gathered by approved methods—or by approved European observers—and the details were contradictory.¹⁷ Thus, while early European maps of Africa were rich in features, though often inaccurately placed, the Victorians thought of Africa as a 'geographical blank' and often represented it as such on popular maps.¹⁸

Filling in those blank spaces became an international race ennobled by the goal of furthering mankind's knowledge, and in the 1850s and 1860s, African explorers, in the words of Dane Kennedy, 'came to embody those qualities the Victorians regarded as emblematic of all that was best about themselves as a people—manly courage, moral virtue, individual enterprise, patriotic spirit, and scientific curiosity'.¹⁹ The image Westerners had, however, of explorers striding purposely across tracts of undeveloped African wilderness was complete nonsense. Africa was already criss-crossed by numerous trade routes, and European explorers, far from trailblazing, were generally not even following these routes so much as the African guides they had hired to show them the way. Nonetheless, the narratives written by these men fired the imaginations of Europeans back at home, and in risking their health, lives and sometimes their fortunes in pursuit of lofty goals, they fostered a vision of heroic, white manliness and romantic adventures in a land increasingly perceived as the antithesis of modern, Western civilization.

By the 1870s, the excitement for exploration was waning. The major lakes and mountains had been located, and what remained was the less romantic task of gathering further information about places, things and people already generally known. Yet, the public's interest in Africa was only continuing to grow, and by the end of the century, big game hunters had come into their 'heyday'.²⁰ Despite the *relative* lack of metropolitan interest in hunting in the early to mid-nineteenth century, the life of the African hunter had its own romantic appeal, particularly among young boys. When later hunters spoke of what had inspired them 'to leave the ways of civilization and seek adventure in the wilds',

it was not explorers' or missionaries' travelogues they cited but those of early hunters.²¹ Certainly, part of the appeal of hunting for them was the chance 'to explore unknown regions on the dark continent of Africa' and thereby contribute to mankind's store of knowledge, but these young men were intent on 'emulating the "deeds of derring-do"' and experiencing 'the free-and-easy gipsy sort of life' they had read about in the works of mid-century hunters.²² African hunting promised middle- and upper-class men the opportunity to exchange the 'worry of braces . . . [and] the struggles with a waistcoat' for the 'short-sleeve life' of the frontier, and it offered settlers' sons an alternative to the farm or mine.²³ Put simply, it represented adventure and 'liberty', and it is important not to overlook the intense, visceral attraction of hunters' presumed lifestyle and the landscapes associated with it. As one military officer asked, 'Where is the lover of sport who, having once caught a glimpse of its [Africa's] glorious plains and wild herds . . . does not long to cast off the collar of civilization, plunge into its untrodden wilds, and live a freed man?'²⁴

In the mid-century and even in the early 1870s, however, very few middle- and upper-class men felt they could do so. A life of hunting and wandering in southern Africa was not a promising future for a young man in Britain. Most of those who answered the call of adventure in these years were men who had 'no rosy prospects' elsewhere and dreamed of "'making good"' in a land they saw as opening-up.²⁵ Some of these men were 'gentlemen by birth and education' who lacked connections or capital, and, naturally, several sons of Cape Colony farmers also tried their fortunes as big game hunters. Many who came from Britain, however, were from the lower middle class or even the margins of society. According to one traveller, the ranks of southern African big game hunters included 'deserters from the army & navy . . . ruined gamblers . . . ne'er do wells who do no better here than anywhere else, yet [are] always sanguine & amusing . . . and an occasional odd fish . . . known to be suspected of the worst crimes'.²⁶ Even Frederick Courteney Selous, who would become the most well-known and respected hunter of the day, only set out for Africa in 1870 after he assaulted a gamekeeper in Germany who had caught him poaching. To avoid arrest, Selous fled the country, and it was at that critical juncture that his banker-father finally agreed to Selous' long-held dream of hunting in southern Africa.

Selous landed in Cape Colony at an auspicious moment. The Scramble for Africa was still more than a decade away, but European interest in Africa was accelerating, particularly in southern Africa, where the discovery of diamonds to the north of Cape Colony in 1869 had altered the

economic outlook of the region. These new possibilities combined with a few expansionist forays on the part of Britain drew more middle- and upper-middle-class men to the Cape, as well as to north-eastern Africa, which had become strategically more important with the opening of the Suez Canal that same year. Ideas about masculinity were also shifting back at home. Elite public schools had already been training upper-class boys to be 'men of action' rather than of thought, but middle-class men in the middle of the century primarily defined their manliness in terms of their authority within the home. By the 1870s, however, there was a new idealization of 'robust hypermasculinity' and the rough, adventurous life a man might lead on the imperial frontier.²⁷ The Empire had become something of a crucible for masculinity in the eyes of Britons, and by the 1880s, there was no longer quite the same sense that going to Africa meant giving in to temptation. By the 1890s, proponents of the sport like Lord Randolph Churchill were proclaiming that just 'six months of African hunting life would make a man "a 10 lb. better fellow all around"'.²⁸ The much-romanticized life of the African hunter that had been so appealing to young boys had evolved into a manly act.

The value of hunting in this era also arose from hunters' ability to take up the mantle of exploration. There was still much Europe did not know about the physical and political geographies of Africa. As late as 1914, governments were still funding expeditions to determine where the colonial boundaries they had decided upon in Europe actually fell on the ground. This element of the unknown beckoned, promising adventure and the chance to make a name for oneself, and many hunters in the late nineteenth century kept detailed maps of their journeys, marking the course of rivers and noting the position of the villages or kraals through which they passed. A few published those maps along with their observations in the journal of the Royal Geographical Society, the prestigious organization that funded explorer's expeditions, and many others provided colourful descriptions in the articles and books they wrote for a popular audience. More often than not, these accounts were purely anecdotal, but they were among the only ones Britons had of some districts and societies. This made hunters an important conduit of information about the people and places of Africa in an era of intense colonial competition, and many hunters recognized that their actions on the frontier would shape the reputation of Britain amongst the people they encountered.

Hunters' primary contributions to science, however, were in the field of natural history, the study of which was one of the central appeals of big game hunting in these years. In the words of one scholar, 'Victorians

were in love with natural history',²⁹ and many sportsmen were among its keenest students. The *Field*, a popular 'country gentleman's' paper that focused heavily on sport, ran a regular column entitled 'Natural History', that provided readers with lengthy articles on the anatomy, behaviour and geographic range of different species. Those endowed with the requisite social standing sometimes asked to study at the Natural History Museum (NHM) before setting out into the empire, and others looked for instructional works that could teach them what to look for and how to preserve specimens correctly.³⁰ Afterwards, they detailed their observations in their travelogues, and even eminent scientists attended to these accounts. When the naturalist Richard Lydekker, a fellow of the Royal Society and of the Zoological Society of London, wrote *The Game Animals of Africa*, he 'availed [himself] of the invaluable accounts of the distribution and habits of the various species given . . . by African sportsmen'.³¹

The study of natural history was deeply important to hunters as evidenced by the investigations many carried out in the field. In the late 1800s, it was common to examine one's kills to determine the exact track the bullet(s) had taken and to look for more effective places to aim, but some hunters were going beyond these questions and effectively conducting animal autopsies. When F. W. Isaac sent a specimen of the elusive bongo to the NHM in London, he was able to comment on its eating habits as shown by 'a careful investigation of its stomach'.³² Similarly, when a minor controversy developed in the pages of the *Field* regarding the ability of rhinoceros to go long periods without water, C. W. Stockley of the King's African Rifles sent a letter to the editor reporting that his analyses of their stomach contents had revealed that rhinoceros in Somaliland routinely ate an 'aloe plant heavy in water'.³³ Another conversation arose over the 'Intestinal Maggots of Rhinoceros', in which one writer described himself as 'fortunate enough' to have captured three flies from the carcass of a rhino he had shot. He then asked if anyone had found maggots in white rhinoceros, to which another hunter replied that he had seen no evidence of maggots in the one he had shot, but he had been sick and out of food and water when he conducted the examination, so he had not been as thorough as usual.³⁴ The latter sportsman's commitment to zoological inquiry even in the midst of thirst and hunger reflects both the ardent interest hunters took in their inquiries and the sense of duty many attached to this task.

Many hunters were also avid ornithologists and butterfly catchers, and their priorities were not necessarily ordered according to the size of their prey. As one sportsman wrote in the *Field*, 'even in the strain and

excitement of large game hunting, the watchful eye of the ornithologist is ever open to the possibility of a new species'.³⁵ Another sportsman, W. J. Ansorge, turned his life over to the discovery and collection of new species. He was explicit in his desire to have 'my name given to new things (discovered by myself and in most cases under great difficulties and hardships as my means are very limited)', but he was also clearly driven by a deep interest in his new vocation. Despite the fact that his expeditions repeatedly proved to be a 'dead loss' financially and only a few species were named for him, Ansorge continued collecting until he died in Angola at the age of 63, having identified over 146 'new species of vertebrates and almost as many invertebrates'.³⁶

To be sure, identifying a new species of butterfly or even a new warthog was never going to carry the same cachet as finding the source of the Nile, but such discoveries helped keep alive the image of unknown and mysterious Africa and deepened the connections between hunting and the romance of African exploration. The desire to discover and study animals carried its own sense of urgency, however, due to the contemporary beliefs about progress, which instilled a certain fatalism in Victorians when it came to nature. According to this belief, European-style, industrial civilization would expand, a process that would entail the destruction of wild lands and animals. Victorians saw this as regrettable but inevitable, and thus sought to 'preserve' animals by shooting representative specimens and stuffing them in life-like poses for study and display in museums. When the white rhinoceros was on the verge of extinction in South Africa, a hunter, R. T. Coryndon, was employed by a private collector, Walter Rothschild, to find and shoot one so that it might be studied by future 'students'.³⁷ Such a solution would be anathema today, but at the end of the nineteenth century, it was seen as a grand quest. When Coryndon shot not one but two of the rare species, for which he was rumoured to have been paid £800, his reputation as both a hunter and a naturalist was assured.³⁸

Contemporaries were not blind, however, to the destructive power of hunters themselves, and these concerns were compounded by developments in rifles and cartridge design that substantially improved the penetrative power and functionality of hunters' weapons. In the 1850s, many hunters had to load both their bullet and the appropriate amount of gunpowder for each shot, sometimes while chasing game on horseback. By the end of the century, however, not only were rifles lighter and producing less recoil, but they could also be used with prefilled cartridges, which came in different sizes, shapes and composition, enabling hunters to tailor their shot for different types of quarry. These

improvements made it easier, quicker and safer for hunters to kill game, and as such threatened to take the sport out of hunting and drastically escalate sportsmen's toll on game populations. The result was a refined code of sportsmanship that called upon hunters to spare juvenile animals and females with young, not to fire until they were close enough to be reasonably certain of making a fatal shot and to follow up any wounded animals, all day if necessary, to prevent them from dying slowly and painfully.³⁹ Through such efforts, contemporaries began claiming, the sportsman or woman distinguished him or herself from the butcher.

The new emphasis on the skill and discretion of hunters made hunting a far more potent symbol of imperial control and elite manhood, even after women began hunting in the early 1900s.⁴⁰ By disregarding their personal comfort in order to end animals' lives more humanely, hunters proved their 'modern' benevolence for 'lesser' creatures, while their self-restraint and sense of fair play showcased the alleged superiority of Britain in comparison with other nations and races. As with the study of natural history, this shift in the notion of sport shaped hunters' experiences and subjectivity and insured that hunting resonated in new ways with late Victorians and Edwardians, whose sensibilities and outlook differed from that of mid-Victorians. Securing a kill was a moment of great satisfaction, but hunters, both male and female, took genuine pleasure in challenging themselves by carefully stalking their prey and testing their bushcraft, stamina, nerve, knowledge of animals and sense of self-control.

The very idea that African big game hunting constituted a sport, however, demonstrates the increased social and political value attached to the pursuit of wild animals on an imperial frontier, because African hunting was as much an occupation as a sport. This was an era when an athlete who simply accepted prize money risked being labelled a 'professional', a derogatory classification that distinguished men who played for money from those wealthy enough to play for pure love of competition.⁴¹ When it came to the much romanticized pursuit of dangerous game in Africa, however, the distinguishing factor between a gentleman sportsman and a lower-class ivory or subsistence hunter was not whether one hunted for sport alone, but the style in which one hunted. So long as one followed the tenants of 'sport' hunting, one could profit from hunting and even hunt for a living without being seen to hunt *for* profit.

A vital aspect of this division of African ivory hunting as a sport from commercial or subsistence hunting was the rejection of the decades-long

practice of hiring African hunters to kill game for British hunters. There is a general misconception that African hunters employed by Europeans were never allowed to hunt or even to fire a gun unless it was to protect the white hunter's life, but this was only true in the twentieth century.⁴² In the mid-nineteenth century, ivory hunters routinely hired southern African men as hunters.⁴³ Sometimes they sent these men out as separate parties, but other times white and black hunted together, with the first shot going to the man who first spotted the game.⁴⁴ This is not to say there was any sense of equality. African men who hunted for Europeans were contract or even forced labourers, but British and Boer hunters' willingness to employ them even on such unequal terms illustrates how much less symbolically charged and more overtly occupational the culture of hunting was in the middle of the century.⁴⁵

The shift away from this view began in the 1870s, with some, usually upper-middle-class, ivory hunters like F. C. Selous refusing to hunt alongside African hunters, because, as Selous explained it, he hated 'any of my servants claiming an elephant which I think I have killed myself', a 'vanity', that was not shared by all hunters.⁴⁶ Nor was employing African hunters taboo, yet. Selous himself learned to hunt elephants from a successful Khoikhoi ivory hunter named 'Cigar', and shared his base camp for some time with George Wood, an English hunter who Selous said 'only thought of how to secure the greatest quantity of ivory', and routinely hunted alongside the African hunters he employed.⁴⁷ As late as 1882, one British hunter felt that 'shooting for "ivory" as well as for the sake of sport' constituted a sufficient justification for hunting with African hunters, but by the late 1880s the practice was being abandoned by anyone who wanted to be welcome in white society.⁴⁸ In later years, F. J. Jackson, a sport hunter who served as the Governor of Uganda and then Kenya, declared that it was 'scarcely possible to find words sufficiently strong to condemn' the practice of allowing gunbearers 'and other natives . . . to shoot on behalf of their masters . . . and employers who allow it for gain, as in elephant hunting, are beneath contempt'.⁴⁹ Overlain as it had become with signs of idealized masculinity, colonial domination and scientific inquiry, the *sport* of hunting was too symbolically powerful to share with colonized populations or lower-class white men, but by adhering to this gentlemanly code, middle- and upper-class men could partake in the *occupation* of hunting and live out their boyhood fantasy of a wild and free life as an African hunter, while clearly defining their pursuit of game as distinct from that of Africans, Boers and other socially undesirable individuals.

It is also important to remember that for much of the 1800s, the dangers of African travel were not wholly imagined. These real challenges gave verisimilitude to the imagined ones, particularly in later years when medicine, railroads and rest stops had reduced the uncertainty and risk of travel. Hunters' willingness—and in many instances desire—to court hardship in years when far easier travel was possible enabled them to be seen, as explorers had been, as emblematic of the plucky, manly spirit that Britons believed made them a great nation—and empire. They also suffered from the swirl of confusion, depression, doubt, anger and even boredom that plagued many explorers in their daily slogs, but this was rarely, if ever, acknowledged. As the public saw them, hunters embodied the free and glorious life associated with the African wilds, and toward the end of the century when the blank spaces on the maps of Africa had largely been filled in and the focus of explorers had shifted to the harsh world of the North and South Poles, hunters were still adding to Britain's knowledge in Africa and testing themselves against 'the deprivations, dangers, and delirium of Africa's . . . interior'⁵⁰ now symbolized in the form of its dangerous game.

To cross the Zambezi: The landscape of big game hunting

The increased appeal of hunting and the value attached to it were not limited to Africa. The idealization of hardy masculinity at the end of the century imbued sportsmen's experiences everywhere with new relevance and attracted the interest of a much wider audience. Where in the 1850s, only approximately 20 travelogues were published in Britain describing sportsmen's hunting adventures in India, Africa and Ceylon, more than 100 such texts were published in the 1890s, along with the articles that had become regular features of the sporting press. Amidst this broader rise, though, Africa was rapidly becoming iconized as a 'sportsman's paradise', and hunting there was weighted in particular ways.⁵¹ In the 1850s and 1860s, there were slightly more books being published on the hunting of India as Africa, but by the 1890s, 30 per cent more books on African hunting were published than Indian. In the following decade, that number grew to 90 per cent, or nearly twice as many travelogues on African hunting as Indian.⁵² This escalating preference for Africa emerged in part out of the opportunities generated by colonial expansion, the relative proximity of Africa and the selection of dangerous game to be found there, but for hunters, the overwhelming appeal of African hunting was the opportunity it offered to experience a wild frontier and enjoy the challenges and freedoms associated with

such spaces. This lifestyle constituted an essential part of what it meant to experience *real* African hunting.

That it was not simply the ability of hunting to symbolize and re-enact masculine and imperial dominance that made African hunting so phenomenally popular in this era is suggested by the case of India, where hunting constituted one of the primary diversions of the officers and officials posted to the subcontinent up until decolonization in the 1940s. By the 1870s, however, the sport had become, in the words of John MacKenzie, more 'regularized and hedged about with codes and rules'.⁵³ As with imperial culture more broadly, Anglo-Indian society was actually becoming more obsessed with 'powerful manliness' and field sports in this era, and officers avidly pursued such martialized 'sports' as pig sticking. Anglo-Indian culture, though, was becoming more ceremonial and gentrified, and this change was reflected in the emphasis placed on the pageantry of formal tiger hunts at the end of the century.⁵⁴ Less 'regularized' pursuits such as Ibex, leopard and even Kashmir bear hunting continued to be practiced in several territories, and sportsmen in India expressed a similar feeling as those in Africa of escaping into the wilds when they went on hunting expeditions.⁵⁵ As the culture of the British Raj became more avowedly civilized and domesticated, however, such hunts were eclipsed by organized pig-sticking and tiger hunts, and critics began describing Indian hunting as tame in comparison to the wild sport to be found in Africa.

The same was even truer of North America, which, due to its relative proximity, had been a highly popular destination for British sportsmen until the combination of more accurate rifles, faster transportation and the expansion of ranching and agriculture led to the extirpation of many species, including the American buffalo, in the 1860s.⁵⁶ This decline of game and spread of enclosures necessarily impacted opportunities for sport, but the decline of North America as a hunting *destination* was also connected to the disappearance of the American frontier. There was still hunting to be had in North America, and there were still sportsmen who went there to pursue it.⁵⁷ The vision of untouched lands was gone, however, with the exception of a few places like Alaska that were seen as suitably wild, but even there hunting did not carry the same note of romance and danger as hunting in Africa. In 1886, Parker Gillmore, a well-known hunter who had previously published several books on hunting in North America and smaller pieces on hunting in Europe and Asia, claimed that 'Africa, although no new country, is at present time the hunting-ground *par excellence* of the whole world.' The buffalo and grizzly bear of North America, he argued, were

now scarcely to be found; but Africa still possesses such animals as are worthy of the intrepidity and skill of the most daring sportsman. If the traveler goes far enough into this great continent he will there meet an elephant worth slaying, not the semi-domestic beast of India; and instead of the tiger of Hindostan he will be brought into the presence of the lion.⁵⁸

Africa, he proclaimed, was the land of real adventure and real danger; consequently, it alone would test the pluck, determination and daring of Britons just as exploration in Africa was once imagined to do.

Not even all regions of Africa were deemed sufficiently wild, however, and the dismissal of those that were not offers further insight into what British hunters desired from Africa and from big game hunting. In 1882, a writer in the *Field* advised that 'If a tourist is content to find a moderate supply of sport as a pastime, he may easily have his way [in Cape Colony], but, in order to enjoy the traditional South African hunting, he must follow Mr Selous across the Zambesi and the Limpopo' rivers, which meant travelling north into what later became Southern and Northern Rhodesia, today's Zimbabwe and Zambia.⁵⁹ A 'moderate supply of sport' then was not *real* South African hunting. Only an abundance of big game would do, which was partly why by 1900 Southern Rhodesia itself was no longer considered a suitable hunting ground.⁶⁰ Its supply of big game had fallen sharply, but it is also suggestive that the territory had been settled in the intervening years. If contemporaries understood big game hunting to pit man against wild nature, it is easy to see why Southern Rhodesia no longer fit the bill, despite the fact that big, dangerous game continued to be found there, if in more limited quantities.⁶¹ In the year 1911, for instance, 296 people felt there was enough game to warrant purchasing the expensive 'special' license that entitled them to hunt buffalo, zebra and many of the more desirable antelopes.⁶² Moreover, that same year, the government offered rewards to *anyone* who killed animals classified as a danger to people or crops—a list that included lions, leopards, cheetahs and baboons.⁶³ Clearly there was hunting to be found in Southern Rhodesia, but it was not the type of sport that could fulfil hunters' boyhood dreams. It was not what Britons meant when they spoke of African big game hunting.

British East Africa, by way of contrast, was quickly becoming the *beau ideal* of the sporting world, even though it too was being transformed into a settler colony. The territory, however, was a recent accession to the Empire. Explorers were still launching expeditions there as late as the 1890s, and there had been far less written about the region in

comparison with southern Africa. It was, thus, less familiar and seemed far more exotic than the colonies further south. Like the Transvaal mining towns 20 to 30 years before, East Africa was described as a place where the cream of British society might rub elbows with a rougher element. The *East African Standard* quoted one 'resident' of Nairobi in 1908 as saying, 'So strangely do the conditions of Mayfair and the primeval forest mingle at Nairobi . . . that at the Norfolk Hotel . . . you may see a man at one table in the diningroom [*sic*] in evening dress while at the next table sits a man in a hunting shirt with his bronzed chest bare, both of them quite unconscious of any incongruity in the situation.'⁶⁴ Nairobi, in short, was still a frontier town, where civilization was seen to coexist with wilderness, and it served as a point of entry into the latter. Even as that settlement expanded, though, East Africa—partly through the efforts of hunters—would preserve the image of a frontier zone.

The constructed nature of this frontier is further illustrated by British hunters' lack of interest in West Africa in this era. To be sure, the long-standing reputation West Africa had as the White Man's Grave and disparaging accounts given by some naval officers of the game to be found there did little to help.⁶⁵ In one 1895 article, a sportsman, who implied he had been posted to the region, described the Niger River as particularly 'deadly'. All three of the men with whom he had travelled had died, and he added that any traveller to the district would face chronic 'fevers, boutons or boils' which can leave 'fearful scars', not to mention 'jiggers, blood poisoning, and every ill that flesh is heir to'.⁶⁶ Other hunters argued that there were districts in West Africa that offered healthful, game-rich and easily accessible hunting grounds, but with such vivid accounts of catastrophe reinforcing the old stereotype, it is understandable that vacationing sportsmen thought West Africa's game was not worth the risks when other regions were being universally praised.⁶⁷

It is suggestive, though, that the same was true of ivory hunters. By 1899, the Niger Coast Protectorate alone accounted for approximately 23 per cent of all the ivory brought into Britain from British possessions, as measured by value. That ranked significantly lower than the east coast of Africa, which accounted for another 36 per cent, but one would expect the value of West Africa's exports to attract some hunters.⁶⁸ Yet, while European companies competed for control over the lucrative trade, the actual hunting was largely left in the hands of African hunters. The only European hunters to move into the region were disreputable hunter-traders.⁶⁹ Those ivory hunters known as sportsmen favoured East and Central Africa, and it is interesting to speculate to

what extent West Africa's reputation as a land of commerce and trade—rather than a frontier fit for adventure—effaced this region from their consideration.⁷⁰ Regardless, though, West Africa did not figure among the exalted hunting grounds of Africa in this era despite the game it had to offer, and consequently, comparatively few British sportsmen or women ever hunted there.

The appeal and culture of African big game hunting were grounded in the belief that much of southern, central, eastern and north-eastern Africa offered unparalleled opportunities for sport beyond the pale of civilization's restraints, but while these territories were often subsumed under the idea of *the* 'African interior', this was not a flat or static image. Rather, Africa's hunting grounds were multilayered and shifting spaces created out of the pre-existing images of each region, the particular histories of contact and conquest, and the cultural phenomenon of hunting itself. At times, hunters claimed that it was an abundance of game that defined great hunting grounds or referred to particular ecologies as representing the Africa they had come to see, but the actual quantity of game and topography mattered less than the social construction of the land. The much-venerated hunting grounds of this era included forests, savannahs and arid, craggy landscapes, and the disinterest in West Africa reveals that it was not even the wildness or danger associated with these spaces that made them desirable but a more amorphous idea of the opportunities and lifestyle they offered. These spaces shifted over time with colonial expansion, but their borders were not determined solely by colonial contact. As the example of East Africa suggests, hunting was beginning to dominate the idea of Africa in the British imagination, and hunters' accounts—and later the colonial legislation they helped push through—helped harden and preserve those imagined landscapes that enabled the narratives, behaviours and relations that had come to define African big game hunting as a consummate experience for British sportsmen. Even as colonial settlement and control expanded and the leisured safaris of wealthy sportsmen and women became the norm, this vision of the landscape persisted and unified the many divergent faces of the sport under one glorified notion of African big game hunting.

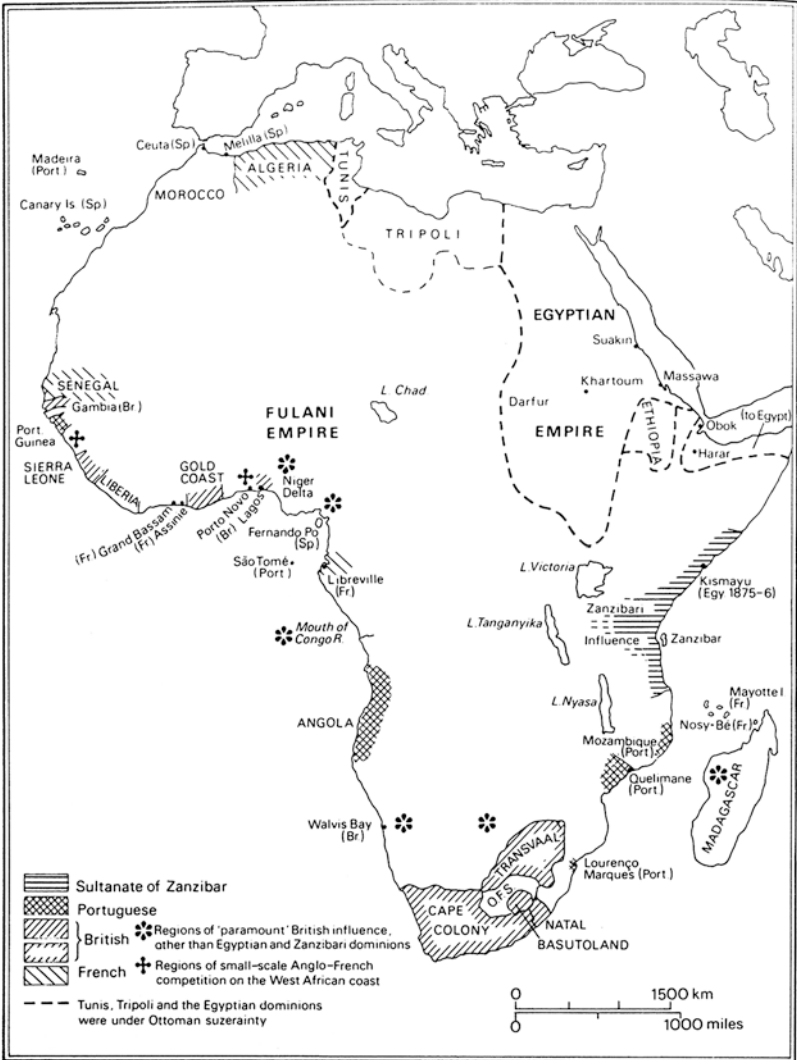
Hunting during the Scramble

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, imperial efforts to consolidate control, increase profits and standardize white access to cheap labour made it simpler, faster and generally more comfortable for Western hunters to reach game-rich territories, but that in turn

facilitated the decimation of animal populations. These shifts along with the new preservation legislation that colonial governments began implementing in 1900, transformed the sport of hunting in the span of a few decades from a commercial enterprise pursued by European and African men into a leisure-based industry designed to serve wealthy, white men and women. Most importantly, these changes altered hunters' encounters and interactions with African people, which in the nineteenth century, were an essential part of the experience and representation of hunting. These transitions happened unevenly across the continent, however, and while wealthy tourists came to dominate the image of hunting, in practice a much broader segment of colonial society continued to hunt. The result was that at the turn of the century, the sport of big game hunting encompassed significant variations in style, logistics and personnel, and to a certain extent, different ideas about what it meant to be a British hunter in Africa.

Late-Victorian hunters may have been drawn to Africa by the tales of mid-century hunters they had read as boys, but long before those young men came of age, the avid demand for ivory had resulted in the retreat of elephants and other game into 'the "fly"-infested districts', which radically altered the logistics and demographics of hunting.⁷¹ The fly referred to here was the tsetse fly, the vector for trypanosomiasis, better known as sleeping sickness in humans or *nagana* in animals, and in East and Central Africa, where *nagana* was endemic, goods had to be carried by porters and animals had to be hunted on foot. Moreover, East and Central Africa had higher rates of malaria, and while hunters did not know that the disease was carried by mosquitoes, they knew to avoid regions where 'the fever' was found. By the 1870s, however, the retreat of game had drawn hunters further north into these districts, which meant abandoning the horses and oxen-pulled carts they had previously used for hunting and transporting goods. It also meant venturing into regions where the British had fewer established relations with the societies that lived there and where they would have to arrange for the services of large numbers of carriers, making hunters even more dependent in these years on the labour, knowledge and cooperation of African communities, leaders and hunters.

Up until the early 1890s, many of the prime elephant grounds were governed by African sovereigns, who had the power to determine who would hunt where and for what consideration. As can be seen in Map 1.1, British influence in southern Africa extended well beyond the official colonial borders, and the threat of expansion circumscribed the encounters between Africans and Europeans. British hunters and traders



Map 1.1 'Africa on the eve of partition, c. 1878', Credit: G. N. Sanderson, 'The European Partition of Africa: Origins and Dynamics', in Roland Oliver and G. N. Sanderson (eds), *The Cambridge History of Africa*. Vol. 6. (Cambridge University Press, 1985), 118. Reprinted with permission from Cambridge University Press.

had to form reciprocal relations with African people to accomplish anything, but they expected to be—and were—treated as important figures regardless of their social standing in imperial society. There were also established precedents for European hunters seeking access to hunting grounds, and ‘old hands’ could introduce new hunters to an African sovereign or provide useful advice on how to approach him or her. As hunters pushed further north, however, they no longer had these safety nets, making them much more of an imperial ‘vanguard’.⁷² As they entered each district, hunters had to negotiate for access to the land, labour and knowledge of people whose relations with colonial powers were far more inchoate, and while hunters often resented the restrictions this process placed on their behaviour and even freedom of movement, it kept the mystique of ‘the Interior’ and of hunting alive.

Travelling into the fly district also meant feeding and paying large retinues of porters, and the additional expenses entailed in these safaris, as they became known, combined with the continued retreat of elephant populations made it increasingly difficult for hunters to profit from their sport. By 1871, many of the most successful ‘English professional hunters’ had ‘thrown up the game’, and those who entered the profession after that date often struggled.⁷³ There were some notable exceptions, like W. D. M. ‘Karamojo’ Bell, who made his fortune hunting elephants in the early 1900s, but the experience of Selous, who was considered one of the greatest hunters of the day, is more representative.⁷⁴ He made a substantial sum from his first hunting expeditions, but found himself deeply in debt to his outfitter by the end of the 1870s. He spent the next decade selling specimens to natural history museums and doing whatever it took to turn ‘an honest penny’.⁷⁵ He finally prospered as a representative of the British South Africa Company, but was plagued by a sense of financial insecurity for much of his later life.⁷⁶

While the world of the commercial hunter-trader was closing in, imperial expansion meant that there were increasing numbers of colonial officials and military officers in Africa, many of whom viewed big game hunting as one of the central perquisites of their posting. Sport, in general, was ‘so central in the lives of British Army officers that it is in some respects difficult for us to fathom today’.⁷⁷ This obsession with sports encompassed a range of activities, but big game hunting ranked highly among them. In the 1880s, the India Office established a game reserve in British Somaliland for the use of officers posted to the Aden garrison, but it was dissolved in 1902 largely because it had been ‘shot out’ by the eager sportsmen of the garrison.⁷⁸ Officers and officials also

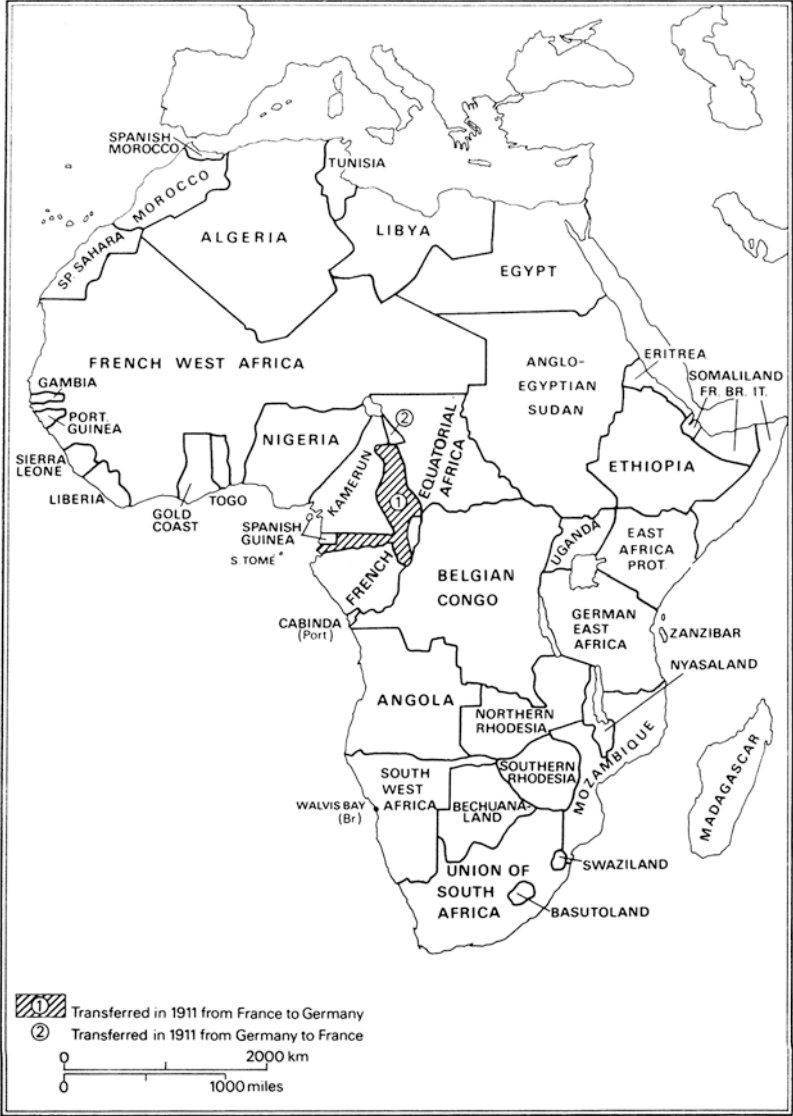
arranged lengthy hunting expeditions during their generous leaves, and those whose duties entailed travel often managed to combine business with pleasure. Ewart Grogan, famed for having traversed Africa from Cape to Cairo claimed 'that were it not for the big-game shooting, for no earthly consideration would I put my foot one mile south of the Pyramids'.⁷⁹

Hunting for any length of time, however, was a relatively expensive endeavour. The *Field* warned one correspondent that a three-month trip to Nyasaland or indeed anywhere in the 'interior' starting from Zanzibar would cost £200.⁸⁰ There were ways to reduce this figure, such as advertising for travelling companions who could share some of the costs, but the annual salary of a captain in the British Army at the time was only £273.⁸¹ It is small wonder that many hunters tried to offset the cost of a trip by selling some of their ivory, horns and specimens. Some colonial officers also hunted while on their official tours with an eye to profiting from the sale of ivory and other animal products. There was not, therefore, as clear a distinction as one might expect between officer-hunters and ivory hunters, particularly given that officials with several years' experience in Africa could generally communicate on at least a basic level in the lingua franca of the region in which they were posted, making it possible for them to manage their caravans and to have direct interactions with local communities. In later years, their official status could impact these encounters, but in the earlier days of conquest, hunters as a whole functioned as quasi-representatives of Britain. Moreover, several men who later entered colonial service spent some time in their youth attempting to hunt professionally, and a select few followed the opposite path, leaving salaried employment for the uncertainty and relative freedom of the elephant hunter. As a group, veteran British hunters had widely varying experiences in Africa, but so long as they were seen to be hunting for sport rather than profit, there was no clear dividing line between the subjectivity, knowledge or perspective of 'ivory' and 'officer' hunters.

The same cannot be said, though, of wealthy vacationing hunters, whose money—and more to the point, the services and luxuries it paid for—introduced a radically different dynamic into the practice and image of hunting in Africa. Upper-class men had been hunting in southern Africa as a leisure activity since at least the Duke of Edinburgh's visits in the 1860s, but by the early 1890s their numbers had grown enough that experienced hunters and hotels were advertising their ability to arrange hunting expeditions for those in search of 'good sport'.⁸² Unsurprisingly, the men and women who travelled to Africa only once

or twice in their life had very different experiences hunting there than earlier hunter-traders or even the officers and officials who only hunted occasionally while in Africa. Indeed, to a certain extent they were looking for a different experience. To begin with, vacationing hunters generally travelled in more comfort than prior generations of hunters, for whom having sugar for their tea was a luxury. The style of travel was still nothing like the conspicuous luxury seen during the 'champagne safaris' of the 1920s and '30s, when hunters could easily spend £1000 per person per month on a hunting expedition, but tinned foods, like kippered herrings, jellies and a variety of beverages, alcoholic and non-alcoholic, were counted among the basic supplies of most safaris.⁸³ At a more critical level, these men and women rarely spoke any African language, nor did they have many opportunities for sustained, complex encounters with African communities or even workers. Initially, some worked closely with African trackers or an African headman who managed their expedition, but by the 1910s, 'white hunters'—European men who managed all aspects of the expedition including the hunt—were increasingly deemed a necessary expense for the vacationing sportsman or woman. The result was that vacation hunters had substantially less contact with African people, with the exception of a few personal gunbearers and servants accustomed to serving white tourists, which ensured that they experienced hunting in Africa quite differently than veteran hunters.

Nearly all of sub-Saharan Africa had been conquered by 1905, with the notable exceptions of Ethiopia and Liberia, and the expansion of colonial control and infrastructure changed the experience of hunting for everyone, particularly in East Africa.⁸⁴ In 1890, it took 19 days at a 'very hard' march to travel the 196 miles from Mombasa to Kibwezi. By 1906, one could travel that same distance in 14.5 hours on the Uganda Railroad. Another 32 hours put one at Lake Victoria, 388 miles down the track.⁸⁵ Some vacationing hunters in East Africa also spoke of receiving newspapers or letters from home while on safari, while in other regions, it could take several months for correspondence to reach one. A 1908 article asserted that due to 'the institution of such facilities . . . East Africa is now beginning to challenge Egypt as the playground of the English leisured classes and the American millionaire'.⁸⁶ More critically, hunters no longer needed the permission of African leaders to hunt. Veteran hunters' continued need for local knowledge could still generate more negotiated encounters, but in more limited ways. The spread of colonial control and transportation also opened up the frontier to British women, and by the 1910s fashionable society couples like the



Map 1.2 Africa, 1914. Credit: Andrew Roberts, 'Introduction,' in A. Roberts (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa*. Vol. 7. (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 4. Reprinted with permission from Cambridge University Press.

soon-to-be Duke and Duchess of Sutherland could be found travelling with their entourages on luxury safaris throughout eastern Africa; a few sportswomen even travelled without white men.⁸⁷

The transition to elite, vacation hunting was accelerated by the 1900 International Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, Birds, and Fish in Africa. The convention itself lacked any actual authority over state legislation, but most French and British colonies enacted legislation in accordance with its provisions. These were by no means the first preservation laws on the continent. Many precolonial societies had rules or laws that protected certain game populations, and colonial settlers had been enacting preservation legislation since at least the early seventeenth century, when the Dutch sought to protect game at the Cape, though to limited effect.⁸⁸ The laws enacted after 1900, however, instituted a systematic and widespread form of preservation, even if enforcing them remained a problem for years. In the main, the new legislation introduced hunting licenses across much of British and French Africa. License fees differed from colony to colony and ranged from £1 to a staggering £50 according to whether one were an official, settler or visiting sportsman and the types of game and in what locations the license entitled one to shoot. The added expense of licensing brought commercial hunting, which had long been in decline, virtually to an end. For a few years, poaching became an openly acknowledged avocation for a number of Europeans, but that had become less feasible—and less accepted—by the 1910s. There were also a few elephant hunters who continued to ply their trade in border regions, Portuguese colonies and finally West Africa into the 1920s, but such men were rare.⁸⁹ Regulated sport hunting was now the dominant form of big game shooting.

Inconsistencies and gaps in the colonial record make it impossible to pinpoint with any certainty the exact number of hunters active in British Africa, but the records of licenses sold make two things clear: first, the number of hunters who purchased licenses increased exponentially between 1900 and 1913, and second, only a small minority of the settler population ever had hunting licenses. In 1903, the first year for which figures are available for the three most popular of Britain's major game hunting colonies as determined by sale of licenses, namely British East Africa, British Central Africa and Southern Rhodesia, 938 licenses were sold. Ten years later, over 1000 licenses were sold in British East Africa alone, and the three colonies together sold 3178 game licenses.⁹⁰ Significant as these numbers are, particularly when one looks at the amount of game each hunter reported killing, they represent only a tiny fraction

of the Anglo population of the British Empire. If every license sold in Southern Rhodesia in 1904, for instance, was purchased by a 'white or European' resident of the colony, only some 6 per cent of settlers would have had a hunting license, nor does this figure appear to be extreme when compared with license sales in other colonies.⁹¹ Moreover, while colonial settlers and Western Europeans constituted the vast majority of hunters, they were not the only ones purchasing licenses. The safari clientele included the occasional hunter from Eastern Europe, India or the Middle East, making licensed hunters a more heterogeneous group than popular accounts suggest.

The only group to be clearly excluded from hunting were Africans.⁹² In British East Africa, 'natives' could only hunt at the discretion of the District Collector, who also needed the Commissioner's approval.⁹³ Notably, several commissioners asserted that *subsistence* hunting was a right of Africans, but that was viewed very differently from sport hunting. Tellingly, Africans were prohibited from killing game while serving as trackers or gunbearers on safaris. There were a few protectorates that permitted Africans to buy licenses, but colonial wage levels and taxation assured that only a few could afford to do so.⁹⁴ Moreover, the enforcement of preservation laws was sharply discriminatory, with officials strongly condemning 'black poachers', while forgiving the transgressions of 'white hunters'.⁹⁵ While these restrictions had significant impacts on some communities, in terms of British perceptions of the sport, the most important change was the conclusive end such laws brought to the already taboo practice of having Africans hunt—as opposed to track—game for British hunters.

In terms of the white population, however, hunting remained more open than the raw numbers suggest. Most colonies offered inexpensive licenses for white residents, military officers and colonial officials, which meant that even though many settlers did not have hunting licences, one did not have to have great wealth to enjoy some hunting. Several colonies also offered less expensive options to tourists who only wished to hunt for a limited time or who were content with pursuing game birds and the more common antelopes. The culture and expense of hunting also varied from colony to colony—as did the conditions and the availability game. In Somaliland, hunters still travelled on horseback and used camels to transport their provisions. The region offered excellent lion hunting and was home to several antelope species, but it lacked the extensive game populations found further south. It was, thus, primarily popular amongst officials and officers posted to the region or those who could visit it fairly easily—and inexpensively—while on leave. By way

of contrast, British East Africa with its large game populations and safari culture was the clear favourite of high society. In 1911, the American hunter Richard Tjader explained that the 'height of the nowadays quite fashionable shooting season is October to February, when it is safe to say that dozens of hunting parties are out in the field'.⁹⁶ North-eastern Rhodesia and British Central Africa, on the other hand, were promoted as offering a less expensive and less artificial experience than in East Africa where 'the fitting out of safaris . . . [had] become the principal industry of the country', but they were only for the hunter willing 'to deny himself some of the comforts and glorious scenes of British East Africa'.⁹⁷ The association of central Africa with a rougher style of travel gave the hunting in those territories its own cachet that was distinct from the increasing glamour of the East African safari.

When one considers that the safari industry itself employed 'white hunters', who ranged in social status from cash-strapped aristocrats to middle-class settlers, it becomes clear that while hunting was restricted to a small minority, it was not an activity solely restricted to wealthy elites. Moreover, there continued to be veteran hunters active in Africa in the early twentieth century. By this date, many of these men were officers or officials who hunted during their leaves or on official tours, but a few sportsmen-ivory hunters and poachers continued to ply their trades. Their many years' experience and, typically speaking, their proficiency made these men the most respected hunters of the day, and as they managed their own expeditions and interacted far more with local populations and the men they hired than vacationing hunters did, they crafted very different narratives of hunting and presented a profoundly different image of the British hunters' standing in Africa.

This variation is key for appreciating the range of experiences and messages that were contained within the phrase African 'big game hunting'. There was a tendency in British popular culture to conflate to a certain extent the very different experiences one could have hunting game in Africa. People recognized that the lifestyle, opportunities and encounters hunters had in Africa shifted tremendously during the years of colonization, and veteran hunters were also recognized—and romanticized—for having a greater knowledge of natural history, bush craft and local languages and 'customs'. Any man who hunted big game in Africa could lay claim, however, to the hardy masculinity defined by the reported exploits of those frontier hunters. Despite all the changes brought about by colonization, big game hunting also continued to be imbued with the romance associated with the far-flung imperial frontier. This held true whether one was travelling on a luxury safari in British East Africa or

an expedition in one of the border regions where the changes wrought by colonization were less apparent. At the same time, hunters—far from being a homogenous collection of wealthy, white men—were actually a varied body of people who could have radically different experiences in Africa, which meant that the narratives they collectively generated did not always support the simplified images of Africa, Africans or colonial rule that were the mainstay of imperial rule.

African hunting in Britain

The diversity of meanings embedded within the phrase African big game hunting was compounded by the very different types of spaces in which hunting was being represented in Britain, and the range of people who consumed those depictions. The manner in which big game hunting merged adventure with imperial conquest, scientific discovery and the Victorian fascination with collecting and curiosities transported the sport from the pages of imperial fiction and sportsmen's magazines to the museums, exhibitions, sitting rooms and lecture halls of Britain. In each of these spaces, hunting took on a slightly different guise and reached different types of people. While scholars have noted the presence of trophies in these varying mediums, their cumulative impact has been underappreciated. It was this range of spaces, however, and the popularity of hunting across numerous social divides that made this sport an important vehicle for the dissemination of information and images about Africa, Africans and the role of Britain on that continent.

One of the most tangible ways by which hunting reached the metropole were the trophies that hunters shipped back literally by the ton. One might have expected the preservation laws enacted after 1900 to have stemmed the tide, but the growing tourist industry ensured that trophies continued to flow back to Britain at an alarming rate. The commissioner of Somaliland explained to the Colonial Secretary, that sportsmen, 'knowing that they may never come again, are possessed of a wish to carry away as many trophies as possible, and thus make good the fees which they have paid for a licence'.⁹⁸ Put in more qualitative terms, the Uganda Railway, which served Uganda, Kenya and parts of the Congo and German East Africa, carried over 100 tons of trophies and curios *per year* between 1909 and 1912, in addition to the ivory, rhinoceros horns and commercial skins and hides it transported.⁹⁹

Not all of these trophies were ever displayed, but the Victorian fashion for excessive ornamentation enabled hunters to exhibit an enormous number in their homes. An experienced hunter could have several

hundred trophies on display, with 20, 30, or even 50 heads staring down from a single wall, plus any skins shown in the room. Stairwells, grand halls and billiard rooms were popular sites to hang trophy heads, but some homes had dedicated trophy rooms, which often doubled as men's smoking rooms. Even when they were exhibited in people's homes, such arrangements could reach a wide range of people. Middle- and upper-class homes in the Victorian period functioned as semi-public spaces, and aside from the general patterns of entertaining and visiting, at least one natural history society took a trip to a local hunter's home in order to inspect his trophy collection.¹⁰⁰ Even when viewed as a semi-public space, however, trophies served to bring the frontier of Britain's African empire into the living spaces and domestic lives of Britons at home.

Taxidermy was also popularly regarded as an art in this era, and '[f]urniture made out of animals' was a popular commodity in the Edwardian years. The preeminent taxidermist of the time, Rowland Ward, was particularly proud of the two chairs he constructed from the bodies of a baby giraffe and baby elephant, respectively.¹⁰¹ These chairs may have been unique, but antelope-leg lamp stands, buffalo foot ash trays and elephant foot umbrella stands were common objects in middle-class homes, regardless of whether the occupants hunted or not. Small bones and claws were also used in jewelry designs, including belt buckles, shawl pins and brooches.¹⁰² One man had a mirror mounted between two elephant tusks for his new bride, with the inscription, 'may you feel more comfortable in front of these tusks than I did'.¹⁰³ To an extent, the creative work that transformed a body part into a marketable item of home decor domesticated these curios. As objects, they spoke to the taste and personality of their owner, but their appeal was a product of their connection to the Empire and the exotic world of African hunting.

By the early twentieth century, African trophies could also be found in a number of public and private venues, including the Imperial Institute, the Lord's cricket pavilion, gentleman's clubs, stores, hotels and exhibitions on themes ranging from the exploration of Africa to the display of sport in art.¹⁰⁴ One exhibition on 'Travel and Sports' in 1909 boasted 'over 1,000 head of big game'. Not all of these were from Africa, but one of the highlights was a display featuring a lion and a buffalo that 'were found' in Uganda 'engaged in mortal combat'.¹⁰⁵ By the 1950s, these same trophies were 'rather out of fashion'. Indeed, institutions were throwing away or burning them, because they had 'practically no financial value' anymore.¹⁰⁶ Yet at the beginning of the century, they were fashionable commodities, and the range of spaces in which they could

found is suggestive of the ways in which African hunting resonated with multiple aspects of metropolitan culture in this era.

The Victorian fascination with natural history also led to the expansion of several natural history museums in this era. The largest museums received upwards of half a million visitors annually, and the prime attractions were often the large mammals, which were almost always popular game animals.¹⁰⁷ The Royal Museum of Scotland reported in 1907 that their new elephant had given 'immense satisfaction. It has been inspected by several thousands of visitors.'¹⁰⁸ Indeed, the appeal of exotic mammals easily outstripped that of today's favourite, the dinosaur.¹⁰⁹ When the NHM acquired a new dinosaur skeleton and a gorilla mount in 1914, it was the gorilla that became 'the centre of attraction to a large number of visitors'.¹¹⁰ The connection to hunting was also explicit in this era. When the Prince of Wales, the future King Edward VII, visited the NHM in London, the press noted that he had seen the white rhinoceros shot by R. T. Coryndon as well as 'a wild camel shot by St G. Littledale in Central Asia'.¹¹¹ Part hunting trophies, part scientific specimens, museum displays reinforced the growing conception of hunting as a scientific as well as exciting enterprise that was worthy of respect and emulation.

This connection between trophies and specimens was underscored by the many private museums established by hunters. Selous opened a museum on the grounds of his home in Surrey, which boasted over 400 specimens, not including his collections of butterflies, birds' eggs and African curios, which were also on display.¹¹² The collection was open seven days a week and received enough visitors to have a publicized concession scheme: free to 'soldiers, sailors, working men' and their families, and six pence for everyone else.¹¹³ Selous had donated or sold more trophies than he kept, however, and his collection paled in comparison to that amassed by Major P. H. G. Powell-Cotton in Birchington, Kent in 1896. A 1920 guidebook to his museum informed visitors that the Major's five hunting expeditions in India and six in Africa had 'resulted in the collection of about 2000 Zoological specimens' all shot by Powell-Cotton, 'with one or two exceptions, which fell to Mrs Powell-Cotton's rifle'.¹¹⁴ Only about a quarter of these were mounted for display in the museum, but the rest were preserved for research purposes and continue to be used as such today.

While trophies embodied the African landscape and the adventures one could find there, narratives supplied the action and the interpretive framework. A number of scholars have pointed to the role of hunting as a trope in imperial adventure novels, but the prevalence of African

hunting travelogues and the value attached to these accounts has received far less attention.¹¹⁵ Between 1870 and 1914, hundreds of travelogues were published that contained accounts of hunting in Africa, and roughly half of those devoted significant attention to the author's pursuit of big game.¹¹⁶ Most of these travelogues ran to 400 plus pages, with some, particularly in the 1880s, reaching 800 or more. In addition, accounts of hunting could routinely be found in newspapers and magazines. Many of these articles were serialized, spanning up to eight issues. While African hunting stories never dominated literature or the press, they were a fixture of the time. Even the popular sporting press, the *Field*, admitted in 1907 that the 'death struggles' of Africa's big game had been 'described over and over again *ad nauseum*'. Yet if it seemed to some that there was 'no end' to the books on 'mighty hunting' in Africa, there was also 'no end to the interest in them'.¹¹⁷

Perhaps more importantly, the range of publications that recounted hunters' activities in Africa in this era suggests that interest in the subject was not limited to any one class, gender, or political orientation. Papers ranging from the radical *Fortnightly Review* to the populist *Bystander* (which later merged with *Tattler*), carried pieces by or about game hunters, as did the sensationalist *Pall Mall Gazette*, the liberal *Daily News*, and the more conservative *Times*. The *Daily Mail*, which contemporaries critiqued for 'pandering' to the working class, also carried articles on hunters, as did the half-penny *Evening News*.¹¹⁸ Articles about African big game hunters could also be found in provincial papers, and while scholars have primarily regarded big game shooting as a hypermasculine pursuit, men were not the sole audience for such narratives. Several magazines aimed specifically at women, including the *Gentlewoman* and *Home Work*, also published big game hunting accounts, as did a number of magazines that were aimed at both sexes, such as *Outlook* and *Pearson's*.¹¹⁹ It should also be noted that even papers written specifically for 'the Gentleman' were read by a wider circle. The *Field*, for instance, contained women's clothing advertisements and personal ads posted by both women and servants.

Undoubtedly hunting narratives and trophies were broadly available in the metropole, but how were they received? This is a notoriously difficult question to answer, but the evidence suggests that these accounts and displays were viewed as interesting and informative by a wide range of people. The fact that many sportsmen and women, ivory hunters and colonial officials alike traced their initial interest in Africa to the hunting books they had read as children illustrates the avidity with which hunting texts were read by some in this era.¹²⁰ But what about the majority

who never travelled to Africa themselves? The fashion for furniture made from animals and the popularity of African Mammalia among museum visitors in this era are suggestive of a widespread cultural interest in exotic animals that was unencumbered by any strong sentimentality regarding those animals' deaths. More specifically, the inclusion of hunting articles in a range of national newspapers and magazines demonstrates that publishers believed the narratives had a general appeal, and this conclusion is supported by the favourable reviews of hunters' books provided by critics and the reprinting of several of those books, some of which went into multiple editions. Finally, well-known hunters could augment their incomes by going on the lecture circuit; some were even featured as celebrities at events and meetings.¹²¹ A charity in Northumberland organized a lecture by Powell-Cotton on his 'recent remarkable journey through East Equatorial Africa' as a fundraiser.¹²²

A very different indication of the general appreciation of hunting can be taken from the inability of critiques of the sport to gain any traction at this time. There were a few strident opponents who argued that 'blood-sports' were 'a relic of savagery,' and that 'belated Nimrods who find a pleasure in killing' were anachronisms that had no place in a 'civilised community', but this viewpoint was unpopular even among humanitarians.¹²³ The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals repeatedly declined to campaign against fox hunting and raised no objections to big game hunting at the time.¹²⁴ A growing critique was being made against 'idlers . . . who go abroad to kill something in order to kill time', but this cannot be confused with a critique of hunting for pleasure.¹²⁵ It is no coincidence that this criticism was raised in a review of an American collection of hunting narratives. Contemporaries believed that shooting an animal in order to obtain a trophy was a good purpose, so long as one observed the proper method, that is, carefully stalking and shooting the animal. Critiques of those who killed too many animals were often coded ways of dismissing hunters of other classes, races or nationalities, and ultimately served to reinforce popular ideas about why hunting was a worthwhile and even commendable activity.

When all was said and done, however, hunting narratives were likely well received by the average person because the sport was viewed as an exciting activity that took place in a romantic and exotic locale. In the early 1900s, the first cinemas were opening in Britain, and documentaries of travel or foreign landscapes were noted for generating a cross-class appeal. More to the point, hunting films quickly proved to be among those travel subjects that could draw a large audience.¹²⁶ The

first significant African nature documentary was created in 1908 by the renowned British photographer Cherry Kearton, who went on safari with Theodore Roosevelt with the intent of enabling stay-at-home viewers to see African wildlife as one who travelled there would.¹²⁷ The documentary was revolutionary and popular, but it did not have the same appeal that a Hollywood version of Roosevelt's expedition did.¹²⁸ Filmed in California, the fictional safari offered no pretence of authenticity, opting instead for exciting lion hunts and exotic African dances, and was, consequently, far more popular than the sedate film of an actual safari.¹²⁹ Hunters' work for science may have added to the value of the sport, but it was the danger and images of the 'primitive' Interior that appealed to audiences.

Featured in everything from elite homes to large lecture halls, and nicely bound leather volumes to half-penny presses, hunting accounts and images were accessible by a wide spectrum of British society at the turn of the century. Their inclusion in so many different venues—many of which were profit-making enterprises that were necessarily attuned to popular demand—is suggestive both of their popularity and of the ways in which African big game hunting was integrated into multiple aspects of British culture in this period. Hunting spoke to the widespread desire for images of imperial conquest, hardy masculinity, romantic adventure and British enterprise in colonial lands. Each of these notions contributed to the public interest in and understanding of hunting, but underlying them all was a particular vision of *the* African frontier and wilderness that hunters helped naturalize and later fix. By the late nineteenth century, hunters and their narratives were dominating public knowledge and perceptions of Africa, but that image could never be the static, idealized one Victorians and Edwardians desired. The elite safaris of the twentieth century came closest to this glorified vision, but the most respected hunters were those who had the knowledge and experience needed to direct their own hunting parties. Yet, these men's continued reliance on the participation and input of African hunters, communities and carriers or camel men made the sport a site of contestation and intersection and ensured that it ultimately produced more complex and variegated images of colonial control than popularly supposed.

2

'The Bitter Thralldom of Dependence': Negotiating the Hunt

Hunters liked to refer to Africa as a land of 'trackless wilds', 'peopled only by the whispering memories of primitive man', but their publications belied these claims at every turn.¹ Hunting expeditions required numerous men's cooperation to carry out, which meant that big game hunters, particularly in the nineteenth century, had to build working relationships with African people. They had to negotiate with rulers for access to the land and its animal resources and find men willing to guide them, to serve as porters and to manage their camps. At times, hunters travelled with whole communities or established their base camps alongside a village. This physical proximity reflected hunters' broader reliance on local communities for labour, resources and knowledge and facilitated the many exchanges that were critical to the practice of big game shooting in this period.

As F. L. James explained in 1884, this was what made hunting different from exploration. An explorer, he stated, could push through an area, 'trusting to luck and tact to overcome the many inevitable obstacles that will beset his path'. A hunter, however, needed to be 'pretty free to move where he likes from the camp, and cannot expect to meet with much success with the game if he is constantly on the look-out for enemies in the people among whom he is travelling'. A hunter also needed, he said, to be able to leave his camp for several days and feel that 'his goods and chattels . . . and his servants and followers are tolerably safe from a hostile attack'. James thought, however, that this should not be too difficult, as

an Englishman, provided he treats the natives well and pays proper respect to their prejudices, can go almost anywhere. He must, above all, pay particular deference to the chiefs, and let them see that he regards them as important personages, as in their own country they undoubtedly are; at the same time letting them see that he is a person of consequence himself, and expects to be treated accordingly.²

In other regions, it was not hunters' fear of attack—especially as colonial control expanded—but their need for guides and the cooperation of local inhabitants that made them 'pay . . . deference to' African rulers and communities, but the result was the same. Hunters' fundamental dependence on African hunters and communities ensured that their relations with African people lay at the heart of their experiences in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and produced interactions that were far more reciprocal and contested than popular memory or the historical scholarship on hunting has allowed.

The violence that big game hunters symbolized and perpetrated can make these cooperative elements of hunting expeditions seem trivial. Enthusiasts routinely promoted big game shooting for its ability to hone men's martial abilities, while settlers, officers and game rangers alike portrayed the pursuit of African people as an analogous sport.³ In 1887, Andrew Anderson wrote that 'Bushmen' still lived in Natal in the 1860s, 'in all their pristine glory. . . . Where are they now? Much like the game, exterminated by the rifle.' The San, he said, had routinely raided settlers' cattle and 'became such a pest that it was necessary to hunt them down. Two forces . . . were sent out . . . and they got on their spoor.' When 'the two parties . . . met', the soldiers killed the women as well as the men 'as their sex could not be distinguished in the bush'.⁴ Thirty-five years later, one of the more prominent game rangers of British East Africa described 'man-hunting . . . [as] an agreeable change from sport of orthodox kinds', and 'the whip' was a prominent sign of colonial discipline on East African safaris.⁵ Moreover, hunters did not have to engage in violence themselves for it to underlie their relationships in Africa. The casualties inflicted by colonial military expeditions and some travellers, including sportsmen, along with hunters' evident firepower circumscribed the options of those they encountered and ensured that hunters were almost always treated as 'men of consequence' whatever their status or reputation in colonial or British society.

Yet, hunters' dependence also ensured that their relations with Africans in the nineteenth century—and in some regions well into the twentieth century—were determined by negotiation as well as by violence or the threat thereof. Scholars have long been aware that 'the skill, endurance, and resourcefulness' of African guides, interpreters, headmen and porters were 'essential to the success' of European expeditions, but we still know comparatively little about how those men 'manipulate[d] their roles as guides and porters in order to maximize their employment and lifestyle opportunities'.⁶ There is a similar lack of literature on how African monarchs, chiefs and communities interacted with and

influenced the course of hunting expeditions or how these varied efforts impacted the culture of hunting and the ideas about colonial encounters propagated through hunters' many texts. As a result, British hunting has continued to be viewed through an imperial lens. While scholars have critiqued the practice on many levels, they have continued to analyze it in terms that are strikingly similar to how it was understood and celebrated by Britons at the time: namely, as a site of European pleasure and domination. Exploring the strategies African people used to leverage hunters' dependence on their cooperation, knowledge and labour re-centres the active role Africans played in defining the terms of their participation in what was fast becoming a cornerstone of colonial culture. It also suggests that from a scholarly point of view, big game hunting in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century should be seen as a 'quintessential symbol and activity of imperialism'⁷ not because it offered a clear vision of colonial dominance over nature, but because hunters' access to land and labour was so contested.

Palavers: The politics of hunting

In 1890, J. A. Nicholls reported in the *Field* that an African missionary had quite rightly told him and his hunting partner that they needed the permission of 'Moremi'—Moremi II, the paramount chief of the Batawana—to hunt in part of the Okavanga Delta, in present-day Botswana. Moremi, as Nicholls explained to his readers, commanded a cavalry unit of 250 men armed with 'excellent Martini-Henry rifles', making him fully capable of removing trespassers who did not seek his permission—or follow his mandates. All hunters and traders needed to report to him, and Nicholls found him to be very hospitable. Moremi told them where elephants had last been spotted and sent them out with one of his 'chief men, and an excellent hunter', but only allowed them to shoot one elephant each. Nicholls did not mention whether Moremi also required any tribute before granting their request, but at the conclusion of their hunt, they gave him a 'fine double Express rifle by Gibbs, of Bristol'.⁸

What Nicholls also did not say, and likely did not know, is that Moremi had primarily armed his cavalry through the sale of ivory and other animal resources and owed much of his power and, indeed, the existence of his state to the pursuit of elephants. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a drought had increased competition for food in southern Africa and instigated a period of warfare and mass migrations known as the *Mfecane*. The best known result of these wars was the rise of the Zulu, but it also led to the formation of multiple new polities and the dissolution

or conquest of others, including the Tswana chieftaincies, of which the Batawana was one. For several decades, the Tswana chiefs lived in exile, but by the 1830s the four paramount chiefs, also known as *dikgosikgolo*, began rebuilding their chieftaincies, and the European demand for ivory that rose so precipitously in the early nineteenth century was an essential piece of that process. Beginning in the 1840s, the paramount chiefs sought to dominate the ivory trade and used the proceeds to purchase firearms, which enabled them to consolidate and eventually expand their dominance beyond their former boundaries.⁹

European hunters' desire to pursue game for sport and profit presented not only a threat to these politically important ivory supplies—as well as other resources like horns, skins, and feathers—but also an alternate, potentially subversive route for the 'diffusion' of firearms and high-status commodities in the region, which could undermine rulers' internal as well as external power.¹⁰ For example, the 'war supplies' that Moshipandeka, the Kwanyama king further west near what is today the Angolan/Namibian border, bought with ivory in the 1870s helped him offset European expansionary aims and 'retain a firm grip on Kwanyama princes, headmen and the elders of the matrilineal clans'. Consequently, he jealously guarded 'his ivory hunting franchise', and all European traders had to meet and trade with him; but the system was not 'water-tight'. Moshipandeka's own son augmented the firearms his father enabled him to purchase with additional ones acquired through clandestine 'transactions with European traders'.¹¹ Internal factions pushing for either the expulsion of white traders and hunters or violent retaliations for their effronteries further complicated the picture for many rulers.

Further north, in East and Central Africa, power was more fragmented, and the ivory trade was dominated by Swahili Arab traders from the coast. For many communities, however, hunting was no less important a source of authority, social cohesion, and imported goods, which could include firearms.¹² Together, these varied implications of hunting made control over animal resources and encounters with European hunters significant components of chiefly power, economic security and ultimately, state and community survival in late nineteenth-century southern and central Africa.

The opportunities and dangers embodied by hunters were also amplified by the potential for these sportsmen and ivory traders to function as unofficial imperial liaisons; the knowledge and networks they collectively generated facilitated the extension of British influence, but hunters could also serve as vectors for African efforts to shape and push back against that process. African kings, chiefs and the states they governed

represented powerful hurdles to the sport and profit Western men hoped to find in the 'Interior', and the lack of control British hunters experienced and their willingness to portray that in their texts became critical components of hunting culture. The various tactics African rulers used to control hunters' movements also offer a glimpse into the turbulent and multifaceted politics that shaped these encounters and the stakes at risk for rulers and states.

Many of the strategies that monarchs, chiefs and powerful leaders used to manage and mitigate the impact of British hunters were fairly straightforward. Like Moremi and Moshipandeka, those who had the power and resources to do so required all hunters to come directly to their courts and negotiate for access to their hunting grounds. In keeping with their dignity, monarchs could make newcomers wait for weeks before granting an audience. Hunters chafed at what they saw as needless delays, which could, of course, set back their trip until a less optimal hunting season. In addition to asserting their power, though, sovereigns and communities were also assessing hunters' motives and character. Andrew Anderson was one of the early sportsmen who, inspired by explorers, carefully mapped the lands he passed through hoping to add to British knowledge of south central Africa. This was not something mid-century hunter-traders had done, however, and it raised the suspicion of a Batlhaping *kgosi*, named 'Janze'—or Jantjie—who feared Anderson might be a Boer spy. After consulting with his headmen, Jantjie ordered Anderson to leave immediately, under an armed escort, which took Anderson out of the country and left him on the open veldt with no path or guide. Two years later, when Anderson was more well-known, he again met Jantjie, who apologized for having 'turned [him] away'.¹³ An introduction from a veteran hunter or missionary could help avoid such difficulties, and in the nineteenth century, some travellers arrived with letters in hand in an effort to ensure their welcome with prominent chiefs and kings.¹⁴

Communities did not need to be powerful states, though, to influence the conduct and success of hunting expeditions, because hunters needed more than access; they needed help finding food, water and the game they sought. Hunters often secured this aide during their initial meeting with the respective king, chief or headmen of a territory. Depending on the region they were in, hunters referred to this type of meeting by the Zulu word *indaba* or the Swahili word *shauri*, but they also called them palavers, a term that technically meant a debate or discussion, but which colloquially signalled that the process was needlessly long; it was a hassle. According to the professional ivory hunter Arthur Neumann, some hunters developed 'quite a passion for *shauri*-making', but most

found it 'a bore'.¹⁵ Either way, the very inability of hunters to avoid engaging in *mashauri* demonstrates the lack of control they had over the terms of their encounters for much of the nineteenth century and, in some areas, into the early twentieth century.¹⁶ To be sure, hunters who were in a position to do so could refuse to negotiate and take what they wanted by virtue of their often superior firepower, but that was only possible if they did not need local guides, a point that frequently guaranteed even the smallest communities some leverage over hunters.

Prior to conquest, one of the central issues of negotiation was the amount of tribute hunters would pay to hunt in a territory or to camp if they were passing through. The expected tribute ranged in value according to the power and standing of the ruler or polity in question and the hunting that was permitted or expected. One hunter, writing under the name 'Africanus', told his readers that Lobengula, the king of the Ndebele, 'demands a "salted" horse, to be selected by himself' in exchange for permission to hunt in his prime hunting grounds.¹⁷ 'Salted' horses were ones that had acquired immunity to sleeping sickness, and they cost between £50 and £100, which was more than a first class passage from London to Natal.¹⁸ In 1885, another hunter said that a chief in the Congo required that one tusk from every elephant shot in his territory be turned over to him.¹⁹ Less powerful and subordinate chiefs, on the other hand, might receive some cloth and wire, a few blankets, or nothing at all. The professional ivory hunter Arthur Neumann claimed that during his 'negotiations' with one community in East Africa in the late 1890s, he bluntly stated that tribute was 'not the white man's custom . . . [and] no demands could I entertain'. When he said he would leave if they wished and go to another area with elephants and 'natives anxious that I should go and shoot' them, the elders quickly agreed to his terms.²⁰

Such high-handed techniques could only work, however, if the chief or community needed what the sportsman could provide, such as large quantities of meat, bone and sinew, more than the sportsman needed or wanted their assistance or cooperation. When Richard Frewen, a wealthy, amateur explorer travelling with several hunters, grew annoyed with a chief, 'sat on his Lion-skin & would not give all the presents he wanted of me', he found his way blocked. The chief—probably Hwange, a subordinate chief to Lobengula—would not supply a boat to go forward or carriers to go back, leaving Frewen stuck. After letting him stew for a week, the chief said he would give Frewen 'the road & get me carriers, but I must give him a blanket & powder to make us good friends'. Unsurprisingly, Frewen had numerous problems with those carriers as he 'retreated'.²¹ In a subsequent episode, Frewen reportedly also angered

Lobengula, who 'ordered him to leave the country at once' and even held up the other European hunters and traders as 'hostages against Frewen's good behaviour'.²²

Strong states also limited the areas in which a hunter could pursue game and the quantity or types of animals he could kill. Those who flouted these dictates were often fined or exiled from a territory, but a few exceptionally flagrant offenders were executed. Shortly after becoming chief, Moremi killed a Boer ivory hunter who ignored Moremi's summons after twice slaughtering an entire herd of elephants and smuggling the ivory out of the country without paying for it.²³ In a very different vein, Quentin Grogan, himself a known poacher, recorded that an Italian poacher operating in East Africa around 1910 was stabbed in the skirmish that resulted when he commandeered a chief's cows for their milk. Grogan, who thought force the best policy for colonial rule, believed that the chief was 'perfectly entitled' to resist, and more remarkably, no action seems to have been taken by the colonial government.²⁴ By that date, any challenge to a white man's authority was a serious offence, and this poacher must already have been classed among those Europeans whose behaviour undermined the racial order for the state to have taken no notice of his death. Reprisals, though, were rare. A more common way that chiefs limited hunters' movements and bag was by offering them or requiring them to use the services of select guides, who could police the outcome of hunts. 'Africanus' said that most chiefs supplied 'a couple of guides, and these fellows have a habit of concealing the best localities for game whenever it is possible to do so', and others complained about guides who led them in circles or would try and 'slip away . . . leaving one in doubt as to what course to take'.²⁵

Guides were also in a prime position to impact hunters' knowledge and impressions of a region, and by extension potentially extend a chief's authority, as is suggested by Henry Bailey's account, which provides one of the only published examples of the role African women could play in British hunters' caravans. Bailey was a sportsman and agent of the International African Association in the Congo, who, in 1884, was sent to establish a station in the region north of Boma, during which time he enjoyed a fair amount of hunting. Along his journey, Bailey negotiated with a ruler he called 'Prince Tarti', and at the conclusion of their first palaver, Bailey claimed, Tarti insisted that Bailey take his daughter, 'Princess Arunda', as his wife. Bailey initially refused, as he did 'not wish to be saddled with such a useless appendage', but Tarti pressed him, saying she would facilitate his 'progress through the country'. Bailey thought the 'crafty old fellow' only wanted a 'good present', but knew it would be

ill-advised to decline the 'proffered alliance'. He finally agreed and gave Tarti a glass of brandy and his new wife a 'bright piece of cloth, which she accepted with a broad grin'. Despite some initial difficulties—Arunda came with five attendants whose upkeep Bailey refused to pay—Bailey discovered the pact was much to his advantage as Arunda proved a valuable liaison. In their travels, she 'helped in palavers, doing the whole talking herself, laying down the law in the villages we stopped in or passed through, and getting goats, fowls, and ducks for our consumption'.²⁶ What type of relationship the two had is unclear. Bailey barely referenced her in his travelogue and did not include a single drawing or photograph of her in his unpublished sketchbook, even though he included images of other Congolese women.²⁷ Yet, according to his narrative, she managed and controlled his interactions in the region. Whatever Tarti's intentions were in arranging for Bailey to take Arunda with him, her influential role likely sent a powerful signal about her family's position in relation to the emerging Congo Free State and clearly put her in a position to mediate Bailey's perception and knowledge of the region.

There is no reason to think that Arunda's influence was unique, either. Guides, interpreters, and other intermediaries shaped colonial knowledge. Hunters' need for guides and help finding game thus offered African leaders and communities another avenue through which they could shape not only the success of a hunting expedition but also the colonial knowledge produced through it. In fact, the popularity of hunting and the manly qualities associated with it meant that simply being involved with hunting and the ivory trade could elevate a polity or people within the colonial imagination. P. H. G. Powell-Cotton described the Didinga of what is now a southern district in the South Sudan as a 'small hill tribe . . . whose name has been made so familiar by the native ivory trader, that it has been given, on the map, to a large extent of country over which they have no sort of claim'.²⁸

Rulers and communities also strove to impress upon hunters the extent of their personal power and that of their respective societies in more direct ways. When paramount chiefs and monarchs made hunters wait at their capitals, for instance, they often treated them to military spectacles and demonstrations of their power—including, for instance, Moremi's display of his cavalry to Nicholls or Lobengula's tendency to greet travellers new to Matabeleland while surrounded by a large entourage and deferential subjects.²⁹ During hunters' stay in the capital, kings and powerful chiefs also frequently supplied their food and allocated grazing land for their livestock, signs of hospitality that further signalled their wealth and status. Others, like Khama, another Tswana paramount

chief, provided demonstrations of their command of European etiquette and civility. All of these strategies contributed to the colonial image of these states.

To a certain extent, such tactics also influenced the course of imperial expansion, but there were other, more dominant factors at work. Lobengula, for instance, became virtually a household name, due to his prominence in the travelogues of several of the more famous hunters and travellers of the day. However, the expansionary aims of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) combined with mineral resources in Lobengula's territories sealed his fate; 'Matabeleland' was conquered at the end of 1893, and Lobengula died on the run in early 1894. Within another decade, nearly all of Africa had been conquered, but some chieftaincies fared better than Lobengula, including the Tswana paramount chiefs, who retained some authority under the system of indirect rule established in what became the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In terms of hunting, it is interesting to note that the Batawana, under Moremi II's grandson, Moremi III, lobbied successfully in the 1950s for the creation of the Moremi Game Reserve, which in 2008, was declared the 'best game reserve in Africa' by the African Tourism and Travel Board.³⁰

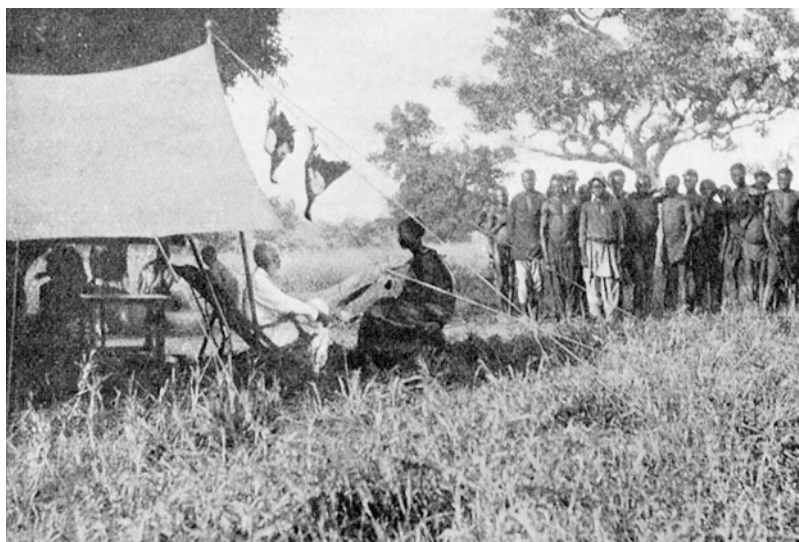
The Lozi, whom the British knew as the Barotse, offer a third example. They were among the more influential 'native' chiefs in the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia, but the Lozi had only regained their territory from the Kololo—the same group who had once ousted the Tswana—a few years before a prominent hunter-trader named George Westbeech arrived at the Zambezi River in 1871. The then leader, Sepopa, or Sipopa, kept Westbeech as an honored 'guest' for approximately 18 months, but when Sipopa finally released Westbeech, he gifted him with large quantities of ivory, which immediately increased British sportsmen's interest in the region.³¹ In the ensuing years, the Lozi kings, particularly Lewanika, Sipopa's nephew who succeeded him after an intense power struggle, built upon their reputation with the British as a major power and potential ally within the region. After the BSAC encompassed Barotseland under their protectorate, Lewanika retained considerable authority within his territory and continued to assert his right to the animal resources within his territories. When the BSAC wrote new game legislation for Barotseland in 1904, Lewanika stipulated to the British commissioner, the former professional hunter, R. T. Coryndon, that he should receive half of the 'proceeds of all [hunting] licenses' issued to non-residents as well as those derived from the sale of the £50 administrator's licenses.³² Lewanika was also one of the few African kings to travel to Britain and meet with a British monarch. Many factors played into his position and that of the Lozi state, but among them was the

reputation the Lozi had developed through their early interactions with British travellers and hunters. To be sure, they were a dominant polity on the ground at the time, but their status in the colonial state owed far more to their ascendancy in the imperial 'geographical imagination'.³³

With colonial conquest, African rulers and societies lost the ability to direct the flow of resources and information by levying tribute, requiring hunters to stay at their capitals or stipulating how many animals a hunter could kill or where he could do so. By the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, sportsmen gained the right to hunt by purchasing a hunting license from a district official, a right denied to many Africans. Many sportsmen and women who were not on pre-arranged safaris still met with chiefs, but what had once been a site of intense negotiation and uncertainty, had become an encounter that reinforced the hierarchy between colonizer and colonized on many levels. In a particularly clear example, W. J. Ansorge described for his readers the type of interaction they could anticipate having with resident chiefs should they travel in Africa themselves.

A common incident of caravan life is the friendly chief's call. He is usually accompanied by a crowd of followers. Conversation is naturally rather limited; but now and then it may prove very interesting as on the occasion depicted. This chief . . . had met Casati, Emin Pasha and other distinguished travellers; and he remembered when Emin Pasha's steamers plied on the lake.³⁴

The *shauri* had become a social call, and Ansorge's expectation that the only thing of interest African chiefs might have to impart were tales of their encounters with other Europeans is also indicative of the more limited cultural exchange that colonial control had made possible. Even in the twentieth century, however, only a few hunters' meetings were as formulaic as the one Ansorge presented, and the picture Ansorge included with his description even hints at such to the post-colonial reader. Contemporary readers would be struck by Ansorge's gleaming white suit, which is offset by the dark wrap of the chief sitting opposite him, in shadow, with his 'followers', who were wearing a range of clothing, clustered off to the side. The contrast between white and dark, modern and primitive, was clearly displayed for the Edwardian reader, but Ansorge's awkward attempt to sit upright in a relaxed camp chair combined with a slight slope in the ground that resulted in the 'friendly chief' looking down at him ever so slightly suggests the continued potential of these meetings to be read and experienced quite differently by their African and British participants. Moreover, hunters in need of



A. FRIENDLY CHIEF PAYS A CALL.

Figure 2.1 W. J. Ansorge meets with a 'friendly chief' near Lake Albert in the 1890s. [Credit: William John Ansorge, *Under the African Sun: A Description of the Native Races in Uganda, Sporting Adventures and Other Experiences* (London: W. Heinemann, 1899), 31.]

local guides or knowledge about local game populations also found that success still hinged on their recognizing and respecting the limits of their power and forging working relations with local communities.

Villagers harvest the hunt

The ability of monarchs, chiefs and other powerful figures to extract tribute and limit or control hunters' movements was broadly similar to the control precolonial leaders exerted over other British travellers, such as traders and concession seekers and to a certain extent missionaries. Hunting, however, also offered distinctive intersections with African communities and points of control at the village or local level. In game-rich territories, wild animals functioned as an important source of protein and revenue while also representing a threat to crops, livestock and people, and as such, imperial hunting could directly impact people's daily lives and security. At the same time, British hunters' need for localized knowledge of game populations and the ability of individuals to

covertly deter many types of game operated as critical points of leverage that mitigated the advantages British hunters had due to their technological and, later, political dominance. Hunters could requisition labour but not knowledge, and while conquest gave them the right to access African lands as they pleased, it was far more difficult to prevent people from disturbing game. Hunters' dependence on local cooperation and information enabled even relatively small villages and individuals to direct hunters' sport toward more mutual ends and to do so after colonization had shut down other avenues of control. Moreover, hunters' awareness of this fact impacted the image of colonial control emerging out of their texts.

In areas where game posed a particular threat and the villagers were unable to kill it or would have faced grave danger to do so, British hunters served as a potential solution, and their hunting became mutually beneficial. J. A. Nicholls said that when he killed one especially aggressive crocodile in what is today northern Botswana, the people 'in the vicinity held great rejoicing late into the night' as the crocodile had been credited with killing oxen, goats and a young child.³⁵ Similarly, while hunting and collecting in Somaliland, R. E. Drake-Brockman wrote in a letter to the Natural History Museum that he was tending a child who had been attacked the night before by a hyena.³⁶ Drake-Brockman's efforts to help the child and his desire to pursue the resident felid almost certainly complemented the goals of the community, some of whom likely assisted him in his endeavours. This was certainly the case when in the early 1890s, a distant village sent a message to E. J. Glave, who was hunting for ivory at the time, saying there were elephants among their crops and that they wished for Glave to come and kill them.³⁷

From the perspective of imperial culture, of course, such actions were seen not as moments of cooperation but as proving the superior manhood of the British and the benevolent protection they offered to colonized subjects. F. Vaughan Kirby claimed, for example, that despite everyone in one village knowing where the lair of a man-eating lioness was, 'they could not muster a hunting-party to go out and give her battle!' Instead, they asked him to accept the quest, which he described himself as manfully accomplishing in short order.³⁸ The image of white hunters saving defenceless African villagers from man-eating lions had tremendous appeal for much of the twentieth century.³⁹ What was conveniently forgotten, of course, was that it was the villagers who provided the necessary intelligence on the movements and locations of those animals. In some cases they also tracked the animal for the white hunter and then stood by as he shot it with a gun that imperial laws and

economics prohibited the average colonial subject from possessing. The hunt for man-eaters was one way that game hunting, imperial culture and colonial legislation reinforced each other by setting the stage for this potent display of white male masculinity and dominance over colonized people and animals. Yet, behind this constructed scene were African actors who were directing the hunter's movements in order to rid themselves of a direct threat, making hunting not only a site of imperial power-making in British culture but also a point of symbiotic relations on the ground.

British hunters' need for localized knowledge of the terrain and game movements also gave communities some ability to manage hunters' interactions, and to a certain extent their movements. Enthusiastic reports, backed by recent spoor, would encourage a hunter to stop in an area or even take a detour, while reports of no game coupled with efforts to ensure the hunter's party saw none could induce him or her to move on quickly. Hunters' need for local trackers also provided communities with an effective bargaining chip. Parker Gillmore, a sportsman-traveller, described for his readers how a dispute over the price of milk destroyed his chance of hunting in one district of southern Africa in the 1880s. A few days after Gillmore arrived at a particular village, the village head, whom he referred to as 'Madame Bareekey', raised the price of milk fourfold. Gillmore thought the new price was outrageous and refused to buy any more milk, to which Bareekey responded by forbidding any of her people from locating or tracking game for him. A volley of negotiations ensued, but the two parties failed to come to terms, despite the fact that in the meantime he agreed to help defend the village if a Boer raiding party rumoured to be in the area attacked it. Bareekey and Gillmore remained at a stalemate, though, over the question of milk, and so Gillmore abandoned his hope of hunting in the district and left.⁴⁰ This was probably not the outcome Bareekey had hoped to achieve, but Gillmore's need for guides gave her some control over his presence and his economic impact in the area; had she deemed it more desirable for him to stay and hunt, she could have negotiated the price of milk.

The rise of the safari industry in the 1900s and vacationing hunters' practice of bringing everything they could need or want with them as well as hiring professional white hunters and experienced trackers and guides, negated the very possibility of such tactics. There were, however, still veteran hunters and less well-to-do sportsmen who depended on both trade with villages and vernacular knowledge of the land and its resources. The military officer and elephant hunter C. H. Stigand

complained in his 1911 diary that he had spent a whole day chasing a 'mythical elephant . . . The whole story apparently fabricated [by the Sudanese villagers] to lead me away from the direction in which they had driven off their cattle.' The reason for the deception, Stigand said, was that knowing he was an official, they thought he had come to confiscate their livestock and so used his desire for ivory to lure him away.⁴¹ In a very different example, the poacher Quentin Grogan claimed that villages generally chose to help him, because they preferred being 'inundated with meat . . . to being inundated with Belgian askaris'.⁴² They even alerted him to the approach of official patrols, enabling him to make his escape.⁴³ Grogan's status as a poacher gave those villagers significantly more power over him than they would have had over a law-abiding white hunter. They could have chosen to direct the patrol to his camp, but they employed their knowledge to assist the party whose presence they considered preferable.

A community's desire for meat, however, became a bargaining chip in favour of the hunter. Considering that a large antelope might weigh 500 to 600 pounds and the average white rhinoceros can exceed three and a half tons, the trophies hunters were taking back to Britain represented literally tens of thousands of pounds of meat, sinew and bone that could benefit expedition workers and near-by communities. British hunters, in turn, needed this demand to justify their large bags. The code of ethics that governed game hunting decreed that a sportsman should not shoot an animal for a trophy if the rest of the carcass would simply rot, unused; to do so was considered repellent and, in the words of the day, marked a hunter as a butcher, not a sportsman. If hunters had only killed what they and their employees could eat, their sport in Africa would have been significantly curtailed. Colonial policies—including the demand for labour and the growth of cities, which drew able-bodied men away from villages—intensified many communities' need for such resources, however; and any community in need of food had less power to shape the terms of its encounters. While hunting in the Congo in 1918, Gordon James noted in his diary that having shot an elephant and exchanged the meat for 'a fine supply of meal', he and his party of 25 were 'independent of villages for a few days'.⁴⁴ It was the first and only time in James's four-month trek that he went more than a couple of days without meeting with a chief or headman or negotiating for food. Hunting for him still meant working closely with local communities, but there was no longer much to negotiate as the people were eager for meat. Village representatives called on him giving 'glowing reports' of the game in their territory, and one chief even volunteered to guide him

to 'his hunting ground' himself.⁴⁵ The overall impression one reaches in reading the diary is of the limited access colonized people had to the resources that surrounded them.

The policy of using specialized knowledge to direct hunters also had fairly strict limits. British game hunters were typically searching for trophies or marketable commodities such as ivory, not food, so they routinely passed up opportunities to kill animals that would have fed dozens of people. Gordon James wrote that the villagers who accompanied him on one of his hunts in 1918 were 'disgusted' by his refusal to shoot a heard of female waterbucks.⁴⁶ He was intent on getting a waterbuck bull and refused to fire his gun at females lest it scare any male in the area away. James finally did find and kill one, making the collaboration mutually beneficial, but this was not always the case. While hunting for ivory in the South Sudan between 1911 and 1912, Stigand refused to shoot any elephant whose tusks were less than 50 pounds each, because he was on a hunting license that limited him to two elephants per year. Stigand did not mention providing any other recompense beyond meat, however, to those who guided him, which suggests that whenever he determined that an elephant was not 'shootable', those men who had informed him of its location and helped track it, often for hours, received nothing for their efforts. One time, Stigand fired at an elephant whose tusks were good but which was in a position that made shooting inadvisable, because, as he recorded in his diary, 'the natives had taken such a lot of trouble that I thought I must do something'.⁴⁷ The key factor, however, was still the size of the tusks. In another instance when Stigand said an elephant was too small, the chief who had guided him 'said, "look at that one [sic] it has lots of meat on it"', but meat was not what Stigand needed.⁴⁸ Knowledge, clearly, had its limits as a tool. Trackers could guide a hunter to game, but they could not make him or her shoot.

In addition British hunters were not always reliant on localized assistance. They travelled with skilled trackers, and a select number of veteran hunters could track animals themselves, making it possible for them to find and kill game without cooperating or even communicating with nearby populations. Moreover, local hunters often had extensive knowledge of a district, which meant that once a hunter secured the services of one such tracker, he or she would not need to work with neighbouring communities. Hunters' need to dispose of meat often made them willing to share regardless of aid, but it was not something African people could always control. E. J. Glave wrote that when he had killed a hippopotamus in the early 1880s, he was nearly attacked by a large group who declared,

as he reported it, “‘The white man has no right to this meat. Hippopotami belong to us. He killed it in our district. His men can have a small share, but he cannot expect to come and shoot our game and take all away with him.’”⁴⁹ Glave thought this was a wholly specious argument, because like other Europeans, he did not view them as having ownership of the land. He countered instead that the hippopotamus did not belong to anyone until it was shot, at which point it became his. He declared that he could take it all or sink it in the river if he wanted and made ready to fire on anyone who challenged him. Once the villagers had retreated, he shared the meat with them, and, thus, both parties benefitted. One could even say that by giving them the bulk of the meat he reinforced their claims of ownership, but as he did so at the point of a gun, the incident did far more to reinforce colonial claims to the land and any resources on it. Colonization cemented British hunters’ power to pursue game where they pleased, and while communities could leverage their knowledge of the region and its wildlife, that only worked to the extent that a hunter needed that information and was willing to act upon it.

Yet for all these limitations, the ability of chiefs and communities to affect the success of a hunt impacted hunters’ actions and the descriptions they sent back to Britain. Many hunters, though certainly not all, understood that force would be counterproductive, and that even going into Africa heavily armed could impede rather than ensure the help they inevitably required. The *Field* instructed one correspondent who had enquired about hunting in Somaliland that the Somalis were ‘independent’ and would give trouble if treated with ‘anything like bullying’.⁵⁰ Even the president of the Transvaal Republic, Piet Joubert, gave two hunter-explorers ‘a kindly hint with regard to our behaviour towards the natives, advocating forbearance and calmness on all difficult occasions—a sound piece of advice, which proved very valuable to us in the various vicissitudes of our journey’.⁵¹ Such advice was likely helpful to more than just hunters, but due to the particular dynamics of pursuing wild animals, it held true for sportsmen long after colonization when other travellers could afford to give no thought to the people among whom they were travelling. In 1912, the veteran hunter James Dunbar-Brunton cautioned prospective sportsmen to be civil not only to those they met, but to their porters as well, warning that, ‘a white man with the reputation of being “fierce” with the native carriers will frequently be told on visiting a district that there is no game, and if he insists on going looking for game will probably see none.’⁵² Game was too easy to scare away, and hunters needed too much skilled and knowledgeable help to pursue it to rely on force to achieve their aims.

In the long term, British hunting contributed to the disruption of African social and political systems, and the colonial game legislation that followed alienated people from the land and its resources. Yet within that system of physical, social and economic violence, individuals' and communities' strategic deployment of information and misinformation, assistance and interference enabled them to maximize the prospects that imperial hunting created and, to a more limited extent, to minimize its negative impacts. Hunters' frequent need for cooperation and specialized knowledge enabled villagers and headmen to shape hunters' movements and ensure that their societies accrued some resources or benefits from the hunt. Their power in this regard was far more limited than that of chiefs and monarchs in the pre-conquest years, but communities could use hunters to rid themselves of disruptive wildlife and to gain access to meat and other resources; alternately they could disturb local wildlife in order to deter the presence of hunters in their district or impact the type of game those hunters were likely to encounter. In so doing, communities actively shaped their experience with colonial society and economics as represented by hunting caravans, while their very ability to aid or hinder the pursuit of game acted as a restraining force on hunters, encouraging them to be more civil in their encounters.

Negotiating with porters

Like explorers and other mid-nineteenth century travellers, hunters were also fundamentally dependent on the army of men they hired to guide them, carry their things or lead their pack animals, set up their camps and serve as interpreters. That dependence created another node of contestation, and the ability it gave caravan workers to shape their working conditions and treatment throws into stark relief the dominant scholarly presumption that 'hunting expeditions affirmed European power over . . . African labor'.⁵³ To be sure, the all-inclusive safaris of East Africa and hunting trips that took place within or immediately adjacent to colonial settlements offered potent signs of colonizers' power to requisition huge numbers of workers for a leisure pursuit; but outside of these managed environments, hunters' dominance was continually fractured by their dependence. It was a situation that many hunters found to be intensely galling. As the sportsman-explorer Walter Montagu Kerr lamented,

How helpless are the whites among the blacks when the latter are in their own lands! At such times we must pocket indignation, and thoroughly temper impatience, only dreaming of the blissful time

when we shall be released from the bitter thralldom of dependence, and once again find ourselves free to give effect and direction to our wills among reasonable beings.⁵⁴

This sense of dependence and the concessions it generated were essential elements of the culture as well as practice of imperial big game hunting in Africa. The resulting negotiations also provide a glimpse into the experience and concerns of the men who served as the backbone of hunting expeditions.

Stephen Rockel has already shown that in East Africa, the extreme reliance of expedition leaders on the professionalized Nyamwezi, Zanzibari and Waungwana porters gave those carriers a remarkable ability to resist employers' efforts to change the work culture that they had developed over time.⁵⁵ As he showed, porters routinely contested a wide range of issues, including their pay, the weight of their loads, harsh treatment, the quantity or type of rations and the route taken, with the result that, 'Foreign travelers, Arab and European, had little choice but to bow to custom, with some adaptation.'⁵⁶ While increases in control and the deskilling of portage brought about by colonization limited porters' ability to resist Europeans' demands, strikes and slowdowns continued up until the late 1890s. After that date, collective action became rarer, he said, but porters, like many other workers in colonial Africa, continued to protest and mitigate their working conditions by 'manipulating employer confusion over porter identity', deserting, faking illness and stealing.⁵⁷

Professional Nyamwezi carriers also took great pride, though, in their ability to endure the arduous work of portage, and a number of hunters found that these porters were far less likely to protest working conditions than men who were induced to take up portage for short periods of time. Robert Foran wrote that in his five years working with 'Wanyamwezi' porters, 'not one . . . deserted or requested to be paid off'. They also 'never pilfered anything', performed their work 'with clock-like precision', and never complained despite the average days' work posing an 'exceptionally severe test . . . on their stamina'. By way of contrast he found that 'locally engaged porters were often a source of much trouble and caused many bad headaches.'⁵⁸ As the following examples show, much of this trouble likely arose from confusion over the terms of engagement, mutual distrust and opposition to the length of the journey as well as the nature of work, which in the eyes of some societies included tasks that were women's work or that of slaves or dependents. The methods of protest employed by non-professionals,

however, were broadly similar to those of professionalized carrier corps, including strikes, desertion and slow-downs, but they continued into the early twentieth century. The protests of locally engaged porters also demonstrate an essential absence of trust that is not as evident when looking at professionalized porters and which speaks to the very different perceptions and concerns of those who were not already functioning in the standardized, wage-oriented caravan system of the East coast.

One of the most common methods of protesting one's working condition was desertion, which Rockel described as taking 'advantage of the porter's mobility, a great source of strength'. Caravan leaders in East Africa attempted to prevent desertions by employing *askaris*, or guards, a position that had initially entailed protecting rather than policing the caravan. Should any porter decamp, an *askari* could be sent to bring him back, but many were never caught.⁵⁹ A few hunters in East Africa also employed *askaris* to police their caravans for them, but many accepted that it would be fruitless to try and bring back deserters. In British Central Africa, the government initiated a porter registration system, but F. Vaughan Kirby stated with surprising candour that

the check upon desertion is only moral, and if one happens to be hundreds of miles away from any station, and a native chooses to desert, nothing can prevent him; and it is but poor satisfaction to know that he forfeits his wages, for, as a rule, under such circumstances, his services are worth more than double the amount of pay forfeited.⁶⁰

Rarely did anyone admit that African labour was underpaid. Most hunters interpreted desertion in terms of the cliché that 'natives' were lazy and had to be coerced to work, but they agreed with Kirby that there was little to prevent porters from deserting. There were also unofficial avenues of enforcement, but experienced hunters often accepted that forcing people to work for them would be of little use. When 'Jim' fled from Parker Gillmore's caravan in the Transvaal, a Boer field-cornet offered to track down and return the man 'well flogged, &c., all for seven dollars, the money to be paid in advance', but Gillmore refused as he thought Jim would only try to desert again.⁶¹ Similarly, when several carriers employed by Alfred St Hill Gibbons deserted with three of his trophy heads, Gibbons offered a reward to any tracker who could bring back the heads, guessing correctly that they would drop the heavy items after a while. He believed, however, that any effort to track the men further would be pointless; if they were inclined to desert, they would simply do so again.

Deserting enabled caravan workers to escape intolerable conditions, but it also indirectly placed a check on hunters' behaviour. The threat of being left on their own was an alarming spectre for Western travellers. The game that hunters sought so eagerly made solitary travel a dangerous prospect, and without men to carry their baggage or drive their pack animals, travellers had no way to convey the trade goods they needed to barter for food, water or aid. Those who were familiar with a region might be able to find the trails that would guide them to water or a village, but this coterie was limited to those men experienced enough to respect, generally, the limits of their authority on an expedition. In many regions, there was some machinery in place to enforce the will of white men, but this was of limited use to frontier hunters and was effectively non-existent in other areas, leaving hunters with the choice of modifying their behaviour or being stranded.

A more direct way for porters and other camp personnel to affect hunters' behaviour was for them to strike or threaten to desert in unison. It was rare for hunters to accede completely to workers' demands, but strikes and threats of mass desertion typically produced some gains. The give and take of these encounters is evident in the negotiations of one hunting caravan travelling in East Africa in the late 1880s with their Zanzibari porters, who were likely professional carriers. In the first instance, the porters threatened to desert, because the hunters had disregarded the custom that carriers were not required to work once they had established camp. Accepting that what they were asking of the men went beyond their typical duties, the hunters agreed that in exchange for working at camp—by bringing in meat from hunts, for example—the men would not work past noon or on any Sunday. Once this settlement was reached, the men returned to work, but they later protested against their rations, which had been set at half grain, half meat. Again, the hunters negotiated, agreeing to give them a full grain ration, but only on the condition that the carriers performed the task of restocking the grain supply every few days.⁶² The varied outcomes of such confrontations are further illustrated in two incidents from Walter M. Kerr's travels. When the carriers he had hired repeatedly refused to go in the direction he commanded, Kerr decided that he could 'never expect to have any peace' with them and took the unusual step of dismissing them all. He then set off with his interpreter and a guide to the nearest village, where he hired men to reclaim the goods he had left behind and carry them to the next district.⁶³ When he attempted this manoeuvre a second time with a different set of carriers, however, he lacked an interpreter, and the men, he wrote, only

laughed at his vain attempts to hire local men, who could not make sense of his pantomimes.⁶⁴

Expedition workers also used less overt tactics than Stephen Rockel noted among professionalized carriers to alter hunters' behaviours. At one point, P. H. G. Powell-Cotton saw several men bringing his vest, or undershirt, back from the camp of a nearby Swahili trader. Upon inquiring, Powell-Cotton discovered that his personal servant had taken the vest to the trader, who was known for his skill in making charms, and, in Powell-Cotton's words, asked the man 'to cast such a spell over it, that, when it next touched my skin, any desire I might harbor of going far afield would melt away. When . . . the charm was of no effect, the explanation given by my men was that, before leaving England, I had acquired witchcraft potent enough to render their magic powerless.'⁶⁵ The very fact that the servant used some of his meager salary to pay for the services of this Swahili trader suggests that he had few other options to impact Powell-Cotton's behavior, and the cooperation of the other men in the party signals that many in the group were operating under similar constraints. At the same time, they viewed the invisible technologies of 'magic' as powerful tools for affecting change, and this exchange, thus, reflects a substantial effort to alter the terms of their employment.

In a very different example, John Willoughby and his companions discovered that the Galla guides they had hired had persuaded the local villagers to 'boycott' their expedition by refusing to sell them the food they needed. Once the hunters knew of it, the tactic was wholly useless as they merely forced the people to sell food by threatening to take it on their own, non-negotiable terms if the villagers would not negotiate a price, but one can only wonder how often such efforts went undetected—some of the most effective protests being those that are never recognized as such.⁶⁶ Why the Galla guides opposed the progress of the expedition is unclear. Their concerns may have been economic or political, but many of the issues most commonly contested in hunters' expeditions were more immediate and personal, involving the quantity of food, working conditions, Europeans' desire for abject obedience and harsh treatment. Like Powell-Cotton's workers, non-professional carriers also commonly protested the duration of a journey. One hunter advised that carriers obtained in the region of Lake Nyasa would not travel for more than ten days, and would move slowly if given more than 25-pound loads, which would mean either a very short trip or constantly negotiating to obtain new workers.⁶⁷

Many of the protests documented by hunters, however, stemmed from a fundamental absence of trust. Porters and other workers were

sceptical about the ability or intention of hunters to pay them, supply food or water or choose safe routes. The 'Banyais', or Karanga, men F. C. Selous had hired to carry an ill friend to safety, for instance, stopped after several days and demanded their full payment. Selous believed that if he gave the men their pay, they would have no reason to complete the job, and after 'a great deal of talking and arguing', during which Selous proved that he had the means to pay them, the men 'consented' to go on. Another halt four days later came to the same result, but when they reached the village to which the men had contracted to travel, there was nothing Selous could do to persuade them to go any further.⁶⁸ Another hunter, Hugo Genthe discovered that his carriers had deserted because they began to fear he intended to enslave them. Genthe's luggage had been delayed *en route*, so he kept directing them closer to the coast in an effort to find it. The men, though, became suspicious that his lost luggage was just a ruse and that this unknown man who travelled without belongings intended to sell them into slavery.⁶⁹ On a related note, Frederick Jackson explained that it was 'rather difficult to find' good gunbearers, because experienced gunbearers 'will not volunteer their services . . . to men they do not know, and in whom they have no confidence'.⁷⁰ Jackson was speaking primarily about the dangers involved in hunting itself, but the risks went far beyond the pursuit of game. Misgivings about unknown hunters' intentions and ability to guide their expeditions to successful conclusions were common and, alongside disputes over hunters' treatment of their workers, undergird many of the interactions and contests within expeditions.

In fact, for an expedition to run smoothly, a basic level of trust needed to run both ways, and the most successful hunters, as measured by the lack of disputes and trouble within their parties, were the ones who accepted that they had to delegate some authority to the headmen and even the senior porters they had hired. Jackson, for instance, described holding a consultation with his headmen when the hunters were uncertain about the route ahead. Together, hunters and headmen decided to proceed, and when the route turned out to be far more dangerous than expected, exposing the whole party to extreme privation, there was no apparent dissension within the ranks. Conversely, if a hunter repeatedly questioned or reversed a headman's instructions, he would erode the headman's authority, thereby upsetting the caravan's chain of command and increasing the likelihood of discord and disorder. As one hunter succinctly advised, 'With a good headman, leave your caravan to him. He knows his job and fussing will do harm.'⁷¹ Even when hunters were displeased with how a headman or interpreter interacted with

the carriers or local populations, they often judged it more advisable to remain silent. Powell-Cotton thought that his interpreter's 'lordly contempt for what the Swahili calls "wild natives" amounted to sheer foolhardiness', causing problems that could have been avoided. He only reprimanded the man, however, when the interpreter openly disobeyed Powell-Cotton's explicit orders.⁷² The inability of most hunters to communicate directly with the men they hired or local people also gave interpreters and headmen significant influence over the expedition's affairs. Most travellers in Africa could do little more than hope that their instructions or messages were being conveyed correctly, though the best interpreters were likely those who had the tact to alter a hunter's more injudicious statements.

Those who spoke the language of the men they had hired were naturally far more aware of the undercurrents in their party and of the men's opinions of them. Many of them still accepted, however, that it was better to stay removed from the group culture and leave the question of morale to their senior men, even if that meant permitting a certain amount of subversion. One hunter remarked in an article for the *Field* that 'my "pigeon Kafir" was a never-ceasing source of amusement to all my boys; . . . and often have I lain by my fire and listened while Capitao [the headman] . . . entertained the others, at their fire, with a complete and exact repetition of the conversation of the day—using my voice, my intonation, and exact words'.⁷³ Another hunter made the potential value of such liberties clearer when he described his party's head porter, Resarse ben Shokar, as 'valuable' despite his tendency to sleep while on sentry duty, solely for his ability to make the men laugh during long, difficult marches 'by some harmless waggish remark at our expense'.⁷⁴ In both instances, the hunters understood that the senior men's use of mockery made them good leaders; they upheld the party's morale and kept dissent to a minimum. Had these hunters attempted to stop such minor subversions of their authority, they would have only increased the opposition and resistance they were trying to forestall.

By the late nineteenth century, the balance of power may have been weighted in favour of Europeans, but this did not mean they could act with impunity. Even in regions and situations when expedition workers could not easily strike or desert, they could hinder the progress of an expedition and affect the quality of hunting obtained. Their concerted efforts forced hunters to concede that even when the colonial government ensured the absolute authority of Europeans over those they employed, a traveller's best option was to allow his or her workers to retain some autonomy over their work. What is also interesting,

especially considering the connections drawn between hunting and colonial domination both then and now, is that hunters unabashedly described these negotiations in their published narratives that were read so avidly in the metropole. In many instances, however, control was not shared willingly, and turning to those instances when hunters used physical violence to enforce their will highlights both the shifting boundaries that limited caravan workers' agency and how those workers' efforts and power, however constrained, affected the idealized image of colonial control promoted through African game hunting literature.

Contesting violence

The power of British hunters and travellers was nowhere more evident than in their ability to wield brutal violence and call it 'discipline'. In many cases, this meant brutal floggings with whips made of tough animal hides known as *sjamboks*, *chicottes* or *kibokos*, but it also included chaining people together, reducing their rations, and assigning debilitating amounts of hard labour. Often, a combination of these techniques would be employed to punish infractions that in Britain would have simply resulted in a worker's dismissal.⁷⁵ While many colonies passed legislation to limit the use of flogging, little was done to curb its practice. Settlers believed that physical force was the only type of authority that 'the native' respected and anything approaching insubordination had to be violently punished, lest it blossom into widespread revolt.⁷⁶ Vastly outnumbered, the British were in control but, like all colonizers, they were consumed by the fractures in their authority. Indeed, the fervour with which they clung to corporal punishment was a direct product of this insecurity and their dependence on those they colonized.⁷⁷ In this respect, settlers' and travellers' use of violence itself reflected the inherent vulnerability that dependence created, making porters' protests over 'discipline' a productive space to consider African influence over the experience and affect of hunting and the image of power promoted through the sport.

In the nineteenth century, the relative independence of African workers curtailed hunters' use of violence in many regions. Despite the prevalence of flogging on farms, missions, mines and caravans, many of the most respected ivory and frontier hunters of the 1870s and 1880s never mentioned physically punishing anyone in their publications.⁷⁸ Silence, of course, does not mean absence. In his first book, H. A. Bryden made no mention of disciplining his employees and went so far as to describe the *sjambok* as 'a most cruel and punishing weapon in bad hands'.⁷⁹ In

his second travelogue, however, he said that when one of their men began refusing to do menial tasks at their bidding, he threatened him with a *sjambok*, and by this 'timely display of firmness' forestalled trouble amongst the other workers.⁸⁰ It is difficult to imagine that this was Bryden's one and only instance of wielding or threatening to wield a *sjambok* against a worker. Yet, as hunters pushed further afield in these decades, they entered territories where their workers' autonomy could certainly function as a check on their behaviour. As one hunter wrote when a carrier refused to take an extra blanket in Swaziland, 'We thought to give him a thrashing, but were afraid the other boys might get frightened. One said we could go without the other, so we agreed to do so.'⁸¹ Similarly, when Richard Frewen tried to reprimand one of his porters in the late 1870s, the man simply replied that he would leave. As Frewen wrote in his journal, 'Unfortunately, boys are wanted by some of the other traders, so . . . [the porter] gets rather master at once.' In need of labour, there was little Frewen could do.⁸² Both Bryden's and Frewen's impulse to employ violence suggests that they commonly used it in other instances while hunting, but their accounts also illustrate how the fear of losing one's workers curbed hunters' tempers and prevented them from demanding absolute obedience to their will.

Many hunters and travellers in this era were also aware of the fundamental precariousness of their position when far from settlements and other nodes of colonial power. In his widely read 1881 travelogue, Frederick Selous related the story of an alcoholic hunter-trader named Schinderhutte who, in a fit of drink-induced madness, shot one of his workers. Schinderhutte was apparently sane or sober enough to comprehend the gravity of what he had done and began carrying a 'loaded rifle' with him at all times, but he soon disappeared. As Selous explained, 'Some portion of his remains [was] found, the rest having been eaten by hyenas. There is no doubt that he was killed by Makalakas and Bushmen in revenge for what was nothing more nor less than the cold-blooded murder of their comrade, but the exact circumstance of the tragedy are not . . . accurately known.'⁸³ Schinderhutte seems to have been travelling through Matabeleland at the time, but the fact that even the British hunters in the area felt that Schinderhutte had been rightfully killed suggests that they recognized that a white man's life was not sacrosanct beyond the borders of the colonies.

As colonial control expanded into the prime hunting grounds, hunters had far more leeway to act with impunity, but that did not make doing so an effective or wise course of action.⁸⁴ During Tyler Morse's 1903 hunting expedition in Ethiopia, the European or American

headman that he and his companion had hired, named Isidore, repeatedly beat and whipped the camel men, servants and cook for failing to perform their jobs to his satisfaction or not obeying his orders, including orders he gave in English, which Morse thought the men did not fully understand. The two hunters worried that if Isidore continued this 'same game', the men would desert and word would spread, making it impossible to hire more men, but they did not stop him. Finally, after Isidore attacked the men while they were trying to lodge a complaint against him, the workers decided to desert *en masse*. The next morning, some of the men awoke Morse and his partner, allegedly so that the hunters could examine their possessions before all the men left but probably to provide a final chance for negotiation, which is precisely what happened. Morse immediately chased after those who had already departed and in the ensuing palaver gave them all various presents and agreed to their demand that Isidore would no longer be in charge of them.⁸⁵ The men stayed, and matters improved somewhat. Within a month, however, 12 of the 36 men had departed, and there was nothing Morse could do to restrain them, with the exception of the cook, whose mule he threatened to shoot if the man left.⁸⁶ Morse and his companion managed to complete their journey, but commanding their expedition was a constant struggle. That so many men stayed for so long, especially in Ethiopia, which was an independent state, is suggestive of the social and economic pressures that tied them to caravan work, but the desertion of the others combined with the hunters' increasing lack of authority within their expedition illustrates how inadvisable it was to try and enforce absolute obedience through violence.

Even in East Africa, where flogging was already standard practice in the pre-colonial caravan system, hunters found there were limits to their ability to enforce their will violently. Anecdotal reports suggest that there were many hunters who employed flogging, but hunters' written references often stressed the limitations of this approach. When John Willoughby asked his Maltese headman, Martin, why he did not flog the Zanzibari porters in their safari, Martin replied that 'flogging had no effect'. Instead, he—like many other hunters—punished men by decreasing their rations and increasing their loads.⁸⁷ To be sure, the heavy loads porters carried and their relatively small rations made this in itself a severe punishment, but hunters who used such methods reported less resistance, suggesting that caravan workers considered it more acceptable or tolerable than flogging. The sportsman-explorer Ewart Grogan hinted at this in his 1902 travelogue, when he claimed that forcing malingering porters to stand in camp with their loads while

their 'friends' were relaxing was 'much more effectual . . . than floggings or fines (a system I strongly object to, except in Government stations)'.⁸⁸ Just five years later, Grogan caused an imperial 'incident' when he illegally flogged three men directly in front of the Nairobi court house for being impertinent to a white woman. Grogan defended his actions as necessary and justified, regardless of what a mere law might say, and he was instantly lionized in colonial culture as the ideal settler man.⁸⁹ The Nairobi episode and his defence of it clearly demonstrate that Grogan had no reservations about flogging men, yet he recognized that the level of control he would later deem essential in British East Africa was counterproductive and perhaps impossible when travelling through regions that were only nominally under British control—even when the workers themselves had been hired elsewhere.

As so few hunters admitted to routinely administering 'severe' punishment—which in itself is suggestive of the very different image of colonial control promoted within hunting literature—it is useful to look at the 1896 account of an American explorer, William Astor Chanler, to see how porters, on the eve of colonization, could still successfully protest their brutal treatment. Chanler was attempting to explore what is today north-eastern Kenya, but many of the Zanzibari porters he had hired deserted, thereby forcing Chanler to return to Zanzibar due to his shortage of workers. Once in Zanzibar, Chanler discovered that the men had filed a complaint against him for mal-treatment and the murder of porters through 'excessive floggings', and to his disbelief, the matter was being treated seriously. In fact, once the men had lodged the complaint, they had been transported and fed at his expense. Chanler admitted in his narrative to administering 'severe punishment' but stridently refuted the murders, and a protracted legal battle ensued, involving both the British and American consuls. The parties could not agree on arbitrators for the case, and its official outcome is unclear. Chanler implied that he paid a 'substantial sum', which was not even equal to the men's full wages, but the porters' actions nonetheless brought an end to Chanler's expedition, demonstrating both the continued efficacy of desertion and the potential value of official channels.⁹⁰

Not all resistance, however, was in reaction to the brutality of British travellers. Joseph Thomson was a Scottish explorer who believed flogging was barbaric and so banned it on his expedition, instituting a system of fines instead. According to him, his carriers decamped in a well-organized strike and refused to return until he reinstituted flogging, because fines constituted a harsher penalty as they were permanent, whereas the pain of flogging was temporary. The young Scotsman was 'determined to remain firm', and the men departed. At that point,

Thomson realized his choices were 'submission or disaster', and he 'ran after them, and energetically declared that [he] would never fine them again'.⁹¹ The system of flogging was reinstated, but with the concession that it would only be performed by Thomson with a belt. The fact that the carriers opted for flogging over fines is a sad testament to the paucity of their wages, but they successfully used the threat of mass desertion to alter Thomson's behaviour. The incident also demonstrates the profound disconnect that was possible between African workers and European travellers over the question of punishment, and the ability of the former to enforce their views on the subject. Thomson, no doubt, acted with the best of intentions, but not understanding the men's need for their wages he had instituted a harsher regime.⁹²

Protests, of course, did not always alter a hunter's behaviour as shown by the remarkable and often disturbing case of Marguerite Roby, who directed her hunting expedition to the Belgian Congo in order to investigate reports of that state's brutality toward Africans and, in the process, became one of the few hunter-explorers to brazenly describe her own brutality. Initially, Roby objected to flogging, and several times during the first leg of her journey, she stopped the trader she had hired from flogging members of their party and even dismissed an injured man whom the trader had forced into service. After she and the trader parted ways, however, she became increasingly insecure about her situation and her command over her workers, and she turned to the *chicotte* as the one instrument that could ensure her safety. Once flogging had resolved one impasse, she became increasingly reliant on it and saw it as her only way out of any predicament.⁹³ A stranger in a strange land and entirely dependent on others, Roby needed to feel she had control over her situation. Even writing after the fact, her narrative reflected the fear and paranoia she experienced during her journey when she was nearly prostrate with fever and illness. The more violence she used, however, the more difficulty she had, and it is no wonder given the incredibly arbitrary methods into which she descended. One morning, she decided to get the day started on the right note by instructing her personal servant to pounce on the headman while he and the other porters were getting ready to go and give him 25 lashes, when 100 could be fatal.⁹⁴ When flogging did not stimulate the meek obedience she needed to feel safe, she shot at her porters' shins, and by the end of her journey she did not even feel the need to defend such actions.⁹⁵ In her travelogue she simply said that the men she hired 'preferred the *chicotte* to "*Matabishi*"' (presents), so she had done her 'best to gratify them'. Unsurprisingly, she concluded that all reports of inhumane treatment in the Congo were false.

There are few examples that were so blatant, or at least few published examples, and it is significant that Roby was travelling in the Belgian Congo. By that point, the British colonial government had officially outlawed flogging, and extreme violence on Roby's level in British East Africa would have merited at least an inquiry, if not any actual action.⁹⁶ Yet, it is also worth considering that Roby began her journey opposed to the use of violence, because she was not alone. It has been presumed that vacationing hunters adopted settler norms when in the colonies, but some vacationing hunters rejected the use of flogging on their expeditions.⁹⁷ Those who hired white hunters, of course, were far more likely to conform to settler standards, and there was considerable pressure to do so. Anyone who objected to harsh penalties was looked down upon as either a neophyte to colonial rule or someone who was not up to the task, but there were vacationing sportsmen and women who limited their white hunter's use of flogging.⁹⁸ Such sportsmen's and women's objection to flogging must be attributed in part to the very different place of flogging in metropolitan culture. To be sure, brutal, interpersonal violence was common in Britain, and the British Army had only outlawed flogging in 1881 and still permitted its use in military prisons as well as colonial armies. There were also calls in Britain to instate flogging as a punishment for certain crimes, and children were routinely 'birched', to say nothing of domestic violence in general.⁹⁹ Few metropolitan Britons, however, would have ever seen someone flogged before, and there were clearly some who did not accept that it was necessary on safari.

The silence in many veteran hunters' texts on the issue of discipline also meant, however, that violence and physical domination were not a central part of the hunter's life as it was imagined in Britain.¹⁰⁰ This is not to say that vacationing sportsmen and women were unaware that travellers routinely flogged their workers, or that everyone from the metropole would oppose flogging. Even in the case of Roby, who used violence so irrationally, there were British reviewers who praised her as a 'born traveller' in part for how she dealt with the 'mutinous porters who sought her life'.¹⁰¹ There was also, however, an alternate ideal being held up: that of the hunter who could guide through moral leadership. A biographer of the early Victorian hunter William Cotton Oswell wrote in 1901 that much of Oswell's success in Africa could be attributed to his 'unfailing patience'. It was because, the writer argued, Oswell had never hit anyone that he had never lost anything by theft and could count on ivory tusks 'shot eighty miles from the wagons' being delivered to him.¹⁰² This was a case of making a virtue out of necessity. As Dane Kennedy wrote in regard to mid-century explorers, they 'showed "patience"

because they had no other choice'.¹⁰³ Glorifying that 'patience', however, meant that African agency had not only impacted the violence doled out on safaris but also the image of colonial control being promoted through veteran hunters' popular texts well into the era of colonization.

To be clear, the image of controlling through moral suasion was neither radical nor contrary to the notion of colonial violence. The ivory hunter A. H. Neumann, for instance, critiqued 'unprincipled Europeans' who 'cruelly used' porters and advised instead an open door policy, in which a hunter encouraged porters to bring their complaints to him or her, and called upon hunters to treat porters with 'consideration'. In his words, 'a little "shauri" often removes discontent'. It is important not to mistake him, however. He still flogged porters in 'extreme cases', and his ultimate goal was no different from those who advocated 'strictness': both sought mastery over 'the native'.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, in its review of Chauncey Hugh Stigand's 1913 travelogue, the *Times Literary Supplement* praised the respected naturalist, hunter and military officer for having the 'proper knack of managing natives by that judicious mixture of patience, kindness, and firmness without which African travelers are unlikely to achieve great deeds'.¹⁰⁵ Stigand was one of the many veteran hunters who advocated the sparing use of violence, and proclaimed that he 'hate[d] using drastic measures with natives'. He said this, though, when describing how he threatened to beat a chief 'till he would be unable to walk or stand or sit ever again' after the man had failed to produce the canoes Stigand had requested two hours previously.¹⁰⁶ Stigand's book also included a chapter on 'Stalking the African', which the *Times Literary Supplement* reviewer noted when he described the book as being a collection of stories about elephant hunting and 'Other big game, such as lion, buffalo, bongo, and even the greatest of them all—man himself'.¹⁰⁷ Throughout the empire, violence underpinned liberal policies and visions of rule, and part of the very reason hunters were idealized is that they were seen to be proving their ability to employ violence coolly and effectively while supposedly managing 'the native' such that these tactics were only occasionally necessary.

It is precisely because violence was so integral to the colonial experience, however, that porters' ability to alter or even mitigate the methods that hunters and other travellers used to discipline and punish them speaks to the limits of hunters' control. Of course, it also shows the constraints that bound workers to these caravans, especially after the spread of colonization. Hunters had to worry less and less about their inability to replace workers who fled or the reputations they might develop among potential labour recruits. Moreover, in many instances, porters'

protests only confirmed hunters' notion that Africans were inherently different from—and lesser than—Europeans. Nonetheless, negotiations big and small could have profound impacts on the experience of workers and reveal that hunting caravans represented a more fluid system than has been accounted for in the historiography of hunting. The dependence of travellers that has been primarily documented in regard to mid-nineteenth-century explorers' expeditions extended well into the colonial era, and with it, the ability of African guides and porters to impact and shape their experience and the outcome of expeditions.

At a fundamental level, British commercial and sport hunting extracted valuable resources from Africa and symbolized the power of Britain. Hunters requisitioned large numbers of men to serve their sporting interests, and even in the decades when European control was limited to the coast, the economic power of Britain and the importance of imported firearms ensured British hunters' access to most game lands. The pursuit of wild animals, however, required cooperation beyond that needed by other travellers and explorers, and this, in turn, created opportunities for people to shape their encounters with hunters, extract benefits from hunting expeditions and make claims through them. Chiefs and monarchs in the days before conquest wielded significant power in this regard, but even afterwards, hunters' need for vernacular knowledge of game movements and local cooperation opened a space for more mutually beneficial relations. The role of sport hunting and its attendant game preservation legislation in alienating people from control over wildlife has obscured these elements of contest and negotiation, but they were vital to the people involved in them and shaped their experience of colonialism. African workers also had the power to affect the hours they worked, the routes they covered, the practice of hunting and, to an extent, their general treatment. Had British hunters been able to march in and shoot game as they pleased, the culture of big game hunting would have been very different, and indeed it was so in the twentieth century when colonial governments had more control over African labour and white hunters had largely deskilled Africans' work on expeditions. Up until that point, however, the dependence on the cooperation and knowledge of African villagers, workers and leaders shaped the course of many hunting expeditions, mediated the terms of hunting-related encounters, and impacted the image of colonial rule refracted through the practice of big game hunting.

3

Guns and Reeds: Africanizing British Big Game Hunting

In September of 1878, F. C. Selous met up with three of his friends in the eastern part of present-day Zimbabwe. All four men were in pursuit of ivory, and the three other hunters, Albert Cross, Matthew Clarkson and George Wood, told Selous that when they first arrived in the area, they ‘found it expedient to pay . . . [the presiding chief] a visit, to obtain his gracious permission to go and “kill the elephants nicely”’. According to Selous, this chief’s name was ‘Situngweesa’ and he was ‘considered a very powerful “Umlimo” or god’ by the Ndebele, who dominated the region.¹ This was not entirely correct, but scholars have identified the man as Pasipamire, who lived *at* Chitungwiza and was the recognized medium for an important spirit named Chaminuka, who is generally regarded as a royal ancestor of the Shona.² As such, Pasipamire was a man of influence amongst both the Shona and the Ndebele, and until the hunters requested his permission

their boys would only hunt in a listless, half-hearted sort of way, constantly saying, ‘What is the use of your hunting elephants in Situngweesa’s country without first getting his permission to do so?’ But when, by the help of presents, the old fellow’s good word was obtained, and [George] Wood’s head Kafir had been given a long . . . enchanted reed . . . they at once seemed changed beings and hunted with the greatest alacrity.³

On the surface, this story provides further evidence of how British hunters’ dependence on the African hunters and trackers they hired forced them to accede to the demands of those men, which in this case meant seeking Chaminuka’s permission via Pasipamire. This anecdote also signals, however, how British hunting could reinforce or even reproduce African social values and institutions. Prior to their visit to

the medium, the party had found signs of elephants two or three times but was unable to track them. Afterwards, however, they were 'very successful', which Selous acknowledged would further confirm the men's 'belief in Situngweesa's power and the efficacy of the enchanted reed'.⁴ Moreover, the British hunters were relatively powerful men themselves due to their firearms, ability to support large numbers of workers and status as representatives of the British Empire, but the incident demonstrated that they too needed the permission of the royal ancestors, the *mhondoro*, if they hoped to find elephants. In short, the British men's hunting had further substantiated the power and authority of Chaminuka.

Indeed, the medium's 'good word' may have affected not only the trackers' perception of the hunt but also the meaning attached to any success the British hunters had. As the anthropologist David Lan explained, Shona hunters were expected to 'observe certain restrictions' in deference to the *mhondoro* and 'strangers or newcomers must ask permission to hunt before they set out . . . [I]f they so wish, the *mhondoro* may make it especially easy for them to catch game. Game "given" in this way by the *mhondoro* is known as *huku* or chickens, the customary gift to visitors.'⁵ It is entirely possible that far from signalling their prowess, any elephants the British hunters killed with the aid of the 'enchanted reed' were viewed by the Shona and Ndebele as *huku*, a gift from Chaminuka. At the very least, the gifts the hunters gave the medium upheld the prevailing spiritual, economic and political order. Or rather, they reinforced one of the prevailing orders. Politically, Pasipamire was subordinate to the Ndebele King, Lobengula, who had likely already given these hunters leave to hunt within his kingdom. By acknowledging the need to seek Chaminuka's permission *via* Pasipamire as well, the hunters unwittingly entered into a simmering conflict between these two very different nodes of power that would ultimately culminate in Lobengula assassinating Pasipamire.⁶ In short, African agency coupled with British dependency entangled British hunting expeditions in internal networks and structures and turned this imperial sport into a vehicle for the creative reproduction and revision of African social, political and economic institutions.

This observation is a natural corollary of Africans' deep involvement in hunting expeditions, but it is a facet of hunting that has been little considered. Scholars have looked primarily at either precolonial or imperial hunting, not at the intersection of those two fields. Yet, the strategies that African individuals and communities used to exploit the opportunities that hunting presented and to curtail its negative impacts

represent a key element of hunting, and indeed, the early colonial experience for many people. The potential violence hunters could employ and the coercive power of the expanding colonial state were crucial factors in British hunters' encounters during the Scramble for Africa, but so too was their dependence on Africans' knowledge, labour and goodwill. As the above example demonstrates, African hunters could leverage this dependence to impel British hunters to conform to their notions of appropriate hunting practices and conduct. Collectively, these efforts reinforced particular African systems by facilitating their performance, adaptation and transmission within the colonial context.

While this represents one of the more fascinating aspects of game hunting, African hunters were only one of many constituencies who interacted with British hunters according to their own frameworks. Elite African men also drew hunters into their own social and political networks as they sought to manage and benefit from the British presence, and men and women of all ranks interacted with hunters on a daily basis. While some of these efforts failed and others produced only minor, individual benefits, together they instilled the sport with meanings that were sometimes contrary and other times analogous to the narrative of imperial power that shaped British understandings of these encounters. They also constitute a significant portion of the social history of colonial hunting in Africa at the turn of the century.

A common problem faced by empires was that they 'needed to co-opt old elites and generate new collaborators, but such ties might soften the colonizer-colonized distinction and strengthen the indigenous social and cultural practices colonial ideology was trying to denigrate'.⁷ Colonial big game hunting, however, has generally been described by scholars as one of the British Empire's antidotes to this problem, because it helped generate and fortify clear distinctions between colonizer and colonized. This is true, but the scholarly focus on this facet of hunting has overshadowed African agency on the ground and obscured the ways in which hunting also blurred distinctions between African and imperial institutions. Considering when and how Africans' actions entangled those systems with British hunting helps refocus our understanding of this imperial institution by situating it more clearly in its social context in Africa as well as the British Empire. It also suggests something of the experience of African participants and recentres their actions, which the colonial record has made so peripheral to the dominant image of hunting. Even the scholarly effort to identify how colonial game hunting reinforced colonial ideologies and hierarchies frames the act of hunting in terms of concepts that were specific to imperial culture. Hunting must

also be examined as a site of intersectionality, a term I am borrowing somewhat liberally from feminist theory. By this I mean that hunting was a site of complex interactions, not just between individuals but also between cultures and social systems. As British hunters frequently proclaimed, the appeal and meaning of hunting reached far beyond the simple act of killing game, and the same was true for African participants. The wide-ranging social, economic and political implications of hunting made this a rich space of encounter, and the varied efforts of British and African actors to define the terms of their association ensured that imperial hunting propagated a heterogeneous mix of practices and ideologies and facilitated the construction of new ones, a process that necessarily shaped the experience and impact of hunting as well as the forms of power it embodied.

Blood brotherhood

One way that elite men in East and Central Africa endeavoured to control and benefit from their interactions with big game hunters was by requesting or requiring a hunter to form a pact of blood brotherhood. As it was generally practiced, blood brotherhood was a life-long bond between two men—and by extension their kin groups—cemented by the ritual ingestion of a small quantity of each other's blood and enforced 'by supernatural sanctions'.⁸ Such relationships included a variety of mutual obligations and taboos that facilitated trust and reciprocity. These obligations could be deeply important and intimate in nature, but this was not how the relationship typically worked when Europeans were involved. As Luise White explained, 'Although a few hunters were entitled to the real thing, many of the blood pacts between Africans and European travellers and conquerors were made in obscure—I am tempted to say inconsequential—ways.' These were, she continued, political or commercial 'alliances' that did not involve 'lasting promises' or create 'sacred bonds'. Most importantly, they 'did not replicate intimate ties'.⁹ The rather cavalier description one professional ivory hunter gave of the ritual he went through as a 'long, rambling kind of oath, amounting in fact to an offensive and defensive alliance'¹⁰ seems to bear out White's analysis on both fronts.

However, while the blood pacts frontier hunters entered into instituted neither intimate connections nor fictive kinship bonds, they were far from inconsequential when examined in terms of African people's relations with those men. In fact, in creating these pacts, East and Central Africans may have been adapting a pre-existing model of blood

brotherhood intended for forging commercial alliances with foreigners. In his study of blood brotherhood among the Zande in the early 1930s, E. E. Evans-Pritchard described such relations as a 'traveller's passport', because the local brother would serve as a liaison for the foreigner and 'becomes responsible for his safety', in exchange for which he would receive presents and have a connection in the foreigner's lands.¹¹ In the case of blood pacts formed with British hunters, this latter provision never held, but African brothers received presents and varying degrees of access to colonial economic and political networks. Some of these pacts appear to have only been designed to guarantee good behaviour on the part of both parties in the short term; but some inaugurated longer-term, mutually beneficial socio-economic relations, for while hunters roundly rejected the supernatural sanctions generated by blood pacts, they understood the value of respecting these agreements. This made blood brotherhood a potentially effective way for African individuals and communities to facilitate and build on their interactions with hunters and other travellers. Put another way, by forming blood pacts with hunters, elite African men were effectively recruiting these hunters into *their* networks, thereby framing their interactions in terms of ideas and relations that were entangled with but ultimately distinct from the colonial encounter as the British understood it.

At their most inconsequential, pacts of blood brotherhood established the trust necessary for economic exchange between strangers, but even then, these relationships could shape colonial knowledge and impressions. When the hunter-explorers Ewart Grogan and Arthur Sharp were near the Rutshuru River in what is today the Democratic Republic of Congo, they were approached by a chief who offered to sell them ivory. The two travellers said they wanted to see the ivory first, but the chief said 'he dared not bring' a large tusk without having first 'made blood brotherhood' with them, as that would prevent them from being able to take it by force. The men agreed and both parties selected proxies. Grogan and Sharpe's headman went through the ceremony with 'the native's representative'.¹² The use of proxies suggests that the chief saw this relationship as impersonal and likely of little significance. Provided that Grogan and Sharpe's understanding was correct, this was an instance of blood brotherhood being used to enforce good faith between two parties unlikely to meet again. The two explorers, however, had set out to prove the feasibility of an imperial Cape to Cairo connection, and as such, tried to use this relationship by proxy to initiate a longer-term political connection. After the ceremony, they shook the chief's hand, explaining to him that 'it was the Englishman's method

of making blood brotherhood', and then they showed the chief their flag 'and told him that wherever in future he saw that flag, he might know that he would be well received and treated with justice'.¹³ This claim was particularly ironic as the two men never intended to buy the ivory, which they only explained after the chief had brought it to them, but had gone through the whole process to show him they could be trusted. What their new 'brother' made of this behaviour is unclear, but they said he then travelled with them for several days, providing information on the people and history of the region.

Grogan and Sharpe were acting on a belief shared by many British imperial agents that blood brotherhood represented the most 'binding treaties' one could make 'in savage Africa'.¹⁴ While this understanding was deeply flawed, the belief was not entirely off base. Pacts of blood brotherhood meant different things depending on the society or even community in question, but Lotte Hughes found when interviewing Maasai elders in the late 1990s that they viewed a blood pact formed between the Maasai and Kenyan settlers in the early 1900s as 'a significant feature of the colonial relationship' that was of greater importance 'than any formal agreement with the British'.¹⁵ Moreover, 'the majority consensus is that the oath is intact and the British and the Maasai are still blood brothers'.¹⁶ Clearly, blood pacts with Europeans could be deeply significant, but this was not the type of relations typically formed with hunters. It is suggestive, though, that the two settlers reported to have taken part in the ceremony, Lord Delamere and Gilbert Colville, were both big game hunters. While the Maasai forged the pact in the belief that the men were acting as representatives of the colonial government, Colville's experiences as a hunter were an important part of his relations and reputation amongst the Maasai. While discussing the pact, one elder remembered that Colville 'was always eating meat in the bush together with the Maasai warriors'.¹⁷ Hence, the oath demonstrates that African leaders could view hunters as appropriate colonial liaisons.

Generally speaking the blood pacts hunters formed were not treaties between societies but social—even commercial—pacts between individuals. Moreover, they were not static. As Evans-Pritchard explained, 'If you do not carry out your obligations towards your blood-brother, neither will he carry out his obligations towards you.'¹⁸ Blood pacts, in effect, were only binding if respected by both parties and would gain in material value to the extent that they were fostered by both parties. In this respect, the oaths entered into by ivory and other veteran hunters, who returned to the same district year after year, had the potential to be quite different from those entered into by a sportsman-explorer

like Grogan or Sharp, who was only passing through a region. The narratives of some of these former hunters suggest that at least a few of the pacts they entered into instituted mutually beneficial though not always long-lasting connections.

When W. D. M. Bell began hunting ivory in the Karamoja district of Uganda, he endeavoured to enlist local help by promising a cow to anyone whose information led to his killing five elephants. As cattle were the principal form of wealth in the region, young men began scouring the countryside for elephants. The promise, coupled with Bell's initial successes hunting elephants, also added to his social stature. Soon an older man appeared and expressed a wish to become blood brothers with Bell, because, as the sportsman explained it, he thought 'that I was a kindred spirit and that we two should be friends. He said he had no friends. How was that? I asked. Pyjale [a local elephant hunter who was guiding Bell] answered in a whisper that the lion never made friends of jackals and hyenas. And so we became friends.' Bell, however, refused to participate in the standard ceremony; instead, he shook the man's hand and 'had it explained to him that among us that was an extraordinarily potent way of doing it. That seemed to satisfy the old boy, for the act of shaking hands was as strange to him as the act of eating each other's blood is to us.' Such a pact would not have had supernatural sanctions, but some form of reciprocal relationship was formed. The man began travelling with Bell, took on Bell's 'native name', and his sons helped Bell find elephants. Bell also wrote that 'Apparently, we now owned everything in common. He offered me any of his daughters in marriage, and, thank goodness, never asked me for my rifle.'¹⁹ Moreover, Bell's presence in the district, which until then had been met with suspicion and some theft, was assured. From that point forward, they 'were followed everywhere by scores of the young unmarried girls', which was a clear sign that their party was no longer seen as a potential threat or target.

It is unclear, however, whether Bell had any further contact with his blood brother after this first hunting expedition; Bell returned to Karamoja several times but never mentioned his blood brother again in his narrative. This appears to have been the most common outcome of blood pacts with British hunters, but the professional ivory hunter Arthur Neumann provides an example of the more significant, reciprocal connections that could be instituted through blood oaths. Despite having a deep dislike of the entire process, Neumann routinely entered into pacts of blood brotherhood. While hunting near Mount Kenya, he agreed to become blood brothers with two men, the 'sons of the



Figure 3.1 Ndaminku, Arthur Neumann's Blood Brother. [Credit: Photograph by Dr George Kolb, reproduced from Arthur H. Neumann, *Elephant Hunting in East Equatorial Africa* (London: Rowland Ward, 1898), 43.]

principal headmen of the tribe'. He described the ceremony as a 'rather disgusting rite' and an 'unpleasant ordeal' that involved sitting 'in a swamp sandwiched between two very unwashed savages, necessitating a bath and change directly it was over'.²⁰ Yet despite Neumann's

outright bigotry, this pact seems to have evolved into a long-term and mutually beneficial relationship. Over the years, Neumann and at least one of his new blood brothers, Ndaminski, remained in contact, with Neumann supplying 'presents' and Ndaminski providing assistance to Neumann and his men. The connection was significant enough in Neumann's eyes that he included a photograph of Ndaminski in his book, reproduced here, and introduced him to at least one other hunter, which meant that through Neumann, Ndaminski gained access to other European hunters, who saw him as a known and dependable man from whom guides and information could be acquired.²¹ Neumann's and Ndaminski's relationship, in essence, facilitated feelings of trust and mutual profit on a broader scale. More critically, their experience demonstrates that the institution of blood brotherhood could shape hunters' future encounters and, thus, influence the economic, social and political impact of their presence. In this case, while Neumann continued to view Ndaminski as a 'savage', their blood brotherhood meant that it was Ndaminski, rather than some other headman or chief in the district, who gained privileged access through Neumann and other hunters to jobs and trade relations that he could use to bolster his social, economic and political position in the region. At the very least, the ivory hunter Alfred Arkell-Hardwick reported that Ndaminski told him that by following Neumann's advice in dealing with 'white men' he had grown into 'a rich man'.²²

Other hunters and travellers, of course, disregarded their obligations to their blood brothers and provided few to no benefits to their blood brothers. John Willoughby noted that 'Martin', his Maltese headman, was blood brothers with several chiefs and 'other notabilities' in the Mount Kilimanjaro region. Martin was likely a professional headman and had already guided several other British expeditions, including that of the Zanzibari Sultan's military commander, General Mathews, whom he guided to Sina, the chief of Kibosho, with the aim of heading off German influence in the region. Sina, however, was the enemy of one of Martin's blood brothers, Mandara, also known as Rindi, the Chagga chief at Moshi. According to Willoughby, Martin found on his next encounter with Mandara, that the chief 'had been excessively angry about this visit, and had even threatened to cut Martin's throat, as he considered it very wrong of him . . . to enter upon friendly negotiations with a foe . . . Martin explained how it was no fault of his, seeing he was bound to go wherever his employers chose to take him, and after a long argument he appeared to be forgiven'.²³ Alliances with coastal power brokers were essential to the political and commercial power of both Mandara and Sina, and as such, Martin's role in facilitating

Sina's connections presented a grave affront and even threat to his blood brother. Martin, however, does not seem to have respected this overmuch; immediately after being forgiven by Mandara, he conducted Willoughby's party to Sina. Willoughby's party may have required this of him, but there is no mention in their narrative of Martin critiquing or lobbying against this plan, as he did other aspects of their route.

In addition to helping direct the political and commercial opportunities of hunters' presence, however, pacts of blood brotherhood represented an abstract victory for those societies in the cultural domain of colonization. They affirmed the equal standing of African and British brothers as well as the efficacy and value of non-colonial networks. This can be better understood by detouring slightly to consider the experiences of E. J. Glave, a hunter and British employee of the International African Association in the soon-to-be Congo Free State. When Glave took up his post at Lukolela on the Congo River, his first official act was to become blood brothers with 'one of the most powerful chiefs in the district', whose name he gave as 'Mungaba', in a ceremony arranged by the explorer Henry Morton Stanley. This was a diplomatic alliance, but it seems to have evolved into a more personal relationship. Glave, who learned the regional trade language, later remarked in his memoir that the people at Lukolela were 'anxious that I should have my face decorated with their tribal tattoo mark', which consisted of facial scarification and filing one's teeth. As he 'lived in hopes of returning to civilization in a few years', he declined the honour, though he thought 'it was highly satisfactory and flattering to be told by my blood-brother, Mungaba, that if my skin were a few shades darker, and I would adhere to these national observances [of facial scarification and teeth filing], I would be a good-looking fellow.'²⁴ Presuming that Glave reported Mungaba's comment accurately, the backhanded compliment itself implies that Mungaba perceived them to have the type of joking relationship that is one of the hallmarks of blood brotherhood in Central Africa. More to the point of this chapter, Glave found the relationship to be very useful on his hunting and trading trips. On one occasion, Glave noted that his status as blood brother to Mungaba instantly calmed a very hostile situation. On his pronouncement that he was Mungaba's blood brother, drawn knives were sheathed and he spent the night in the chief's own hut, as that man too had a blood pact with Mungaba.²⁵ What is noteworthy about this is that Glave was an official representative of the African International Association, yet it was his status as blood brother to a regional chief and not his nationality or political position that acted as the primary determinant of that encounter. In this respect, his blood

pact with Mungaba represented a metaphysical victory over imperialism, because it situated Glave according to existing commercial and political systems, which Europeans needed to disrupt in order to erect their own political system. Yet, at the same time, Glave's brotherhood also demonstrates how such relations facilitated the interests of hunters and other imperial agents, even if it was in a way that helped existing elites direct the benefits of their presence.

From the British perspective, blood brotherhood was consistent with imperial ideology and practice. It confirmed, in Europeans' eyes, the savage nature of Africans whose adherence to this bodily ritual marked them as superstitious, bloodthirsty and primitive people. It also corresponded to the policy of indirect rule, whereby British agents identified indigenous authorities to rule with and through. Indirect rule, however, involved co-opting existing elites by drawing them *into* the imperial system, but blood brotherhood did this while simultaneously accomplishing the opposite. Elite men entered into pacts of blood in order to control British hunters' actions and to forge reciprocal relations, and in so doing they drew those hunters and other imperial agents into their political and social schema. That this also furthered British inroads into the region and supported imperial stereotypes does not negate the counterpoint: whether it inaugurated a short-term trade alliance or a longer-term, mutually beneficial relationship, a pact of blood had the potential to strengthen the power and connections of existing elites, and situated British hunters socially and metaphysically in ways that ran counter to the imperial narrative of racial dominance.

Caravans at the vernacular level

Blood brotherhood provides a useful point of reference because it represents a widespread practice through which elite African men could define, facilitate and manage their relations with British hunters. Caravan travel in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, entailed numerous types of encounters with people from every social station. Men, women and children, the rich and the poor, interacted with hunters. Moving the focus from structured relations to day-to-day exchanges demonstrates the range of interactions and exchanges that marked the progress of hunters' expeditions. Many sportsmen found that even the shortest interaction was more complicated than they would have liked. As one exasperated American hunter wrote in 1910, 'everything that you do in Africa has to be preceded by a *shauri*. You have a *shauri* if you ask a native which road to take. . . . If you want to

buy a chicken or a cluster of eggs there must first be a prolonged *shauri* with much interchange of views and conversation.²⁶ These interactions were part of the social life of travel and connected British hunting with people's lives and fortunes. Due to the growing popularity of African hunting, they comprised a significant component of the colonial experience for many people outside colonial settlements, but at the same time, the overlap between hunters' caravans and the long history of intracontinental trade and travel meant that some of these interactions were neither framed nor experienced as specifically colonial encounters. As with pacts of blood brotherhood, Africans' interactions with caravans were not unique to hunting, but by the end of the nineteenth century, much if not most British travel in central, eastern and southern Africa included the pursuit of game. As the safari industry arose, these daily encounters faded into the background as outfitters and hunting professionals sought to smooth and regulate vacation hunters' experiences. Before that time, however, caravans encapsulated a wide range of opportunities, challenges and experiences that were only partly experienced in terms of the extension or intrusion of colonial control.

The number and type of visitors to hunters' camps depended on the region and circumstances, but many times visitors were so frequent that their absence was more notable than their presence. Whilst hunting near Mount Kilimanjaro, John Willoughby was 'surprised to find that the [Kibosho] women were not allowed to visit us; our camp was undorned by the presence of feminine grace and beauty'.²⁷ The absence of women, in particular, could be worrisome, since it suggested either a deep mistrust of the caravan or that the community considered an attack by themselves or others to be a strong possibility, but Willoughby simply saw the absence of curious onlookers as something of a relief.²⁸ There were also instances when distrust was such that hunters saw no one, and even presumed a district to be virtually uninhabited until they shot a large animal and people emerged to partake in the surplus meat. More typically, though, hunters' caravans were sites of frequent social and economic exchanges. Sometimes hunters arranged to buy food during the initial palavers that followed their arrival, but even then village women—and sometimes men—came to barter foodstuffs for commodities such as cloth, wire or beads either with the European hunters or the people in their party. There were also camp tasks, such as collecting firewood and fetching water, that were considered women's work in many societies, and caravan personnel travelling without wives or companions sometimes used their rations or wages to pay local women to do such chores for them.²⁹

In extreme cases, caravans provided a potential source of food for social outcasts or others in dire straits. A. St Hill Gibbons wrote that 'an old man, a young man, and a small boy turned up [at his camp in present-day Zambia] in an emaciated condition; the poor creatures were little more than skeletons—victims of the famine'. They wanted to trade a small pot of honey for meat, and Gibbons said he 'gave them what he could'. He then went out to shoot a lechwe in hope of giving them more but was 'unfortunately . . . unsuccessful'.³⁰ Other hunters were not as sympathetic, but sometimes the workers in a caravan shared their food, typically in exchange for the beggars performing some of their camp labour.³¹ Those in the extremity of need also sought sustenance from the camp's discarded food. Frederick Gillett, a sportsman accompanying a gentleman explorer's expedition, recorded seeing 'something moving' one night just outside his camp in Abyssinia, which he thought must be a hyena. He was 'just about to fire' when one of his servants stopped him, telling him 'it was a poor man, who was crawling about in the hopes of picking up some scraps'.³² The image of this man creeping near the campsite in the dark conveys a poignant sense of the complex social life that swirled around and intersected with caravans as they navigated their way through a landscape that hunters only partially understood.

In fact, a hunter could easily be peripheral to many of the interactions that took place within and through his caravan. The size and composition of hunters' parties ranged from around a dozen men to a hundred or more men, women and children. In some cases, primarily in East and Central Africa, trackers, guides and even porters brought family members along with them, and when they did not, men sometimes acquired temporary wives during their journey. Hunters who became known in a region for consistently providing large quantities of meat—and likely for not being excessively brutal—also gathered followings of people, in some cases whole communities. The interactions between these people and between them and villagers were defined by regional networks and tensions or the interplay between coastal and interior communities as much as by the dynamics of colonialism, and formed a significant part of the social life and impact of hunters' caravans before the advent of managed safaris.

Caravans, however, were also floating islands of colonialism. They extended colonial control and contact further afield, but this also made them sites wherein the colonial gaze became inverted with soon-to-be colonized populations watching hunters and fixing meanings and standardizing reference points, sometimes in disquieting ways. In

regions in which white men and women were still a novelty, travellers found that their clothes, books, drawings, white skin, beards and manners were a source of curiosity and awkward interactions.³³ One hunter reported that a chief with whom he was friendly 'had a genial way of wanting to try my pipes, toothbrush, and other toilet accessories', while women hunters found that their hair was a source of particular interest, with people sometimes crowding around to watch it being done in the morning.³⁴ Some hunters did not seem to mind the attention they attracted, but others found it disquieting or 'tiresome'. John Willoughby complained in particular about one group of men and women, 'for they gathered in crowds round our tents, remained all day, and did nothing but stare and make grimaces'.³⁵ In other instances, hunters attempted to direct visitors' curiosity, but this too could go awry. In Somaliland, Harold Swayne decided to show the women visiting his camp a picture of 'two pretty English girls skating'. The women's questions, however, attracted the attention of the men, who 'crowd[ed] around'. At that point, the remarks became 'too demonstrative' for Swayne's comfort, and he 'put away the picture amongst deep groans of disappointment' and got out something he deemed safer: 'a book of engravings of the Franco-Prussian war'. Here too, the images he showed may have conveyed more than Swayne intended about European civilization, for while the men were suitably impressed by the firepower on display, 'their faces became grave at the thought . . . of the numbers of dead'.³⁶

In addition to facilitating economic, social and cultural interactions, caravans also offered individual mobility. Arthur Donaldson-Smith noted that during his trek through Somaliland and Ethiopia, old women frequently approached the expedition, seeking to work in exchange for food, but these, he said, 'were not the only females that accompanied the caravan. Frequently younger and better-looking girls would ask me to allow them the protection of the caravan, in order to travel from village to village, and usually they contrived to make themselves useful in doing various little errands for the men'.³⁷ Swayne, a colonial official and veteran hunter, described the same trend, but gave a more in-depth explanation, noting that in addition to being young and pretty, women who sought protection were 'respectable', married and related in some way or another to a member of the caravan. According to his men, such women would wait for a suitable caravan going in the direction they wished to travel and join it temporarily, and then, in Swayne's words, 'disappear mysteriously . . . just as passengers get into a train at one station and leave it at another'. This ensured their safety from thieves and other assailants, as well as from hyenas, which attacked unprotected men and women in

their sleep. These women also paid their way, in Swayne's estimation, as they ate little and did 'the work of two men'.³⁸ Such protection was not limited to women either. Bandits and hyenas posed difficulties for travellers in Somaliland, and on occasion even armed 'warriors' sought safe passage via hunters' caravans. Swayne said that it was not unusual to wake up and find small groups of traveling strangers had joined the camp at night for safety and to warm themselves at the fire.³⁹

Hunters did not describe similar trends in East and Central Africa, but some of the people who joined caravans in these regions were likely making similar calculations. In the 1890s, the famines and economic crises created by the *rinderpest* epidemic pushed people, especially young men and women, to migrate to other districts as well as to the new colonial cities and railway heads in search of food and resources. Some of these men and women may well have attached themselves in various capacities to hunters' caravans in exchange for food and security. In many precolonial caravans in East and Central Africa, porters had acquired domestic partners en route who served as 'partners in enterprise', and this practice continued into the early colonial period.⁴⁰ Anecdotal evidence suggests that many British hunters also travelled with one or more African wives or mistresses, but Victorian sensibilities ensured that such relations were rarely referred to in writing. A few hunters and travellers made reference to women joining their caravan as the domestic partners of some of their workers, but this was not the only avenue for women who sought to join a caravan. Some women joined pre-colonial caravans as semi-autonomous traders, and this too may have carried over into European-led expeditions without attracting hunters' interest or being understood as such by them.⁴¹

Finally, hunting caravans also offered the potential for social mobility. Swayne gave a comprehensive, though likely overblown, description of the prospects that awaited the young villager who joined a caravan in Somaliland. He said it was 'wonderful how quickly . . . strangers worm themselves into one's service. An unlicked cub of a *karia* [village] dandy comes up with shield and spear and joins your caravan. In a few days he has shown some special qualification for tracking or camel-loading, for helping the cook, or carrying the theodolite.' When an accident or illness created a vacancy in the caravan, Swayne said, such a youth would take it, and then work his way up through the ranks on subsequent trips, learning as he went.

When he first joined you a year before he knew no language but Somáli and a little Arabic, but while in your service he has picked up a fair amount of Hindustáni. A few years later you meet him again

as a merchant, who has in the interim accompanied half a dozen European sportsmen on shooting trips, and has now invested his savings in merchandise, trading with tribes which he would never have dared to visit except in the service of his white masters. Many a time have I wished that I could transform the complacent, shaven-headed, sleek-looking scoundrel back into the original unsophisticated cub with the well-oiled mop of hair who came into my camp two or three years before!⁴²

While the image of accumulated wealth Swayne presented was unrepresentative of the opportunities caravan work offered the average worker, Ruth Rempel showed that some slaves and men from the 'interior' used European-led, East African caravans to accumulate the cultural knowledge, money and social relations they needed to better their position within Swahili coastal society, just as men had been doing in precolonial caravans. The language skills and knowledge men developed while working on caravans may have also better prepared them to navigate both colonial labour markets and African trade networks.⁴³ A few men may have actually sought temporary engagements with hunters for precisely these reasons. When Gordon James returned in 1918 to a region of the Congo he had hunted in six years previously, a chief whom he 'got to know so well' before, 'brought one of the "piccanins" who accompanied' James on his previous trip to see him. James said the boy had grown into a 'fine man and remembers the whole trip'. He gave the young man 'a knife as a present' and took 'another son' of the chief's on his present trip.⁴⁴ What benefit this man thought the trip would provide is unknown, but it certainly seems to have been an opportunity he wanted to foster for his sons.

Desirable or not, however, entering a hunter's employment or travelling with him could have significant social ramifications, and the same held true for even the shortest of interactions, especially as the number of hunters in an area increased. For instance, men and women frequently came to hunters for medical assistance, but in addition to being rudimentary at best, hunters' medicine challenged the social authority and livelihood of vernacular healers.⁴⁵ Similarly, hiring local women to perform 'women's work' in the camp reinforced the gendered division of labour that hunters threatened when they hired all-male escorts, but such exchanges could also impact women's economic power and social authority in their respective communities. Individually, hunting caravans were a transient phenomenon, but their collective impact was not. They offered a broad range of economic and social points of contact and

connected British hunting to people of every rank and status. Many of these people would have experienced and understood these interactions as foreign rather than specifically colonial encounters. British hunting caravans could be sources of food, mobility, and entertainment, but such exchanges, of course, often contributed to colonial inroads in and impacts on these societies. The corollary of this, however, was that by participating in British hunts African hunters and trackers also embedded *their* society into this imperial sport, opening up a whole other range of possible benefits as well as social and cultural ramifications.

Reproducing African institutions and beliefs

By the early twentieth century, colonial game legislation and the increased pressure on Africans to take waged labour reduced men's ability to negotiate the terms of their labour and forced them into more subservient roles. While commercial hunters were still employing African men to kill game for them as late as the 1880s, by 1914, William McMillan could speak casually of 'booting' his gunbearer for taking the liberty of firing when no one's life was threatened.⁴⁶ The rise of white hunter guides between 1905 and 1910, further deskilled African hunters' labour by reducing the opportunities they had to advise or direct hunters and rendering what few skilled positions remained far less visible.

This overarching narrative of dispossession, however, has obscured the patchier nature of these transformations on the ground. Outside of the all-inclusive safaris of East Africa, African trackers and gunbearers continued to have more control over the hunt itself, as they had done in previous decades. Describing one of his first hunts in Somaliland in 1896, A. E. Leatham wrote that he grew hungry and ordered a halt for 'tiffin', but his 'head shikari' grew 'impatient' with the break. He 'snapped his fingers, which was his signal for attracting attention, and off we went again'.⁴⁷ Over ten years later, Edward North Buxton warned Theodore Roosevelt that Somali hunters who were used to working with vacation hunters would expect to have a freer rein, which, if true, would be saying something considering the discretion that even settler-hunters' gunbearers exerted in critical moments.⁴⁸ When A. H. E. Mosse made his safari, he hired a gunbearer named Abdilleh, who had formerly worked for the settler-hunter Lord Delamere, whose reputation suggests he would not be one to recommend an African employee who took any liberties in his employment. Abdilleh, however, openly ignored Mosse's command to hand over the second rifle when a lioness was charging and dispatched the animal himself. Mosse was angry, but

Abdilleh defended his decision, with the result that Mosse backed down and admitted that 'under the circumstances he was quite justified in acting as he did'.⁴⁹ The continued dependence of British hunters on African guides, trackers and a few gunbearers enabled those men to structure the hunt in accordance with their own values and practices. More critically, they did not just practice their hunting culture from within caravans, they also perpetuated it through them. Indeed, colonial efforts to curtail African hunting made British expeditions one of the few spaces in many regions in which African men could openly hunt in a group, and hence made them vital spaces for the transmission of the many different social norms, knowledge systems, rites and skills that were bound up in the pursuit, killing and processing of wild animals.

At the most basic level, the successful pursuit of animals requires training and practice, and one important method for acquiring that knowledge is for less experienced hunters to accompany an expedition, during which they can observe and 'absorb information on animal signs, stalking and techniques for killing mammals and the appropriate lineage rites over the carcasses of slain beasts'.⁵⁰ There were many districts in the early twentieth century, however, in which it had become virtually impossible for African men to hunt big game. As Edward Steinhart observed in his history of East African hunters, it was more difficult to hunt in groups than individually, because there were few explanations that colonial officials would accept that could account for why a large party of armed men was travelling together, whereas an individual might reasonably claim he was only carrying a weapon for self-defence.⁵¹ For some young men, then, British expeditions offered a rare opportunity to observe hunting skills, knowledge and rites in action.

Such prospects, however, offered but a faint imitation of the path to becoming a respected hunter in many Central African societies in the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. Hunting for many mixed-economy societies was a specialized and often prestigious 'vocation', and its skills were not learned through practice so much as acquired through the propitiation of spirits or hunting ancestors and through being initiated into higher ranks within a hunting guild.⁵² Hunting knowledge was, in effect, transferred to one and entailed not only information about animal behaviours but also about interconnections between the visible and invisible worlds.⁵³ As Victor Turner explained, gaining the ability "'to see animals quickly'" was less about learning to see well-camouflaged animals and more concerned with making them appear to the hunter.⁵⁴ Hunting guilds protected and passed on such knowledge and the necessary rites, and these guilds, of which there could be multiple in

any given area, were, in turn, 'intimately related to the function of the social, political and economic systems' of their respective societies. Moreover, this 'involvement [of hunting] within each of these systems' combined with the metaphysical powers associated with hunters and their ability to supply meat as well as marketable commodities made them respected figures and potential leaders.⁵⁵ Many sub-Saharan societies' foundation narratives, for instance, include foreign hunters in prominent roles, often as the society's founder or husband of a founder, and in more recent times, hunting played a role in the formation or reclamation of various polities. Sipopa later King of the Lozi, lived as a hunter during his time in exile and was initiated into a powerful hunting guild, which conferred upon him status and access to networks that were useful in his efforts to rebuild the Lozi Kingdom on the shores of the Zambezi River.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the 'spoils' hunters brought back reinforced community cohesion by reaffirming social hierarchies and kinship ties.⁵⁷

Such complex social, economic and political linkages could only be replicated through British hunting expeditions in substantially reworked forms. Local hunters who guided British hunting parties often supplied their communities with meat and other by-products, but these were not necessarily distributed in ways that recognized or reaffirmed hierarchies or lineage ties. Similarly, while the African hunters who travelled with British hunters retained some control over their work, it was nothing like the 'distinctive autonomy' of hunters outside the colonial system, nor would they necessarily gain the same types of trophies or metaphysical knowledge that would have marked them as master hunters, particularly as colonial pressures and changes led to the decline of hunting guilds.⁵⁸ Among the Hwesa in Zimbabwe, for instance, preservation legislation and the 'forced entrance of . . . males into the migrant labor market' resulted in the disappearance of hunting guilds shortly after the British South Africa Company established control over the region in 1904.⁵⁹ Among the Bisa of north-eastern Zambia, however, the decline of hunting guilds in the early twentieth century, was due not to colonial policies but to the introduction of muzzle loading guns, which enabled individual hunters to kill game that previously required a group effort. As Stuart Marks showed, the pursuit of game as an individual activity remained a source of prestige and community cohesion well into the mid-twentieth century.⁶⁰ It was not until the 1960s that 'the quantity of game killed each year . . . by game guards and by outsiders on safari and its free distribution' undermined the status of hunters. Yet even then, the decline of hunting as an occupation and path to leadership was also tied to the growing allure of cities.⁶¹ This latter example is suggestive, though, of

the ability of hunters to reproduce the status and specialized knowledge of hunting without guilds, while the disappearance of these institutions could also add to the value of participating in colonial hunting.

British hunters' references to their guides' and trackers' spiritual practices were generally little more than brief asides, but collectively they evoke the deeper context in which these men were operating. Ewart Grogan, for instance, noted that his guides in central Mozambique placed leaves under a bush on the left side of the path to ensure the success of their hunt, while other hunters described their men rubbing their bodies with the fat or blood of a kill, which one hunter explained was 'to make themselves brave and strong'.⁶² Several others noted that the men leading them interpreted the appearance or death of a particular animal as a signal that the hunt would succeed.⁶³ Rarely, hunters provide more detailed information, such as the account presented by David Macpherson of the 'witchcraft' that his head tracker, Hassani, performed when they finally found recent elephant spoor. As Macpherson explained,

Every elephant fundi, as he is called, has his own medicine in which he puts implicit faith. . . . Hassani's idea was to cast a spell over the elephant so as to prevent him going far. We three underlings sat down with our backs turned while Hassani busied himself with the dung. What he did I do not know. I would never dare to encounter his displeasure by trying to see what he was doing, and we had to wait patiently until the rites were finished.⁶⁴

Here, again, is striking evidence of the dominant role African hunters could take during the hunt itself. This account also illustrates, however, the ability hunters like Hassani had to reproduce their social and spiritual practices within the confines of colonial hunting expeditions. Macpherson's account is particularly interesting because he was hunting in Tanzania in the mid-1920s. By this point, the safari industry was well established, and the Serengeti had become a popular hunting ground of wealthy tourists. Yet Hassani clearly continued to be invested enough in the outcome of the hunts in which he was serving as a tracker for Europeans that he used his specialized rites and knowledge in an effort to affect the animal's behaviour.

By using his medicine, Hassani also made Macpherson's expedition a site wherein Hassani's values and practices could be transmitted to younger or less experienced hunters. In the example described above, the medicine Hassani performed was a secretive affair, but a successful hunt could still serve to confirm the efficacy of his medicine and reinforce any

attendant beliefs in the eyes of subordinate trackers. Moreover, not all such rites were conducted in private. On a subsequent hunt, the party spied recent elephant spoor in the evening. That night Hassani led 20 to 30 other members of the party in a long 'chant' in his 'own tribal dialect' that relayed the party's experiences up to that point and asked the ancestors to 'honour us with their presence and . . . give us an elephant—a big one with large tusks'.⁶⁵ It is by participating in rites that novices learn the appropriate forms, and as such, the incorporation of such activities into British hunting expeditions contributed to the continuation of these practices and their attendant beliefs in the colonial context.

Some of these practices, however, could not be transferred without a junior hunter being properly initiated into the knowledge. A few British hunters, for example, came to repose 'implicit faith' in particular charms, omens or medicine men, but they could only ever be consumers, not producers of such metaphysical technologies. The same may well have been true for many younger gunbearers and trackers.⁶⁶ Moreover, in order to utilize charms or rites, African hunters had to be working for a British man who either was willing to accord time for such measures or did not have the power to forbid it. Frederick Gillett was incredulous when his Muslim gunbearer asked to stop in the middle of a hunt in order to pray, and Gillett absolutely forbade it.⁶⁷ While Gillett may have been more amenable to stopping the hunt for an observance that promised better hunting, as Macpherson did when he stopped for Hassani to work his rites, there can be little doubt that there were British hunters who refused to pause their pursuit of game for what they saw as mere superstitions. Yet, the fundamental assumption that successful hunting involved invisible as well as visible forces led many people to believe that British hunters themselves had powerful charms or knowledge that could account for their skill in shooting.⁶⁸ Several veteran hunters reported being asked by a tracker or elite man to share some of their knowledge or create a charm to increase the other party's hunting prowess. In fact, due to the broader knowledge of medicine and spirits expected of hunters, and the obviously strange knowledge of Europeans, these requests were not always limited to hunting medicine. Others reported being asked for medicine or charms to heal cataracts or ensure the production of children.⁶⁹ As Arthur Neumann found, disavowals of such knowledge were not believed but rather seen as signs of 'unfriendliness'.⁷⁰ Consequently he, like many other British hunters, came up with some form of charm to offer their petitioners, sometimes with some well-meant advice on the subject at hand. Thus, British hunters themselves—despite contributing to the decline

of hunting guilds and the status and opportunities of hunters in many societies—themselves reaffirmed popular understandings of hunting and the metaphysical knowledge associated with it.

This is not to suggest, however, that British hunting contributed to the preservation of static ‘native’ customs, as can be seen by considering the events that unfolded during a hunting trip that the ivory hunter Jim Sutherland made in the early 1900s. Sutherland, along with the African hunters he regularly employed and a local elephant hunter and guide he had temporarily hired, named Makabuli, were in pursuit of elephants when a young bull charged Makabuli. In Makabuli’s culture this was a sign that a hunter’s wife was cheating on him, and so he asked to return to the base camp to check on his wives, but Sutherland felt ‘obliged to refuse him this favour, because he was the only one of our party who was well acquainted with the country’. Makabuli, however, could not wait. He deserted the party and returned to camp, causing further problems as he had Sutherland’s extra cartridges, rifle and binoculars with him. When Makabuli arrived, he found one of his wives flirting with another man, and as this confirmed his worst fears about her infidelity, he beat her severely and burnt her hands.

Up until this point, Sutherland’s account seems to demonstrate the ability of British hunts to perpetuate ‘customary’ understandings of the interconnections between nature and society, the visible and invisible worlds, but the story did not end there. After beating his wife, Makabuli faced questions from the remaining men in camp, who wanted to know why Makabuli had returned alone and with such useful equipment. Makabuli reportedly told them Sutherland had given him permission, but suspecting him of desertion, they bound him and awaited the main party’s return. The other women in camp were also ‘infuriated at the brutal way Makabuli had treated his wife’, and upon Sutherland’s arrival, they asked that the hunter be severely punished for it. Sutherland agreed, and ‘feeling that Makabuli deserved it . . . told them that they had better take the law into their own hands and mete out the punishment they thought most appropriate. . . . About a dozen of them . . . soundly thrashed him and as a native can suffer no greater humiliation than to be beaten by women, Makabuli, I think, thoroughly expiated his misdemeanor’.⁷¹ The process at play here was clearly not a simple encounter of ‘British’ and ‘African’ hunting cultures, but the contested interplay of multiple actors’ ideas about appropriate behaviours and practices. The interconnections between hunting and other institutions—such as the relations between husband and wife—created reverberations that reached beyond the hunt itself.

Indeed the broader social life of caravans made them a domain in which social norms and ideas were reinforced and reworked more generally. For instance, men who were seen to behave in a cowardly or silly fashion while hunting or in camp would be ruthlessly mocked by the other men in the party or temporarily ostracized from the group's social life.⁷² Expeditions also involved long days of walking and evenings in camp that porters, trackers and hunters filled by singing songs, recounting past exploits and retelling oral histories and folklore. This in itself contributed to the perpetuation of knowledge and social standards, but hunters, trackers and gunbearers also frequently reenacted hunts and fought 'the day over again', which likely reinforced the masculinity and prestige that these men and possibly other camp personnel attached to big game hunting.⁷³ James Dunbar-Brunton wrote in 1912 that if a hunter had been in the country long enough to understand the language of his men, he could be 'much amused' listening to those 'aristocrats of the natives', gunbearers, trackers and hunters, telling tales of other British hunters' exploits 'and the part they themselves have played in the drama. Sometimes one comes to the conclusion, on hearing the talk of their prowess on such occasions, that the white man had really very little to do with the successful result.'⁷⁴ There was far more truth to Dunbar-Brunton's tongue-in-cheek observation than he or any of his contemporaries could or would accept. Yet while trackers and gunbearers were integrally involved in each hunt—finding the spoor, tracking the animal, pointing that animal out to the British hunter when it came into sight and potentially following its blood spoor if only a wounding shot was made—and could prove themselves through their performance, doing those tasks in the service of another, especially in the service of British hunters who insisted upon doing the actual killing, necessarily altered the meaning and practice of these pursuits.

The social structures attendant on the pursuit of game made British hunting expeditions domains of deep intersectionality. African hunters and trackers understood the hunt and its outcomes in radically different ways than British hunters did, and in many instances, the former were in a position to bring their knowledge and practices into the hunt itself even as late as the 1920s. There were certainly other instances when British hunters hired men who were not actually hunters as their trackers and guides and who, thus, had no such knowledge to employ. Similarly, it seems highly unlikely that some elements of hunting, such as guild initiations, were ever reproduced even in reimagined forms in the context of British hunting expeditions. With the potential exception of such acts

as retelling oral histories in the evening, the integration of African hunting practices into British expeditions was also, almost by definition, an act of adaptation, invention and, potentially, contestation. Such actions, though, made British hunting a site for the production of African social forms and standards as well as a site of their disruption and shaped how colonial hunting was experienced by those who participated in it.

Bwana patrons: Hunting networks and social connections

The adaptive integration that presented benefits and opportunities for some, however, could itself be disruptive, and recontextualizing the work and experiences of gunbearers in terms of colonial labour questions provides another perspective on the multiplicity of outcomes generated by the intersectionality of hunting. The duration of the work alone, for instance, could produce new stresses. Some communities, such as the Nyamwezi, were already aligned toward long-distance caravan work or hunting, but for others, the lengthy engagements of men were more disruptive, socially and even agriculturally.⁷⁵ There was also the matter of compensation. Hunting was prestigious in part because it provided access to both subsistence and status goods, and this continued in various ways within British expeditions. British hunters killed many animals simply to feed their workers, who could also request the unwanted skins and hides from those animals to make such items as footwear.⁷⁶ Gun-bearers and trackers also frequently received small gifts, such as tobacco, and larger gifts or bonuses at the conclusion of a hunt and were in a position to make special requests. One hunter mentioned shooting a gerenuk gazelle 'for my shikari, who wanted the skins for a present to his bride'.⁷⁷ They also received wages, which if meagre could be higher than other forms of colonial employment. The most highly paid gunbearers, for instance, earned £2 a month in 1908, as did the average headmen, though most gunbearers received significantly less.⁷⁸ Lower-paid gunbearers still earned more than the average porter, though, who received just over 13 shillings a month, roughly a third what the better paid gunbearers were making.⁷⁹ Together the wages and gifts of trackers and gunbearers could support the perception of hunting as a vocation that led to the acquisition of high status goods, but, like so many other realms of wage labour, could disrupt the authority of senior hunters, chiefs and elders and severely limit their control over younger men's access to the hunt and its resources.

Participating in this colonial institution, thus, necessarily subverted critical social categories. The position of gunbearer, for instance,

encompassed a wide range of working conditions, and while experienced and skilled gunbearers might play a significant role in the hunt itself, there were many more, particularly in the context of vacation safaris, who simply carried 'their *bwana's*' gun in the field and then waited on him or her in camp. The type of work one does is also a significant marker of status, and in such cases, gunbearers were carrying out servile tasks in full view of other men. Evaluated by the standards of many precolonial equatorial and southern African societies, this alone would have marked it as a lowly position, suitable to dependents of inferior status. Yet once employed by a party, a tracker or gunbearer had little control over his specific assignment. Edith Maturin claimed that the gunbearers in her party would feign illness or disappear when told they had to go out in the field with her, because she rarely hunted and frequently cried if she killed anything. She quoted them as saying there was 'no fun in that kind hunting [*sic*]' and stated that they much preferred accompanying any other member of the party because it meant more sport.⁸⁰ Trailing after a woman carrying her gun on the off chance that she decided to hunt and then standing by as she cried over the few animals she did kill almost certainly was 'no fun' and was likely demeaning. Moreover, the hunt itself was a gendered space in many African societies, policed by strict taboos; women hunters would have been seen by many cultures as transgressing social and metaphysical boundaries. This does not seem to have been an issue in the case of Maturin, as she said the gunbearers were far more willing to go out with the other woman in their party, who was a much more enthusiastic hunter. Once hired, however, a gunbearer had little choice over his assignment. It was partly for such reasons that those with sufficient skill were extremely wary of accepting employment with anyone they did not know from experience or by reputation. Despite the control hunters, trackers and gunbearers could wield over the hunt itself, they were still substantially under the power of the British hunter(s), and ensuring a poor bag offered small recompense for brutal or degrading treatment.

Yet vacationing hunters' diaries and travelogues make clear that there were a number of men who were eager to be named a gunbearer, and who at least gave the impression that they saw the opportunity to serve a white hunter as a position of good standing. While some of these men may have been performing a role for the benefit of their temporary *bwana*, postcolonial literature and scholarship have provided ample evidence of the psychological and social effects of colonization on the colonized. The prestige and pride many attached to being a favoured

'boy' to a colonial 'master' is a prime example of these changes,⁸¹ and there can be little doubt that such transformations—which represented a significant cultural shift—were also fostered through imperial hunting relations.

Even the master-servant relationship looks different, though, when considered as a form of patronage, a practice that was widespread in sub-Saharan Africa, including the Swahili trade culture, which formed the basis of the East African safari industry. Broadly speaking, being a patron involved certain rights over the labour and products of clients as well as obligations to protect those men and to help them find employment. Many hunters slid neatly into this role when they recommended favourite hunters, gunbearers and headmen to their friends and relations planning hunting trips. Even the references with which hunters provided their workers at the conclusion of a journey could be read and understood within this existing system of patron-client relations. The demand for good gunbearers and headmen meant that hiring could not be left to chance, and hunters sometimes wrote safari agents months in advance to request the services of particular men, with whom they had worked previously or heard about from other hunters. Interestingly, this communication network ran both ways, and some gunbearers and headmen wrote letters to their former employers, which were duly forwarded by the safari agents.⁸²

Unfortunately, no such letter has yet been located in the archives, but their existence suggests that some gunbearers and other personnel with whom a hunter worked closely understood there to be a relationship between them that extended beyond the conclusion of an expedition and that they attempted to foster such connections. In some instances, this perception was mutual. Frederick Jackson wrote that when safari workers grew too old to work, they were suddenly 'nobody's child', yet when one of his former gunbearers died in poverty, the man's friends asked Jackson to pay for his burial, which he did. That the man had not asked for assistance earlier bothered Jackson, and more so a friend of his, General Matthews, who subsequently tried to organize a small colony for former safari workers where they could live rent free. Matthews died before the scheme came to fruition, but it gained some support. Jackson believed it was the inspiration behind the colony another hunter, Frank Hall, established at Fort Smith, where Jackson's 'old gun-bearer Bilal Stanley retired to and ended his days'.⁸³ Gunbearers of particularly long or significant service—for instance, one who had saved the life of 'his' hunter—might also be 'pensioned for life' or given a relatively easy job on the hunter's estate, if he or she had one, once the gunbearer

had become too old for expedition work.⁸⁴ The idea that hunters had a responsibility toward those men they employed for multiple trips may have appealed to middle-class hunters as a sign of their higher class status in Africa. It also reflected the language and ideology of imperial paternalism and reinforced the imperial order, because patron-client relationships, unlike blood brotherhood, presumed and emphasized the unequal standing of British hunters and the men they hired. Systems of difference and inequality are essential to imperialism, and in this sense such relationships supported colonial culture, but they did so while concurrently strengthening alternate social systems. Patronage, in effect, offered an instance in which British and African logics, while still distinct, appeared to blur together.

The congruence between patronage and paternalism indicates that it was not just hunters' dependence on African knowledge and cooperation but imperialist ideas themselves that enabled hunters' African employees to integrate their practices, beliefs and systems into the hunt. The actions and agency of those men determined how this space was utilized, but they were also working in a constrained system, the social context and meaning of which were radically different from precolonial systems. Guilds were in decline, and hunting was not nearly so tied to political leadership as it had been in many societies in Central and East Africa. The tension created, however, between the opportunity to use imperial hunting to reproduce social norms and the challenge to those norms the sport presented was not a new phenomenon. Jane Guyer argued that a key feature of social life in many equatorial societies was the tension between the 'forces of structured order' and those of 'novelty'.⁸⁵ A prospect for some is a challenge for others, whether they are individuals or institutions, and it is this push and pull of opportunity that encouraged invention and enabled institutions to adapt to new circumstances and thus persist over the long term. Superficial and even substantive changes might obscure but nonetheless leave intact the cultural integrity of institutions and the worldview to which they were connected. For instance, Agnes Herbert noted that her trackers and gunbearers often sang when they were out looking for game, but the refrain of one such song was 'Wiyil, Wiyil, Mem-sahib calls you'. *Wiyil* is the Swahili word for rhinoceros, but the inclusion of *mem-sahib* suggests the transcolonial influences that were shaping these men's performance.⁸⁶ The inclusion of English words also suggests, however, that the men were intentionally using this song to connect to Herbert, who for the several-months-long journey was functioning as a patron. The words and context may have been different, but the use of labour songs

and the process of building bonds of affinity with a patron were not. The simple refrain sung by these men to a female, British hunter reflected at one and the same time social disruption, colonial power and the inventive reproduction of cultural forms.

African individuals and communities structured their interactions with hunters and hunting in terms of their own networks, practices and interests. Their actions made hunting a site of intersectionality, in which an array of African systems and outlooks mingled with imperial culture and practice. For Africans, this was generally a process of adaptation and alteration. A society's values, for instance, might be promulgated through their hunters' participation in British hunting, but the guild that had once been the guardian of those values disappear. It was, moreover, in everyday interactions, like those analysed in this chapter, that imperial rule was forged. Strengthening indigenous forms created a tension within imperial culture, but in the British system of indirect rule, such tensions were ideologically necessary in addition to being a matter of practicality. Imperial rule was not and could not simply be a matter of force. It was always simultaneously defined by selective incorporation and cooperation on the part of both colonizers and colonized populations. Game hunting was part of this process, and hunters' narratives captured this complexity, which contributed to the more realistic, and ultimately more powerful, vision of imperial rule that they promoted. When British hunters acknowledged that they had to go through 'savage' rites such as blood brotherhood or pay homage to a spirit medium and allow their men to hunt with the aid of a reed, they were suggesting the limits of their control and the agency of African individuals. They subsumed these admissions, however, in narratives that highlighted the overarching distinctions between British hunters and the so-called primitive savages of the 'African Interior'. Read in the context of imperial culture, these constraints became obstacles that hunters overcame, thereby proving their fitness to rule. Nonetheless, the actions of African individuals also positioned British hunters according to alternate networks and subsumed them and their actions within competing understandings of imperial relations to the visible and invisible worlds. Imperial control made itself felt, physically and metaphorically, but it was not the sole determinate of the implications imperial hunting had in British or African cultures.

4

Lady Lion Hunters: An Imperial Femininity

In *Hunters Three*, an 1895 novel by Thomas Knox, three young men hunting in Africa meet two English women pursuing elephants. That ladies would be hunting with only hired hands for an escort was 'enough to take any man's breath away', but the men quickly recover and set to debating the more important issues: namely, how might they make the acquaintance of these independent women and what should they call them? Is an 'amazon [*sic*] of the African woods' a hunter or a 'huntress'? Jack Delafield argues that, 'in sport, as in science, there's no distinction of sex,' and after citing the precedent of female doctors concludes that, 'hunting big game in South Africa is entitled to be called a science; anyhow, it requires a lot of science to succeed in it. She's a hunter just as much as you or I.'¹ Interestingly, this unisex categorization of the women does not negate their appeal. By the conclusion of the novel, the three men have made them no less than four offers of marriage, two of which were accepted.

Knox's declaration on the sexless nature of big game hunting stands at odds with the established histories of hunting, science and the Victorian period in general. His plot line and the men's appreciation of the female hunters are not as absurd as one might imagine, however. While relatively few women hunted in Africa before the First World War, the reception of those who did was surprisingly positive. As with most Edwardian institutions, that acceptance came with qualifications. Women would never, for instance, be invited to join in the ranks of the illustrious Shikar Club, whose membership was made up of the most respected big game hunters of the day. As vacation hunters, however, they were able to pursue sport and adventure without marking themselves as New Women (the icons of the contemporary campaign to expand women's rights, autonomy and activities) or eccentric spinsters; rather, they were simply sportswomen. Yet their successes in the hunting field did not

disrupt the association between the sport and contemporary notions of hardy masculinity either. In fact, in the early 1900s, African game hunting was celebrated for its ability to help regenerate white manhood.

This overwhelming association of hunting with white male power has steered historians away from an analysis of women hunters, but the underlying argument in this chapter is that precisely because this remained a man's world, the actions and portrayals of even a few female hunters are essential for understanding the culture of the sport and the masculinity it supported.² The narratives of women hunters and the contemporary representations of their sporting accomplishments are of interest in their own right, but they also open up a rich space for examining the 'mighty hunter' ideal, the appeal of hunting and the vision of the imperial African frontier in British culture. Several scholars have argued that women necessarily adopted masculine traits or authority when travelling in Africa, but the descriptions by and about women hunters offer a radically different perspective. Jack Delafield's fictional assertion notwithstanding, there was a distinction of sex. Women hunters portrayed themselves and were portrayed by others in feminine terms, and their participation, therefore, signifies more than the acceptance of a few select women on the hunting fields of Africa. It represents the opening of hunting to femininity.

This chapter traces the emergence of women hunters, their acceptance and portrayal as feminine hunters, and the manner in which hunting was aligned with conventional femininity in the descriptions by and about them. Big game hunting has stood for so long as an archetype of masculine imperial power that it can be difficult to conceive of how the trope of the white hunter could represent anything but masculine dominance even when it was embodied by a woman. Yet, the authority and position of women hunters in Africa was constructed differently from that of men, by both the women themselves and their observers. Even the power women hunters had over porters and camp personnel was described in similar ways to the control British women exercised over colonial servants in the home. In sharp contrast to the domestic politics of settler societies, however, women on safari neither feared nor were represented as being in danger of sexual advances from African men. This extraordinary absence of black peril anxieties highlights the insights that can be obscured when only one aspect of the gender equation is considered and illustrates the distinctive connotations of the safari in Edwardian culture. Women hunters' presumed safety demonstrates that—despite the expansion of colonial control, which many cited as opening Africa up to women—British culture continued to

view Africa's hunting grounds as a land apart. While the acceptance of feminine hunters both emerged out of and reaffirmed the political and social control of Britain over the unsettled portions of the colonies, their participation ultimately functioned to strengthen the imaginary divide between the supposedly primitive landscapes of the Interior and the increasingly 'civilized' portions of the colonies.

Ladies hunting lions

To be clear, British women in Africa were few and far between in the nineteenth century, and those who hunted were even rarer. Two of the first women to publish accounts of their own experiences hunting in Africa were Cornelia Speedy, who hunted once while travelling with her husband in the Sudan in 1878, and Lady Florence Dixie, who hunted briefly in South Africa while covering the first Anglo-Boer War for the *Morning Post* in 1881.³ By that time, British women were accompanying their husbands on African expeditions with greater frequency, but it was not until the late 1890s, and particularly the early 1900s, that women began hunting in Africa with any regularity. By 1913, the *New York Times* was reporting that a big game shooting honeymoon in British East Africa was the 'latest idea of fashionable England',⁴ but the number of women who hunted remained quite small. The British East Africa government gazettes list only 18 women taking out hunting licenses between 1904 and 1909, while the gazettes of British Central Africa, Southern Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia show even fewer. There was a modest increase in the 1910s, but women's names remained rare in the lists of licensees.⁵

Limited though they were in numbers, women hunters represent a relatively broad spectrum of upper- and middle-class identities. As one would expect, most were married, but single, divorced and probably widowed women launched expeditions in Africa on their own or in the company of another woman. These women also ranged from imminently respectable to marginally acceptable in the eyes of Society. Edith Maturin, later Edith Porch, made a hunting expedition with her lover, Cecil Porch, while still married to another man. She had been separated from her husband for 12 years when she wrote to him from South Africa—in a letter that was printed in the *Times*—that she had 'met a man whom I love and who loves me, and whom under the circumstances I consider I have the usual right to call husband'.⁶ Clearly, Maturin was a progressive thinker, who had openly turned her back on many of the tenets of middle-class respectability. It is not altogether surprising, then, that she took up the

unconventional pursuit of hunting, but when she advertised for a travelling companion, she purposely chose the most conventional woman she could find as she wanted someone whose horizons she could open. Yet, it was this 'Insular Miss' who proved to be the more enthusiastic hunter of the two.⁷ Moreover, while Maturin positioned herself as a New Woman, women hunters in general were not described as such—while women bicyclists at the time frequently were. In short, a hunting trip may have been somewhat daring, but it was not the purview of any one type of woman, elite, New or otherwise. Edwardian female hunters constituted a far more interesting lot.

That said, women of all ranks routinely faced obstacles unknown to the male hunter, ranging from locating suitable clothing to warding off the dire advice of friends and relations.⁸ The Marchioness of Stafford was 'a fine shot', but when she embarked for an East African safari with her new husband, her relatives reportedly 'tried hard to dissuade her' from hunting lions while there.⁹ Lions posed a danger to even seasoned hunters, but people simply presumed that woman hunters, no matter how experienced, were not as skilful or reliable in the field as the average male hunter. These doubts were so engrained that even ardent women hunters distrusted the ability of themselves and other women. In an article detailing her own, successful, lion hunt, Hildegard Hinde advised readers that 'a white man, and a good shot . . . [is] absolutely essential in neighbourhoods where dangerous game abounds'. She acknowledged that she had once 'gone shooting with only a following of black men (when my husband was ill and I was obliged to supply meat for ourselves and our camp), but this was only after I had done enough shooting to be considered a safe shot'.¹⁰

Hinde was not the only hunting matron to proclaim that women pursuing game in Africa without white male protectors were 'bound to meet with disaster and misfortune',¹¹ but her warning is all the more remarkable because just six months prior to publishing this advice, she had vehemently defended her abilities to Charles E. Fagan, the assistant secretary of the Natural History Museum in London, who had cast doubt on her accomplishments. In a letter to the Museum, Hinde wrote, 'I couldn't help being rather insulted—perhaps *grieved* would be the better word—at your doubting whether I killed my animals at 300 yards. Of course I do—what would be the good of shooting if I didn't? I have quite a nice collection of heads and skins of my own shooting and I must confess to being rather proud of them. I do love to see a big beast roll over and know I have killed him.'¹² That Fagan challenged Hinde's word regarding her hunting feats in official, museum correspondence is

telling of the social barriers women faced, but the fact that Hinde, who clearly took great pride in her skill, believed that neither she nor any other woman should hunt without an experienced, male hunter speaks volumes to the obstacles women hunters had to overcome in their pursuit of sport and adventure.

Presumably, such misgivings deterred women who did not have encouragement from other quarters or the financial means and personality to disregard all advice to the contrary; but doubts about women hunters' abilities cannot be equated with disapproval per se. The narratives by and about those women who did hunt show that they were not only accepted but even admired by many for their sporting accomplishments. They also seem to have felt little need to dissemble their enjoyment of the sport or, in the case of married women, subsume their interest under that of their husband's. A few married women even hunted without their husbands. Helena Molyneux, the Countess of Sefton, made several safaris with her husband, but she also went twice without him.¹³ The Duchess d'Aosta, who prior to her marriage had been a fixture of British high society, hunted with another woman rather than with her husband, who may never have hunted in Africa.¹⁴ Middle-class women were unlikely to leave their husbands behind, but they, or their husbands, sometimes indicated that it was the woman's interest that had instigated the couple's trip in the first place.¹⁵ Men and women also described women hunters' accomplishments frankly, with no apology given for the latter's interest or skill.

And succeed they did. Most women had fewer opportunities than men for honing their shooting skills, but the slightly less contentious acceptance of ladies target shooting insured a supply of guns designed for women, should one be desired, and enabled women to practice before going out on safari.¹⁶ Expeditions also lasted for months, which meant that even inexperienced shooters could learn in the field and return with respectable bags. M. E. Meikle recorded that when she made a safari with her husband and their friends' daughter, the white hunter they hired brought out a 'small rifle' their first night in camp and began teaching the women to shoot. After practicing with targets, the ladies began shooting at birds and then spooring larger game. Meikle, like some vacationing men in this era, never hunted without the assistance of their white hunter, but she returned from the safari with trophy heads that she could call her own.¹⁷

More experienced women hunters even outperformed the men in their party, a fact that was surprisingly well received. Several scholars have noted that when the American sportswoman Delia Akeley shot a

bull elephant after her taxidermist husband, Carl Akeley, had been fruitlessly searching for one for weeks and even been mauled by one, both husband and wife evaded the question of who got the shot in their published narratives.¹⁸ There was little equivocation, however, in the case of British sportswomen. An experienced sportsman named Hugh Frasier seemed entirely unthreatened when 'Nellie', the Countess of Sefton, got the first kill on the hunting expedition Frasier made with her and her husband in Northeast Africa. Frasier recorded in their communal diary that the countess had spotted, stalked and taken a 'fine shot' at a Dik Dik 70 yards away. His enthusiastic statement, 'The first blood of the trip!! Vast excitement except Nellie who was as cool as possible', suggests he was neither patronizing nor resentful of her success.¹⁹ When Beryl and Cullen Gouldsbury went hunting with a friend of theirs, the two men in the party shot 'badly' for the first several days, a fact Cullen Gouldsbury hoped was due to the warped stocks they discovered on their rifles. Cullen went on to note that 'Today, indeed, Beryl did better than any of us, as she stalked and brought down in really first class style, upon open *nyika* [plains], three puku rams and a fine fat doe.'²⁰ To be sure, Beryl's success in this instance served as a measure of the men's failure, but her husband also clearly saw it as a result of her own commendable proficiency. Perhaps it would have been different if Beryl had shot a bull elephant as Delia Akeley did, but there are other examples of British women being celebrated for doing such.²¹

At times, women's abilities even converted some of their sceptics to a more enthusiastic point of view. Reginald Loder believed that some animals were too dangerous for a woman to hunt, but that did not stop his wife, Lady Margaret, from pursuing a rhinoceros when she decided she wanted one. Unfortunately, she only managed to wound and not kill the animal, compounding Reginald's frustration with her. Still, her enthusiasm and overall success during their trip pleased him. At the end of their safaris, he wrote in his diary, 'Maggie has surprised me in what she has been able to do day after day if she wished to. She has shot quite a good bag during this Safari. Few ladies have ever been on two Safaris lasting continuously just three months. I trust she will look back upon the time spent on Safari with some little pleasure.'²² In an even more striking example, Agnes Herbert recorded that before setting out on an expedition in Somaliland with her cousin Cecily, she overheard a fellow hunter, referred to only as 'The Leader of the Opposition Shoot', warning his companion, Ralph Windus, to stop paying the 'girls' so much attention, as they would try 'to tack on to our show. And I won't have it, for they'll be duffers, of course.'²³ Ultimately, however, it was

the women's safari that was 'much the most successful', a fact that 'the Opposition' acknowledged in a failed bid to combine their caravan with the women's after Herbert had been badly injured by an oryx.²⁴ Ralph had more luck in his attempt to 'tack on' to Cecily; she accepted his offer of marriage during a subsequent hunting trip the two parties made in Alaska. Agnes also strongly implied that she had an intimate relationship with Ralph's mysterious hunting partner, to whom she continued to refer only as 'the Leader'.²⁵ Apparently a man might doubt a woman's abilities and discourage her endeavours without seeing her desire to pursue game as inherently unsuitable or her success threatening to his masculinity—even when she had bested him.

Nor were Loder, Windus and 'the Leader' alone in the view they took of women big game hunters. Marguerite Roby set off into the Congo wearing breeches, hunting and commanding her caravan with gusto, yet, by her own account, she was considered quite womanly by those she met:

Indeed, whether on account of my fatal beauty or merely because of the lack of white women in Central Africa I know not, but the fact remains that I could have become a Mormon without the slightest difficulty during this expedition of mine. Yes, in all modestly I can confess that I was responsible for a regular District messenger service of porters, whose sole duty it was to pursue me through the bush, bearing epistles of an amatory nature from officials residing at posts through which I had passed.²⁶

The 'lack of white women in Central Africa' probably was part of Roby's allure in the eyes of the men she encountered, but so too most likely was her desire to hunt and her willingness to travel under rough conditions. Such qualities certainly seem to have endeared Cecily to Ralph Windus, and Cullen Gouldsbury declared that he and his wife, Beryl, travelled well together because they shared a '*penchant* for shooting things'.²⁷ For many big game hunters, a wife who shared their interests made for an attractive prospect.

Hunting was so overtly linked to manliness and to proving manliness that the romantic interest these men showed in women hunters seems surprising, but metropolitan news coverage of Edwardian Dianas reveals little angst about women shattering what the *Observer* referred to as the 'delusion' that African big game hunting was 'a masculine monopoly'.²⁸ When the Countess of Sefton shot her first lion in 1908, a news blurb, entitled 'A Lady Lion Hunter', enthusiastically reported

the fact, describing her as 'the adventurous Society sportswoman'.²⁹ A formal portrait of the countess accompanied the article, and the decorative piece of filet crochet that surrounded it literally framed her with a traditional symbol of middle- and upper-class femininity. Some years later, when King George V visited the couple at their home, an article covering the trip included a section entitled 'Lady Sefton's Trophies', which noted that she was 'a mighty hunter of big game. . . . Lady Sefton has shot, I believe, lions, tigers, and elephants. She does not care to go out on the moors to bring down grouse.'³⁰ A newspaper was unlikely to critique a countess, much less a hostess of the king, but this one stressed her imperial hunting experiences and her disdain for simple country shooting in order to depict her as a glamorous, elite woman. Similarly, the well-respected *Gentlewoman* published a portrait-photograph of Lady Grizel Hamilton, wife to the heir of a Scottish barony, that depicted Hamilton seated in a stylish dress with her hand resting lightly on a stuffed leopard. The caption described her firstly as possessing 'a dainty, delicate style of loveliness' and secondly as being 'a fine shot and a daring traveller . . . [who has] brought down many head of big game when on a hunting expedition with her husband in Africa'.³¹ When it came to the Society pages of women's magazines, African big game hunting, far from being a masculine pursuit, was another accomplishment that distinguished the stylish woman of leisure from the more banal members of her sex.

Hunting was fashionable and acceptable amongst the elite, but not everyone saw it as respectable or even feminine. One woman returned her copy of Agnes Herbert's first work because she 'didn't like so much killing', but evidence suggests that such individuals were in the minority. Indeed, Herbert quoted this woman's letter in her next work, *Two Dianas in Alaska*, as a tongue-in-cheek warning to readers that if they agreed that the 'taking of life' was 'unwomanly' and 'books on sport and adventure' were for 'the sterner sex', they should stop reading at once, because she and Cecily, 'went to Alaska to shoot, and—we shot'.³² The continued success of Herbert's works suggests that there were plenty of readers who were fine with that. But interest in 'Lady Nimrods' was high.³³ One must be cautious equating positive reviews of their works with public acceptance of them as women. Even after the very public divorce that followed her declaration of adultery, Edith Maturin found a publisher for her hunting travelogue and received favourable reviews in the press, while Lady Grace MacKenzie, who was too flamboyant to be respectable and whose very title was later questioned, hunted in Africa at the expense of American investors who expected to profit from the

safari film she was making.³⁴ A better indication that big game hunting was unlikely to affect a woman's reputation or tar her as unfeminine, therefore, is the simple fact that the governor of British East Africa and his wife readily allowed their youngest daughter, Monica Belfield, to accompany their friends, the Meikles, on a safari in the early 1910s.³⁵ Instances such as this suggest that by the early twentieth century, many of the concerns regarding women hunting and the lingering perception that the sport was unsuitable for women were falling away.

The Belfields' outlook is all the more telling because settler colonies were less accepting of women hunters than the metropole, though this was more true in southern than eastern Africa. An 1898 article in *Country Life Illustrated*, written 'from a woman's point of view', described the many pleasures that awaited 'the outdoor woman in Rhodesia', but it began with the striking claim that a woman 'is not usually welcomed as a member of a lion-hunting expedition, though one or two venturesome feminine spirits have joined in a war trail directed against the monarch of Matabele[land]. But apart from such big game hunting, there are many other forms of outdoor life to satisfy the woman of athletic habit.'³⁶ The slippage between hunting lions and pursuing an African king provides a useful reminder of the symbolic violence that underlay the sport and the deep connection between it and conquest, a point that underscores how remarkable the acceptance of women hunters in imperial-metropolitan culture was. The article also indicates that settlers in Rhodesia, at least, took a very different view of women hunters, and while it was written prior to the rise in women's hunting, evidence suggests that no more than a handful of settler women joined in the hunt in the early 1900s. Some district officials' wives hunted, as did women among the elite settlers of British East Africa, but few settler women purchased hunting licenses. Even those who rode out with a hunting party did not themselves always hunt.³⁷ In settler societies, in which the politics of rule necessitated the rigid enforcement of gendered and racialized codes of behaviour, hunting was more of—but still not entirely—a masculine activity.

In terms of women's broader acceptance, it is also suggestive that they received logistical support in Africa. Marguerite Roby, for instance, travelled through what was considered at the time one of the most violent and savage regions of the continent, the Belgium Congo, yet she received assistance at difficult moments from officials who could have said her only option was to turn back and who, in some cases, even invited her to go hunting with them.³⁸ The East African safari industry was also willing to cater to women's needs and included images of

women hunters in its promotional materials.³⁹ In Somaliland, Agnes Herbert and her cousin not only secured permits to hunt but through the aid of 'that much maligned, useful, impossible to do without passport to everything worth having known as "influence"', they received access to districts off limits to most hunters. Influence can certainly be a powerful tool, but if the officials involved had objected to women hunting or doubted their abilities, they would have denied such potent 'open sesame', influence or no.⁴⁰ Indeed, this very thing happened when officials in Uganda denied HRH the Duchess d'Aosta's application to hunt elephants on the grounds that it was too dangerous.⁴¹ This rejection cannot be read as a summary of d'Aosta's hunting experiences, however. She was able to hunt in North-Eastern Rhodesia and successfully killed a bull elephant.⁴² Furthermore, a well-known hunter, James Dunbar-Brunton, reproduced a photograph of her kneeling beside the elephant, rifle in hand, in his book, *Big Game Hunting in Central Africa*, which he dedicated to her.⁴³

The mixture of chauvinism and approval d'Aosta encountered typifies the place of women in imperial hunting culture. Excluded from certain arenas, they found everything from tolerance to admiration in others. Women hunters remained relatively rare in Africa prior to the First World War, and their numbers increased only slightly in the 1920s. Moreover, their presence also had no discernible effect on the standard image of the African big game hunter, which remained decidedly male. Yet women were part of the practice and the representation of African big game hunting, and it is essential to incorporate them into the broader history of the sport. Despite the dire warnings many encountered before their trips, they were welcomed by most male hunters and their accomplishments praised in the press. Women hunters generated so much interest because they were uncommon, yet they were not eccentrics. Rather, the image of the female big game hunter was that of a fascinating, fashionable woman, and together, their narratives and receptions reveal a surprising place for femininity in the image of African big game hunting.

Modern Dianas: The femininity of travel and hunting

The participation and acceptance of women hunters provides an invaluable lever for prying open the assumptions and expectations that underpinned game hunting culture and contributed to the popularity of the sport. As Andrea Smalley argued in reference to sport hunting in the United States, '[b]y examining women's shifting position in this male-dominated arena, rather than treating women's hunting as anomalous,

we can avoid explanations that simply equate masculinity with the things men do'.⁴⁴ Imperial travel and sport have been so tightly associated with hypermasculinity and manly privilege that it can be difficult to imagine these activities as embodying anything other than 'masculine power, authority and autonomy', even when they were performed by women.⁴⁵ Indeed, this has been the often explicit assumption made within the otherwise rich literature on British women travellers. While the sophistication of such work has varied, most studies have argued at some level that the racial politics of imperialism and women's own discursive and logistical strategies enabled them to participate in 'masculine' activities—such as exploration, sport and adventure—and/or adopt 'masculine' traits without sacrificing their feminine identities, because in the colonies (and other supposedly primitive landscapes) their participation attested to the comparative vigour of the white race and the superiority of British civilization rather than the inherent capacity or suitability of women for the public sphere.⁴⁶ Race and discourse are certainly key parts of the story, but the descriptions by and about women hunters reveal an alternate construction simultaneously at work, one that disentangled the very acts of African travel and hunting from notions of masculinity and reframed them in terms of such feminine virtues as patience, modesty and moral suasion.

This reframing was not always seamless, but neither was it fraught. Unlike female explorers just a few years before, women hunters were not characterized as New Women. This shift is partially attributable to the changing image of Africa in Britain at that time, but women were also active agents in constructing their social images, crafting narratives that balanced adventure and femininity. The lack of anxiety and resistance they encountered, however, suggests more than toleration or acceptance. It suggests a broader investment in opening the once masculine preserve of big game hunting not just to feminine women but to femininity itself.

The acceptance of women hunters was made possible by, and in turn reaffirmed, the political and imagined changes to Africa brought about by imperial conquest. With the notable exception of missionaries' wives, travel and even settlement by women outside Cape Colony was discouraged for much of the Victorian era. When May Sheldon announced her decision to travel in East Africa in 1891, officials tried to dissuade her due to the perceived dangers.⁴⁷ At that point, the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) was just beginning to extend its control beyond the coastal district nominally governed by the Zanzibari Sultanate. Within a decade, however, the British government had

claimed British East Africa as an official protectorate, established indirect control over much of Uganda, and begun building the Uganda Railroad. W. J. Ansorge, a medical officer, picturesquely summarized the radical changes to the region when he contrasted his first trip to Uganda in 1894 with the scene to be found five years later:

Where Bishop Hannington failed to pass and lost his life [by order of the King of Buganda], mission ladies now travel safely and comfortably. At Kikuyu, where we were warned not to venture out of sight of the fort, and never to go about unarmed or without an armed escort, three families of English settlers have built themselves homes, and three chubby infants, the first Europeans born in this distant region of Africa, have made their appearance.⁴⁸

In Ansorge's eyes, the extension of 'British supremacy' had transformed East Africa in the span of just a few years from a dangerous and untamed realm to a pleasant land fit for women and children.⁴⁹ Whether such declarations were made by observers intent on glorifying Britain's accomplishments or by 'old hands' nostalgic for the rough frontier life they saw slipping away, they unintentionally helped minimize the long-held objection to women travelling in Africa: that they would be at the mercy of the many 'savages' of the interior. The expansion of colonial control also meant that women were not securing permission to hunt from African chiefs or kings as the previous generation of hunters had, but instead were purchasing the right to hunt from European colonial officials, thus obviating what to Victorians was the horrifying image of white women being subject to the whims of barbaric African potentates. With the completion of the Uganda Railway in 1901 and the rise of the safari industry, people even began arguing that travel in East Africa had become, as it had already been described in South Africa, not only safe but a healthy and beneficial change for the busy, society woman.⁵⁰

The claim that a safari was not only acceptable but a wholesome escape for women reflected the contemporary belief in Britain that time spent in nature was morally uplifting, but the idea only applied to those regions that were believed to have been fully pacified. Women's presence in areas that were further from colonial settlement—such as parts of central and north-eastern Africa—was distinctly less encouraged, yet, remarkably still accepted. An 1896 article on 'Lady Travellers' published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* argued that the many hardships Alexandrine Tinne of Holland endured and her eventual murder

while seeking the source of the Nile with her mother and aunt, proved that African exploration was 'not work for a woman', but it concluded that 'in no case had their travelling enthusiasm involved the sacrifice of obvious domestic duty; nor has it brought out any qualities inconsistent with the modesty, the grace and the gentleness that must always be regarded as the fitting ornaments of the sex'.⁵¹ *Blackwood's* was an imperialist journal that was neither radical nor progressive. That its editors could describe African exploration and adventurous travel as 'not work for a woman' yet compatible with a *domestic* vision of femininity captures the flexibility of gender expectations and the willingness of people to flex them at the end of the nineteenth century—at least when it came to envisioning elite women's travel on the imperial frontier.

This shift in the perceived suitability of African travel is further suggested by the range of clothing women hunters wore. Previously, British women explorers in Africa wore fashionable women's clothing wherever they travelled—regardless of the inconvenience and impracticality of doing so—in order to deflect potential criticisms of their actions. By conspicuously rejecting the 'knickers and gaiters' of New Women, female travellers assured their 'audience that in dress, as in all matters, they had conducted themselves with the utmost propriety and with due regard to all the vestimentary conventions'.⁵² Early women bicyclists and sports enthusiasts made similar efforts to curb criticisms either by rejecting bifurcated clothing or by incorporating decorous mannerisms or feminine postures into their sport.⁵³

Women hunters, however, frequently adopted a more utilitarian attitude towards their outfits. Some wore full skirts, but others wore riding breeches, shortened or divided skirts, or knickerbockers and often felt little need to excuse their choice. In an article detailing her hunting experiences, Mary Bridson only made one reference to her clothing, and that was the simple statement that '[i]n the bush, but little time is spent in dressing, and most of that is occupied in the winding on of putties'.⁵⁴ In a different vein, Lady Cranworth devoted considerable space in her article to counselling prospective women hunters on the fashionable clothing they would need in colonial cities and warning against eschewing skirts there as it would lower a woman in the eyes of her 'native followers' and 'certainly shock any Colonists' she met. Yet when it came to hunting, Cranworth stated simply that 'necessity, comfort and economy of space . . . [should] be our sole consideration' and advised packing 'two pairs of really well cut riding breeches'.⁵⁵ Such brief references, devoid of justifications, combined with a lack of dissenting voices illustrates how much freer women hunters were to

bend—but not break—the rules governing women's clothing than earlier women travellers or metropolitan women engaged in many other sporting activities.

It can be useful to examine this comparable freedom in terms of 'a growing approximation of femininity to masculinity', but that reading cannot obscure the fact that contemporaries did not label it as such or decry the growing homogenization of the sexes.⁵⁶ To be sure, riding pants and knickerbockers were controversial in the metropole precisely because they were so similar to men's clothing. Proponents, though, presented them as necessary adaptations of women's fashion, and this interpretation gained force in the empire. One woman, for instance, had a blouse fitted with 'pads on the shoulders for her gun, and a strap with places for cartridges slung across her chest'.⁵⁷ Such a shirt was hardly the image of Regent Street femininity and could easily have been lampooned as mannish, but it was not. Actually donning such daring clothing was a source of anxiety for some women, but Edith Maturin, who brought full skirts, came to regret her lack of foresight, while Agnes Herbert stated that she and her cousin quickly abandoned the 'silly little skirt' with which they had initially covered their knickerbockers.⁵⁸ Even more notably, the only critique one reviewer made of Herbert's travelogue was that she did not include a photograph of herself and Cecily in their hunting kit. The reviewer claimed that 'it would have gratified the reader's curiosity to see them in their hunting costumes, which would have been more appropriate also to the occasion'.⁵⁹ This complaint hinted at the potential titillation of seeing a woman wearing knickerbockers, but it also indicated that women who donned them were not appropriating men's clothing, but demonstrating their ability to adapt feminine styles to 'the occasion' of imperial travel and sport.

The assumption that women adopted masculine power and authority when travelling in Africa is not so much a question of their clothing or representation, though, as it is one of their role commanding caravans. Authority was never solely a masculine privilege, however. Middle- and upper-class women routinely wielded control over domestic servants, who in African colonies were primarily men, and in many respects, the day-to-day control women exerted on hunting expeditions mirrored this domestic vision of imperial power. The compulsory force of empire was arguably much more overt in safari culture than in imperial homes, but respected male hunters frequently advised that tact, patience and firmness were the best guarantees for a successful venture. 'Bullying' Africans was distinctly discouraged, and this rhetoric of moral leadership fit

the virtues and management style expected of middle- and upper-class women.⁶⁰ Flogging and other forms of corporal violence formed a critical component of safari discipline, but women hunters—with the notable exception of Marguerite Roby—consistently omitted or downplayed such violence, as did many male hunters. This was relatively easy for women who travelled with a white man as they were not expected to take part in any corporal punishments. Those who led their own expeditions could not distance themselves so neatly from the underlying violence of caravan culture, but they generally championed alternate methods of control. According to one scholar, women were more prone than men to employ verbal violence, and Agnes Herbert was among the many hunters who encouraged a system of rewards and fines over flogging.⁶¹ The use of intermediaries to administer punishments also meant that even if a woman admitted to directing a flogging, as Roby did, hers would not be the hand that wielded the whip.⁶² Taken in concert, these choices and discursive moves all made it possible for the typically masculine power and authority associated with big game shooting in Africa to assume a more feminine form.

How far this feminization could go can be seen in Edith Maturin's account of the events that unfolded when her gunbearer, whose name she gave improbably as Lang-Wan, abandoned her in the field one day. Maturin had been marching in front of Lang-Wan and so did not even know they had become separated until she turned around eventually and discovered her plight. She had no idea how to get back to camp and wandered for hours in a maze of high grass, during which time she came face to face with a large, tawny lion. She had one bullet in her rifle, but it was of a size more suited to game birds than lions, and she did not even attempt to raise her gun. Fortunately for her, the lion 'trotted' off after a few seconds, at which point Maturin fled. Her flight put her on the right path, and she partially got her bearings but was still lost. In the intervening hours she sat down and cried multiple times and summarized the terror of her predicament by proclaiming 'May no helpless woman ever have to face such again!' Eventually, she came near enough to camp to risk using her only bullet as a signal, and after firing it and hearing the answering cry, she collapsed, to be rescued by Cecil Porch and borne back to camp in triumph. She was immediately fed and fussed over, and quickly retired to her tent, whereupon she described herself as feeling 'a distinct, if unchristian, sense of satisfaction at hearing Master Lang-Wan howling (as he hopped around rubbing that portion of his anatomy which should never be turned to the enemy) "Aie-ee! Aie-ee! Me no do it again!"'⁶³

Maturin's account implies that she neither participated in nor encouraged Lang-Wan's punishment, and by describing it only after saying she had entered her tent, she distanced herself physically from the act, though not psychically, as hearing his pain, she said, gave her satisfaction. More critically, the minstrelsy of Lang-Wan's supposed reaction robbed what we can only assume was a flogging of its brutality and made him into a childish buffoon, smarting from his paddling. Maturin could have been any well-to-do mother who had turned a particularly naughty child over to its nanny for punishment. Furthermore, the anecdote illustrates the manner in which she feminized her position in the Rhodesian wilderness by describing herself as a fearful and tearful, 'helpless woman'.

Like many nineteenth-century female travellers, women hunters' narratives were 'caught up in the contradictory clashes' between the standard tropes of imperial mastery and aggression and the subjectivity and behaviour expected of women in the Edwardian era. Women benefited from and upheld imperial power and culture and replicated its violent dominance with their hunting, but as Maturin's account suggests, women consistently undercut these aspects in their narratives. Using a combination of humour and modesty, they explicitly distinguished their experiences and subjectivity from that of male hunters, poked fun at themselves (and sometimes men), and undermined their own position as experts on big game hunting or colonial control. They invited their readers to laugh with them at their mistakes and failures and devoted significantly more attention to such topics as the women and babies that they encountered and African women's labour.⁶⁴ In short, by writing 'very much as "feminine" women', female hunters, like female travellers, 'align[ed] themselves with colonial forces' without 'wearing a male disguise'.⁶⁵

How these various discursive strategies came together to reaffirm the femininity of women who commanded their own caravans and avidly hunted dangerous game can be seen by considering Agnes Herbert's account of her and her cousin's successful expedition. Early in their journey, Herbert said, their headman and 'shikári', Clarence, asked them point blank if they could shoot. Such a question would have been deemed the height of insolence if put to a man, but Herbert described it as 'charming straightforwardness' and said that she 'was as modest as I could be . . . but I had to allay any fears the man might be harbouring'. Consequently she outlined their previous experience and with characteristic self-effacing humour, said that her 'unbounded confidence, not to say cheek, set all doubts to rest'.⁶⁶ More remarkably,

when they reached the game country, she admitted that neither she nor Cecily wanted to hunt in front of Clarence lest they return to camp 'unblooded, so to speak, when Clarence might, or would, or should, or could regard us as two amiable lunatics not fit to be trusted with firearms. This is a woman all over. Try as she will she cannot rise superior to Public Opinion—even the opinion of a crowd of ignorant Somalis!⁶⁷ On their first hunt, Herbert, to her 'infinite regret . . . drew' Clarence, but once in the field, her nervousness dissipated in the excitement of the chase. She soon brought down a gerenuk, but she denigrated the accomplishment before even retelling it, stating that she did not know then that it was 'the most difficult antelope to shoot in all Somaliland. . . . This is where the ignoramus scores. . . . Fools rush in where angels fear to tread—and win too sometimes.'⁶⁸ With these words she then told of her success, having robbed it of any skill before she began. Later, when they met up with the Opposition Shoot, the women discovered that they had been more successful not only in their hunting but also in the management of their caravan, the men having suffered desertion and 'chaos . . . from the outset'. Herbert immediately drained this comparison of any bite, though, by attributing the women's triumph to good fortune, 'bribery' and their headman, Clarence—whom their uncle had hired for them. She then reflected on her hope that she and Cecily had been appropriately humble in the face of success and concluded by hinting at the women's growing attraction to their male counterparts.⁶⁹

In short, Herbert deftly foreground their femininity and used her wit to fracture the image of colonial mastery and lighten her tales of the hunt, and reviewers responded in kind, describing the work as 'chatty and vivacious', 'delightfully humorous', and 'a welcome change after the innumerable recitals of "mere man" in Africa'.⁷⁰ The *Field* book reviewer's claim that once the men in their caravan 'discovered that the ladies could shoot, and supply them with venison, they became enthusiastically devoted to the fair huntresses',⁷¹ further illustrates the remarkable willingness of critics to read potentially masculine actions—in this case, securing colonial subjects' loyalty by using modern guns to provide meat—in terms of conventional feminine virtues. Far from being manly, Agnes and Cecily were charming women inspiring devotion.

Yet at the end of the day, women hunters were still slaying dangerous animals for pleasure, an act that could hardly be described in terms of the 'gentleness' expected of Edwardian ladies, and it was precisely this idea that led some to decry women's participation in hunting. In his 1911 manual, Walter Winans, who was then vice president of the British National Rifle Association, stated that he did not like to see women

shooting big game and only taught them to shoot—while maintaining attractive, feminine postures—for entertainment ‘or for self-defence in uncivilised countries’.⁷² A woman, he felt, should not be indifferent to dying animals, and he was not alone in this opinion. Over 25 years previously, however, in 1885, the editors of the *Field* had argued in an article on fox hunting that ‘[a] true sportsman is never cruel at heart, and has far more feeling of mercy for the brute creation than the vulpecide and those of such-like sympathies; and the same doctrine will apply to the newly-expanding class of sportswomen’.⁷³ In an era when hats featuring stuffed birds were the height of fashion, women were not expected to fret over the death of a wild animal, just its suffering, and the same held true for sportsmen. The editors further argued that women’s interest in sport reflected a desire to join men in their ‘pastimes’, to be companions in leisure, an explanation that cast women’s participation in terms of a gratifying interest rather than a threatening encroachment. Yet previously that same year, the *Field’s* review of Speedy’s account of travel in the Sudan had remarked that she was ‘obviously’ not enamoured by hunting, ‘for which, in the interests of proper feminine feeling, we are truly glad’.⁷⁴ The views on the femininity of hunting were clearly mixed, but the new tenets of sportsmanship, which stressed a hunter’s benevolence and concern for nature, made it possible to read the sport in terms of feminine virtues. By the early 1900s, this view was gaining steam.⁷⁵

Indeed, by the late 1890s, a woman traveller’s interest in big game hunting was not so much tolerated as expected. Helen Caddick, who travelled in Central Africa in 1898, was openly criticized by her fellow passengers for not being a good sport when she complained because they were shooting wildlife from the boat’s deck as it travelled up the river. The criticism Caddick faced is notable in part because shooting animals from a passing boat was against the code of sportsmanship, as wounded animals could not be tracked down and killed. The passengers she complained about also may not have had the proper licenses, because when she threatened to get off the boat at the next station and report the captain, he forbid any more such shooting.⁷⁶ More to the point, while Caddick was actively interfering with male leisure and authority, the criticism she encountered nonetheless demonstrates that women were not always heralded for their delicacy on the frontier. During a trip to British East Africa, another woman recorded in her private diary that a Colonel Montgomery met her at the Club in Nairobi and showed her ‘the stuffed heads of antilopes [*sic*] on the walls’. The fact that the woman in question hated ‘mothy stuffed animals’ appears to have escaped Montgomery’s notice and suggests that this was a routine

treat he gave visitors rather than an activity selected especially for her.⁷⁷ In colonial spaces, in which the pursuit of game was so overtly tied to the conquest of the landscape and to elite white privilege, hunting was an act in which a woman was at least expected to take a flattering interest.

The dictates of colonial space, then, combined with the new sporting codes contributed to the changing perception of hunting as appropriate to women of the ruling class. It is perhaps the contemporary propensity to refer to women big game hunters as Dianas, though, that best demonstrates how women's participation was understood in terms of their embodying an imperial femininity rather than adopting masculine behaviours. In Roman mythology, Diana was the maiden goddess of the hunt, of wild animals and of childbirth. She protected woodland animals but could also assist hunters, and while she had sworn off marriage and was sexually inaccessible herself, as the goddess of childbirth she helped ensure the reproduction of society. The frequent descriptions of women hunters as Dianas, thus, defined women's hunting in terms of a particular vision of imperial femininity, one that was strong yet also nurturing, autonomous yet also essential to the perpetuation of the empire itself.

Tramping through the wilderness, chasing wild game and braving all the touted perils of Africa including disease and a climate purported to wreak havoc on one's complexion, there can be little question that women could lay claim to experiences and freedoms while hunting that were unavailable to them in the metropole. There were still critics who believed that a woman who ventured into Africa was risking her life and worse, but by the early twentieth century, a variety of factors, including the expansion of European control over Africa, the corresponding changes to the rhetoric of command, and the increasing acceptance of women foxhunters in Britain, had made it possible to envision women as feminine hunters. That vision still had to be constructed, however, and attending to that process rather than treating women as anomalous versions of masculine hunters reveals the surprising willingness of their contemporaries to frame their actions in terms of femininity. One can certainly analyze Edwardian women's desire to hunt game in Africa and their enthusiastic embrace of the freedom and authority that lifestyle entailed in terms of their adopting masculine traits or in terms of a masculinization of imperial femininity. Contemporaries, however, consistently read such acts in terms of femininity and evinced no anxiety about any blurring of the distinctions between the sexes. Before considering why, it is worth briefly examining first the exception that paradoxically proves the rule.

Marguerite Roby: Society adventuress

The seeming contradiction to any claim that women hunters were embodying feminine rather than masculine traits is the often troubling case of Marguerite Roby, who was noted in a previous chapter for her panicky and brutal use of violence in the Congo. Before she had even thought of making an expedition into Africa, Roby was flouting conventions, and her ostentatious behaviour offers an instructive counterpoint to that of her fellow 'Dianas'. Unsurprisingly, she occasioned more criticism than other women hunters and travellers in this era, but several members of the press presented her actions as feminine. By her own account, she was also welcomed by white male officials and hunters in Africa. That a woman who was as controversial as Roby and who openly adopted some masculine traits—such as wearing men's clothing—would be described as womanly reveals the extent to which many people wanted or perhaps even needed to see women hunters and their methods of travel as suitably feminine.

Roby began her travelogue with an account of how she travelled to Australia '*incog[nito]* (to the intense delight of my bosom chums) as maid to a certain titled lady'.⁷⁸ It was through this masquerade that she met a couple from North-Eastern Rhodesia and decided to make a trip through Rhodesia and the Congo the following summer. This opening interlude clearly introduced Roby to her readers as a woman who revelled in defying conventions, and she carried that point throughout her journeys. While out shooting ducks with the District Commissioner of Fort Portal, Roby took over sculling their boat when it became clear that the commissioner could not steer well. The two spent the afternoon, she said, with her rowing them around the lake and both of them shooting ducks.⁷⁹ On a more disturbing note, Roby claimed that while travelling in the Belgian Congo, she elected to join a punitive expedition against a local chief who had raided and burned five villages and supposedly '*killed and eaten*' 26 men, women and children. As, by her estimation, the opportunity was 'quite out of the beaten track in the way of travelling experiences', Roby wanted to 'see the fun, as the possibility of being in a real battle was not one to be cast lightly aside—especially in the Congo of all places, where blood is supposed to flow like water!' That she saw this as a tourist outing as much as a military engagement is illustrated, literally, by the photograph she took of the chief and his warriors outside their stockade as well as by the fact that rather than claiming one of the spears the men carried, she took one of the ivory bracelets the chief threw at them



Figure 4.1 Marguerite Roby. [Credit: Marguerite Roby, *My Adventures in the Congo* (London: Edward Arnold, 1911) frontispiece.]

in surrender. She was wearing it, she said, as she wrote the book 'in memory of the battle'.⁸⁰ It was less a trophy of war than a souvenir of exotic and adventurous travel.

Nonetheless, it is difficult to conclude anything other than the fact that Roby was participating in traditionally masculine endeavours during her travels in the Congo and enjoying the freedom she experienced to do so. In an interview after her return, Roby claimed, 'of course, I always wore men's clothes', and one of the more telling lines in her narrative is when she declared after marching in the jungle for ten hours, with little to eat or drink that she 'became a veritable woman, and putting my face between my hands, sobbed for very exhaustion'.⁸¹ Yet it is by no means clear that Roby saw the rest of her actions as *masculine*. The only thing that is clear is that she saw them as distinct from the stereotypes of a woman. Indeed, even her travelogue ultimately affirmed her true identity as that of a feminine lady. For the cover of her book, for instance, she used a portrait of herself corseted to perfection, and the point was not lost on reviewers, who remarked on her attractiveness.⁸²

In the narrative itself she also clearly positioned herself as a *lady* in Africa. After what Roby described as the most harrowing part of her journey, she arrived feverish and filthy at Fort Portal, Uganda, and promptly asked for the district commissioner. The policeman, assuming from her 'disreputable appearance' that she was a 'beggar or some equally questionable character', directed her to the Commissioner's back door, and the servants must have viewed her similarly as they refused to take a message to the official, who was entertaining guests at dinner. When Roby called to him, however, he came to investigate and immediately invited her to join the dinner party 'just as I was'. Roby may have been worn and bedraggled and spent the previous weeks flogging and threatening her 'mutinous porters' on a near daily basis, but she was, according to her own account, inherently—and to her peers, instantly recognizable as—an English lady.⁸³

The metropolitan press partially upheld the Commissioners' implied assessment of Roby. One reviewer described her as a 'born traveller' and 'very courageous lady, with the endowment of health and high spirits required in one of her sex who would undertake a six months' trek through Darkest Africa', but the interviewer for the *Daily Mirror* was not quite so fulsome.⁸⁴ The commentary that framed the interview aligned her with more conventional femininity, noting first that she was well travelled but opposed to women's suffrage and closing with a description of her fondness for an affectionate pet parakeet, but Roby's disjointed statement in between seems boastful and sensationalist. She began by declaring the trip 'the most remarkable thing I have ever done', and at another point abruptly invited the interviewer to admire her 'ivory bracelet, which I saw cut from an elephant's tusk in my honour by a chief'.⁸⁵ Whether this was

an accurate portrayal of her interview or not, the lack of praise for her is notable, and it is difficult to imagine a reader concluding from it that Roby embodied the modesty and grace expected of feminine women.

After this brief interlude in London, Roby set out for the Congo a second time, and upon her return the following year, was again greeted with mixed reviews. This time, however, it was the *Mirror* who praised her 'pluck' and 'humour' and depicted her travel in feminine terms, noting her role as a 'medicine lady' and relating her amusing account of fleeing at the first sight of the lions she had set out to hunt.⁸⁶ The *Daily Express*, however, which shortly afterwards praised Edith Maturin's travelogue, created an entirely different impression of Roby by omitting these light-hearted and altruistic anecdotes and instead focusing on those incidents that portrayed her as a bold, even arrogant, adventurer. According to the article, tellingly subtitled '3,500 Mile Journey in Man's Clothes', she was 'attended only by a constantly changing company of half-civilised blacks', and once killed four charging buffalo 'in less than twenty minutes when all her attendants had fled'. It also relayed her account of using her 'rifle and several guns . . . [to] placate' a village that was threatening to hold her and her attendant prisoner. Either episode might have been used to praise her 'pluck', but the article said nothing complimentary about her at all.⁸⁷ Evidently, not everyone was prepared to attest to Roby's feminine character or even her spirit of adventure.

The variation in Roby's reception shows that the approval women hunters typically received from the metropolitan press was not assured. Women enjoyed considerable leeway to adapt femininity, but they could cross a line. Roby's reception also suggests, though, the complex nature of this boundary and the important role narration played in this process. After her second return from the Congo, Roby was elected a member of the Royal Geographical Society. One cannot, therefore, attribute the criticisms of her to an inherent lack of respectability, but the acceptability of her discourse is another matter. Roby presented herself as too much the insouciant, masterful traveller to be unquestionably feminine. Even her humour at times was more smug than self-mocking. For instance, after describing how she escaped from the village at gun-point, she attempted to make light of the situation, stating that 'the chief, I heard later, had sounded the war drum that night and had called in his people from miles around to "see the white woman dance", but unfortunately for the audience I did not attend'.⁸⁸ Here was neither modesty nor remembered fear, and such missteps may have cost her the 'empathy that is so crucial to the success' of women travellers' receptions.⁸⁹ She, like May French-Sheldon 20 years previously, likely 'fell

victim to the press because she could be cast . . . as a ridiculous parody of masculinity'.⁹⁰ What is even more suggestive, however, are the positive receptions Roby received from others. That a woman who participated in battles, flogged and threatened porters, and courted danger was presented as plucky, illustrates the remarkable desire of contemporaries to read women hunters' actions in Africa as suitable and befitting of an imperial femininity. The question this raises, of course, is why. Why in the early 1900s when there was comparatively so much more resistance to the expansion of women's rights and activities in the metropole and even stricter policing of traditional gender roles in the colonies, were so many people prepared to read women's pursuit of dangerous game so favourably? To answer that, one must look to the broader context.

Running like Atalanta: Preserving gendered hierarchies

The acceptance of women big game hunters in this era was not limited to British colonial Africa. As previously noted, women hunters were finding increased acceptance in the fox hunts of Britain as well as among big game hunting enthusiasts in the United States and in colonial India, and there can be little doubt that these simultaneous shifts reinforced one another. In each case, the participation of women also functioned to reaffirm rather than challenge the idealized visions of manhood and elite power attached to hunting, though the context and discourse differed in each space. In the United States, the inclusion of women hunters was part of a broader reform effort that sought to distance 'recreational hunting . . . from subsistence hunting, market hunting, and unproductive indolence', and in this context, middle- and upper-class women's hunting served as a useful sign of the respectability of sport hunting. Some commentators argued that their presence actually elevated the moral tone of camp life.⁹¹ In the British Raj, where the respectability of hunting was well established, women hunters were welcomed on the basis that their hunting signalled the greater manliness of the British race in contrast to the alleged effeminacy of the colonized. By taking up the gun, women also showed that they were able and willing to share the 'hard realities' of rule and to defend themselves and their families from dangerous animals and colonial subjects.

The acceptance of women hunters in Africa was similar in many respects to that of India. Even though subsistence hunting continued in Africa as in America, women's participation in Africa was not justified in terms of their ability to signify the genteel nature of sport hunting, whereas a few metropolitan observers described women big game

hunters as proving the superior vitality and strength of Britain. Sports-women were also portrayed as the 'right sort' of wife for imperial men, but unlike in India, their participation was far more often promoted in terms of the health benefits of camp life and the pleasure women could take from such a vacation. Without ever challenging the sport's ability to prove manliness, their participation was frequently framed in terms of the alternate meanings attached to hunting—the escape it offered from the modern world.⁹²

The growing perception that African big game hunting could be a suitably feminine activity was clearly connected to the racial politics of empire and to a related shift in the notion of what constituted an ideal imperial woman, by which was meant wife. Cullen Gouldsbury stated clearly that he had written his memoir partly to show that women too 'may find a congenial sphere in the frontier life, provided that they are of the right caliber'. Such women were essential, he argued, because 'the young country which possesses the greatest number of suitably married settlers . . . is the one with the rosier prospects'.⁹³ Many contemporaries believed that the fate of the empire depended upon the expansion of white settlement, and a British woman who took one look at a district outpost and caught the first train back to England in tears was of no assistance to empire building.⁹⁴ A good wife in the colonies—and wifeliness was still at the core of femininity—needed endurance, resiliency and adaptability, and some clearly thought it was all the better if she took an active interest in the out-of-doors life.

Likewise, the perceived need to prove Britain's continued imperial fitness in this era helped create a space for adventurous female travellers, whether married or not. In its warm review of Edith Maturin's travelogue, the *Daily Express* described it as 'gratifying to our national pride to find that Mrs. Maturin, despite her rebelliousness and unconventionality, bears witness to the splendid success of the Insular Miss as a traveler', noting that on her first African hunt, the Miss walked 15 miles, passing through thickets and bogs, and "'wanted more'" when Cecil Porch, an army officer, demanded they return to camp for breakfast.⁹⁵ Porch's obvious command of the situation and the implication that Maturin, as a suffragette, might have wished to downplay the abilities of a conventional woman framed the latter's zeal as an endorsement of traditional womanhood. It showed that even the most miss-ish woman had the fortitude needed in the colonies, thereby providing an even more arresting sign of Britain's imperial fitness than masterful male hunters did, without threatening to unseat those men's political or social power.

To understand how this worked, it is useful to consider the seemingly simple act of walking, which was a cornerstone of hunter's manliness in this era. When game retreated into the fly district in the 1870s, extensive walking had become a necessary part of hunting. Over the ensuing years, however, it also became iconic of hunters' hardy masculinity, because walking represented a rejection of being carried. In Nyasaland (present day Malawi), Europeans, including hunters, frequently travelled in hammocks, called *machilas*, as a sign of their prestige, but generally speaking, being carried was anathema to hunters.⁹⁶ In the eighteenth century, the palanquin had been a popular sign of Anglo-Indian nabobs (British men scorned for their supposed pursuit of the decadence associated with Eastern rulers) and being carried was also a point raised against the unsporting character of Portuguese hunters.⁹⁷ British hunters, by way of contrast, walked, and the pressure to do so was such that even when ill, hunters stated that they continued to stumble along until their only alternative to being carried was certain death.⁹⁸ By refusing the always available luxury of being carried, they proved their self-reliant manliness and, by extension, the manly, upstanding nature of British imperial rule.

Far from challenging this equation, the appearance of women hunters reaffirmed the capacity of walking to prove manliness, in part because being carried was always an option for them. Some women even took a *machila* and carriers out with them when hunting in case they became fatigued, and whether or not they used those carriers was beside the point.⁹⁹ The concession to their potential feminine frailty naturalized the expectation of male hardiness. Similarly, women could be praised for their endurance, but in such cases, what made their accomplishments notable was precisely their commendable ability to do what men were expected to do as a matter of course. Agnes Herbert's claim that 'to hunt buck or beast' one must 'run like Atalanta', a heroine of Greek myth who refused to marry any man who could not beat her in a foot-race, further suggests how narratives by and about women hunters could characterize their physical feats in terms of a femininity that defied Victorian stereotypes of womanhood while reinforcing the expected hierarchy between the sexes.¹⁰⁰

Manliness and imperialism were never the sole implications of walking, however. To stop there is to overlook a significant aspect of hunting culture and of the subjectivity of hunters, male and female. By the mid-1800s, hunters were describing walking as one of the key signs of the liberty and independence of the 'African hunter's life'.¹⁰¹ As the spread of colonization and mechanized transport opened up new travel alternatives, walking became a sign of authentic African hunting.¹⁰² It was

part of what sportsmen and women expected to experience in Africa, and the sense that it was significant meant they talked about it in their own narratives upon returning to England, thus, feeding back into the cycle. In short, walking was an essential part of the hunting ethos. It is what one did on safari, but the rationale ascribed to it could and did shift. By the early 1900s, hunting was being lauded for offering Britons a more natural and healthful lifestyle than metropolitan society did, and the walking and running associated with hunting were part of this new vision.¹⁰³ C. W. L. Bulpett wrote, for instance, that during their hunting expedition along the Sudanese-Ethiopian border, Lucie McMillan, an American who with her husband had settled in British East Africa, 'would get up before sunrise and shoot her tiang or water-buck, and return to our mid-day meal as strong and as well as the best of us'.¹⁰⁴ Bulpett understood this to be a mark of McMillan's suitability as a hunting companion, but such comments also implicitly supported the overt claims made by others that camp life would prove beneficial and pleasant to the woman 'wearied with social bustle and the empty amenities of present-day existence'.¹⁰⁵

The phenomenon of big game hunting in the Edwardian era emerged out of the fusion of several different cultural developments, and it was in terms of the sport's capacity to provide temporary liberation from the artificial constraints of metropolitan conventions rather than the sport's ability to reify masculinity and imperial dominance that women's participation was often framed. Women could never have been accepted as feminine hunters, however, if this endangered the sport's capacity to prove masculinity, and they would not have been able to share in the sense of escape and freedom from convention that hunting offered, unless this lifestyle also served a need in metropolitan society beyond the reification of hardy masculinity. As suggested by the perception that when hunting, women adapted feminine rather than adopted masculine traits, their acceptance reflects the sport's ability to uphold the social patriarchy of the time, while providing an outlet for a sense of discontent with the social restrictions of metropolitan society that was shared by men and women. It seems that the flight from domesticity that scholars have described as being epitomized by big game hunting could be far more of a joint venture in the Edwardian period than previously realized.

The safety of savagery

This claim that hunting offered a particular form of escape is supported by the striking informality and intimacy that defined women's interactions

with European and African men in the space of the hunting expedition. In the colonies, access to white women, and particularly access to their bodies, was stringently policed as a potent symbol of the power and authority of white rule, but on safari, women hunted alone with men, both European and African, and could have familiar relationships with male, African servants. This was all the more true for those women who hunted without a white man, and, thus, travelled on their own with dozens of African men. Yet, astonishingly, both parties seemed safe from any accusation of sexual impropriety. In fact, male hunters frequently left their wives in camp or at a rest stop with African men as a guard against animal attacks. This presumption that women were in no danger of either attack or seduction while on a hunting expedition stands in stark contrast to the fears expressed about white women's safety in the colonies and reveals the extent to which contemporaries viewed the hunting grounds and the 'frontier' they represented as a space that was socially and culturally distinct from the colonies.

Given the strict codes governing male-female interactions in Victorian and Edwardian society, the lack of anxiety over men and women's proximity and interactions is notable even by metropolitan standards. Indeed, intimate male-female interactions were so *de rigueur* on safaris that people frequently did not remark upon them at all, and when they did, it was without justification or apology. Mary Bridson, for instance, stated briefly that after lunch one day, everyone in the party lay down to take a siesta in the open. Similarly, while describing the joys of camp life, Lucie McMillan noted that '[w]e all sleep out peacefully side by side—the sheep and the goats together—and when rain threatens [their European attendants] William and Towell and other assistants come and gently draw our beds under safe cover, without so much as disturbing us'. In this particular case, not only was a respectable white woman electing to sleep at night in the company of several men but she could be observed doing so, presumably in her bedclothes, by African and European servants.¹⁰⁶ It is difficult to imagine where else such a state of affairs would be permissible, let alone publishable.

In each of the above cases, one could defend such sleeping arrangements on the basis that the sheer number of potential observers ensured no illicit interactions would occur, but hunters also routinely separated when pursuing game, each going out with one or more assistants. Hence, women hunters could be alone with one or more men, out of the sight or hearing of anyone else in their party, potentially on a daily basis. It does not seem to have mattered if the men were European or African, hired assistants or other hunters, or how long they were gone. Judging from

their journals, Helena Molyneux hunted far more frequently with their travelling companion, Hugh Fraser, than with her husband, while Mary Bridson often hunted on her own with her African servants or even just her gunbearer, Jayula, who felt secure enough in his position to suggest brief hunting excursions while the rest of the caravan was resting.¹⁰⁷ More remarkably, Agnes Herbert published an account of the 'most amusing' time when she and Clarence, their headman, 'got benighted in the jungle, and didn't get home until morning'. She acknowledged that the incident sounded 'like the plot for a fashionable problem novel', but there are no other indications that their night was, or could potentially have been, looked at amiss. Herbert related that she and Clarence slept in shifts, so the other could keep guard, until an attack by a hyena made sleep impossible. After that, they spent the rest of the night talking. When they returned to camp the next day, her cousin declared she had never worried because she knew Herbert was with Clarence.¹⁰⁸ Surprisingly, reviewers also do not seem to have viewed this as a perilous situation or precedent. The *Field's* review of Herbert's travelogue raised the spectre of sexual danger by noting that the two women travelled without male relatives or friends, 'thereby increasing tenfold the risk of life . . . to say nothing of their being at the mercy of untutored savages for many months', but then mitigated this potential noting that the men were 'well-behaved' and that Clarence, in particular, was their '*fidus Achates*', their faithful companion.¹⁰⁹

In a particularly striking example, Phyllis Mary Coryndon recorded telling a police officer of the pleasant visits she received from an unknown African man while on a safari with her husband, Robert T. Coryndon. Most days, the Coryndons hunted together in the mornings, but then he would go back out in the afternoons, taking their servants with him and leaving her alone in camp. One afternoon, after everyone had left she was startled to hear a man's voice behind her. Coryndon turned around to find 'a big native dressed in full war paint—that is in the skin God gave him, plus shield, spears, Knob Kerry, and feathers in his hair!' He was looking for work, and by her account, she 'gladly accepted his offer' and 'rewarded my warrior with half a pot of marmalade. He was delighted and came daily to help me with my household duties—*after the men folk had left camp*.'¹¹⁰ The man's size, nakedness and weaponry convey an image of virility, and it was quite obvious that he purposely came to the camp only when she was alone. Coryndon expressed no fears for her safety or her reputation, however, even when the official she related this to afterwards told her the man was potentially a wanted murderer. Upon being pressed for more information, she

'hastily replied all natives looked alike, and . . . [she] would not know him again'. The official looked at her 'steadily for a minute, smiled and asked no more awkward questions'.¹¹¹

The issues of complicity raised in this story are tantalizing, but for the purpose of this discussion it is evident that Coryndon believed that the unknown man and her encouragement of his visits presented no threat to herself or her reputation. Moreover, the official involved seemed remarkably comfortable with the idea of a respectable white woman shielding an African man from the strong arm of the law. This story is all the more striking because this was the era of 'black peril' panics—waves of social hysteria occasioned by the irrational fear of black men seducing or raping white women. The Coryndons were hunting in Swaziland in the early 1910s, and while Swaziland had few white settlers, and thus 'black peril' panics were unlikely to occur there, it was surrounded on three sides by South Africa, the site of panics in 1906–08 and 1911–12.¹¹² The virulent nature of these outbreaks kept the fear of interracial sex 'at the forefront of everyone's mind', yet, as with Mary Bridson and Agnes Herbert, the relations between Coryndon and the unknown 'warrior' went unquestioned.¹¹³ One would not expect Coryndon's encounter to have set off a panic, but the apparent lack of concern is remarkable, especially as the tenuous acquaintance she developed with the man led her to circumvent colonial authority on his behalf, with the collusion of the official involved.

It might be suggested that hunters' class and race positioned them beyond reproach, but this was not true of South African or Rhodesian colonial society. Black peril panics arose out of a number of political, social and economic anxieties, including a perceived loss of patriarchal control over white, middle- and upper-class women. This was a period of deep concern for British masculinity. In the colonial context, in which control was inevitably bound up with race and respectable white women served as the markers of social and moral superiority, these shifts in gender relations took on added significance and fuelled even greater concerns.¹¹⁴ As white male control became strained, attention turned in the settled colonies to policing the behaviour and attitudes of white women, particularly in regard to their interactions with African men. Though all social contact was viewed as potentially dangerous, the relations between women and their male domestic servants came under particular scrutiny. While the concept of separate spheres was no more a reality in the colonies than in the metropole, the ideal still identified the home as a private reserve that sustained the prestige and moral centre of white, middle-class superiority.¹¹⁵ Male servants' access to this symbolic

space and the supposedly feminine tasks they performed there marked them in the eyes of an apprehensive colonial society as both dangerous and potentially perverse. During moments of black peril hysteria, women were criticized for being too familiar with their African servants, because such behaviour purportedly eroded the social barriers between the races, and thus increased the potential for revolt, symbolized by the rape or seduction of white women.¹¹⁶

This focus of black peril panics on the intimacy of the domestic sphere and its potential for familiarity between African men and white women makes the absence of such worries in the safari setting all the more significant, as the relationships between hunters and their assistants mirrored those of the domestic world. Camping on safari put hunters and their African staff in physical proximity on a nightly basis, and African men performed very domestic tasks, such as arranging the bedding, cooking food and washing the hunters' clothing. Many hunters also appointed one of the men as a personal servant, who handled more intimate tasks. Though these were rarely delineated, in the case of female hunters, such duties must have involved privileged access to a woman's tent, clothes and body. Lady Cranworth said that a woman should pick her own 'boy' as he would be her 'ladies'-maid'.¹¹⁷ She did not clarify the parameters of this role, but one of her attendants later worked for Lady Margaret Loder, whose husband noted in his diary that this man had taken to dressing her hair 'wonderfully'.¹¹⁸ Roby may have been referring to similar tasks when she praised her servant, Thomas, for his knowledge of 'waiting on a lady'.¹¹⁹ When she was extremely ill, Thomas was sufficiently at ease with Roby's coiffure and his position in relation to her to take down her hair while she slept in an effort to make her more comfortable and reduce her fever.¹²⁰ While the act itself is one any compassionate person might do for another and could be read in terms of the devotion Europeans expected to receive from African servants, it is the ability of women to record, and in this instance, publish such interactions with no defensive justifications or fear of misinterpretation that emphasizes the difference between relations in the settler and safari spaces of colonial Africa.

This divergence reflects the dynamics of the settler community as much as it does those of the safari. The economic and political factors linked to black peril panics simply were not a part of big game hunting culture or practice. That such pervasive and irrational fears did not transfer onto the safari, however, also suggests that an aspect inherent to contemporary big game hunting disassociated this activity from the dynamics of colonial society. Imperial authority everywhere relied on

an artificial distinction between Europeans and colonial subjects, but the blurred nature of race and class categories in settler societies made this a 'brittle system which was constantly being eroded from within'.¹²¹ Faced with such ambiguities, white, male identity was established not only by one's appearance or heritage but also by the performance of prescribed behaviours that differentiated the properly civilized from the primitive subject. Policing the boundaries between ruler and ruled in South Africa thus remained a constant struggle, and the rhetoric of sexual assault served as a powerful weapon for reasserting the cultural beliefs that justified white, male authority.¹²² The absence of such concerns on hunting expeditions indicates that shooting expeditions provided a space in which the social boundary between Briton and African seemed more secure.

The nature of this divide can be gleaned from two sources that directly address the question of women's safety on a shooting expedition. In both cases, a male hunter argued in his narrative that it was the uncivilized state of the interior, that is, the lack of Africans 'spoiled' by civilization that kept women safe on safaris. Writing in 1911, Owen Letcher argued that '[a] man might, if necessity arose, send his wife from Fort Jameson [in North-Eastern Rhodesia] to an administrative post in the furthestmost confines of Awembaland with a reliable headman or "capitao" and a body of raw porters, and I am quite sure no harm would befall her. But such a thing would be impossible in our civilized South Africa'.¹²³ Similarly, when Cullen Gouldsbury left his wife, Beryl, during their safari in North-Eastern Rhodesia, he stated that it was 'interesting' that 'a woman may be left by herself [with African servants] at night, out in the bush . . . with no fear for anything except, perhaps, the very improbable chance of a lion prowling round the camp. In civilised South Africa the thing would be impossible.'¹²⁴ Indeed, it was the fact that nine African men would be in camp with Beryl that convinced Gouldsbury that she would be safe.

Letcher and Gouldsbury clearly believed that 'in civilized South Africa', black men posed an eminent threat to white women but that this danger evaporated once one ventured into the 'bush' where African men had not yet been tainted by the vice of 'semi-civilization'. Of course, by 1911, North-Eastern Rhodesia was a protectorate, but Letcher's and Gouldsbury's comments illustrate the extent to which these remoter territories were perceived of as extracolonial—as under the protection of Britain but unaffected by colonial culture. That control, and more so the belief in *Pax Britannica* (the peace brought by colonial control), had opened the frontier to British women, but it also threatened to erode the ability of African hunting to prove Britain's masculine

virility and to offer both sexes an escape from the mundane, modern world. The acceptance of women as feminine hunters, however, acted as a prophylaxis for this growing problem, because their physical safety offered a powerful symbol, in the eyes of Britons, of the beneficial side to that control, while their *sexual* safety demonstrated the continued noble savagery of the interior. This system neatly reinforced itself; the safety of women demarcated the hunting grounds from the colonies and that distinctiveness in turn served to ensure women's safety in the eyes of Britons, and, thus, preserved the image of the African wilderness as a space distinct from the 'civilized' world.

This sense of detachment, in turn, helps explain why women were welcomed so readily on the hunting fields and found themselves so much freer to adapt conventional femininity in the African 'wilds' than they were in the metropole. In Britain, most viewed the introduction of women into arenas previously restricted to men as a grave threat to society, to the culture and functioning of male institutions—such as Parliament—and to the masculinity of men who had previously looked to these public spaces to assert and prove their manhood.¹²⁵ In African game hunting, however, the participation of women reinscribed the sport's ability to prove British men's hypermasculinity by reaffirming the distinctive nature of Africa's hunting grounds and their inherent primitivism at a time when the expansion of colonial control threatened that myth. The social distance created between the 'savage' wilds and the 'civilized' colonies also promised to insulate British society from the potential ramifications of condoning women's relative autonomy and inclusion in hunting. The relative lack of women hunters no doubt lessened that threat as well, but the celebration in the metropolitan media of those women makes it essential to incorporate women into the history of African big game hunting. It was only possible to describe women hunters as feminine, because the various components of hunting—including rugged travel, colonial command, physical fitness and the killing of game—could all be depicted and embodied in terms separate from masculinity and manly domination. Addressing their participation and representation, thus, necessitates and enables a reconsideration of how these quite different images and understandings of hunting coexisted in the early 1900s, when the popularity of hunting was reaching new heights and drawing ever more hunters in search of an exotic and pleasant vacation to the continent.

5

‘To Make a Fetish of Roughing It’: Reimagining Hunting in the Age of Safaris, 1900–1914

The participation of women hunters, and perhaps even more so that of honeymooning couples, necessarily altered the image of big game hunting in Africa. A graver challenge to the reputation of hunting as a sport, however, arose from the ability of the average sportsman or woman to make a relatively short safari in East Africa and return to Britain laden down with impressive trophies, including those of lions, rhinoceros and even an elephant or two. How difficult or dangerous could African hunting be if every sportsman and woman seemed guaranteed of success? Even worse, some of the most respected hunters of the day claimed that real hunting was still extremely difficult, but what these vacationing hunters were doing was simply shooting animals. Without the knowledge of African animals and ecologies that could only come from several years’ experience, they argued, those who came to Africa to hunt on vacation, no matter how keen, could do no more than shoot the animals to which their Somali guide or White Hunter had led them.¹ One did not need to read the critiques of veteran hunters, either, to sense the growing gap between the idealized culture of rugged, frontier hunting and the rhetoric of domesticated comfort and ease emerging out of the safari industry. A 1907 article in the *Daily Express*, entitled ‘Lions at Three a Penny’, played on the accounts of a tourism promoter to the point of making a safari in British East Africa sound like a tame, prefabricated experience. The article opened with the statement that

big game shooting promises to take the place of bridge as the amusement of society. British East Africa is, in fact, the big game hunter’s paradise. Since the building of the Uganda Railway tourists can reach the only large tract of country in the world where wild animals have been carefully preserved, and are about as plentiful as rabbits in Essex.²

The article continued in this vein, listing the game one could shoot with a £50 license, and noting, 'all these in stock . . . "Where can you find a better collection outside Regent's Park, and all ours are running wild."' Leopards, in particular, it noted, 'are as plentiful as tabby cats', and lions were so common they raided city streets and prowled railway stations. Indeed, it said, game could be shot from 'the steps of your hotel' or on safari surrounded by 'all the comforts of modern civilization'. In case its point had been missed, the article concluded by stating that British East Africa 'would be an ideal place for a Socialist colony. A man can live there almost without labour', due to the plentiful supply of food and resources.³ Mockery on this level was rare, but it was difficult to describe the appeal of prearranged safaris without diluting the image of hunting as a rough-and-ready activity. In 1912, the *Daily Mirror* published an article on the growing popularity of African hunting among women, which observed that with so many 'big game parties' being fitted out, they were 'likely to supersede the usual country-house parties at Christmas-time'.⁴ East Africa, which 20 years before had still lain largely outside of colonial control, was fast in danger of becoming an extension of the metropolitan social scene, a shift that endangered the culture and *raison d'être* of big game shooting.

Moreover, the rise of conservationist ideology and new concerns for animal welfare also threatened the image of veteran hunters as imperial heroes. Many conservationists were themselves hunters, but their contemporary nickname, 'the penitent butchers', captures the shift that was occurring in public perceptions of large-scale hunting.⁵ While animal welfare leagues continued to remain silent or even to defend hunting, individual critiques of the sport were becoming more common, and many more sportsmen and naturalists were beginning to argue against the hunting of particular animals—typically large ones like elephants and hippopotamuses. In a study of contemporary views of elephant hunting, Nigel Rothfels concluded that 'despite the self-congratulatory prose of [prominent game hunters like] Roosevelt, Baker, Stigand, and others, the sense that many people have today that these figures were something between repugnant and ridiculous was also shared in the nineteenth century'.⁶

The extreme popularity of safaris alone, however, suggests that hunting was not yet considered a ridiculous pursuit. Many of the men and women who embarked on these fashionable safaris were precisely those individuals who were most attuned to the whims of Society and who were unlikely to embrace enthusiastically any pursuit considered distasteful. Even more telling, big game hunting continued to function

as a way not only to prove masculinity but to redeem it. In 1906, the renowned explorer, colonial administrator and starch conservationist H. H. Johnston complained that it had become an 'accepted *panacea* . . . that a young or a middle-aged man, who has been crossed in love, or has figured in the Divorce Court, or in some way requires to *faire peau neuve*, must go out to Africa and kill big game'.⁷ Indeed, the connections between hunting and manliness became even more explicit in these years, with some proponents describing their urge to hunt in terms of a primal instinct inherited from their savage ancestors and others focusing on the way in which the hunting lifestyle hardened a man's body and trained him to endure hardship. It is tempting to conclude from these contradictory indications that the views of elite Society were at odds with those of the broader British public, but the success of safari documentaries and films, as well as the positive characteristics attributed to big game hunters in popular literature, suggest otherwise.⁸

In fact, Late Victorian and Edwardian concerns about overcivilization and racial degeneration gave hunting added valence at the turn of the century. These concerns also drove a reimagining of the 'African Interior' not simply as a primitive place but a primeval, timeless space, and hunting was at the forefront of that process. Vacationing and veteran hunters' narratives provided desirable images of wild African nature that effaced the impact of colonialism as well as that of African societies and time itself. The natural history discoveries and adventures of veteran hunters also fed a desire for a deeper, mysterious Africa, wholly separate from the modern world, creating an environment in which even respected scientists could take reports of fantastic animals seriously. This dualistic vision of Africa, in turn, made it possible to see hunting as a pleasant trip in a pristine land or an arduous test of character and fortitude in a more dangerous space. At the same time, and for related reasons, British ideas about masculinity and primitivism were also shifting. As literary scholars have noted, this was a period when 'barbarism' was used by some Britons as an epithet and by others as a badge of honour.⁹ These changes affected multiple aspects of British culture, but they converged in the act of big game hunting in Africa. The variations of hunting, from the longer expeditions of ivory hunters to the pleasant safaris of elite couples, articulated with different threads of metropolitan culture, but uniting them was an image of primitive Africa and very modern fears about civilization, that gave the sport of hunting a particular culture and appeal in the years before the First World War.

Hunting and the modern appeal of Brightest-Darkest Africa

In May of 1899, the well-known naturalist Abel Chapman finally arrived in South Africa. It was a moment he had been dreaming about for 25 years. When he was a boy, South Africa had represented to him and all those of an 'adventurous spirit . . . something that approached the acme of terrestrial joys. . . . [He had] read and re-read till almost known by heart' the mid-century travelogues of those who had hunted in that 'vast continent still absolutely unknown and unsubdued by man', but financial constraints prevented Chapman from following in their footsteps until that day in 1899, when he found to his dismay that the 'wondrous fauna of the sub-continent had steadily, incredibly melted away before' the gun. It was a state of affairs he blamed on Boers and other settlers, as opposed to British ivory or vacationing hunters, and so, unconscious of any hypocrisy, Chapman proceeded to hunt discontentedly for four months and secured specimens of the much-prized 'sable and roan antelopes, the koodoo, tsesseby and brindled gnu, waterbuck and many more', but not elephants, rhinos, buffalo, giraffe or elands, which were no longer to be found in a southern Africa whose 'long-dreamt of charm had faded'.¹⁰ Finally, he journeyed home, 'oppressed by a brooding sentiment that I had lived too late, that those glorious scenes described by old-time pioneers had vanished for ever [*sic*] from the face of the earth'. Five years later, however, Chapman visited British East Africa, and found to his delight that 'all the glory of a pristine fauna' could still be seen in Equatorial Africa. Here one could find, he said, the 'virgin conditions' once known in South Africa 'renewed to another century' and made accessible by the Uganda Railroad.¹¹ The Africa of his boyhood dreams lived on.

The sense of loss that Chapman expressed, combined with the veneration of those landscapes seen as still untouched, catalysed the international conservation movement, of which Chapman, like many hunters, was a prominent advocate. Several well-known big game hunters contributed to the campaign for new licensing laws in 1900, and in later years, pushed for better enforcement of those laws and the founding of key game reserves. Many of these same sportsmen went on to establish the influential Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (SPFE), whose high-profile lobbying and numerous publications helped promote Western investment and intervention in African nature, a connection that continues to this day and constitutes one of the most important legacies of colonial game hunting.¹²

Equally important to understanding the changing culture and perceived value of big game hunting in the Edwardian era, however, were the ideas about African nature that underlay the conservation movement and the ways in which hunting contributed to the construction and maintenance of those notions. Descriptions such as Chapman's equated real Africa, the Africa anyone would care to see, not with colonial development, but with nature, which constituted a suggestive adaptation of the older imagery of the Dark Continent. This glorification of African nature was just one facet of a broader re-evaluation of the continent in Western culture that Jeanette Jones described as constituting a new essentializing myth, that of 'Brightest Africa'.¹³ In the context of American culture, this new imagery, she said, presented a 'challenge' to the older notion of darkest Africa, but in terms of British hunting culture, Brightest Africa is better imagined as the flip side of the Dark Continent coin.¹⁴ While the veneration of pristine Africa reflected a celebration of primitivism and a related disquiet with the 'throbbing noise and disgusting complication' of modern life that was radically different from the confident Progressivism imbedded in nineteenth-century accounts of darkest Africa, both myths were predicated on the presumed backwardness of Africa and the urgent necessity of Western intervention.¹⁵ If the Dark Continent acted, as many have suggested, as a mirror, reflecting Europe's own inner fantasies and fears, Brightest Africa was the looking glass they could walk through, allowing them the opportunity, as they saw it, to escape modern civilization and experience an idealized, timeless landscape. Both of these visions were necessary to and were in turn supported by Edwardian hunting culture.

The notion that the 'African Interior' was a modern-day vestige of the Stone Age constituted a triple erasure that had to be constantly reasserted. It denied, of course, the impact of African people, states and trade on the landscapes and animal populations of the continent, while also expunging 400 years of trade and conquest by Europe and the effects of time itself. In early twentieth-century adventure novels, travelogues and scientific studies alike, precolonial Africa was synonymous with prehistoric Africa. Here, contemporaries believed, was an opportunity to step into a 'time-machine' and travel 'backwards in the world's history for a period of two or three thousand years' and observe man as he had been in that distant era.¹⁶ As Chapman's disillusionment with South Africa and the occasional mockery of wildest Africa illustrates, however, it was a vision under threat, and the popularity of big game hunting in this era must be understood in terms of both the opportunity it provided to experience this imagined landscape—either personally or vicariously

through hunting texts—and the manner in which the sport validated the images of primeval Africa—both bright and dark. Every hunter who spoke of traversing pristine lands or escaping the modern world reaffirmed the primitiveness of the African ‘Interior’, while the knowledge veteran hunters gathered about Africa’s faunal life sustained its mystery. As F. Vaughan Kirby wrote in 1896, it was impossible as an adult to hold onto ‘some of boyhood’s most cherished beliefs’, including the idea that Africa was ‘a continent in which were to be found . . . many unexplored rivers, lakes and forests and whose population . . . consisted of lions, elephants, gorillas, crocodiles, Boers, slave-traders, and despotic Zulu chieftains’.¹⁷ Far too much had been conquered and explored to see Africa through this lens, but neither was the romance dead. Kirby concluded, ‘And yet, after all, to the adventurous mind, what would Africa be without its lions and its tales of lion-hunting?’¹⁸ Africa may have been largely colonized, but big game hunters helped Britons imagine there to still be an ‘interior’ that was unknown and mysterious, suspended and separate from the modern world.

The idea of untouched wilderness had been a cornerstone of African hunting culture since at least the 1880s when vacationing sportsmen were enjoined to venture north of the Zambezi River if they wished to experience ‘real’ African hunting, and even before that some hunters were describing the appeal of *African* hunting in terms of the escape it offered from British civilization.¹⁹ By the late 1890s, however, it had become impossible to ignore the impact of intensive hunting and colonization in many parts of Africa, and consequently, hunters had to inscribe the supposedly primitive nature of the remaining hunting grounds into the landscape far more explicitly. One way they did this was by continuing to frame hunting expeditions in terms of a journey from civilization into savagery, with colonial cities still representing civilization and the missions and government stations its ‘last outpost[s]’, but whereas the territories beyond those stations had previously merely been savage or uncivilized, they were increasingly defined as anachronistic paradises—that is, as lands before time.²⁰ Hunters in the nineteenth century had occasionally referred to thick forests as ‘primeval’, but this became one of the dominant descriptions applied to virtually any game-rich or otherwise picturesque landscape in which visitors could not detect the impact of Europe.²¹ In the opening pages of his 1910 book on hunting in Northern Rhodesia, Denis Lyell described how ‘grand’ it was to stand on a hill and look out over the land, knowing that it was ‘still in the same primeval state as it was at the beginning, untouched and unblemished by civilized man’s devastating hand’.²² The lyrical

romanticism inherent in these accounts can be heard even more clearly in another hunter's description of the Kalahari: 'Sheer desert this land has lain for untold ages, habitable only by game and bushmen. Sheer desert it seems likely to remain till the end of time.'²³

The underlying irony of this imagery was that the hunting grounds least touched by European hunters were those of West Africa, which most British hunters continued to avoid despite the game that was to be found there and the closing in of other frontiers. Northern and Southern Nigeria, for example, were known to have, between them, elephants, buffalos, giraffes and numerous species of antelopes.²⁴ There were also lions in the surrounding colonies, and most of the region had none of the colonial development and artificiality that hunters theoretically wished to avoid in this era. That said, West Africa still had a reputation for fever, and perhaps more importantly, the few Britons who hunted in West African territories wrote little about their experiences.²⁵ Thus, despite the long history of European presence on the coastline, the lack of hunting travelogues devoted to this region meant that even in the 1900s West Africa was still a relatively unknown factor from the sportsman's point of view. The process of assembling a caravan, hiring guides and locating game was far less straightforward.²⁶ Some sportsmen did venture into the region, but their numbers were few. Even ivory hunters—European ones, that is—avoided the region until the 1910s when other areas were effectively hunted out.²⁷ So, while hunters spoke longingly of untouched lands, their desire for a successful, enjoyable hunt meant that most started from districts with clear facilities for outfitting European caravans and then travelled into what they could see as a timeless land.

The need to inscribe a temporal, even geological, separation between these colonial and extra-colonial spaces was nowhere more acute than in East Africa, where the Ugandan Railroad conveyed so many vacationing hunters to their destination. Indeed, the vision of primeval Africa is most closely associated with Theodore Roosevelt, who famously described the railway as an 'embodiment of the eager, masterful, materialistic civilization of to-day . . . pushed through a region in which nature, both as regards wild man and wild beast, did not and does not differ materially from what it was in Europe in the late Pleistocene'.²⁸ As surreal as this claim might seem—not only that a modern-day vestige of the Palaeolithic might exist but that a railway could be cut through it without impacting it or the people who lived there—the vision he invoked was a common one. F. C. Selous seconded Roosevelt's description, stating that anyone who had visited Africa could attest to the truth

of his words, and many others described the railway as passing 'through primeval forests' or spoke of the 'untrodden paths' that could be found just a day's walk from its stations.²⁹ A few sportsmen even attributed a mystical quality to East Africa's pristine nature. Owen Letcher, for instance, likened Uganda to God's personal garden, and suggested in 1913, albeit somewhat whimsically, that God had placed sleeping sickness there, like one of the plagues of Egypt, to stem the encroachment of civilization.³⁰

Myths, of course, while providing rationales for existing social orders, do not, in themselves, have to be rational, but the absurdity of a pristine Africa made available through Western technology and tourism was not entirely lost on observers at the time. It came through in the occasional article that mocked the wildness of Africa and in the criticism of those hunters who said East Africa was too artificial. Yet the image of primeval East Africa prevailed. The overarching success of this vision is illustrated by Lord Cranworth's complaint that the stay-at-home Briton believed that 'big game shooting is the habitual recreation of the settler in British East Africa' and that men go out every day and 'shoot a brace of rhinoceroses or a lion or two'. Cranworth was himself a prominent and ardent hunter-settler, but the average settler he argued was more likely to play games like cricket and 'concern himself comparatively little with big game; or if he is a keen shooter or naturalist, he will rather save up his time and cash for a holiday where game may be seen and hunted far from the discordant elements of wire and cultivation'.³¹ Lord Cranworth's critique is akin to those made by settlers several decades earlier about the men who arrived in Cape Colony believing that a day's journey or two would take them to the land of the lion and elephant, and it likewise shows a continued slippage in the public imaginary between the settled and wild portions of Africa.³² His complaint also suggests a widespread desire to envision colonialism's impact on Africa as circumscribed and superficial—in effect, to believe when convenient that where the railways, fencing and houses of colonial settlers ended, so too did the impact of the West on African ecologies and societies, beyond the all-important task they called pacification.

For the most part, this vision of pristine wilderness accorded with the Brightest Africa side of the coin, but hunters' work in the field of natural history helped link that image of primitivism to the equally desirable vision of mystery and adventure captured in the older myth of Darkest Africa. While the study and naming of animals reflected Western dominance over the landscape, the very process of mapping and categorizing nature implied that there were still mysterious lands as yet unexplored.

As H. A. Bryden wrote in 1899, Africa had 'yielded up innumerable secrets of zoology', but there was always the possibility that some new species or information was 'awaiting the naturalist and the hunter in the remoter and still unknown regions of the interior.'³³ By that date, very few of the larger mammalian species were unidentified to Europeans, but the successive 'discoveries' in East Africa between 1901 and 1903 of the okapi, mountain bongo and giant forest hog—each of which had previously only been rumoured to exist—substantiated the belief that there were still mysterious, largely unexplored regions in Africa. Consequently, a few years later, when a handful of people began proclaiming that a mysterious creature—possibly a brontosaurus—inhabited the lakes of north-eastern Zambia, scientists found it hard to discredit the claims because they too accepted as fact the idea that parts of Africa were primeval in nature. While the search for this mythical animal was but a minor escapade within the culture of hunting, the debates over its existence reveal the sincerity of contemporaries' belief in prehistoric Africa and the ease with which Darkest and Brightest Africa could be collapsed into a vision of dark, mysterious, prehistoric Africa, where all things were possible.

The potential existence of a brontosaurus first gained public attention in 1909, when Carl Hagenbeck, a German animal collector and purveyor considered by many to have created the modern zoo, announced his decision to sponsor an expedition to investigate reports that 'in the depth of the great swamps [of Zambia] there dwelt a huge monster, half elephant, half dragon . . . [that] can only be some kind of dinosaur, seemingly akin to the brontosaurus'.³⁴ Hagenbeck was a sensationalist in many respects, and his announcement was met with some derision and much scepticism, but, while several people derided his specific description, few were willing to dismiss the possibility that a brontosaurus might exist in Central Africa, as was reflected in the *Rhodesia Herald's* interview with 'Mr Chubb, zoologist to the Rhodesia Museum, who has just concluded a visit to North-Western Rhodesia'. Rather than dismiss the existence of brontosaurus or even dragons, Chubb simply argued that a 'half elephant, half dragon' would necessitate the mating of an elephant and a dragon, which was 'about as feasible scientifically as between a cat and a worm'. Furthermore, he concluded that 'The atmospheric and other conditions at Lakes Bangweolo and Mweru [in north-eastern Zambia], are probably the same to-day as the conditions in the jurassic period, when brontosaurus existed and if the creature existed anywhere, it will be in those districts, but the statement is regarded as an effort of the imagination.'³⁵ Two weeks later, the paper

printed a rebuttal by a 'correspondent, who says he has spent some 18 months in the Kafue Valley', but the writer took issue not as one might expect with Chubb's descriptions of Jurassic-Zambia but with Chubb's scepticism. The anonymous man said that reports of such an animal were well known in that district and that he personally had spoken to several 'self-styled eye witness[es]' and tested the claims made by two of them, who were 'unknown to one another and some hundreds of miles apart', by presenting both with 'several imaginary sketches. . . . They both picked the same one without hesitation, and both commented on the fact that I had omitted to put in the paddles or flappers it used to propel itself with.'³⁶

Such support was not voiced solely under the cloak of anonymity either. The following year, Owen Letcher, a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, presented a paper at the Rhodesia Scientific Association on hippopotamuses and rhinoceros in which he addressed the existence of this rumoured animal. He reminded his doubtful audience

that 20 years ago anyone who professed belief in the okapi (*okapi Johnstoni*) . . . would probably have had to bear a good deal of derision. Africa was a vast continent, and they had, in reality, only just begun to realize some of her wonders. He did not say he was convinced as to the existence of a huge water rhino. [sic] in Central Africa, but it was by no means unlikely that the 'Chimpakwe,' as the Awisa termed it, was something very much more material than a myth.³⁷

Indeed, Letcher himself had spent some time seeking information from 'many old chiefs . . . [about] this mighty two-horned amphibian'. Another hunter, who identified himself only as Hamilton in the letter he sent to the *Field*, was far more sceptical about the existence of an 'undescribed' animal he called the 'chitangwe', but said if it did exist it was more likely a mammal 'related to the Suidae', or pig family, than some rare continuation of the Mesozoic 'saurian' suborder of reptiles.³⁸ Like Letcher, however, Hamilton cited the recent discoveries of previously rumoured animals—in this case the okapi and the giant forest hog—as the reason why one could not dismiss such rumours, even if they seemed at first improbable.

Although extreme in many ways, interest in the existence of a brontosaurus in Africa was not an isolated incident. In 1918, in the midst of World War I, no less a person than S. F. Harmer, then Keeper of Zoology and soon to be Director, of the Natural History Museum in London wrote a letter to his subordinate, Oldfield Thomas, suggesting that the

museum should investigate an account published in *Blackwood's* of an anthropoid creature in East Africa referred to as an Ngoloko, which has since been described as a regional variant of the Sasquatch legend.³⁹ Harmer said that he had initially dismissed the article, in which an anonymous author argued for the existence of an eight-foot-tall, bipedal 'brute' based on a track he found and the legends and eyewitness accounts he had collected from 'the natives', but then Harmer discovered that this author was vouched for by a Sir Malcolm McNeill and that McNeill's brother had a tracing of a footprint believed to have been left by the Ngoloko. Harmer further noted that R. J. Cunninghame, the most respected white hunter of East Africa in the early 1900s, was also 'much interested' in the animal.⁴⁰ Here, issues of class, stereotypes of the white hunter's frontier knowledge, and the contemporary belief in the otherness of African nature and its potential to harbour prehistoric creatures combined to lead an eminent scientist on a wild goose chase. One month later, Harmer wrote Thomas stating that he believed there was sufficient evidence to conclude that the track supposedly left by the Ngoloko was, in fact, that of an ostrich.⁴¹

Harmer's credulity regarding the Ngoloko reveals how seriously Britons took even the more fantastical depictions of Africa in the *fin de siècle*. To be sure, attending to indigenous knowledge and reports was a reasonable and valid course of action. The mountain bongo, for instance, was also presumed to be nothing but a myth until local hunters presented a representative skin to the district official, F. W. Isaac.⁴² The earnest interest taken in reports of a large, amphibious creature and that of a bipedal hominid clearly had its basis, though, in the belief that there were still shadowy, primordial enclaves in Africa—a vision hunters had helped legitimize with their recent animal 'discoveries'. Where such wild realms were to be found, moreover, was an inherently flexible point. One particularly romanticized article in the *Bystander* collapsed what it acknowledged were three 'different parts of the wilds of Africa'—namely, the Ethiopian highlands, Congo basin and Portuguese East Africa—under the rather misleading term 'Equatorial Africa', and then proceeded to describe the whole of Africa as a 'hunter's Elysium . . . [and] also his inferno, for coupled with the glories of his trophies are dangers of the fight with gigantic beasts, the malignant climate, the inhospitalities of the desert, and the treachery of the still savage tribes of the wild regions explored'.⁴³ Few narratives drew so overtly on the language of gothic romances, but this article from 1907 illustrates the extent to which Darkest Africa could be invoked regardless of political, social or ecological conditions. To be sure, the hunting grounds frequented by

vacationing safari hunters were not seen as the likely home of mythical beasts. The dualistic vision of Africa as both an Eden-like paradise and a purgatory—Bright and Dark—that could challenge modern men to their utmost, however, formed the backdrop against which hunters' narratives were read in this era, and the amorphous boundary between these two spaces enabled the sport to support a wide and sometimes divergent set of values and meanings.

The modern instinct for sport

One of the key implications of this vision of primeval Africa in British culture was that it offered a path for the regeneration of modern, white manhood. At the end of the nineteenth century, shifts in the perception of home life, the women's suffrage movements, working-class men's agitation for greater rights and challenges to white men's dominance over racial others had all contributed to the growing fear that elite white masculinity was under siege and in decline. More specifically, many worried that middle- and upper-class men had gone soft because they were overcivilized, by which they meant that Western gentleman, surrounded as they were by too much food, artificial conveniences, and the constraints of modern society, had lost the mental and physical fortitude to withstand hardship or inflict it on others, which many considered essential to subjugating others.⁴⁴ Even more worrisome was the idea that these qualities were not lost in the more primitive 'martial races' of the world or even certain white populations like the Boer farmers of South Africa who had grown up contending against wild nature. Western gentlemen simply did not have the same training, but critics argued that by answering the call of the wild, they could invigorate their bodies, harden their sensibilities and rediscover their primitive instincts, thereby revitalizing themselves and the race.⁴⁵ Consequently, wealthy British men sought out 'rustic playgrounds' as nearby as the glens of Scotland and as far away as Antarctica where they could test 'their wills against their bodies, and their bodies against the environment', and return stronger more powerful men.⁴⁶

Not all playgrounds tested one equally, of course. While the Arctic and Antarctic reigned supreme in terms of the toll they inflicted on a man's body, few places in the fin de siècle could match Africa for the presumed test it imposed on one's character and manliness. As the hunter Letcher put it, 'Most of us are savages at heart', and there are 'few men who have turned from the beaten track in great, mysterious Africa who have not realized that the instincts of our Stone-age

ancestors are not dead'. They are merely dormant, and 'there is no tract on earth wherein they are so easily awakened as in Africa'.⁴⁷ This was precisely why Theodore Roosevelt went on safari immediately after leaving the White House. As historian Gail Bederman explained, Roosevelt's belief that Africa still existed in the Stone Age made it into a place where he could 'relive the primitive, masculine life of his most distant evolutionary forefathers' by hunting.⁴⁸ As the former president well understood, however, primitive instincts had to be controlled. The gothic, imperial literature of the day glorified the moment when civilized men embraced their inner barbaric blood lust, but the contemporary hierarchies of race and class were predicated in part on the supposedly superior ability of civilized, white gentlemen to control their baser impulses. In real life, gentlemen needed to show both the impulse to violence and the ability to restrain that impulse, which hunters theoretically did by proving their inner desire to kill game while simultaneously subjugating that desire to the rules imposed by the code of sportsmanship. Understood in this way, African big game hunting showcased the ability of wealthy, white hunters to wield both primitive violence and gentlemanly restraint in their domination and management of wild lands and inferior peoples. Yet sportswomen were achieving similar feats and couching their desire to hunt in similar terms. What did it mean to have an instinct to hunt?

In the case of Roosevelt, when it came to putting the idea of manly regeneration into practice, he got it wrong, or perhaps a more accurate statement would be that the populist politician got it uncomfortably right. While Roosevelt claimed that he could have brought down ten or a hundred times more animals than the 269 he killed,⁴⁹ his record did not display a sufficient level of restraint in the eyes of many British hunters. F. J. Jackson, who was Governor of British East Africa during Roosevelt's visit, expressed 'great regret' in his memoir that the former president 'was so utterly reckless in the expenditure of ammunition' and remarked that Roosevelt's 'detailed account of buffalo shooting . . . makes most unpleasant reading'.⁵⁰ Yet Roosevelt was also much liked, even by those hunters who disliked the manner in which he hunted—or his 'abominable habit of being photo-graphed with every Zebra and Kongoni he shoots for the pot'.⁵¹ Just as game rangers typically dealt leniently with white sportsmen and women who shot more than permissible under their licenses, so too did contemporaries turn a forgiving eye on those who showed what was considered an excess of zeal. While the lack of restraint such hunters demonstrated was not quite top shelf, it was better to be the man who felt the desire to hunt too keenly than

the one who became unnerved in the face of danger or who had no taste for the kill.⁵² In fact, popular literature and films of the era suggest a widespread desire for such scenes of blood lust.

Hunting culture, by way of contrast, focused on the joy of the chase and the way in which it challenged one's skills, but the importance of the kill to the manliness of hunting came through clearly in the debates over the relative value of shooting with a camera. Nature photography required many of the same skills as hunting and carried similar symbolic overtones. Indeed, scholars have argued that when used in Africa both created artefacts, the trophy and photograph respectively, that offered rich displays of imperial mastery and domination that could be easily displayed in the metropole.⁵³ Both also entailed stalking and 'shooting' wild game, and advocates of photography argued that it was in fact more civilized and manly to hunt with a camera as it required even greater courage and nerve to stalk dangerous animals with no guaranteed means of defence than it did to pursue them with a rifle at the ready.⁵⁴ Others argued in response that it was only when game was wounded that a hunter faced the gravest tests of his courage and nerve, but veteran hunters were quite willing to admit that 'stalking for a camera shot' required greater skill than doing so 'for a rifle shot' as one had to get so much closer to the animal to get a decent photograph.⁵⁵

Looked at in this light, photography had much to offer in terms of proving one's courage, physical fitness, knowledge of natural history and determination, but the camera, quite simply, was not on par with the gun. One historian has argued in reference to American hunters in this era that 'the gun represented their longings for episodic, masculine violence; the camera embodied the necessity for manly restraint, for the conservation of wildlife. Restraint and violent intensity, photography and killing went hand in hand',⁵⁶ but young men did not go to Africa to prove themselves by shooting and taking photographs of animals. In fact, many people thought, as the famous nature photographer and former hunter, Radclyffe Dugmore, admitted he had once done, that 'the man who did not shoot [was] a very inferior person—he was, in fact, unmanly'. A nature photographer could be admired for his skill, but he was something other than a sportsman unless he had, in the words of one contemporary, 'proved his manhood (so to speak). . . [before] his conversion' to the camera.⁵⁷ Such converts, on the other hand, could be heralded as ideal sportsmen, because there was proof of both their capacity for violence and their self-discipline, but they were still not as celebrated as the more famous veteran hunters, like Selous, Chauncey Stigand, or R. J. Cunninghame.

By proving their capacity for violence, sportsmen collectively reassured an anxious nation about the continued imperial fitness of British manhood. The *desire* to hunt animals, however, also spoke more directly to contemporary fears of overcivilization and degeneration. Since primitive man was imagined to be a hunter, many assumed that to awaken one's primitive instincts was to rekindle an overwhelming, inherited urge to hunt. When the hunter and conservationist H. A. Bryden entreated sportsmen to spare giraffes lest they be driven into extinction, he acknowledged what he saw as this fundamental obstacle.

Upon a first and even second occasion, it is, I will admit, from personal experience, a physical impossibility to repress one's natural hunting instincts—instincts deeply implanted during long ages—in a moment of such supreme excitement. But having fairly tasted the delights of giraffe-hunting and they are very keen, I would never again, if I could help it, lay low another of these creatures, except to furnish a supply of absolutely necessary meat.⁵⁸

The man who did not feel this instinct, another hunter claimed, was not a 'born sportsman', and as ingrained as sport was to notions of manliness and Britishness, this in itself was a mark against a man unless he had proven himself in some other capacity.⁵⁹ Such men might conduct themselves well within the confines of Society, but they were effete and consequently unfit for the harsher world of the empire.

At the same time, as Bryden's plea demonstrates, once a sportsman awoke his primitive instinct to hunt and proved his capacity to act upon it, he was expected to rein that instinct back in, to harness it, if the metaphor may be extended so, to the dictates of conscience and reason, which would counsel restraint lest game animals be driven to extinction. Some hunters, of course, failed in this test or made little effort to restrain themselves, but the limits imposed under the game laws encouraged hunters to be highly selective in their shooting.⁶⁰ This included, for instance, bypassing one's first elephant in the hope of finding another with larger tusks and not succumbing to buck fever, a sense of uncontrolled excitement that results in a hunter firing prematurely or wildly. Meticulously stalking animals to ensure the best possible chance of a fatal rather than wounding shot and following up wounded game even when it meant missing other opportunities for sport were additional ways that sportsmen demonstrated the self-restraint and modern benevolence expected of civilized men, while still accumulating relatively sizeable 'bags'. By hunting in a sporting fashion, therefore, British men

simultaneously demonstrated their primal desire to take down game as well as their inborn sense of discipline and fair play.

Not all hunters, though, were sportsmen, and, remarkably, women hunters also described themselves as feeling a deep-seated urge to hunt. Agnes Herbert claimed that, 'Much though I love the old primitive instinct of pursuing, I am not able to forgo the shot, and particularly when I want a lovely pair of horns.'⁶¹ Like male hunters, she spoke too of her restraint, saying that she and her cousin had spared at least twice as many as they killed, and now, having indulged her desire on this first trip, she thought, like Bryden, that 'if I went again I could in most instances deny myself the shot, and content myself with watching and photographing'.⁶² In a similar vein, Edith Maturin wrote that she set out one evening 'with a light hearted step prepared, alas, to kill anything'. She said 'alas' because she felt 'wrong in slaying anything'. She had even declared previously on the trip that she would not hunt again, but she confessed in her travelogue that her resolution—like so many other good intentions—was 'more than once . . . hastily thrust aside when the temptation became too strong! I am rather ashamed to say it—but there! it is the truth.'⁶³ If these were miscues on the part of Herbert and Maturin, there is no indication in the reviews of their works that such claims disturbed their readers.

The very fact that Maturin and Herbert felt such compulsions is an important reminder that the urge to hunt was not mere bombast in this era but a visceral sensation for sportsmen and women. The myth of primitive Africa and the awakening of primal instincts was so internalized that men and women felt the need to shoot animals, even if they, like Maturin, knew they would regret their action when they saw the animal die. Yet, this idea of an instinct to hunt was relatively new. Hunters in the late nineteenth century had not used such language, and its rise was overtly linked to the new concerns about the degeneration of masculinity and the need to reawaken the primal instincts of civilized men. Yet Maturin's and Herbert's desires suggest that this too was an element of hunting that could be separable from masculinity. When one considers that this was also an era in which people worried about neurasthenia—the condition of overwrought nerves and hysteria associated with women and weak men—the urge a woman might feel to prove her own nerve through hunting takes on a very different hue. The instinct to hunt and the capacity to carry it through can be seen in a broader context of Edwardian angst over modernity that encompassed but reached beyond the concerns over masculine degeneration. Expanding the scope in this way also helps explain how the rise of luxury safaris

and conservationism did not do more to undermine the ability of hunting to prove men's masculinity; they were part of the same picture, which can be better appreciated by turning to the seeming hypocritical ideal of 'roughing it'.

'To make a fetish of roughing it'

In one of his many published articles, the professional ivory hunter Arthur Neumann described how he was so thirsty one 'excessively hot and sultry' day that he shot two zebras for the yellow, grass-flavoured water in their stomachs. Neumann had been out hunting elephants unsuccessfully all day, and his guides, he said, 'had stupidly forgotten or neglected to fill the water bottles'. He claimed, however, that 'what made me a victim of thirst, especially that day (for I do not commonly suffer in that way), was that I had drunk cocoa instead of tea that morning'. Neumann knew where a stream could be found, but 'the distance . . . seemed now very long'. So when he came upon the herd of zebras, he shot two of them, explaining to his readers that zebras always had clean water in their stomachs as they were never far from water themselves. He concluded, that 'though we might have been looked on with disgust, imbibing the lukewarm fluid, by those who know not what thirst is, I certainly felt much refreshed by it'.⁶⁴ While Neumann's actions were extreme even by the standards of the day, his reasoning, particularly the explanation he gave for his thirst, provides a quintessential example of the resourcefulness, woodcraft and asceticism for which hunters were celebrated in this era. Rather than focus on his men forgetting their water or his own lack of involvement in such an essential question, Neumann laid the blame on his deviation at breakfast from the standard of simple living that he and many other veteran hunters advocated while hunting. In the late Victorian and Edwardian years, British sportsmen and women laid great emphasis on the lifestyle associated with African hunting, turning their eating and drinking habits into another sign of manly restraint and the escape from civilization and civility that they could achieve in Africa.

As with many aspects of hunting culture, the expectation of roughing it was grounded in the real constraints that hunters faced in the 1800s. In the mid-Victorian period and well into the 1880s, transporting any commodity into the interior was a costly business, and every item a hunter or trader took meant less room in his wagon for profitable hunting products. Consequently, many hunters and traders could ill afford to bring such simple luxuries as tents, camp chairs or commodities like

sugar, coffee or tobacco with them, so they slept under their wagons, or in them, and lived on more limited diets consisting of the game they shot and any food they could buy or trade for locally. At times they lived very well this way. John Willoughby described being invited to a dinner at another hunter's camp that consisted of 'soup, fish, uncommonly tough rhino, roast monkey, ibis curry, *blanc-mange* and honey, native beans, and stewed bananas', but hunters could not count on such abundance.⁶⁵ Major E. M. Jack, a member of the Anglo-Congolese Boundary Commission, wrote that for breakfast he ate porridge, bacon and eggs, 'or in lean times your tough lump of reed-buck'.⁶⁶ Letcher, by comparison, had nothing but eggs during one of his treks, though he appears to have had plenty of these. He and his hunting partner ate between them 32 eggs for dinner one night.⁶⁷ How often times were quite so lean for the average veteran hunter is unclear, but the frequency with which many developed veldt sores—painful bacterial skin lesions that could last for months—suggests that their diets were typically limited. Doctors at the time noted that fatigue, illness and poor diet all made one more susceptible to infection.⁶⁸ C. H. Stigand described searching for a remedy for veldt sores for many years, even though he linked the condition to a lack of vegetables, evidence that his diet, at least, was defined more by material realities than personal choices. Though improved facilities meant higher standards of comfort in the twentieth century, Stigand thought veldt sores were still common enough that he included a remedy for it in a section of his 1913 memoirs intended for inexperienced hunters.⁶⁹

To be sure, by the 1910s it was also possible to travel in as much luxury as one could afford, and only a small minority of hunters was likely in need of Stigand's advice. Still, there continued to be some truth in the popular claim that to hunt in Africa one had to be able to 'rough it', and as one husband and wife team put it, 'in Africa "roughing it" means roughing it, whatever care is expended on the preliminary arrangements'.⁷⁰ When Captain P. H. G. Powell-Cotton set out in 1902 on his 20-month journey through 'unknown Africa', he took with him 46 cases of goods purchased, packed and shipped from the Army and Navy Cooperative in London. Among his supplies were a bedstead, bath, mosquito netting, chainsaw, Union Jack, gramophone and 32 cases of European foodstuffs, including such relative luxuries as dried fruits, several bottles of champagne and 2,712 Sparklets, carbon-dioxide capsules used to carbonate beverages.⁷¹ Without doubt, Powell-Cotton was travelling in far greater comfort than was possible for the body of hunter-traders who had worked in southern Africa just a few decades before, but as the

inclusion of a chainsaw implies, his was by no means a simple pleasure trip nor did he intend it to be. Much of his journey included long marches, sometimes in regions in which water was scarce. One time, when Powell-Cotton took out a search party for water, one of the men strayed from the path and died of thirst. This 'poor fellow' is a reminder that the hardship hunters underwent in search of sport and, for those like Powell-Cotton, greater knowledge of the people and places of Africa, was often but a fraction of that undergone by their workers, but at the same time, it shows that at least some hunters' claims to be roughing it were not mere bombast, even if they could sit in their camp chairs listening to gramophone records.⁷² In most regions, even pampered travellers had to contend with some combination of extreme temperatures, sunburns and rain or lack thereof, as well as annoying insects like mosquitos, ants and chiggers, the latter being a type of flea that burrows into the foot causing blisters or even lesions. Quite simply, going on safari meant enduring discomforts that were quite new to many well-to-do vacation travellers. More critically, this was a significant part of the allure of hunting in the early 1900s.

Whatever trials a hunter might face, however, to be considered roughing it in the eyes of many sportsmen, one had to adopt Spartan eating and drinking habits (with the exception of spirits, which, when available, were imbibed to some excess). Even in the late 1800s, when many hunters lived Spartan lives by necessity, there was significant pressure to prove oneself by limiting one's intake and shunning available comforts. In their books and articles, hunters routinely discussed what they ate, when they ate it and how long it had been since they had last eaten, the latter seeming to be the most important factor. Most reported eating only two meals a day: a light breakfast of, say, cold meat and weak tea, before dawn, nothing during the day except a few biscuits, and then a generous but plain meal in the evening that featured any game they had shot recently. This was a radical departure from the diet of most middle- and upper-class Britons, and it was explicitly presented as a challenge to one's fortitude, love of sport and, consequently, one's masculinity.

The manliness being assessed in this case, however, was not constructed against a vision of effeminacy but rather against other forms of gentlemanliness seen as inappropriate to the imperial frontier. The well-established colonial outfitter and agent S. W. Silver & Company captured this challenge to men's adaptability when it described South Africa as 'the best shooting ground in the world', but only for 'genuine' sportsmen, 'who are willing to tramp it through the bush . . . who can do without Pall Mall chops and coffee and put up with the fare of

the wilderness', and it was a hint that prospective sportsmen would do well to heed as these same ideas were espoused around the campfire.⁷³ One public schoolboy turned frontier adventurer wrote that he was laughed at by his hunting partners for warming his plate before eating Duiker steaks. He defended himself, arguing that he could 'rough it, and with-out grumbling, under very uneven circumstances, but always go in for comfort when within reach. A cold plate is, in my estimation, a thing to be avoided.'⁷⁴ Even those who travelled with certain comforts clung to the notion of roughing it in regard to their food and drink. When F. L. James and his travelling companions advertised for a doctor to join their party, they were 'inundated' with applicants, a few of whom they found comically unsuited for the work. James described one man's letter as 'delicious' as the author thought he was 'quite the man to rough it in Central Africa' yet expected '*meals at regular hours*', a cigar after dinner and supper, and a glass of mild ale.⁷⁵ To be fair, the anonymous doctor's requests suggest he was grossly misinformed about the logistics of travelling in the Sudan in the late 1870s, but Randolph Churchill, himself an advocate of African hunting's capacity to season a man's body, was also publicly mocked in another hunter's travelogue and in a guidebook for South African hunters for his 'epicurean' tastes and his indulgence in cooking fat while on hunting expeditions.⁷⁶ The open mockery of a man of Churchill's social position illustrates how much pressure there was to embrace a more rugged lifestyle, and perhaps especially so for those upper-class gentlemen who needed to prove they could distance themselves from elite comforts, when the situation called for it.

By the early 1900s, however, contemporary beliefs about the capacity of rough living to regenerate the overcivilized white race had given a new meaning and value to the practice of voluntarily rejecting comforts when hunting. Sportsmen began claiming that by roughing it, a civilized sportsman 'inured himself to strain and privation' and, thereby, developed the ability to withstand conditions that would overwhelm other men.⁷⁷ Stigand wrote in 1907 that 'the ability to go long days without food or water is largely a matter of habit and custom'.⁷⁸ It was only because people routinely ate three heavy meals a day, he argued, that they needed them, and by gradually cutting back, one could train oneself to miss meals without feeling any adverse effects. Similarly, Henry Ryder Haggard wrote that Frederick Burnham, the famed American scout and British army officer, 'drinks less liquid perhaps than anyone else . . . in order that, when scouting or travelling where there is no water, he may still be able to exist, with the result that on one occasion

at least he survived when all or nearly all of his companions died'.⁷⁹ As the reference to Burnham suggests, the practice of roughing it was not confined strictly to hunters, and it could carry very clear martial overtones. British men needed to be fit so that they could maintain and defend the empire on its remotest and harshest frontiers. More to the point, roughing it, which had once shown that a man was the right sort for the African frontier life, was now being held up as a way some men became hardier and tougher than others. In an era when elite, vacationing sportsmen could return with enormous bags, the *ideal* of roughing it ensured that African big game hunting could still serve as a physical trial, as it had in the nineteenth century when hunters endured—and risked—far more than the vacationing hunters of the twentieth century. In short, it enabled men to prove themselves in a time when safaris were fast becoming an ideal vacation.

In this sense, the stakes of roughing it had increased even as the pressure to do so had decreased. By the 1910s, several veteran hunters were arguing that hunting in Africa was already so difficult that one 'should try to be comfortable when . . . resting in camp'.⁸⁰ In 1913, A. H. E. Mosse put a finer point on this rhetoric, cautioning that 'if a man cannot rough it a bit he had best not try and shoot in Africa, but to make a fetish of "roughing it", as a few men do, to stint oneself of good food, and make oneself unnecessarily uncomfortable, is simply to court ill-health and consequent failure—the most disastrous form of economy'.⁸¹ Obviously, some hunters were still embracing the practice and taking it to some extremes, but elite, vacationing hunters could also travel in comfort without being mocked. In his safari diary, Reginald Loder recorded what beverages he and his wife found most suitable for breakfast, second breakfast, lunch and tea, and he also noted that they were consuming more than a pot of jam per day.⁸²

For many vacationing hunters, though, limiting one's consumption of food and beverages, including water, was an essential part of partaking in the African hunter's life, but instead of presenting the more Spartan regime of hunting as a chance to prove their manliness, they portrayed it as part of the joy and romance of camp life in the wilds. Their idea of abstention, however, must be put into context. Many of these men and women travelled with a wealth of supplies, and ate their plain dinners—which could have several courses—at a table laid with a tablecloth, silverware and glasses, while a butler or other servant waited on them. Yet this was still a step away from the formality and luxury that attended dinners in elite households or even at district outposts in Africa, where eight course meals complete with printed menus were

the order of the day when entertaining.⁸³ It also came after a day when they arose at dawn and tramped several miles, and while their servants would have been up long before them and the hunters might have spent the afternoon resting in camp, this lifestyle still *felt* more wholesome for many and offered opportunities they could never have at home, such as sleeping out under the stars.⁸⁴

The sense of roughing it, of course, extended to the practice of hunting itself, and the opportunities it offered to challenge oneself physically and even to get dirty, which for some well-to-do individuals was itself something of a novelty. In an article about her experience tracking elephants, Mary Bridson remarked how little time it took her to get ready in the grey light of dawn, as she wound up her putties, put water in her 'Thermos bottle—that last product of despised civilisation . . . [and] put a few biscuits' in her pockets. The biscuits joined the pencil and paper she carried for sending distress calls if necessary, extra elephant cartridges and matches for a signal fire. She noted that after a long day of crawling on her stomach stalking game, the biscuit crumbs would be over everything and the cartridges would have turned the whole mess black.⁸⁵ Bridson never did successfully find an elephant, yet she still enjoyed herself immensely. Whatever the level of luxury she indulged in while in camp, she had challenged herself and roughed it in ways that must have been quite different from her daily life in Britain. By hunting, she had temporarily escaped from the enervation of 'despised civilisation'.

In this sense, hunting may have offered Edwardian women even more of a release than men, but elite men also expressed a joyful liberation at pushing themselves and discovering what they were capable of and could accomplish under the right circumstances. As Herbert Vivian stated when explaining why he had decided to publish an account of his travels through Ethiopia,

After reading all sorts of books on African travel, I imagined that all sorts of hardships, miseries, and dangers would confront me. I can safely recommend this kind of journey as the best tonic imaginable. I soon found I could do all sorts of things which I should never have dreamed to be possible at home, such as riding all night or snatching an hour's sleep by the roadside with a tuft of grass for my pillow in a flood of rain. By proving how easy the thing is, I shall be affording a number of people a very welcome opportunity of doing something new and strange, which they never thought of doing before. I claim to show that anybody who possesses average health and strength—a

lady almost as easily as a man—can go through the big game country and visit strange African peoples without much greater danger or discomfort than would be involved in cycling from London to Brighton.⁸⁶

Vivian's idea of 'easy' travel, which apparently included sleeping on the roadside in the rain, was remarkably similar to the descriptions offered by those who said such rugged travel would inure a man to hardship. He framed it, though, as a wonderful opportunity that healthy people should not deny themselves for seeing more of life than they could find either in the metropole or in more popular vacation grounds.

Of course, one had to be both healthy and very wealthy to make such a trip as Vivian proposed, and the visions of escape that vacationing hunters promoted were just as deeply embedded in the imperial and racial imagery of Africa as those who set out to regenerate the white race. They were also both made possible by the vision of the 'African Interior' as a timeless land, separate from the modern world, and this shared ideal enabled these two very different conceptions of roughing it to coexist, though not always smoothly. Lady Constance Stewart Richardson, who hunted at least twice in Africa, spoke scathingly of 'the wealthy young man' who hunted big game 'as a sop for a feeble, decadent vanity', and contrasted such with 'the real men, the hunters of old' like Selous who never 'coddle[d] their bodies', but instead 'did without most things' and hunted for true love of sport. She claimed that many a young sportsman of the early twentieth century went out with a 'professional white hunter who takes all the trouble from off his shoulders . . . and generally acts as male nurse to the rich young man . . . [keeping him from harm and ensuring his success.] In fact he sets the scene, writes the play, acts as audience, and the rich young man plays the chief part, and the whole thing as much resembles real big game hunting as the theatre resembles real life.'⁸⁷ These same fractures in the image of roughing it came through in the occasional piece that mocked the difficulty of hunting or the manliness of the big game hunter, but they reflect a rejection not of the ability of hunting to test and better one, but of the sportsmen who embraced too readily the comforts and services of safaris.

The ideal of roughing it in its varied forms defined the experience and subjectivity of hunters in this era. In the 1870s and 1880s, it proved that a man could leave behind the comforts of upper-class living and mix with the rougher element of the frontier, but the meaning shifted over time, becoming entangled with the concerns about overcivilization

and racial regeneration that underwrote the popularity of hunting in the 1890s and early 1900s. By that point, hunting expeditions were also sites of conspicuous consumption, and the all-inclusive safaris of wealthy travellers already evoked some of the glamour for which safaris were known in the 1930s. This was not how they were primarily represented or imagined, however. In the Edwardian era, hunting represented a chance to experience a more natural and authentic way of life, and the degree to which one 'roughed it' signified whether that lifestyle represented an escape or a test. Both styles of roughing it, though, reflected an unease with modernity and a concomitant desire for adventure and regeneration that made hunting such an ideal outlet for the fin-de-siècle man or woman of means.

In the Edwardian era, when colonization and colonial transportation threatened the image of Africa as an unknown land of adventure, big game hunting helped repackage the image of the once mysterious 'African Interior' into a vision of primeval purity. Hunters' natural history discoveries and descriptions of the landscapes and even the ability of vacationing hunters to abandon formal social standards in the 'wilds' reconciled this new vision with the reality of colonial expansion by carving out a space that was imagined as distinct from the 'civilization' of the colonies. As examined in the previous chapter, women hunters' acceptance in this space and their presumed safety also helped police this artificial boundary between the interior and the modern world. Even scientists looked to the 'African Interior' to provide fantastical discoveries. To be sure, Europe has long looked for strange and wondrous things to emerge from Africa, but the turn of the century was one of the moments when that desire waxed strong. Part of the resonance hunting had in this era was its ability to ensure that in the Western imagination 'real' Africa was wildest Africa. This vision was deeply appealing and spoke to middle- and upper-class British concerns about the overcivilized, overwrought nature of modern life, while still providing the sense of exotic adventures glorified in popular literature. The presumed ability of Africa to awaken man's inner, primitive instincts made it an ideal space for the regeneration of British manhood and connected hunting with a much broader movement across Europe and the United States to assert and reimagine white masculinity in a rapidly changing world. Drawing women into the analysis, however, shows that the glorification of hunting and the opportunities it offered were not just about regenerating hypermasculine imperial men. It reflected a very modern desire to preserve a retreat in which one could temporarily escape civilization, provided one had the money.

The belief, however, that this space of retreat was one that had been preserved, that it was untouched by imperialism, enabled the idea of 'natural' Africa and the ideas it supported to long outlive the empire itself. Throughout the twentieth century, scientists, conservationists and nationalist governments alike sought to preserve unchanged a constantly evolving landscape. Only in the twenty-first century are people beginning to demythologize the static image of pristine Africa. These ideas are not solely attributable to Victorian and Edwardian hunting, but their longevity further illustrates the need to analyse big game hunting not only in terms of imperial culture or the turn-of-the-century crisis in British masculinity but also in terms of more generalized, Western anxieties over modernity and its unintended effects.

Conclusion: Imperial Mastery

It was raining, and Frederick Courteney Selous sat in the dirt in front of the Ndebele King Lobengula's 'quarters' being 'scoffed and jeered at'¹. Already a well-known and respected hunter, Selous was being tried before Lobengula for the crime of instructing his wagon driver, Moilo, to kill a hippopotamus, a protected animal in Ndebele society. In his narrative, Selous said that he had actually warned Moilo against killing hippopotamuses but that he never said so during the trial as Moilo was 'an old boy of mine, and a man I much liked'. Selous was afraid of what would happen to Moilo if he transferred the blame onto him, so instead, Selous denied the charge on the grounds that Moilo had killed the hippo for food, which was acceptable within Ndebele culture. Lobengula did not accept this defence, however. He found Selous guilty and fined him roughly £60, a large sum at the time that was more than the annual wage of a white farmhand in the Transvaal.²

The trial and its outcome created something of a sensation in the region, raising the concerns of white traders and signalling a brief carnival atmosphere amongst some Ndebele with regard to the white settlers in their midst. One missionary reportedly packed his bags and left in the aftermath of the ruling, claiming that the disrespect he had long endured from the Ndebele had increased to the point of his beard being pulled, which he saw as the final indignity.³ In fact, the entire trial appears to have been designed (though by whom is not clear) to appease those Ndebele who resented the incursion and actions of white hunters. According to Selous, he had already spoken to Lobengula about the hippopotamus and Lobengula had assured him that there would be no trouble over it. The problem, Selous said, was that hippopotamus hide was in high demand that year, and a particularly unscrupulous European hunter-trader had decided to capitalize on the demand. This unnamed man had hired 'several Griquas and colonial natives who had settled in Matibililand' to kill large numbers of hippopotamuses for him. Instead of trying just this one trader, however, Lobengula accused all four white hunters who had been active 'in the veld' at the time, including a hunter named Grant, whom Selous said had not killed any

hippopotamuses but was told he would have to 'pay for walking in the king's country and drinking the king's water'.

Selous was furious, and during the trial openly accused Lobengula of using the case as a pretext for robbing the four white hunters. Naturally, this accusation made Lobengula 'very angry', but he remained 'silent, drumming his foot'. If Selous reported events even partially accurately, Lobengula seems to have been seeking some way to resolve the matter, as he finally said, "'You say you will pay; what will you pay?'" Selous offered two cows, but Lobengula demanded ten, which Selous said Lobengula would have to take from him as he would never 'give them'. Whether Lobengula confiscated the cattle by force or whether Selous, in the end, turned them over is unclear, but either way, Selous saw the trial as a grave injustice and a personal affront. In later years the king tried to tell Selous that it was not personal, saying, '[T]hat case is finished! Dead! . . . Go hunt until your heart is white', but Selous never forgave him.⁴

The 'sea cow case', as Selous called it, captures the interrelated forces and connections that attended frontier hunting in the late nineteenth century. Like the examples analysed in chapter 2, the trial illustrates both the control African monarchs had over British hunters and the delicate balancing act that exerting that control required on the eve of colonial conquest. The political, economic and social implications of hunting made it a weighted point of contact, and the emotions that were apparently evoked by this trial further suggest how interpersonal relations could add to the complexity and shape the perceived import of these encounters. In this particular instance, the trial and its outcome were defined by the general relationship between British hunters and the Ndebele people, internal Ndebele politics, the personal relationship between Selous and Lobengula, and the patron-client relationship between Selous and Moilo. It was a show trial in which everyone, from the British hunters to the Ndebele king, had to play their part.

This was not, however, how Selous understood or presented the case. He understood that the proximal cause of the trouble was the anonymous hunter-trader's blatant transgression of Ndebele law, but Selous believed that he personally had been roped in solely due to the treachery of the *induna*, or headman, of Bulawayo. Selous gave this man's name as Ma-kwaykwi and said that he served as one of the main accusers in the trial. As Selous and Ma-kwaykwi had formerly been on good terms, the 'moral' of the story for Selous was that one should 'never believe you know the workings of a savage man's mind sufficiently to enable you to trust him implicitly'. Selous presented himself, however, as holding his own during the trial. When Ma-kwaykwi pronounced,

"It is you, Selous, who have finished the king's game. . . . But you are a witch, you must bring them all to life again. I want to see them—all, all. Let them all walk in at the kraal gate, the elephants and the buffaloes and the elands"—I stood up and called out, "All right; but when the lions come in, will you, Ma-kwaykwi, remain where you are to count them?" This caused a general laugh at Ma-kwaykwi's expense and quite stopped his flow of eloquence.

At another point Selous said he unnerved one of the *indunas* by staring at him as if he wanted 'to put a bullet through him'.⁵ The Ndebele court may have had authority over Selous, but as he told it, neither the *indunas* nor Lobengula could make him bend, and they knew it. In short, Selous presented the trial as the epitome of 'native' injustice and himself as an ideal imperial man. His readers could imagine him standing up in a 'savage' court and drawing on his superior manliness to make a laughing stock out of his accuser. He may have lost the £60, which was a figure he could ill afford, but his readers would see him as having gained the respect of 'the native' and metaphorically flown the flag of Britain.⁶

The 'sea cow case', thus, also encapsulates the more complex vision of imperial power and masculine authority constructed through hunting. Selous' continued resentment over the case reveals how deeply frustrated he was by the trial and by his inability to affect the outcome, but in his narrative, he emerged as master of the situation. Selous' ability to make that claim arose from his pre-existing reputation as a manly and principled gentleman and his privileged knowledge, in comparison to other Britons, of Ndebele culture and politics. Selous had many years' experience hunting among Ndebele people and, more particularly, acquiring the permission and assistance he needed to do so. He had at least a working grasp of the Ndebele language, and probably much more than that. He also knew Lobengula, Ma-kweykwi and many others within the crowd because he had spent so much time in Bulawayo paying court to Lobengula and seeking concessions to hunt.

Indeed, Selous' experience negotiating with Lobengula and other southern African rulers combined with his many published accounts established him as an expert on African affairs. When, a few years after the sea cow trial, the 'colossus' of empire, Cecil Rhodes, secured a concession from Lobengula for Mashona lands, his biggest problem was that Selous—a man known only for his big game hunting—had acquired a series of competing concessions from Mashona chiefs. More to the point, Selous was prepared to argue that these chiefs were not under

Lobengula's rule, which would have made Rhodes's concession worthless. Rhodes, in his own words, 'saw at once the danger of our position if a series of articles appeared in the papers from a man of Selous' position claiming that Mashonaland was independent of Lobengula', and so Rhodes sent for Selous. In the course of their meeting, Selous agreed 'to throw in his lot' with Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, for which the hunter was well paid.⁷ In return, Selous wrote numerous pieces that established the supposed history of Ndebele tyranny over the Mashona, a history that Rhodes used to solidify Britain's legal and ethical right to occupy Mashonaland.⁸

Selous was particularly successful at constructing an identity as an expert on southern African nature, politics and cultures, but veteran hunters' extended interactions with African societies certified them as authorities more generally on African cultures and politics in the eyes of British society. Interest in Africa was high in these years, and many hunters responded to it, including copious notes in their published travelogues on the peoples they had met. Scholars have described the critical role such knowledge making played in the expansion and governance of the imperial state, and with anthropology in its infancy, this type of amateur ethnography formed the primary source of information on the peoples of the colonies or soon-to-be colonies in Africa.⁹ The descriptions hunters collected, the judgements they made and the categories they supported formed a critical element of this broader project and made hunting an important site of colonial knowledge making.

It is at once ironic and deeply telling that hunters' cultural authority in regard to African affairs arose from their lack of control on the ground. Herein lay the sinews of imperial power. British hunters' inability to pursue game animals successfully without securing local cooperation and accessing specialized knowledge enabled African leaders, communities and hunters to shape the outcome of hunts and direct hunting expeditions to their own ends. Monarchs, chiefs and village headmen extracted political and economic resources from the hunt; African hunters integrated their practices and moral order in adapted forms into British expeditions; and individuals at all levels used expeditions to advance their personal and familial interests. Yet these acts of agency and the broader entanglements that enabled and facilitated them contributed to the mystique of the imperial hunter, shaped imperial knowledge and fed imperial ideologies. Put simply, hunters' inability to avoid negotiating and forming working relationships with individuals and communities in Africa made them authorities on 'the native' in British imperial culture.

It was possible for these interactions to cut the other way and produce subversive images and understandings that undermined imperial justifications or stereotypes, but such moments were exceptions that did not disrupt the broader narrative. Scholars have already noted a similar tendency among European travellers to Africa as far back as the mid-sixteenth century. As Johannes Fabian explained in his study of nineteenth-century German and French explorers, when these men's experiences in Africa could not be reconciled with their expectations and beliefs, they were forced to step outside the 'rationalized frames of exploration'.¹⁰ This 'ecstasis', as Fabian called it, helped create a cultural middle ground in which more nuanced knowledge making was made possible. These contradictory experiences did not, however, change Europeans' overarching perceptions of Africans. In fact, what interested Fabian was how such experiences were described in the same narratives, and often the same passages, as the accepted truths they contradicted. Thus, an explorer could describe the ritual observances of a society in detail before claiming, on a separate note, that those same people did not practice any religion.¹¹ In the same vein, hunters' texts are riddled with complex encounters and characterizations of men that should have given the lie to imperial stereotypes, but hunters interpreted these images and observations in terms of imperial racial ideologies that reaffirmed for themselves and their readers the essential differences between Briton and African.

The complexity of hunters' personal relationships with the men they hired and the contradictory accounts those sentiments produced can be seen clearly by considering the question of trust between hunters and the men with whom they had the closest contact, their gunbearers. Despite the dangers of hunting in this era, an investigation was launched into a white hunter's death whenever possible. In one such instance, a party of hunters dug up the body of their acquaintance, Hugo Genthe, and examined the site of his death to verify that he had been killed by an elephant, as a gunbearer, named Mataja, had claimed. The hunters' willingness to disturb Genthe's grave is telling enough, but the fact that Mataja was their own *capitao*, or headman, who had been sent to deliver Genthe's mail and once there drafted into assisting with a hunt, reveals the profound distrust hunters could harbour regarding the men with whom they worked. Yet the investigation also verified Mataja's story, a fact that the hunters reported in a letter to the *British Central Africa Gazette* in which they further suggested that Genthe had died in part because he had ignored Mataja's advice not to go in so close to the elephant.¹² In other words, despite mistrusting Mataja themselves

when it came to his report of Genthe's death, the hunters blamed that death on Genthe's refusal to place his trust in Mataja's experience!

Big game hunting for all its display of colonial mastery over land and labour was a deeply anxious and unsettling experience for those who found themselves so entirely dependent on the African men they hired. That insecurity led some to crack, like Marguerite Roby did in the Congo, when she rapidly progressed from opposing flogging to arbitrarily beating and shooting her porters in a near-crazed attempt to gain some sense of control over her situation. She never doubted her inherent superiority, however, and her narrative reflected that vision as did those of other hunters. The particular glorification of veteran hunters, however, reflected the notion that they had the privileged, intimate knowledge needed to take control regardless of their dependence. Their narratives, filled with their often erroneous if sincere explanations, provided a vision of the imperial *man* who understood 'the native'. This was very much a gendered vision of control. Part of constructing women hunters as feminine was describing their control over African porters and gunbearers in terms of inspiring obedience from their men. It was only the male hunter who led through his knowledge of 'the native'.

Even after colonization when hunters did not have to petition African leaders for access to hunting grounds, the idea remained that *veteran* hunters' experiences in the field gave them particular insights into African mentalities. As the military officer and respected hunter Chauncey Stigand wrote in 1913,

The white man, who is a keen hunter, is generally much more in touch with the native and in sympathy with him than the one who does not care for sport. It is easy to see why this should be so. The latter meets the native over matters of discipline, taxes, labour, and many other things which are of the white man's invention and making, and so difficult for the native to understand. The hunter meets the savage on common grounds and on matters with which the latter is, in a primitive way, more conversant than he himself is.¹³

Embedded in Stigand's claim is the romanticization of hunting as a particular and privileged meeting of British and African—of modern and primitive. The veteran hunter, in other words, interacted with African people on their own, 'primitive' terms, and, thus, gained insight into the 'real' Africa. This was an extension of the similar reworking after 1900 of the colonial frontier into a vision of authentic, primitive nature, but vacationing sportsmen and women did not have the language skills

to speak to *and for* 'native' people. This was a privileged knowledge and, consequently, a mystique that was limited to veteran hunters. These moments of seeming intimacy imbued the veteran hunter with a particular romance that continued throughout the twentieth century in the form of the white hunter. It was the final, metaphoric conquest symbolized in hunting. In practice, hunting was a site of contest and negotiation that spread colonial control and networks while reinforcing African social and political structures. It was one of the domains wherein colonialism with all its points of contradiction and all its fractures was contested, lived and constructed. The idealization of the veteran hunters' knowledge, however, subsumed the intersectionality of hunting and the essential complexity of this field into a vision of imperial dominance, and in so doing created a vision that was far more powerful than one characterized by force alone.

Notes

Introduction

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Chapter 1

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Chapter 2

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Chapter 3

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 - 36 Swayne, *Seventeen Trips through Somaliland*, 229–30.
 - 37 Arthur Donaldson Smith, *Through Unknown African Countries: The First Expedition from Somaliland to Lake Lamu* (London: Edward Arnold, 1896), 25.
 - 38 Swayne, *Seventeen Trips through Somaliland*, 43.
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- 42 Swayne, *Seventeen Trips through Somaliland*, 43–4. The India Office governed British Somaliland until 1898, when the Foreign Office took over control. Until that time, colonial personnel and practices were often drawn directly from Indian service, and they brought with them the pidgin language of Hindustani.
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- 46 W. N. McMillan, ‘Crocodile and Buffalo’, *Field*, 11 April 1914, 760.
- 47 A. E. Leatham, *Sport in Five Continents* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1912), 128.
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- 62 Grogan and Sharp, *From Cape to Cairo*, 47; Selous, *A Hunter's Wandering in Africa*, 128-9; P. C., 'A Day after African Elephants', *Field*, 5 January, 1895, 29.
- 63 Owen Letcher, *Big Game Hunting in North-Eastern Rhodesia* (London: John Long, 1911), 82; David Macpherson, *Little Birds and Elephants: The Diary and Short Stories of David Macpherson's Wanderings in Portuguese East Africa and Nyasaland 1928-1929*, ed. Isabel Macpherson (Blonay, Switzerland: Denham House, 2005), 281; James Sutherland, *The Adventures of an Elephant Hunter* (London: MacMillan, 1912), 217.
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- 74 James Dunbar-Brunton, *Big Game Hunting in Central Africa* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1912), 30.
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- 84 Foran, *Elephant Hunters of the Lado*, 158.
- 85 Jane I. Guyer, 'Traditions of Invention in Equatorial Africa', *African Studies Review* 39, no. 3 (December 1996): 2, doi:10.2307/524941.
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Chapter 4

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- 3 Cornelia Mary Speedy, *My Wanderings in the Soudan* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1884), 1:174; Kenneth P. Czech, *With Rifle and Petticoat: Women as Big Game Hunters, 1880–1940* (Lanham, MD: Derrydale Press, 2002), 33–40. Dixie had already hunted extensively in South America. For more, see Precious McKenzie, *The Right Sort of Woman: Victorian Travel Writers and the Fitness of an Empire* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 35–62.
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- 5 Information taken from: East Africa and Uganda Protectorates Government Gazettes (1899–1901; 1904–07), TNA: CO 457/1-2, CO 457/5-7; Kenya: Government Gazettes, (1908–09), TNA: CO 542/2; North-Eastern Rhodesia Government Gazettes, (1903–11), TNA: CO 669/1; Nyasaland (Malawi): Government Gazettes (1903–14), TNA: CO 541/2-4; Uganda Government Gazettes (1908–13), TNA: CO 612/1-3; British South Africa Company Government Gazettes (1899–1913), TNA: CO 455/1-6. The gazettes of Somaliland and the Sudan did not report the names of licensees.
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- 7 Mrs Fred [Edith] Maturin, *Adventures beyond the Zambesi, of the O'Flaherty, the Insular Miss, the Soldier Man, and the Rebel-Woman* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1913), 10, 12–13, 198–9.
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- 9 'Off After the Lions', *Illustrated Penny Press*, 7 December 1912.
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- 11 Agnes Herbert, *Two Dianas in Somaliland: The Record of a Shooting Trip*, 2nd ed. (London: John Lane, 1908), 17.
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- 15 Speedy, *My Wanderings in the Soudan*, viii–ix; J. C. B. Statham, *With My Wife across Africa, by Canoe and Caravan* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1924), 5, 17.
- 16 Women with access to country estates could, of course, practice shooting there, but it is possible some ventured to shooting ranges too. See William Kyans, advertisement, *Field*, 22 March 1890, xi; Charles Lancaster, advertisement, *Field*, 6 June 1914, xi.
- 17 R. S. Meikle and Mrs M. E. Meikle, *After Big Game: The Story of an African Holiday* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1917), 205, 208–9, 228–9, 251–2.
- 18 Jeannette Eileen Jones, *In Search of Brightest Africa: Reimagining the Dark Continent in American Culture, 1884–1936* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 146.
- 19 Hugh Fraser, entry for 25 December 1907 in Helena Molyneux, 'Travel Diary: Journey to Egypt, Abyssinia, etc', 1907–8, LRO: 920 SEF 5/1c.
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- 21 James Dunbar-Brunton, *Big Game Hunting in Central Africa* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1912), 236.
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- 23 Herbert, *Two Dianas in Somaliland*, 19.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 269.
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- 26 Marguerite Roby, *My Adventures in the Congo* (London: Edward Arnold, 1911), 62.
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- 32 Herbert, *Two Dianas in Alaska*, 1.
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- and then in brackets —unable presumably to call her Mrs Cecil Porch—the publisher gave the rather strange name of Edith Cecil-Porch. Maturin, *Adventures beyond the Zambesi*; for more on Grace MacKenzie's film, see Erik Barnouw, *Media Lost and Found* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2001), 39–63.
- 35 Meikle and Meikle, *After Big Game*, 2.
 - 36 'Country Life in Rhodesia', *Country Life Illustrated*, 25 June 1898.
 - 37 H. Anderson Bryden, *Gun and Camera in Southern Africa* (London: Edward Stanford, 1893), 42; A. Blayney Percival, *A Game Ranger's Note Book*, ed. E. D. Cumming (London: Nisbet, 1924), 64–5; Colonial Office: North-Eastern Rhodesia Government Gazettes, 1903–1911, n.d., CO 669/1, TNA.
 - 38 Roby, *My Adventures in the Congo*; see, for example, 'Adventures of a Woman Explorer', *Daily Mirror*, 4 April 1911, UK Press Online; her book was also listed in Edward Heawood, 'Geographical Literature of the Month', *The Geographical Journal* 39, no. 3 (March 1912): 301.
 - 39 See, for example, 'Verb : Sap' on *Going to East Africa, British Central Africa, Uganda, and Zanzibar, and Big Game Shooting in East Africa with Swahili Vocabulary*, Verb. Sap 2 (London: J. Bale, 1906), 35.
 - 40 Herbert, *Two Dianas in Somaliland*, 5–6.
 - 41 'Duchess as Elephant Hunter', *Daily Mail*, 19 March 1908, PCM: PCQ 65, 27.
 - 42 H. R. H. Helene de France, Duchess of Aosta, 'A Diana in Africa, Pt 5', *Harper's Weekly*, 20 August 1910.
 - 43 Dunbar-Brunton had no pictures of his own and instead used those of others to 'decorate' his book. Dunbar-Brunton, *Big Game Hunting in Central Africa*, viii, 236.
 - 44 Andrea L. Smalley, "'I Just Like to Kill Things': Women, Men and the Gender of Sport Hunting in the United States, 1940–1973", *Gender & History* 17, no. 1 (April 2005): 186, doi:10.1111/j.0953-5233.2005.00377.x.
 - 45 Monica Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870–1914* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), 24.
 - 46 For further examples, see Barbara Bush, *Imperialism and Postcolonialism* (Harlow, UK: Routledge, 2006), 131; McKenzie, *The Right Sort of Woman*; Mary A. Prociida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883–1947* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 6.
 - 47 Kenneth M. Cameron, *Into Africa: The Story of the East African Safari* (London: Constable, 1990), 64–5.
 - 48 William John Ansorge, *Under the African Sun: A Description of the Native Races in Uganda, Sporting Adventures and Other Experiences* (London: W. Heinemann, 1899), 1–2.
 - 49 *Ibid.*, 3, 15.
 - 50 See, for example, Sarah Wilson, *South African Memories: Social, Warlike & Sporting, from Diaries Written at the Time* (London: Edward Arnold, 1909), 319; 'Lions at Three a Penny', *Daily Express*, 12 August 1907, UK Press Online; A. E. Leatham, *Sport in Five Continents* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood, 1912), 8.
 - 51 'Lady Travellers', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, July 1896, 52–6, 66.
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 - 53 C. Simpson, 'Respectable Identities: New Zealand Nineteenth-Century "New Women"—on Bicycles!', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 18, no. 2

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- 54 Mary Bridson, 'Elephant Tracks: A Successful Failure', *National Review*, February 1910, 966.
 - 55 Lady Cranworth, 'Camp Life in East Africa', *The Gentlewoman*, 24 August 1907, 256, NCCO.
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 - 57 Maturin, *Adventures beyond the Zambesi*, 198.
 - 58 Ibid.; Herbert, *Two Dianas in Somaliland*, 38.
 - 59 'Big Game Sportswomen, Review of *Two Dianas in Somaliland: The Record of a Shooting Trip*, by Agnes Herbert', *Field*, 5 October 1907, 614.
 - 60 To Correspondents, reply to W. L. S., *Field*, 8 April 1897, 497.
 - 61 Laura E. Franey, *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence: British Writing on Africa, 1855–1902* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 7–8; Herbert, *Two Dianas in Somaliland*, 99–100; for discussions of women travelers and the use of flogging, see Cameron, *Into Africa*, 175; Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2006), 172–3.
 - 62 Roby, *My Adventures in the Congo*, 95, 134, 179, 192, 209–10, 212, 269, 272; there was one instance when Roby admitted to wielding the chicotte herself in self-defence, and two times when she threatened people with it, though she told the reader she was bluffing. See pages 125, 189, 235.
 - 63 Maturin, *Adventures Beyond the Zambesi*, 269.
 - 64 Bridson, 'Elephant Tracks: A Successful Failure', 963–4, 967, 972; H. R. H. Helene de France, Duchess of Aosta, 'A Diana in Africa', pt 4, *Harper's Weekly*, 6 August 1910.
 - 65 Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1991), 44.
 - 66 Herbert, *Two Dianas in Somaliland*, 33.
 - 67 Ibid., 33, 39.
 - 68 Ibid., 41–2.
 - 69 Ibid., 269–71.
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 - 71 'Big Game Sportswomen', *Field*, 5 October 1907, 614.
 - 72 Walter Winans, *Shooting for Ladies* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 2.
 - 73 'The Rights of Women to Sport', *Field*, 26 September 1885.
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 - 75 For more on perceptions of women's hunting in Britain, see Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); McKenzie, "Sadly Neglected"—Hunting and Gendered Identities; McKenzie, *The Right Sort of Woman*; Erica Munkwitz, 'Vixens of Venery: Women, Sport, and Fox-Hunting in Britain, 1860–1914', *Critical Survey* 24, no. 1 (June 2012): 74–87, doi:10.3167/cs.2012.240106.
 - 76 James Wolf, 'A Woman Passing Through: Helen Caddick and the Maturation of the Empire in British Central Africa', *Journal of Popular Culture* 30, no. 3 (Winter 1996): 35–55.

- 77 Emilia F. Noel, 'Travel Journals, vol. 21, East Africa 1906–07', ms, p. 15, RGS/EFN/21, RGS-IBG. She noted a similar instance when she visited the governor's house in Mombasa.
- 78 Roby, *My Adventures in the Congo*, 2. Emphasis in the original.
- 79 Ibid., 217–18.
- 80 Ibid., 157–62, 174. Emphasis in the original. Judging from her picture, the expedition did not result in any significant casualties. Emphasis in the original.
- 81 'Adventures of a Woman Explorer', *Daily Mirror*, 3 April 1911, *UK Press Online*; Roby, *My Adventures in the Congo*, 73.
- 82 'This Morning's Gossip', *Daily Mirror*, 21 October 1911, *UK Press Online*.
- 83 Roby, *My Adventures in the Congo*, 187.
- 84 'Four Travel Books', *Observer*, 5 November 1911, *Proquest*.
- 85 'Adventures of a Woman Explorer', *Daily Mirror*, 3 April 1911.
- 86 'Guest of Cannibals', *Daily Mirror*, 6 November 1912, *UK Press Online*.
- 87 'Woman in Darkest Africa', *Daily Express*, 8 November 1912, *UK Press Online*.
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Chapter 5

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- 77 John Guille Millais, *Life of Frederick Courtenay Selous, D.S.O., Capt. 25th Royal Fusiliers* (London: Longmans, Green, 1919), 352.
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Conclusion

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- 3 Kerr, *Far Interior*, 1: 52.
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