

**Masculinity, Morality and Hunting,
c.1850-1950**

**A Thesis submitted to the University of Strathclyde
for the degree of PhD in the Faculty of Education**

2004

Callum Campbell McKenzie, BA. (Hons), M.Phil.

**CONTAINS
PULLOUTS**

To my family, without whose
support, this thesis would
not have been possible

The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author under the terms of the United Kingdom Copyright Acts as qualified by University of Strathclyde Regulation 3.49. Due acknowledgement must always be made of the use of any material contained in, or derived from, this thesis.

Contents:

| | Page |
|---|------|
| Abstract | 4 |
| Acknowledgments | 5 |
| Prologue - Historians, Hunting and Masculinities | 7 |
| Part One: 'Blooding the Male!': Attitudes and Arguments, Continuity and Change | |
| Chapter One - Morality, Hunting and Gendered Identities: A Period Overview | 68 |
| Chapter Two - Making Manly Boys with Gun and Hound | 106 |
| Chapter Three- Moral and Intellectual Alternatives to Mainstream Masculinity | 149 |
| Part Two: Imperialism Maintained: Masculinity Exalted | |
| Chapter Four - Horse and Hound and the Making of a Martial Identity | 195 |
| Chapter Five - Out of England, into Empire: Aspects of Big Game Hunting and the Imperial Officer | 237 |
| Part Three: Masculinity Consolidated and Adapted | |
| Chapter Six - The Hunter-Naturalist as Moralist, Publicist and Proselytiser: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal | 285 |
| Chapter Seven - Fraternalism, Tradition and Big Game Hunting with Particular Reference to The 'Shikar Club' | 337 |
| Chapter Eight - Masculinity Redefined? The Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire, c.1903-1950s | 395 |
| Epilogue - Hunting, Morality and Modernity | 452 |
| Appendix | 461 |
| Bibliography | 465 |

Abstract:

The moral imperatives of hunting have long been associated with masculinity. In Britain's age of High Imperialism, hunting assumed greater importance as a 'right of passage' necessary for personal assertion and imperial stability. For proponents, killing wildlife for sport was a 'natural' process which illustrated the ethnocentric and cultural superiority of British upper class men over various "others". This 'pre-eminence' manifested itself through 'male' institutions including elite education, church, army and hunting clubs and found wider expression through hunting books and museums.

Dissidents from this pleasing masculinity railed at the celebration of hunting as 'character' training, in particular, the 'objectification' of animals for 'sport'. The ubiquity of the hunting image in the age of High Imperialism, however, was evidence of hunting's popularity as a 'maker of men' despite the concerns of humanitarians.

Acknowledgements:

I am grateful to the following for their assistance with this thesis:

- J.A. Mangan and P. Hillis, University of Strathclyde
- Mrs. P. Hatfield, College Archivist, Eton
- Dr. R. Hyam, Reader in Imperial History and President of Magdalene College, Cambridge
- Miss E.S. Leedham-Green, Keeper of the Archives, University of Cambridge.
- Aude Fitzsimmons, Librarian, Pepys Library, University of Cambridge
- Essex Assistant County Archivist, Janet Smith
- Lord Marcus Kimball
- John Swift, Chief Executive British Association for Shooting and Conservation (B.A.S.C.)
- Robin Peel and Andrew Semple of B.A.S.C.
- Kevin Flack of League Against Cruel Sports (L.A.C.S.)
- Richard Sutcliffe, Curator at Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery
- Sir Johnny Scott of Hawick, Roxburghshire
- Dr. Andrew Kitchener at Edinburgh Museum.
- Maggie Mckean, former archivist of the Egerton Archives, Tatton Hall, Cheshire
- Julian Gibbs of the National Trust Historic Buildings
- Andrew Trea, who is currently writing a book on Lord Maurice Egerton of Tatton Hall, Cheshire

- Valerie Boa, McClean Museum, Greenock
- Robert Woosnam-Savage, former Assistant Keeper, Arms and Armour, Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery, Kelvingrove, Glasgow
- Mr. and Mrs. Henry North of Clifford Hall, Yealand Conyers, Lancashire
- Les Jessop, Curator, Hancock Museum, Newcastle
- Nigel Burke of the Countryside Alliance
- John Thackery, Archivist, Natural History Museum, London
- Hamish Wallace, Secretary of The Shikar Club
- Tom Parsons, current Master of Hounds for the Eton Hunt
- Rusty Maclean, Archivist, Rugby School Library
- Trevor Cunnick, Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Records Service
- Henry Mcghe, Manchester Museum, Dept of Zoology
- Fiona Colter, Curator Hawick Museum
- Susan Snell, Natural History Museum, London
- John Harrison, Principal Curator at Quex Park, Birchington, Kent
- Malcolm Harman, Assistant Curator at Quex Park
- Johnstone Robb, Scotts Ship Building, Greenock
- Sarah Parker, Flora and Fauna Society, Cambridge
- Stephen Rench, Oxfordshire County Council Cultural Services
- Staff at Manchester Central Reference Library
- Karen Humphries, Archivist at Tatton Park, Cheshire

Prologue:

Historians, Hunting and
'Masculinities'

'Man the Hunter' has long been a cherished myth of our cultural and racial origins and the hunting of wildlife one of the recommended techniques for making a boy a man. This thesis will explore essentialist attitudes and arguments towards generic hunting between about 1850 and 1950, in particular, how the moral imperatives of hunting were 'internalised' as male values in a social world of power in which boys and young men were required to compete if they wanted to benefit from the privileges of 'inherited' masculinity.

'Blooding' - the celebration of a hunted 'kill' by daubing the quarry's blood on to the face of the hunter - according to one Victorian proponent, 'was a very necessary custom', and, as a small boy, he was 'delighted to have been 'blooded' since he was now a fox hunter. Many gillies "blood" those who have not shot a stag before. It is also the custom with some keepers to "blood" a young sportsman the first grouse or pheasant he shoots. It's an old custom, which I hope will survive as long as the world goes round. The abolition of a custom like this would add another nail in the coffin of Great Britain's hardihood. The nation as a whole is getting much too soft, and will quickly get worse if ideas like abolishing "blooding" are encouraged'.¹

Henry Salt, founder of the anti-hunting Humanitarian League (1891-1919) quoted this passage to emphasise, in his view, the incongruity of hunting as a preparation for military success, imperialism and manly assertion. His ululations were part of a wider ideological battle for the "hearts and minds" of young, upper middle class and aristocratic males. For the hunting cognoscenti, 'sport' was invested with a moral significance which went far beyond the mere taking of a creature's life. For Salt and his ilk, hunting and its moral associations were arbitrary social activities,

born out of man's determination to dominate so-called "'lesser species". In this view, hunting was linked to an iniquitous and divisive Social Darwinism which sustained an imperialist social and economic system.

The ideological differences between hunters and Humanitarians continued well into the twentieth century despite the decline of the imperial ideal and its associated moral imperatives. During the inter war period, one irate sportsman advised the British Field Sports Society to 'obtain the signatures of sportsmen overseas as most are fair-minded men, the mark of the British man throughout the world. If field sports are abolished, we will lose our pride, for over the world, Britishers are known as sportsmen and are justly proud of it'.²

This proud sporting 'code' was part and parcel of peculiarly 'British' virtues which embraced a much admired 'manliness'. The mental and physical 'benefits' associated with 'manly' hunting, therefore, increased in proportion to the difficulty of the stalk or 'kill'. There was logic to this. Driven bird shooting, therefore, was 'inferior' in comparison to wild, 'proper sport'. A "testing" stalk invoked the "natural" predatory instincts of man. One such 'manly' sportsman prefaced his hunting book with this theme:

'Do you know the world's white roof-tree - do you know that windy rift
Where the baffling mountain-eddies chop and change?
Do you know the long day's patience, belly-down on frozen drift,
While the head of heads is feeding out of range?
It is there that I am going, where the boulders and the now lie,
With a trusty, nimble tracker that I know.
I have sworn an oath, to keep it on the Horns of Ovis Poli,
And the Red Gods call me out and I must go!³

Period hunting advocates adapted 'natural' hunting experiences into experiences relevant to the demands of imperial society. The social and psychological

rituals of hunting were cited as evidence of metropolitan 'superiority'.⁴ The social power exhibited by the imperialist-sportsman, however, can be examined outside externally derived social roles. By considering the hunters' social dominance, we can better understand why cultural representations associated with popular colonialism became part of a wider subjective identity.⁵

During the period of High Imperialism, changing gender definitions, radical-liberal Humanitarianism and the spread of 'urban' values created uncertainty amongst the ranks of the country gentleman - the principal exponent of gun and hound. The ideological defence of field sports was one way in which the country gentleman defended the 'conservative' values of patriotism, nationalism and masculinity against urban definitions of order. The explicit association between the country gentleman, masculinity, morality and hunting found support from sections within elite schools and universities, the Anglican Church and the military. Hunting will be discussed here with particular reference to these peculiarly 'male' institutions.

Despite the controversy generated by masculinity and its associated moral values between sportsmen, Humanitarians, scientists and naturalists, it is curious that modern historians have been generally reluctant to evaluate the cultural implications of hunting.⁶ This glaring historiographic omission is even more perplexing given that earlier forms of utilitarian hunting have been described as the 'master integrating patterns of culture' and that *men* have always 'enjoyed hunting and killing' - a premise which has dominated human history.⁷ The transition from subsistence hunting to ritualised sport merits greater scrutiny from historians.⁸

The academic myopia afflicting 'sports history' is receding although the relationship between sport and masculinity has still not been fully explored.

Considering the moral imperatives of athleticism, J.A. Mangan was the first British academic to use an interdisciplinary approach to address the hiatus between sport, sociology and history by exploring the recreational and cultural processes which shaped the historical construction and manifestation of masculinity.⁹ Others are now addressing the complexities of masculinity in sporting contexts.¹⁰

Men have, of course, predominated in sports - including hunting sports.

Academics, according to Tim Chandler and John Nauright, have not focused enough attention on the effect that gendered identities have had on sport.¹¹ 'The historical profession', according to others, has been 'highly resistant to problematising the masculinity of its male subjects' to the extent that we 'still do not understand the historical relationship between masculinity and sport well enough'.¹² Consequently, the more diverse body of people concerned with the contemporary politics of gender are 'frustrated by the lack of historical perspectives on masculinity', while others have complained that our understanding of the discipline 'can never hope to be complete until we have a deliberate attempt to understand the total fabric of men's worlds and the construction of masculinity'.¹³ In short, according to James Hearn, 'an important part of an accurate study of men and masculinity is an appreciation of the positive features of men's lives'.¹⁴

The potential yield of hunting to this research has attracted limited interest from British historians and sociologists. Mike Huggins has noted that work on field sports has been 'sadly neglected and much more needs to be done'; David Cannadine has expressed surprise that the history of landed development in the nineteenth century should have attracted more attention from historians than the history of

landed 'enjoyments' while Phillip B. Munsche has lamented that historians 'have not exactly jumped' at the possibilities offered by field sports as an academic subject. ¹⁵

Recent approaches have been largely concerned with class exclusiveness and the social tensions resulting from field sports and game preservation. Chester Kirby and Francis M.L. Thompson, for example, have argued that the eighteenth and nineteenth century game laws were divisive "class legislation" which mobilised the landowner's maximum amount of directly coercive power and displayed most nakedly the legal and physical force which maintained the rights of the propertied over the propertyless in countryside. ¹⁶ Building on these 'social behaviourist' analyses, historians Richard Thomas and Harry Hopkins have observed that 'game and the solidarity its defence and the game laws imparted had become the basis of a common culture, cementing old alliances and building new ones, binding the aristocracy to the landed gentry'. ¹⁷

The reluctance of historians to fully explore the moral imperatives associated with hunting is attributable, according to John Mackenzie, to the liberal intellectual tradition in the twentieth-century which has generally found the 'suspected assault upon, and destruction of animals in the recent past, thoroughly repugnant and that aversion has tended to induce a certain amount of scholarly silence', a view shared by John Reiger who has asserted that 'historians have been guilty of (this) compulsion to remove the stain of "bloodsports"'. ¹⁸ One manifestation of that silence, according to Timothy Smout, is the erroneous assumption, reinforced by the historical profession, that the nineteenth century rural world 'lived by farming alone'. ¹⁹

The exclusion of field sports literature from mainstream sociological publications, according to other scholars, is testimony that sociology cannot be value-free in its choice of research topics, regardless of their potential yield.²⁰

The legitimacy of hunting as a category of 'sports history' has also been questioned by other academics.²¹ Indeed, problems of "sports" definitions have long challenged 'sport history commentators'. In 1840, field sportsman and writer, Delapre P. Blaine, justified the selection of sports in his massive An Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports on the basis of their popularity; an essential criteria for selection, moreover, was their contribution to 'manliness'.²² Blaine conceded that he had encountered problems of definition but concluded authoritatively that sports such as cockfighting, dog-fighting and badger-baiting should be omitted on the grounds of their 'questionable humanity', while more 'manly' pursuits, such as cricket, wrestling and archery deserved scrutiny because they made some contribution to the 'making of men'.²³ However, it was the 'more important and popular sports' of racing, hunting, coursing hawking, shooting and fishing -the 'national sports' - which claimed pride of place in his book, because they were *bona fide* 'manly sports'.²⁴

John Mackenzie was the first British historian to harness the academic possibilities of hunting in his prescient Empire of Nature (1988) in which he argued that 'conservationists and wildlife biologists must confront the political, social and ideological content of their work and historians must broaden their perspectives to encourage more explicitly the ways in which industrial societies have exploited and maintained wild species and their habitats'.²⁵ John Lowerson in Sport and the English Middle Classes 1870-1914, (1993) partly addressed some of these issues within a wider framework of middle class sport.

That others have not followed the lead given by Mackenzie and Lowerson suggests that scholars have been unable to view the historical record with impartiality. Yet hunting as an academic subject offers a vast potential to the sociologist or historian. By way of example, hunting provided a perfect medium for 'assimilation' between the emerging nouveaux riche and the older aristocracy. Hunting also reinforced significant cultural continuities from the earlier period expressed through honour, style, largesse and chivalry. The few historians willing to explore this area have been well-rewarded. R.H. Trainor, for example, has described the hunting proclivities of Alfred Hickman, a prominent figure in the growth of the West Midlands steel industry, who 'mixed with the region's grandees at sport and church, if not at table, and shot regularly in Scotland, and hunted with the Albrighton Pack.²⁶ Hickman, increasingly paternal in his role in local politics, combined 'the qualities of an industrial king and country squire, unwilling to relinquish a share in either.'²⁷ His example was not an isolated one.

In this study, emphasis will be given to the amalgamation of 'aristocratic' and upper middle class hunting and its codification into recognisable sporting rules - a sure sign of 'middle-class' co-operation with the aristocracy. These 'rules' were subsequently "institutionalised" into sporting clubs between about 1885 and the 1920s.

Focusing on 'full-time' hunters, whose hunting passions were financed by industrial rather than landed wealth, a picture emerges of complex assimilation. As Eric Hobsbawm has suggested, 'the triumph and transformation of capitalism in the historically specific forms of bourgeois society in its liberal version' is the key to understanding the complexities of nineteenth and twentieth century history.²⁸

Although issues of 'assimilation' are of some relevance here, the main focus will consider ways in which the 'upper classes' found a common bond through manliness as an ideological defence against liberal Humanitarians opposed to killing wildlife for sport.

Indeed, John Lowerson has stated that the *availability and exploitation of money, time and space* is not enough to explain the upsurge in sport during the autumn of Victoria's reign; to do this, it is necessary to *identify the values* ascribed to it by enthusiasts.²⁹ The values associated with hunting were of cardinal importance to apologists of empire. 'How much of the greatness of our South African Empire', enquired Blackwood's Magazine, 'should be credited to the savage denizens of its forests, whose attractions, perhaps more than the solid prospects of fortune, have drawn the youth and strength of Britain...with British power and capital in its wake'.³⁰ It was, according to historian Mark Mazower, moral values which lay at the heart of European sports development during the fin de siecle, values which 'caused people to act, which shaped and transformed institutions'.³¹

Taking up the cudgel for academics of the history of ideas, J.A. Mangan has warned against overlooking the influence of *morality* in the evolution of modern European sport, a view shared by John Nauright and Tim Chandler who suggest that more work needs to be done on the way in which the values associated with sport affected the wider community.³² It is a caveat equally applicable to hunting as an academic topic.

It should be noted that the primary sources used in this thesis are not unproblematic. Published primary hunting narratives were written within specific historical sets of assumptions and were intrinsically 'patriarchal' in nature.

Consequently, primary sources were inevitably associated with broader, malestream traditions. That said, the interplay between morality, masculinity and generic hunting identifiable in these sources will form the basis of this thesis, in particular, how the values and moral imperatives associated with 'gun and hound' between about 1850-1950 affected the construction of masculinity and maintained its privileged position.³³ Hunting in this view sustained a hegemonic form of masculinity which will be discussed here in relation to various subordinated masculinities and, to a lesser extent, women.³⁴ The symbiotic relationship between hunting and imperialism enabled metropolitan society to assert the authority of the "great white hunter" over others thereby reinforcing the concept of 'imperialism' in its pejorative sense.³⁵ To be sure, hunting reinforced and celebrated the cultural ascendancy of the economic, social and military elites and was therefore a distinct arbiter of social power, gender, class, race, nation and creed which fitted functionally into late nineteenth and early twentieth century British imperialism.³⁶

It would be erroneous and over-simplistic, however, to categorise the period "hunter" in terms of one hegemonic masculinity. By about 1900, many participants in field sports could be better described as *hunter-naturalists* who worked towards the welfare of animals and the natural environment. The transition from hunter to hunter-naturalist was characterised by a commitment to an aesthetic appreciation of wildlife and the environment based on a cerebral rather than instinctual comprehension of nature. The creation of the Society for the Preservation of the (Wild) Fauna of the Empire (S.P.F.E.) in 1903 was one expression of this amelioration in attitudes towards animals. Paradoxically, it remained an agency of imperial purpose, defending the core values of its community and class against

morally inferior 'others', such as rapacious plutocratic 'guns' and profligate natives. The S.P.F.E. therefore, constructed and articulated its class authority over governmental policy towards colonial wildlife by incorporating its values of 'fair-play' and by developing the framework for conservation based on its own moral imperatives.

Such developments can be viewed as a wider transition in masculinity. As noted elsewhere, historians have been urged to think 'in terms not just of masculinity but of masculinities and to recognise that masculinities change over time...consequently there are always dominant and emergent masculinities.'³⁷ Of course, relationships between hunters and the social relationships they engendered were indicators of masculinity. According to some modern observers, understanding the interplay between masculinities is an important part of how social orders, typically dominated by men, sustain their character.³⁸

'Hegemonic' masculinity modulated during the early twentieth century to accommodate changing imperial and wildlife imperatives. This modulation will be discussed here in relation to hunting, humanist impulses and shifting gender definitions. Studies which emphasise the 'fixed dichotomy of sex' - by examining 'men's history' as distinct from women's history - have been criticised as over-simplistic.³⁹ This thesis, however, is unabashedly about men hunting and their contribution to period morality and manliness.

The analysis will be divided into three broad sections: Part One will consider the attitudes and arguments which affected the practice of 'blooding the male' as a preparation in manliness for the young. Part Two will show how hunting promoted martial skills. The final section deals with the "institutionalisation" of masculinity

within hunting clubs. Here, consideration will be given to the modulation in masculinity through the ameliorative efforts of the hunter-naturalist to safeguard game animals.

It is logical to start with the cultural implications of 'bleeding the male' - or the "first kill" - as a preparation for 'proper' manhood. The indoctrination of the young male into field sports was part of an exalted tradition which prepared him for the 'rough' duties expected in later life.

Although men were principal protagonists of hunting, their pre-eminence did not exclude others.⁴⁰ Indeed, a partial unisex hunting culture of the privileged occurred in which women took part in various hunting practices. Womens' involvement, however, was not unequivocally accepted by all sportsmen. Certainly, their participation in field sports was never validated through hunting clubs. Consequently, in contrast to mens' achievements in the hunting field, few *records* of womens' attainments in hunting remain. In short, women did hunt, fish and shoot but were excluded from *indoctrination* in the way that boys were.

Modern research has suggested that the expected 'male role' has always required certain kinds of recognised, ritualistic discipline and indoctrination.⁴¹ Consequently, there is now general agreement between academics that masculinity is not an innate, biological phenomenon but is socially and culturally constructed. 'Manhood is not the manifestation of an inner essence', according to Roger Kimmel, but is 'socially constructed - it is created in culture. Manhood means different things to different people. We come to know what it means to be a man in our culture by setting our definitions in opposition to a set of others - racial minorities, sexual minorities and women'.⁴² Similarly, David Gilmore has asserted that the 'question of

continuities in gender imaging must go beyond genetic endowment to encompass cultural norms and moral scripts. If there are archetypes in the male image, they must be largely culturally constructed as symbolic systems, not simply products of anatomy because anatomy determines little in those contexts where the moral imagination comes into play. The answer to the manhood puzzle must lie in culture; we must try to understand why culture uses or exaggerates biological potentials in specific ways'.⁴³ Hunting was one manifestation of this 'exaggerated biological' potential and will be described here as a social and cultural experience.

Manhood ideologies, therefore, are adaptations to social environments - the harsher the environment, the scarcer the resources the more manhood is stressed as an inspirational goal.⁴⁴ It will be suggested here that hunting sustained masculinity by providing appropriately 'challenging' contexts for significant minorities. Although killing animals for sport did not entirely create patterns of 'male-only' interaction, it helped to formalise social interactions between men. This formalisation was part of a 'moral discourse' espoused by proselytisers, propagandists, educationalists and moralists and will be examined here through field sports in Britain and in the colonies, since, by the late nineteenth century, the Empire occupied an unprecedented place in the masculine imagination... 'where male comradeship and male hierarchies found their full scope, free from feminine ties'.⁴⁵

The inculcation of these values was necessary to maintain the empire.⁴⁶ In his The Book of Good Hunting Sir Henry Newbolt, for example, praised the male "sporting spirit" necessary for imperial consolidation and expansion.⁴⁷ Hunting with dogs at some ancient public schools and universities engendered confidence

necessary for effective imperial administration and an uncritical conformity to the values of the group. ⁴⁸

After the 1850s, previously unregulated hunting was replaced by formulated hunting. Conforming to 'rules', according to J.A. Mangan, was part of the middle-class notion of 'fair-play' which had permeated elite mainstream sports and games by the late nineteenth century. ⁴⁹ The 'gentleman', with his ready 'quoting knowledge' of hunting literature and keen interest in sporting newspapers and narratives, was now distinguishable from the earlier rumbustious and anarchic sportsman. ⁵⁰

'Fair play' towards quarry species was now an essential element of the 'gentleman's' sporting 'code', a transition extolled by The Field which suggested that the pursuit of wild animals was a 'curious thrill full of the spirit of romantic enterprise. To safeguard this thrill, it became essential to distinguish between sport and killing. The quarry was allowed certain points in the game. Lacking wildlife for sport, even the most exquisite scenery is an aching void. Few men can take nature neat; solitude drifts into desolation. With rod and gun, the hunter regains the primal kinship of his race with crag and torrent. By the introduction of the laws of chivalry, the old thrill is retained in the hands of the country gentleman'. ⁵¹ The implementation of an upper class sporting 'code' for hunting, therefore, was achieved by marrying 'success, aggression and ruthlessness yet victory within rules, courtesy in triumph and compassion for the defeated', with the older values of the aristocratic, 'gentleman shot'. ⁵²

The emergence of this idealistic sportsman, who embraced respect for and appreciation of nature and, in particular, despised the killing of game without due

effort, embodied the emergent sporting 'code'. It was a paradox of period shooting, however, that the amelioration in attitudes towards game did not equate to a reduction in the amount of game killed. The commendable efforts of selective hunter-naturalists were in stark contrast to the large scale killing of wildlife undertaken at the battue. To the more discriminate hunter-naturalist, a lack of restraint contravened his ethics. By the 1850s, 1,000 pheasants were killed by less 'selective' gamekillers in a day on Lord Ashburton's Beckenham estate in Norfolk, while on the Longshaw Moors in Derbyshire, some 6,529 grouse were killed in 1872.⁵³ Partridges fared no better. On four days, between the 18th and 21st October, 1887, 4,076 partridge were killed by eight guns at the 'Grange' in Hampshire.⁵⁴ Such carnage provoked Lady Dorothy Nevill to declare that fifteen times more game was being shot in 1900 than the 1850s.⁵⁵ The hunter-naturalist type eschewed the 'battue' and incorporated two doctrines of period middle and upper class masculinity: 'fair-play' towards quarry species and the notion of scientific advancement which confirmed man's dominance over 'Nature'.

Ironically, ameliorative 'rules' for the protection of wildlife were held up as examples of a civilised society's preparation for success in war! The 'code', therefore not only provided a valuable antidote to concerns over 'national' degeneracy but illustrated the moral superiority expected of 'fair minded' British officers.⁵⁶

Typically, hunter-soldier, Captain John Colquhoun espoused the moral virtues of field sports, asserting that 'ordinary' exercise failed to test the 'strong military man'.⁵⁷

Colquhoun disseminated this message through a series of hunting books published around the mid nineteenth century. His first published work, The Moor and the Loch, (1840) was followed by Rocks and Rivers, (1849) and Salmon Casts and Stray Shots,

(1858). Later, Sporting Days, (1866) and Sport and Natural History in the Highlands, (1876) confirmed his status as an authority on hunting and natural history.

The values extolled by Colquhoun found full expression during the many imperial 'battles' at the end of the nineteenth century. In the Matabele Campaign, for instance, Robert Baden-Powell praised the officer-hunter who was, he suggested, 'endowed by nature with the spirit of practical discipline which is deeper than the surface veneer of Continental armies'...he had imbibed the golden rule of discipline for duty: 'Keep in your place, play for your side, not for yourself.' ⁵⁸

It was an ethos disseminated through books for children - indeed, a number of scholars have already drawn attention to the importance of children's literature as a way of understanding the changing values, interests and concerns of the surrounding culture. ⁵⁹ The emphasis here, however, will consider how museums and hunted trophies disseminated the moral message of the hunter; as a subtext, reference will be made to juvenile literature with hunting themes.

Describing the 'Nature of Boys', the first Journal of Education in 1864 suggested that that 'the spirit of the age is the great teacher of all,' an aphorism amply confirmed in the popularity of childrens' books replete with hunting themes.⁶⁰ In Robert Michael Ballantyne's The Gorilla Hunters (1870) for example, hunting was portrayed as 'insouciant adventure placed alongside exploration, war and school sports. 'Boys', according to Ballantyne, were intended to encounter all kinds of risks in order to prepare them to meet and grapple with the risks and dangers incident to a man's career, with cool, cautious self-possession...Those who have been unhappily nurtured in excessive delicacy will probably fall victim to their nervous alarms and the kind but injudicious training of their guardians.' ⁶¹ The casual dismissal of personal

injury and even death, fancifully described as - 'quitting this world' - reflected the selfless generosity, even self-sacrifice, invested in the author's quintessential 'beau ideals'.

Ethnocentric, chauvinistic but modest and self-possessed, Ballantyne's principal characters were presented as models of masculinity. In keeping with prevailing attitudes toward the 'collection' of animals as 'trophies', his 'boys' frequently collected an amazing range of natural history species, including an appropriately 'terrifying' male gorilla.⁶² Ballantyne completed his book with a series of rhetorical pedagogic exercises which reflected gender and racial stereotyping: 'How should boys and girls should be brought up?' 'How do boys differ from each other?' 'What kind of boy is most loved in the world?' 'Why did the Negroes look upon (Ralph) as a hero?' Finally, Ballantyne's readers were asked to 'give an account of the attempt to shoot an ostrich' or 'imagine yourself having taken part in the exciting elephant hunt: give an account of it in your own words.'⁶³

The naked racial prejudice implicit in Ballantyne's novel found expression in many published primary accounts of hunting. After leaving Cambridge University in 1893, Ewart Scott Grogan, the 'first sportsman to traverse Africa from South to North', declared that it was 'patent to all who have observed the African native that he is fundamentally inferior in mental development and ethical possibilities to the white man'.⁶⁴ His 'stage of evolution', moreover, was 'slightly superior to the lower animals', and his character was a 'blend of child and beast'; that he 'never told the truth' and was 'physically inferior' to the white man ensured his subordinate status.⁶⁵ It was incumbent on the white man, Grogan concluded, to educate, train and offer moral guidance to the Negro.⁶⁶

Hunting motivated Grogan's 'altruism'. 'Were it not for big game shooting', he proclaimed, 'there is no earthly reason for sleeping one mile South of the Pyramids'.⁶⁷ In 1907, Grogan joined forces with Captain James Harrison of Brandesburton Hall in Yorkshire on a safari in British East Africa who described his Negro 'foot soldiers' as 'hunting boys' who spoke of white hunters as their 'white fathers'.⁶⁸ Contemporary articles written by Grogan in the Morning Post and The Standard unequivocally confirmed his ideas for the future of imperial Africa: 'Our East African Empire' and 'British East Africa - its Future -A White Man's Country'.⁶⁹

The crude racism implicit in the hunters' expansionist doctrines, however, was called into question during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as part of a general social and animal welfare reform programme initiated by the Humanitarian League. Although the language of "animal rights" emerged during the previous century, it was piecemeal and ineffective and subsumed within in a vague vegetarian movement. The 'barbarous and unfeeling sports - those of horse-racing, shooting, bull and bear-baiting', for example, were condemned by reformist Joseph Ritson for their associations with 'detested' meat eaters.⁷⁰ Radicals, Joseph Hawkesworth and John Oswald and philosopher, Jeremy Bentham went further and prescribed legal reforms to banish fox and hare hunting, cockfighting bull-baiting and fishing because, so the argument went, they encouraged cruelty.⁷¹

The issue of hunting and cruelty was part of an on-going debate between sportsmen and reformers. The Humanitarian League consistently maintained that killing wildlife for sport was unjustifiably cruel, and, despite the League's demise in 1919, the argument was taken up by the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports,

started in 1924, later renamed The League Against Cruel Sports, and the National Society for the Abolition of Cruel Sports, started in 1932.⁷² To reinforce its orthodoxy, the L.P.C.S. simply entitled its magazine, Cruel Sports, while the L.A.C.S. named its official publication, The Journal of the League Against Cruel Sports.

Period sportsmen Basil Tozer in 'What is Cruelty in Sport', and Frederick George Aflalo in 'A Sportsman on Cruelty to Animals', contended that the debate was not as straight forward as presented by Humanitarians.⁷³ It is a view still relevant today. Lord Marcus Kimball, former Chairman of the British Field Sports Society, maintains that hunting with dogs is not cruel because it not only reflects the 'survival of the fittest', but incorporates the 'natural' and legitimate savagery of 'nature - which is red in tooth and claw'.⁷⁴

Some have argued that Humanitarian developments at the end of the nineteenth century were preceded by a general middle class "progressivism" which ushered in new, more compassionate attitudes towards animals. Keith Thomas, for example, believed that this amelioration was one manifestation of an unrelenting 'middle-class' or 'bourgeois' phenomenon described in his Man and the Natural World, (1983) Thomas's assertion has some credibility within the middle class influence in the great public schools during the nineteenth-century. Indeed, it is fitting that a substantial and cohesive moral opposition to cruelty to animals through field sports should have emerged from these institutions, given their increasingly middle class composition. Thus, champions of middle class "progressivism", Thomas Arnold at Rugby, Edward Freeman at Oxford and Henry Salt at Eton, attempted to win the

'hearts and minds' of young people and instituted moral and intellectual opposition to field sports which acted as a basis for later resistance to "bloodsports".

Later, the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports (L.P.C.S.) declared that the support of children was essential for the success of any reform programme. Accordingly, its 'Children's Branch' was its priority strategy which has continued down to the present day.⁷⁵ During the 1930s, the L.P.C.S. noted sardonically that its 'opponents, alarmed at the progress of our Movement, had started to form Pony Clubs in hunting districts to train children in the "noble science of fox-catching"'.⁷⁶

In March, 1932, the Executive Committee of the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports put forward a resolution at the Annual Education Conference to the effect that 'members of this Conference, having before them knowledge of the brutalising influence on their pupils of hunting and other blood sports, deeply deplore that organised instruction in such sports is being given by hunting people. They condemn such instruction as being detrimental to civilisation and to all Ethical and Educational Movements. Further, they are resolved that since such violation of the ordinary laws of upbringing makes a mockery of education, it shall in future be their earnest endeavour to teach a wider humanity than heretofore in their respective schools'.⁷⁷

Earlier, Henry Salt's Humanitarian League had already begun the ideological battle against hunting as a preparation for the young. His method of attack was to question the propriety of hunting sports for boys at Eton College. In this view, hunting reinforced the hierarchical notion of 'the survival of the fittest' which encouraged the scourge of rampant militarism. Salt's scepticism of hunting as the basis of martial socialisation was shared by author and educationalist, George S.

Sandilands, who mused on the subsidiary causes of war - population pressures, economic rivalry, the arrogance of military castes, the idolatry of nationalism; however, the most potent and persistent causes, he insisted, were the 'need to find, express and test man's physical and mental fitness. ⁷⁸ For proponents, hunting was the supreme preparation for physical and mental challenge, an idea which lingered on well into the twentieth century: the harder and more dangerous forms of sport, according to one observer, encouraged military enthusiasm through the testing of psychological and physical challenges. ⁷⁹

Here, hunting and war will be described as the highest points of 'natural selection' since both activities were manifestations of the imperialist's 'fitness to rule'. A simplistic Social Darwinism underpinned both the period hunter's rationale and the need to be ready for war. 'Earth', so the argument went, 'was a reflection of Heaven - and Heaven is an Empire...everything is made strictly subservient to rule, and to subordination; some forms of Nature are created strong, and others weak and timid; the law of force governs the animal kingdom. Life is engaged in continual *warfare* with everything around it, wherein the necessities arising out of the struggle for existence render each class pitiless in its dealings with the rest; the weak go down before the strong, and life flourishes upon the destruction of other living creatures. The advent of an era of universal peace seems remote. These things show that "the hunting instinct" has descended among the *genus homo*. This makes good our contention respecting the 'sporting tastes' in human nature, which are not to be decried on the grounds of being demoralising and unnatural; for man was created a hunting animal, and still is, and will always continue to be one of the beasts of prey: however much doctrinaires may desire to gloss over the fact, he is the most

destructive of all such creatures. See how whole races of valuable, beautiful, and harmless birds and animals have been exterminated by him!⁸⁰

Crude panegyrics to the Darwinian interpretation of life, of course, legitimised the officer-hunter's actions in both war and hunting. Samuel White Baker, hunter-naturalist, soldier and staunch imperialist, for example, found in hunting a simple solution to the complexities of late-Victorian social and international relationships in which the 'strong obviously predominated and the weak capitulated...the struggle for existence was a system of terrorism from the beginning to the end... the dog kills the cat, the leopard kills the dog, the lion kills the leopard, and the lion is slain by man. Man appears upon the scene of general destruction as the greatest of all destroyers, as he alone in creation, wars against his own species. We *hear* of love, and pity, and Christian charity, we *see* torpedoes and hellish inventions of incredible power to destroy our fellow creatures. The inventors of these horrible engines of destruction receive titles and the highest honours, while those who have worked in progressive science for the welfare of mankind are forgotten in the obscure laboratory. The civilised world boasts of its progress in civilisation, and of the modern triumphs of knowledge, science, and general education, but those countries which command respect in the councils of the world are the possessors of the *big battalions*...Force, the great law of nature, will assert its power and rule'.⁸¹

For his part, Salt lamented that the 'fostering wing of Imperialism had encouraged 'brute force which is developing more and more into a political science. There is no excess of rapacity, no extreme of selfishness, no indifference to the rights of the weak and helpless, which Christian materialism is not ready to justify. The Englishman, both as soldier and colonist, is a typical sportsman, he seizes his prey

wherever he finds it with the hunter's privilege. He is lost in amazement when men speak of the rights of inferior races, just as the sportsman at home is lost in amazement when we talk of the rights of the lower orders. Here, as yonder, he is kindly, blatant, good-humoured, aggressive, selfish, and fundamentally *savage*.' ⁸²

The Humanitarian movement looked to organised religion for support against the cult of 'sport and soldiership' but found that the attraction of hunting had intoxicated many clergymen. The notion of "Man's domination" over 'brute creation' was extolled by many 'sporting clerics' without which no domestic hunt or 'battue' was complete. ⁸³ Even the 'Old Catholic School', in Salt's opinion, was antagonistic to the recognition of animal rights. ⁸⁴

Salt was particularly concerned at the moral example set by the hunting cleric. Hunting proponents, such as Canon Charles Kingsley, claimed that hunting encouraged the virtues of endurance, self-restraint and 'fair play' necessary for Britain's imperial image and colonial success. ⁸⁵ The killing of wildlife, he suggested, had a divine, moral purpose, his role as a parish priest was not at odds with his role as a sportsman. Kingsley acknowledged that he was a parish priest first but, 'did He too, let me become a strong, daring, sporting wild man of the woods for nothing? Surely the education He has given me points out to me a peculiar calling to preach on those points from my own experience'. ⁸⁶ In other words, the masculinity implicit in field sports was a useful panacea for effeminacy, sentimentality and self-indulgence. 'There was something impious,' he imparted, 'in the neglect of personal health, strength and beauty which affects some clergymen of this day. It is a mere form of laziness; I could not do half the little good I do here if it were not for the strength and activity which some consider coarse and degrading. How merciful God has been in

turning all the strength and hardihood I gained in snipe shooting, hunting, rowing and fishing to this work.' ⁸⁷ In short, Kingsley's proselytism was not passive, sentimental or effeminate and he clearly subscribed to the view that the 'Kingdom of Nature, like the Kingdom of Heaven must be taken by violence, and that those who knock earnestly and long, does the Great Mother open the doors of her sanctuary'. ⁸⁸

The merits of the period hunting parson were extolled in journals such as Baily's Magazine. His type, according to one contributor to the Magazine as 'instantly recognisable - he was not afraid to meet you, and looks you straight in the face with a hearty hand shake and the vigour of life in his eye. He also knew every person in his parish, although his influence extended beyond the parish, was a true-born English gentleman and a university man that has not entered the Church by the back door to gain employment'. ⁸⁹

Much to Salt's chagrin, the sporting parson was popular at Eton and Cambridge. As late as 1925, Eton Headmaster, Edward Lyttelton argued that 'it is easy to pick holes in the theory of squire, parson and tenants, but where you have the right people on the spot, it is found to be the best society of the kind yet devised by man'. ⁹⁰ The wholesome, stabilising influence of the hunting parson was also acclaimed by the Archbishop of York, no less, who opined that 'some people might find it difficult to understand how there could be a close connection between hunting and the life of a Christian clergyman, but hunting was a form of sport which developed some of the finest qualities of human nature - courage, endurance, readiness to face risk, comradeship, and honourable courtesies which drew together the various classes of the countryside'. ⁹¹

The cult of 'sport and soldiership', however, was of greater concern to the Humanitarian League than the hunting proclivities of the clergy. Hunting had long been associated with the martial virtues of discipline, self-respect and hardihood necessary for military success by providing opportunities to show proficiency in weaponry, horsemanship and aggressive skills - especially when done for the public good - and were traditionally claimed by elites anxious to establish their rights to rule and bear arms.⁹² If military success was often depicted as a consequence of a training in field sports, dissidents were quick to condemn the debasing of animals as a basis for human conflict. 'The battle of Waterloo was won', according to one sardonic observer, 'not on the playing fields of Eton, but in the bear and bull-baiting shambles of Leicester, Weymouth and Southampton'.⁹³

The risk-taking and danger implicit in hunting made it a perfect preparation for military training. Indeed, the greater the risk faced when hunting, according to one officer, the greater the benefit to the officer-hunter.⁹⁴ Of course, both war and hunting provided opportunities for risk-taking, jubilation and expendability.⁹⁵

These themes will be considered in relation to the making of a martial mentality in both domestic and colonial situations. The emphasis on the imperial dimension is important since, according to one observer, 'it is impossible to write an adequate history of British culture without considering country and city, so it is impossible to understand that culture without embracing colony and dominion'.⁹⁶ Emphasis here will be given to the definition of 'imperialism' suggested by Winifred Baumgart as the domination or control of one group over another group.⁹⁷

The military advantages of those trained overseas with the sporting rifle were there for all to see. Writing on the eve of the Boer Wars, one protagonist opined that

'shooting at home' was an emasculated experience, attended by professional gamekeepers and retainers who catered for every whim; this form of sport was of no useful help in the planning of a campaign in a wild country. ⁹⁸

It was a doctrine disseminated through large amounts of hunting literature written by army officers. In this way, primary published accounts of hunting can be used, in the words of one historian, 'to explore the role of sport in martial socialisation' and probe the way 'in which nations have used sport as a form of cultural conditioning to project images of desirable masculinity which lead directly to desirable images of martial masculinity'. ⁹⁹

Officers' hunting narratives were explanations of their success in the imperial environment whether against wild beasts or indigenous peoples. In fact, according to Captain Sir Samuel White Baker, unfair criticism was too frequently levelled at the officer-hunter because his sporting literature 'dealt with the marvellous - and this effect is generally heightened by the use of the first person; it is this criticism which deters many men who have passed through years of wild sports from publishing an account of them'. ¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, the vast genre of hunting literature not only defined the imperial subaltern's martial identity but disseminated an image of masculine competence and assured and controlled aggression which satisfied a public eager for colonial adventures and heroes. Later, according to Robert Connell, a central image of masculinity in the Western cultural tradition has been the soldier- hero, the supreme specialist in violence...the connection between admired masculinity and violent response to threat is a resource that governments can use to mobilise support for war'. ¹⁰¹

The need for a thorough defence of Britain's Victorian and Edwardian imperial acquisitions provided opportunities for officer-hunters to display heroic actions. It also exaggerated behavioural differences between men and women which preserved the notion of distinctive cultured 'spheres' for male virtues. The concept of the hunter-warrior was cogent during the period of High Imperialism and brought like-minded males together on the battle and hunting fields. Hunting and war bound men together in 'just' battles - to effect victory against the bestial and uncivilised, uniting 'brother' officers in pleasure and pain. Major Henry H. Austin, C.M.G., D.S.O., F.R.G.S., for example, dedicated his hunting book, Among Swamps and Giants in Equatorial Africa (1902) to Colonel John R.L. Macdonald, 'in memory of many happy days spent together - often stirring ones and anxious ones too spent together in Africa and India'.¹⁰²

It has been asserted that the concept of the hunter-warrior, with its authentic contact with nature, myth and ritual, often emerges during crises in masculinity.¹⁰³ Certainly, period warrior-hunters, such as Frederick Courtney Selous, achieved an iconic status based on hunting and the violent appropriation of lands and 'enemy' peoples against real or imaginary threats to British colonial sovereignty. His apparent concern for fellow-citizens, honesty, self-reliance, courage and purpose made him the cultural archetype of the nation whose 'victories' over the enemy symbolically affirmed British imperial domination.¹⁰⁴

Selous, according to one hunter-naturalist, lived in an age when manly virtues were the 'personification of the qualities a nation most admired in itself - valour, self-sacrifice and patriotism. Their words were recorded and revered and published'.¹⁰⁵ Selous was a significant contributor to the hunting literature mentioned

above and, according to John Lowerson, it was the printed word which created the aura of heroism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and this was dependent on the ascription of moral values by mediators.¹⁰⁶ A very recent biography about Selous illustrates the continuing fascination with 'enchanted' masculinity, war and hunting.¹⁰⁷

The officer-hunter's reputation was enhanced by the notion that 'the British subaltern should be a gentleman first and an officer second'.¹⁰⁸ It was a stereotype supported by subscribers to the aristocratic ideal of the 'Barbarian' landed classes. The Reverend F.C. Kempson, historian and follower of the Trinity Foot Beagles, supported the idea of a 'Barbarian' class for an efficient imperial administration, a well run Navy and Army, and better relationships with the workforce in general. 'Men', he observed, 'will follow a gentleman anywhere'.¹⁰⁹

In this view, the notion of a 'Philistine' capitalist or middle class which 'came into service to make money and a living' was unfavourably contrasted with the 'natural' leadership of the older landed families, a perception shared by others who claimed that officers from the class of country gentlemen were 'inspired by the right spirit and not motivated to fight by demeaning, pecuniary rewards'.¹¹⁰ The 'natural' leadership qualities of the country gentleman, so the argument went, were enhanced by a commitment to 'gun and hound'.¹¹¹

In 1905, The Spectator examined selection criteria for Osborne College which trained Britain's naval officers. It concluded that those best-suited were those public-schoolboys 'whose forbears who had been in a position to employ or control others, and had transmitted to their descendants that capacity for holding positions of authority which seems so difficult of acquirement by those not to the manner born.

Such ancestry would include those who had held moral control, with those had exercised more direct forms of influence on others'.¹¹² In other words, the neo-feudalist case against the hegemony of the professional or higher technical class within the army rested on the assumption that 'character' was infinitely superior to intellect achieved through 'book learning'.

Nowhere was this platitude more apparent than in the messy aftermath of the Boer War. Extolling the virtues of the 'Yeomanry', made up of country gentlemen and farmers, 'men of good social standing, superior intelligence, men who could ride and shoot', attributes which, according to one proponent, lent a 'peculiar value' to fighting men in the South African Campaigns: 'the Yeoman, by his achievements as a soldier in South Africa, has demonstrated the enormous superiority of the country over the town as a training ground for the soldiers- superior because he could ride and shoot'.¹¹³

It was an ethos which was to have a long and pervasive impact in military circles. In 1943, poet, Keith Douglas penned these words occasioned by the death, on active service, of Lt. Col. J. D. Player in Tunisia: 'How can I lie among this gentle obsolescent breed of heroes and not weep? Unicorns, almost, for they are fading into two legends in which their stupidity and chivalry are celebrated'. Each, fool and hero, will be immortal'; Player left £3,000 to the Beaufort Hunt and also directed that the incumbent of the living in his gift should be 'a man who approves of hunting, shooting, and all manly sports, which are the backbone of the nation.'¹¹⁴

It was rationale kept in the public domain through numerous, laconic hunting books, such as, Captain C. Russell, Bullet and Shot in Indian Forest, Plain and Hill-
Hints to Beginners in Indian Shooting, 1900, Lt. Col. F. Sheffield, How I Killed the

Tiger, 1902, Lt. Col. J.H. Patterson, The Man Eaters of Tsavo, 1910, Captain H.G. Mainwaring, A Soldier's Shikar Trips, 1920, Lt. Col. A. Wilson, Sport and Service in Assam and Elsewhere, 1924, H. Gunn, The Red Deer and Empire Big Game, 1925 C.H. Stockley, Big Game Hunting in the Indian Empire, 1928. The officer's written account of his sport was an important medium since, according to Sir Edward Braddon, the oral tradition of shooting folklore had become an anachronism by the Late-Victorian era. ¹¹⁵

The message made explicit in such hunting literature was that the security and survival of the empire depended on inculcating the young hunter-warrior with the virtues of endurance, courage and self-sacrifice. Officers' hunting narratives, therefore, established a state of mind which absorbed this message.

Less than a year after the final Boer War, this doggerel appeared in the ever-patriotic Baily's Magazine:

Jack and Joe - Brothers- of the Imperial Yeomanry
They'd a clinking seat, and were hard to beat,
Like many of Britain's sons'
They were yeoman free, and a treat to see
In the best of Midland runs.
Through burst and check, they were neck and neck,
Right straight away from the find;
If Jack, with a rush, secured the brush,
Joe wasn't a stride behind.

So, when the game of war became
Young Britain's latest tip,
Said Jack to Joe: 'To the war we go!
'It's a breakneck sort of a hunt, Joe,
'A devil-me-careish chase;
'If we fall we'll fall *in the front*, Joe,
'Straight in the foeman's face!'

Said Joe, on the way to an outpost fray,
As the squadron lobbed along;
'We shall see some sport of a stiffish sort
'And the going will be strong.
'But never mind it's a *certain find*
'No *blank* shall we draw today;
'And behind those rocks there's a Transvaal fox
'That can show some awkward play.'

A flash and a bang! A rattle and clang!
And - Jack lay stretched on the veldt;
Ere his spirit fled, with a smile he said
As Joe beside him knelt:
'I'm fairly out of the hunt, Joe,
'Jostled out of the chase;
'Tell 'em I died *in the front*, Joe,
'Straight in the foeman's face.'¹¹⁶

This type of hunting literature suggested that dangerous pastimes served as 'fitness for struggle' in which expendability was a learned expectation. According to a period maxim: 'no game was ever yet worth a rap for a rational man to play into

which no accident, no mishap, could possibly find its way.’¹¹⁷ ‘Risky’ recreations were invested with a moral significance. ‘According to’ the Boy’s Journal of 1865, ‘brave boys make brave men. Good soldiers, dauntless hunters, adventurous explorers, and good volunteers, all owe a great deal to the pastimes they enjoyed between school hours and in vacations’.¹¹⁸ The citing of deaths and injuries in the hunting field over the season was a constant reminder to the British field sportsman of the inherent risks in hunting.¹¹⁹

The messy Transvaal Wars of 1899-1901, the fortieth imperial conflict of Victoria’s reign, subjected the role of field sports in the training of officers to unprecedented public scrutiny.¹²⁰ For the aficionado, hunting embodied the essential ‘triumph of the will’ necessary for success in cavalry warfare and colonial domination. Dissident voices were raised by Humanitarians and imperialists such as Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston, who argued convincingly against fox-hunting as a ‘maker of military men’, claiming that the sport was the ‘most foolish and unprofitable of the hundred religions followed by the English upper classes’.¹²¹ ‘Scandalised conservatives’, he went on, ‘claim that fox-hunting is a splendid school for riders and the making of our cavalry - rubbish...it would be a great pity to exterminate the fox. Let him have a place in the British fauna’.¹²²

Despite objections to hunting as a preparation for officer-training, many clung tenaciously to a belief that riding to-hounds or big game hunting had a symbiotic relationship with training for war. For the purposes of this thesis, it will be suggested that both war and hunting sustained the ‘social constitution’ of masculinity.¹²³ ‘If we are to understand warfare’, according to one modern commentator, ‘we must also understand why men participate. But while the social

mechanisms, the social pressures and the ideology by which this effected are extensive, the fundamental condition that men set on entry to a form of social activity is that it be constituted as male. To refer to an area as 'male' is not just a description of its sexual composition or of an expressed unwillingness to break down its sexually segregated character. Rather, it refers to the way in which that area is constituted so as to sustain the social constitution of masculinity itself'.¹²⁴ Here, it will be suggested that a polemic between hunting exponents and reformists centred on killing wildlife for sport as a preparation for war in the name of manliness.

The 'type' of 'decent', patriotic officer moulded by martial socialisation and a training in field sports merits particular scrutiny. Numerous icons of the battle and hunting fields testified to the pervasive influence of a training in manliness. After an education at all-male public schools of Halebury and Malvern College, Major de Michael Leathes, for example, joined the Durham Light infantry where he spent as much time as possible with the Tynedale and Morpeth Hounds before seeing action in the South African campaigns against the Boers.¹²⁵ To disseminate the values he held dear, Leathes edited the new Foxhound Magazine in the years before the Great War.¹²⁶

Like Leathes, Lt. General Sir Edmund A.H. Alderson regarded field sports as an indispensable prerequisite for military training. After entering the Royal West Kent Regiment in 1878, he subsequently honed his equestrian and hunting skills with a variety of packs including the Shorncliffe Drag Hounds, (1891-3), the Staff College Drag Hounds (1894-95) and the Cape Jackal Hounds and The Salisbury in South Africa (1896) In 1913, he collated his experiences in both sport and war in the self-explanatory Pink and Scarlet, or Hunting as a School for Soldiering, 1913.¹²⁷

For Alderson and his ilk, the moral commitment and 'self-sacrifice' of the 'traditional' soldier-sportsmen represented the wholesome 'core' values of British nationhood to be defended against external forces and internal subversion manifested in effeminate Humanitarians and pacifist impulses.

These 'virtues' were disseminated to the wider community in a period of wider, cultural and imperial transformations. The gentleman-sportsman was generally well-educated and intent on divulging the results of his 'confrontations' with nature through sporting literature, public and private museums and public lectures. In short, he was an 'educationalist' disseminating a decoded message of masculinity for the moral edification of others. Museum displays of shot 'game', for example, were tangible representations of the hunters' prowess and success.

The wealth of colonial ephemera collected by the hunter-naturalist provided a valuable insight into the cultural hegemony of metropolitan society. The British Museum's Mammal Collection, for example, was augmented by the likes of Lt. Colonel Cobbe who gave the Museum over sixty mammals from Bengal in the late 1830s; a Colonel W. Sykes gave twelve mammals from the Deccan; Captain Robert Burton gave forty five mammals from Cameroon in 1862; in 1875, Colonel T.E. Gordon donated skins and horns from Lake Victoria in 1875 while Captain Herbert Trevelyan donated thirty-seven species from South Africa.¹²⁸

These collections derived from the need to expand the frontiers of 'knowledge' as well as imperial frontiers. The imperial 'search for order', of course, was not limited to army officers, colonial officials or explorers. In January 1911, Oldfield Thomas, in charge of Collections at the British Museum during the 1890s and early twentieth century, received a letter from an employee of the Liberian

Rubber Corporation of Mouroria, Liberia: 'I am sending by this mail a few skins which I trust may be of some interest. They are by no means as much as I had hoped to be able to send, but have found collecting when on the march very difficult especially with my limited allowance of carriers. I expect shortly to start work on a rubber plantation about one day north of Mouroria and hope under more settled conditions to make a more satisfactory collection. In the forests of the interior such big game as occur are very shy and though in places elephant and leopard abound any other than native hunters rarely see them. I have come across the tracks of the pigmy-hippo but nothing larger than monkeys have fallen to my gun'.¹²⁹ Similarly, working for Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company, James Mcneil furnished Glasgow's Museum with large numbers of trophies, some of which filtered through to the Edinburgh Museum.¹³⁰

Hunting, however, was and remains an ambivalent experience which embraces both the desire to kill, 'remember' and 'conserve' the quarry species in places other than museums! It will be shown that a number of sporting associations were marshalled during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which underpinned the modern concept of "sustainable" conservation. As the hunter's attitude towards the destruction of game was changing, the creation of a number of mens' sporting clubs between the 1880s and the 1930s illustrated the relationship between sport, class, and male-defined patterns of cultural behaviour.

At the inaugural meeting of the British Field Sports Society in December 1930, Lord Winterton opined that the new Society was 'not a political body'.¹³¹ In agreement, Lord Bamford added that the Society was an essential bulwark against the effeminate doctrines embraced by those 'who did not understand the term

“sport”, which, to the initiated, was the ‘matching of the skill and endurance of man, horse and dog against the endurance, speed and cunning of a wild animal; when the field sportsman returned home at the end of the day, he was not only a stronger and healthier man but he was also a better man. This feeling of sportsmanship which came from hunting which was a great asset to the country’.¹³²

The Society’s claim that it was the guardian of a ‘wholesome’ masculine tradition had its genesis in earlier ‘gentlemen’s’ hunting clubs. Part three will conclude with a closer look at two such hunting societies which emerged during this period of change for mainstream masculinity - the Shikar Club, started 1908 and the Society for the Protection of the (Wild) Fauna of the Empire, started 1903¹³³

It is worth noting that a number of domestic hunting organisations had emerged before the S.P.F.E. and Shikar Club and had provided an organisational and ideological context for the development of hunting societies. In 1884, sportsman, William S. Seton-Karr suggested that field sports required the protection of a ‘sports league’ as there was to that point ‘no central agency capable of exercising a wholesome influence over the whole community’.¹³⁴ Consequently, The National Sports Defence Association came into being in June, 1884, changing its name to the Field Sports Protection and Encouragement Association in 1885, with Lord Lonsdale as its chairman.¹³⁵

Field sports have long been promoted as ‘wholesome’ activities which distinguished them from the urban pastimes. By the late eighteenth century, field sports not only attached ‘the better classes of people to the country’ but acted as a bulwark to the ‘softer and decadent amusements’ of urban districts.¹³⁶ In this view, explicitly ‘rural’ hunting sports had become a ‘synonym for and a keystone in the

social identity of country gentlemen'.¹³⁷ According to one historian, field sports were traditionally linked to 'traditional values, defiant localism, staunch Anglicanism and a scorn of effiteness'.¹³⁸ Hunting was praised as a moral recreation which provided 'hardihood and nerve and intrepidity to our youth' while confirming and prolonging the 'strength and vigour of our manhood; it is the best corrective to those habits of luxury and those concomitants of wealth which would otherwise render our aristocracy effeminate and degenerate; it also serves to retain the moral influence of the higher over the lower classes of society'.¹³⁹ It was a conservative view promoted in The Times which noted approvingly that field sports underpinned the solid, dependable family life of Yeoman Britain, 'restoring what forces we may have lost among the seductors, either of our own or of foreign city life'.¹⁴⁰

Hunting, therefore, was presented as a 'national benefactor' which reinforced the virtues of the British character. The emergence of sporting associations committed to this doctrine embraced this cultural legacy. The cultural links between hunting, tradition and manliness were clearly defined in the formation of the British Field Sports Society in 1926, which, according to The Shooting Times, represented an ideological bulwark against the 'insidious' advances of reformers. Hunting, the Magazine argued, 'kept the torch of chivalry alight; a love of field sports was a basalt law of nature'.¹⁴¹

Earlier, The Wildfowlers Association of Great Britain and Ireland (W.A.G.B.I.), established in April, 1908, to uphold and protect the rights of wildfowlers of all classes, had presented a similar moral bulwark to those intent on abolishing field sports. Under the guidance of Stanley Duncan and Guy Thorne, W.A.G.B.I. embodied the masculine virtues of the sportsman while developing

conservation strategies such as bird-rearing programmes and the preservation of coastal regions for waders and wildfowl. ¹⁴²

This moral commitment to 'fair play' was the common thread which bound period hunting societies. Protectionist objectives were then gradually merged into essential conservation strategies. Indeed, the 'virtues' of 'fair play' and moral masculinity formed the ideological basis for the late Victorian and Edwardian sporting club which, in varying degrees, became the vanguard of modern conservation.

Consideration here will be given to the Society for the Protection of the (Wild) Fauna of the Empire . and the Shikar Club. Initially, membership of both associations was taken up by the same hunters. The Shikar Club, however, celebrated Britain's ethnocentric superiority as hunters whereas the S.P.F.E focused on conservation.

Nevertheless, it will be seen that the Shikar Club enshrined the moral imperatives of 'fair play' into an institution which celebrated the killing of big-game as an indicator of successful manhood. The following list shows that military men, landed families and 'new' men of wealth sat side-by-side in the glorification of traditional, hunting virtues:

THE SHIKAR CLUB.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| The Earl of Lonsdale | Major C E Radclyffe |
| Field Marshal Viscount Allenby | W H Reddall |
| Viscount Allendale | Sir Milsom Rees |
| Capt.. S.R. Bailey | Major Gen. Sir C Ryan |
| T.A. Barnes | R L Scott |
| Capt.. G. Blaine | G Seccombe-Hett |
| Capt.. B Brooke | H W Seton-Karr |
| H A Bryden | Sir Alfred Sharpe |
| Lieut.. Col. R A Bryden | Lieut. Col. C A Smith |
| Lieut. Col. Ferguson Buchanan | Lord Somerleyton |
| C W L Bulpett | Sir John Thomas-Walker |
| A L Butler | S A Tippetts |
| Brig Gen. R Champion de Crespigny | Capt. P B Van der Byl |
| Major V Vhampion de Crespigny | H Frank Wallace |
| Abel Chapman | Lieut. Commander R P Dennistoun |
| Brig Gen. Sir Hill Child | Major H R Wigram |
| C H Cowan | |
| Major Hon Frank Crossley | |
| Lord Elphinstone | |
| Lieut. Col. A D G Gardyne | |
| C H Gurney | |
| Major A Halford | |

J P S Harrison

Lord Hindlip

A W Hodson

Major J W Hornsby

F M Isemonger

F Shaw Kennedy

Capt. S Shaw Kennedy

J T C Laing

Major R B Loder

G C Low

Anthony Lowther

Major Gen. Sir Cecil Lowther

Duncan Macintosh

Col. H C Maydon

Col. Sir Arthur W Mayo-Robson

J G Millais

H R Millais

Sir Francil Newton

Lieut. Col. Sir Frederick O'Connor

R P Page

Capt. K R Palmer

C V A Peel

G W Penrice ¹⁴³

The Shikar Club was founded as an exclusively male and strenuously upper middle class organisation which revelled in Britain's virile, imperial hunting heritage. It was, therefore, an 'antidote to the degeneracy of the times, enabling the celebration of great men, who were usually warriors as well as sportsmen.'¹⁴⁴ Military officers were strongly represented in the ranks of both the S.P.F.E. and Shikar Club. Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver H. North for example, was a member of both societies and even fought alongside General Buller in the Boer Wars.¹⁴⁵

The Club was a forum for members to remember and re-live the excitement of hunting days. The concept of nostalgic masculinity is an important aspect of current sports history and Shikarian contribution to 'anecdotal' hunting merits scrutiny. Numerous father and son participants within the Club suggests that it was a useful forum for the transference of masculinity from one generation to the next. Thus, Claude de Crespigny and his son Claude not only hunted big game in far-flung colonies together but fought side-by-side during the Boer War Campaign of 1899-1901. The father later remarked, 'he was naturally glad to find that the boy had had a chance of distinguishing himself and had not failed to make us of it'.¹⁴⁶

The Club was open to all upper-class 'shots', including politicians, authors and naturalists, of sufficient economic means who could 'prove' their 'fitness for struggle' against nature by killing big-game on three separate continents.¹⁴⁷ Naturalists, such as J.E. Harting sat side by side with hunter-artist, John G. Millais and Members of Parliament, including S.H. Whitbread and Henry Seton-Karr.¹⁴⁸

In theory at least, the sporting 'code' followed by the Shikar Club was part and parcel of the redemptive and scientific nature of big game hunting as distinct from the frivolity of 'artificial' shooting at the battue. The killing of 'tame' pheasants

was anathema to the true Shikarian who believed that such 'effeminate' sport was better suited to the inferior urban, dilettante sportsman. The Club member, therefore, hunted big game under a strictly enforced 'code' of 'fair-play' which not only signified his dominant social and economic status but was a marker of his ascendancy in the gender hierarchy. By way of example, misogynist, Maurice Egerton, was an obsessive big game shot and trained local boys adjacent to his estates in Cheshire to shoot 'small' game.

Prowess with the gun on the imperial frontier popularised the image of a manly, heroic cultural stereotype. What is less well-understood is that it was this type which instigated the protection of imperial game. Unsurprisingly, therefore, many Shikarians also belonged to the S.P.F.E. established five years earlier in 1903.¹⁴⁹ In 1907, The Field confidently remarked that, through 'the spread of education, notwithstanding the cult of the motor, the cycle and the football, natural history is being given increased attention, and there is no doubt that the friend of modern legislation is towards preserving our fauna rather than towards its destruction'.¹⁵⁰

The S.P.F.E. was a major part of this drive towards the 'education' of the public in matters of game preservation. The Society's ethos was embodied by Major James Stevenson-Hamilton, who left his career in the military with the sixth Inniskillin Dragoons to become the first Warden of the Transvaal Government at the Sabi Game Reserve. Stevenson-Hamilton worked to transform the public image of the hunter from 'butcher' to hunter-naturalist.¹⁵¹ The S.P.F.E., therefore, was the first organisation to make the interrelated subjects of hunting, natural history and conservation its primary concerns. In doing so, it represented a modulation in masculinity.

The S.P.F.E. was one manifestation of the hunters' introspection and subsequent adaption to the changing demands of imperial wildlife. The Society was accepted as the source of valid, serious and rational knowledge on the issues of game preservation and conservation. In short, the Society became a 'guiding image' which institutionalised period manhood ideologies for the good of imperial wildlife.¹⁵² The creation of the S.P.F.E contributed to 'male power' by enabling men to hold on to privilege by identifying themselves solely with rational knowing in the public realm.¹⁵³ 'Public knowledge', according to one source, has always been bound up with men and men's public power.¹⁵⁴

The S.P.F.E.'s response to the 'dwindling resources' of imperial game was also a form of 'confrontational' masculinity. It was not the masculinity of isolated individuals but the concerted, coherent, systematic, but sensitive masculinity of erudite hunter-naturalists seeking to effect safe environments for game animals and other imperial wildlife. The example of the S.P.F.E. provided moral leadership and commitment to defend the community and its *core values* against external forces. Judging by this, S.F.P.E. members were not mere ethnocentric-driven imperialists, but expressed a collective concern for wildlife. In this analyses, the S.P.F.E. was characterized by a 'range of masculinities' observable through its members recreations.¹⁵⁵

Regrettably, few historians, according to Professor John Reiger, have understood that an individual's recreation often tells us more about the person than the work he or she does.¹⁵⁶ Arguably, this assertion found full expression through the gun at the shoulder or hunting, activities steeped in symbolic interpretations, moral associations and emotional meanings.

- 1 Quoted in H. Salt, The Company I have Kept, London, 1930, pp.168-9. The case for 'blooding' could still be found in the inter war period, peddled, unsurprisingly, by military men anxious to perpetuate the values associated with hunting, a relationship which will be discussed in more detail within the thesis. In Letters to Young Sportsmen, (1920), Lieutenant-Colonel John Mackillop and Major Kenneth Dawson argued the case for the 'boy's' early involvement in hunting, shooting and angling. It was an important consideration for many upper class, rural households. Indeed, Major Dawson had seen babies of 18 months 'blooded' in their perambulators! 'The rite', he continued, 'is considered almost sacred in some families and each child is 'blooded' when he first appears at the covert side'. J. Mackillop, H. Hutchinson, K. Dawson, Letters to Young Sportsmen, London, 1920, p.3
- 2 A. Hamilton, The Field, Vol.193, January 1949, p.20
- 3 H. Fraser, Amid the High Hills, London, 1923, pp.1-2; Poems of Rudyard Kipling in L. Rundall, The Ibex of Sha-ping, London, 1915, preface
- 4 R. Barthes, Mythologies, Paris, 1957, p.143; See also, J.M. Mackenzie, 'Chivalry, Social Darwinism and Ritualised Killing: the Hunting Ethos in Central Africa up to 1914' in D. Anderson and R. Grove, eds., Conservation in Africa, Cambridge, 1987, pp.41-61
- 5 M. Roper, J. Tosh, eds., Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800, London, 1991, p.15

- 6 The term Hunter-naturalist appears to have been coined by Charles W. Webber, in his Hunter-naturalist, the Romance of Sporting, London and Edinburgh, 1852, p.36
- 7 S.L. Washburn and C.S. Lancaster, 'The Evolution of Hunting', in Man the Hunter, eds., R. Lee and I. Vore, Chicago, 1968, pp. 293, 318-9 See also, B.G. Campbell, Humankind Emerging, 2nd Ed, Boston, 1979, pp. 278-98
- 8 See, A. Sherratt, 'The Chase from Subsistence to Sport', The Ashmolean, Vol.10, Summer 1986. Sport and 'male solidarity' is explored in other contexts in J. Cagnon, 'Physical Strength, Once of Significance' in J. Pleck and J. Sawyers, eds., Men and Masculinity, London, 1974, pp.8, 145
- 9 See J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School, Cambridge, 1981
- 10 See J. Nauright, T.L. Chandler, Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity, London, 1996
- 11 Ibid., p.1
- 12 J. Tosh, Manful Assertions, p.2 ; Chandler and Nauright, Making Men, p.1
- 13 Jane Lewis, Labour and Love, Oxford, 1986, p.4
- 14 J. Hearn, Men in the Public Eye, London, 1992, p.viii
- 15 M. Huggins, 'A Tranquil Transformation', European Sports History Review, Vol 4, 2002, pp.35-58 ; D. Cannadine, 'The Theory and Practice of the English Leisure Classes', Historical Journal, Vol.21, 1978, p.461; P.B. Munsche, Gentlemen and Poachers: The English Game Laws, 1671-1831, Cambridge, 1981, p.2

- 16 C. Kirby, 'The English Game Law System' American Historical Review, Vol.38, 1933, pp.23-8-42, F.M.L. Thompson, 'Landowners and the Rural Community' in G. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, Vol.11, London, 1985, pp.457-475
- 17 H. Hopkins, The Long Affray, The Poaching Wars, 1760-1914, London, 1985, p.162, R. Thomas, The Politics of Hunting, Aldershot, 1983, p.215. For other similar approaches see also, P.B. Munsche, Gentlemen and Poachers, The English Game Laws, 1671-1831, Cambridge, 1981; R. Longrigg, The English Squire and his Sport, London, 1977; D. Itzkowitz, Peculiar Privilege, A Social History of Foxhunting, London, 1977; David Cannadine's The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy, London, 1992; John Camplin, The Rise of the Plutocrat, London, 1979
- 18 J. Mackenzie, Empire of Nature, Manchester, 1988, p.1; John F. Reiger, American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation, Oregon, 2001, p.194. Professor John Mackenzie was formerly Dean of Education at Lancaster University and editor of Manchester University Press. John Reiger is Professor of History at Ohio University - Chillicothe.
- 19 Letter to the author from Professor Timothy Smout, Edinburgh University, November, 1992
- 20 Letter to the author from Professor Richard Hummel, Eastern Illinois University. See also, R. Hummel, Hunting and Fishing for Sport, Ohio, 1994, p.9
- 21 J.R. Kelly, "Leisure and Sport: A Sociological Approach" in Hummel, *ibid.*, pp.110-15. Cultural historians in America have recently begun to examine

- the relationship between masculinity, class and field sports in the Southern States: see S.C. Martin 'Don Quixote and Leatherstocking: Hunting, Class and Masculinity in the American South, 1800-40, International Journal of the History of Sport, Vol.12, No.3, London, 1995, pp.61-79. American historian, Professor Harriet Ritvo has also broken new ground in The Animal Estate, Harvard, 1987
- 22 D.P. Blaine, An Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, London, 1840, preface and pp.229-30
- 23 Ibid., pp.228-32
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Mackenzie, Empire, p.iii
- 26 R.H. Trainor, 'The Gentrification of Victorian and Edwardian Industrialists', in A.L. Beier, D. Cannadine, J. Rosenheim, Eds., The First Modern Society: Essays in Honour of Lawrence Stone, Cambridge, 1989, pp.179-86
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 E.J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Empire, 1875-1914, London, 1987, p.166
- 29 J. Lowerson, Sport and the English Middle Classes, Manchester, 1998, p.171
- 30 'The Big Game of South Africa', Blackwood's Magazine, Vol.159, January 1896, pp.119-22
- 31 M. Mazower, Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century, London, 1998, p.x.v
- 32 J. Mangan, European Sports History Review, Vol. 4, London, 2002, p.255, Nauright and Chandler, Making Men, p.1

- 33 For a wider view see, David Whitson, 'Sport in the Construction of Masculinity', in M. Messner and D. Sabo, Sport, Men and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives, Champaign, Illinois, 1990, p.21
- 34 See R. Gruneau, Class, Sports and Social Development, Amherst, 1983, pp.10-15
- 35 R.W. Winks, British Imperialism: God, Gold Glory, New York, 1963, p.1
- 36 For a wider view of "sex-role" theory see, P. Stearns, Be a Man! Males in Modern Society, New York, 1990
- 37 G. Whannel, 'Sport Stars Narrativisation and Masculinities', Leisure Studies Centre Review, Vol.18, Salford, 1999, p.252
- 38 R.W. Connell, Gender and Power, Society, The Person and Sexual Politics, Cambridge, 1987, p.183
- 39 Ibid., pp.144-6
- 40 See Connell, *ibid.*, p.184 for a wider discussion of male hegemony and its cultural alternatives.
- 41 See for example, D. Gilmore, Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity, New Haven and London, 1990, pp.219-224
- 42 M. Kimmel in, H. Brod and M. Kaufman, eds., Theorizing Masculinities, London, 1994, p.120
- 43 Gilmore, Manhood in the Making, p.223
- 44 Ibid., pp.221-4
- 45 P. Kaarsholm, 'Kipling and Masculinity', in R. Samuel, ed., Patriotism, 3 Vols., Vol.3, London, 1989, pp.56-8

- 46 See R. Wilkinson, The Prefects: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition, London, 1964, pp.100-104
- 47 Henry Newbolt, The Book of Good Hunting, London, 1920, pp.22-34. For a more general treatment see, H. Newbolt, Poems Old and New, London, 1919, pp.87-90
- 48 J.A. Mangan, See The Games Ethic and Imperialism, Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, Harmondsworth, 1986, and "The Grit of Our Forefathers,': Invented Traditions, Propaganda and Imperialism,' in J. Mackenzie, ed, Imperialism and Popular Culture, Manchester, 1986, p.116
- 49 See Mangan, Athleticism
- 50 E.C. Wingfield-Stratford, Before the Lamps Went Out, London, 1945, pp.43-5, and see, R.N. Rose, The Field, 1853-1953, London, 1953, chapters 1-3. R.S. Surtees, according to Rose, the historian of the Country Gentleman's newspaper, The Field, was astute enough to see that the age of the Buck and the Corinthian was passing by the spring of Victoria's reign and that there was potential in the rank of the newly-rich industrialists and their sons wanting to be initiated into what they considered the pursuits of the country gentleman. Rose, The Field, pp.17-19
- 51 'The Spirit of Sport', The Field, Vol.97, 1901, p.268.
- 52 Mangan, Athleticism, p.135
- 53 H. Gladstone, Record Bags, London, 1922, p.65 and The Badminton Magazine, Vol.15, 1902, pp.120-7
- 54 J.G. Millais, The Natural History of British Game Birds, London, 1909, p.123

- 55 Lady Dorothy Nevill, My Own Times, London, 1912, p.9
- 56 H. Hieover, Sporting Facts and Fancies, 1853, pp.36-7, 72-3
- 57 J. Colquhoun, Moor and Loch, 4th edition, London and Edinburgh, 1878, preface, viii. See also, R. Jeffries, 'The Defence of Sport', National Review, Vol.1, London, 1883, pp.919-32 . John Colquhoun, 1810-1885, was educated in Edinburgh, then at a private school in Lincolnshire run by the Reverend Grainger of Winteringham, before attending Edinburgh University. During the 1830s, Colquhoun developed a career in the army which enabled him to hunt and shoot in Ireland and Scotland.
- 58 R.S. Baden-Powell, The Matabele Campaign, London, 1897, p.464
- 59 See P.A. Dunae, 'British Juvenile Literature in an Age of Empire, 1870-1914', PhD., Manchester University, M. Green, Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire, London, 1980, p.389; G. Avery, Nineteenth Century Children, Heroes and Heroines in English Children's Stories, 1780-1900, London, 1965, p.145; See also, G. Avery, Childhood's Pattern, a Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Children's Fiction, 1770-1950, London, 1975, p.117
- 60 The Museum and English Journal of Education, N.S., Vol.1, 1864-5, p.214. Of course, many hunters were inspired to hunt by reading other hunting narratives. Embracing the preference for 'action over academia', one period 'shot', for example, described his Seven Years in Tibet as a 'dream which began in youth. As a child, I found the exploits of heroic men far more inspiring than book-reading. Men, who through self-sacrifice, toil and sport, explored new lands'. H. Harrer, Seven Years in Tibet, Germany, 1953, preface

- 61 R.M. Ballantyne, The Gorilla Hunters, a Tale of the Wilds of Africa,
London, 1861, pp.48-9. Robert Michael Ballantyne - 1825-1894
- 62 Ibid., pp.309-15
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 E.S. Grogan, A.H. Sharp, From the Cape to Cairo, the First Traverse of
Africa from South to North, London, 1900, p.351
- 65 Ibid., p.355
- 66 Ibid., pp.360-1
- 67 Ibid., pp.31-2
- 68 Newspaper Articles, The Times, 10th July 1907, Powell-Cotton Collections,
'B.E.A.Administration', PCQ66, 1902-7, held at Quex Park, Birchington,
Kent
- 69 Morning Post, 19th November 1907, 20th November 1907, 26th November
1907 and The Standard, 20th December 1907, held at Quex Park, PCQ66,
1902-7
- 70 Joseph Ritson, 'An essay on abstinence from animal food, London' 1802,
p.88, John Oswald, The cry of Nature: or an appeal to mercy and justice, on
behalf of persecuted animals, London, 1791, p.17 ; J. Hawkesworth, The
Adventurer, London, 13th March 1753, p.189
- 71 Jeremy Bentham, quoted in Henry Salt, Animals Rights Considered in
Relation to Social Progress, London, 1892, reissued 1980, pp.5-7. Henry
Salt - 1830-1903
- 72 Interview with Kevin Flack, Policy Advisor for the L.A.C.S., London, April
1996

- 73 B. Tozer, 'What is Cruelty in Sport', Baily's Magazine, Vol.77, 1902, pp.209-30; F.G. Aflalo, 'A sportsman on Cruelty to Animals' Fortnightly Review, Vol.70, 1901, pp.46-58
- 74 Interview with Lord Marcus Kimball, September 1994. Lord Kimball was the former Chairman of the British Field Sports Society . See C. Mckenzie, 'The Origins of the British Field Sports Society', International Journal of the History of Sport, Vol.13, No.2, August 1996, pp.177-191
- 75 L.P.C.S., Annual Report, 1934, p.29 and interview with Kevin Flack, 1996
- 76 The L.P.C.S., Annual Review, 1931, p.2. I am grateful to Nigel Burke of the Countryside Alliance, Letter to the author, April, 2000 which expanded on the way in which sportsmen were trying to influence young people through their own propaganda. See, 'The Balance of Nature', published by the B.F.S.S., 1995. See also, 'Fieldsportsmen Fight Classroom War', The Sunday Telegraph, 11th September 1994, p.4
- 77 The L.P.C.S., Annual Report, 1932, p.2
- 78 G.S. Sandilands, Atalanta, or the Future of Sport, London, 1928, p.114
- 79 P. Goodhart, C. Chataway, War Without Weapons, London, 1968, pp.145-8
- 80 J. Madden, Wilderness and its Tenants, 3 Vols., Vol.3, London, 1897, pp.176-7
- 81 S.W. Baker, Wild Beasts and their Ways, Reminiscences of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, London, 1890, pp.376-7
- 82 Robert Buchannan, quoted in Henry Salt, Killing for Sport, London, 1914, p.150

- 83 For a general survey, see, J. Boyd, Hunting Sketches, London, 1934, pp.75-6; G. Paget and L. Irvine, The Flying Parson and Dick Christian, Leicester, 1934, preface. For a wider treatment of the hard-riding parson of this period, see A.G. Bradley, Exmoor Memories, London, 1926. See also, R. Carr, English Foxhunting: a History, London, 1976
- 84 H. Salt, Seventy Years Among Savages, London, 1921, p.126 Later, and in the wider community, organised religion has singularly neglected the crusade against 'blood-sports. See V. Yorke, The Church's Supreme Disgrace, Bognor Regis, 1980
- 85 See B. Colloms, Charles Kingsley, The Lion of Eversley, New York, 1975, p.25; S. Chitty, The Beast and the Monk, A Life of Charles Kingsley, London, 1974, p.44; L. Edwards, Famous Foxhunters, London, 1938, pp.59-61; Mrs. Charles Kingsley, Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of his Life, London, 1884, pp.1-2 and Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of his Life, London, 1879, Vol.1. P.59; The Saturday Review, Vol.46. January 1859, p.122; C. Kingsley, Glaucus or the Wonders of the Shore, London and New York, 1896, p.43
- 86 Kingsley, His Letters and Memories, Vol.1, p.318
- 87 Ibid., p.58
- 88 Ibid., Vol.1, p.156
- 89 'Borderer', 'Sporting Parsons', Baily's Magazine, Vol. 84, 1905, p.359. 'Borderer' was the pseudonym of Sir Richard Alan Dansey Price-Green, 1872-1909. See also, C. Stein, 'Country Parsons', Baily's Magazine, Vol.94, May 1910, pp.353-359

- 90 E. Lyttelton, Memories and Hopes, London, 1925, p.194
- 91 F. Palliser-de Costobadie, Annals of the Billesdon Hunt, 1856-1913, London and Leicester, 1914, preface, p.ii
- 92 B. Hanawalt, 'Men' Games, King's Deer: Poaching in Medieval England,' Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Vol.18, no.2. Durham, 1988, pp.178-9; A. Sherratt, 'The Chase from Subsistence to Sport', The Ashmolean, Vol.10, and E. Otto, Journal of Near Eastern Studies Vol.9, 1950, pp.164-77
- 93 Sandilands, Atalanta, p.7
- 94 D. Morris, Manwatching: a Field Guide to Human Behaviour, London, 1978, p.308. T. Roosevelt and G.B. Grinnell, eds., Hunting in Many Lands, New York, 1893, p.327
- 95 Gilmore, Manhood in the Making, pp.221-4
- 96 P. Brantlinger, Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, London, 1988, p.15
- 97 W. Baumgart, Imperialism: the Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion 1880-1914, Oxford, 1982, p.1
- 98 Madden, Wilderness and its Tenants, Vol.2, pp.90-1
- 99 See J.A. Mangan, ed., 'Militarism, Sport, Europe', European Sports History Review, Vol.5, London, 2003, pp.1-8, and 'Making European Mentalities: Sport, Europe, Gender', The European Sports History Review, Vol.2, London, 2000
- 100 S.W. Baker, The Rifle and the Hound in Ceylon, London, 1874, p.5

- 101 R. Connell quoted in J.W. Gibson, Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in post-Vietnam America, New York, 1994, p.303; See also, R. Connell, 'Masculinity, Violence and War', in P. Patton and R. Poole, eds., War and Masculinity, Sydney, 1985, pp.3-8
- 102 H.H. Austin, Among Swamps and Giants in Equatorial Africa, London, 1902, preface
- 103 R. Horrocks, Masculinity in Crisis, Myths, Fantasies and Realities, London, 1994, pp.58-9
- 104 In the early 1900s, The Field noted bluntly that 'we English are nothing if not hero-worshippers' The Field, Vol.104, 10th September 1904, p.461. The concept of the 'heroic' soldier is more fully explored in Gibson, Warrior Dreams, p.10
- 105 E. Huxley, Peter Scott, Painter and Naturalist, London, 1993, p.ix
- 106 Lowerson, Sport and the English Middle-Class, p.70
- 107 S. Taylor, The Mighty Nimrod. The Life of F.C. Selous, African Hunter and Adventurer, 1851-1917, London, 1989; see also, The Meteor, Rugby School Magazine, 2nd July 1917. The Meteor, 10th June 1897, pp.58-62
- 108 B. Bond, The Victorian Army and the Staff College 1854-1914, London, 1972, pp.17-21
- 109 F.C. Kempson, The Trinity Foot Beagles, London, 1912, pp. 4-8, 10-13.
Frederick Charles Kempson - 1845-1913
- 110 Ibid., and see, 'The Yeoman and the Empire', Baily's Magazine, Vol.80, October 1903, pp.261-3. It was, according to the author of this article, an

assessment corroborated by the Report of the Royal Commission on the Wars in South Africa, 1899-1901.

- 111 Ibid.
- 112 The Spectator, 1st April 1905, Vol.94, pp.471-2
- 113 'The Yeoman and the Empire', Baily's Magazine, Vol.80, October 1903, pp.261-3. See also, E.A. Alderson, Pink and Scarlet, or Hunting as a School for Soldiering, London, 1913, pp.1, 8
- 114 Quoted in D. Cannadine, The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy, New Haven and London, 1990, preface
- 115 E. Braddon, Thirty Years of Shikar, Edinburgh, 1893, p.2
- 116 A. Cheem, Baily's Magazine, Vol.78, September, 1902, pp.67-69. For other sporting verse, see Edwards, Foxhunters.
- 117 A. Lindsay Gordon, Sporting Verse, London, 1927, p.74 and Edwards, Foxhunters, p.74
- 118 The Boy's Journal, Vol.2, 1865, p.17. David Gilmore has asserted that the concept of men and boys 'at risk' on the battlefield- and in the hunt - has long been perceived as an un-coded message of masculinity which reinforced participants fitness for rule. See Gilmore, Manhood, p.223
- 119 Any period volume of The Field dedicated space to those had 'fallen' in the field
- 120 L. Creswicke, South Africa and the Transvaal Wars, 8 Vols., Vol.6, London, 1902, p.207

- 121 'The Protection of Fauna and Flora; a Common Sense View', Humanitarian,
Vol.12, December 1904 and Vol.25, February 1910; Nineteenth Century,
Vol.74, August 1913, p.592
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 B. Ehrenreich, Blood Rites, New York, 1997, p.230
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 A.H. Higginson, British and American Sporting Authors, London, 1951,
p.243. Major Michael Leathes - 1863-1935
- 126 Ibid.
- 127 See Alderson, Pink and Scarlet; and also, Higginson, Sporting Authors,
pp.253-4. Edmund Alderson - 1859-1927
- 128 Ray Lankester and Oldfield Thomas, The British Museum Collections,
London, 1906, printed by order of the Trustees, limited edition, pp.20-30
- 129 MS, Letters, held at The British Museum, DF 232/17, p.38 I am grateful to
John Thackery, Archivist at the Natural History Museum, for his kind help
- 130 I am grateful to Richard Sutcliffe, Curator at the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and
Museum and Dr. Andrew Kitchener of the Edinburgh Museum for their kind
assistance.
- 131 'The Protection of Field Sports', The Times, 5th December 1930, p.21
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 For a wider discussion of 'mainstream masculinity', see, H. Brod, ed., The
Making of Masculinities. The New Men's Studies, London, 1987, pp.121-53
- 134 W.S. Seton-Karr, 'The Sports League', National Review, 1883-4, p.838

- 135 The Field, Vol.85, 20th June 1885, and 'The Defence of Field sports,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.44, August 1885, p.3
- 136 The Sporting Magazine, Vol.4, April 1794, p.15; P. Beckford, Thoughts on Hunting. In a series of familiar letters to a friend, Sarum, 1781, p.177. Peter Beckford, 1740-1811.
- 137 P.B. Munsche, Gentlemen and Poachers: The English Game Laws, 1671-1831, Cambridge, 1981, p.19; The Sporting Magazine, Vol.10, September 1797, p.325; A. Vandervell and C. Coles, Game and the English Landscape: the Influence of the Chase on Sporting Art and Scenery, London, 1980, p.15. For a wider view of the 'country gentleman', see G. Sitwell, 'The English Gentleman,' The Ancestor, Vol.5, April 1902 pp.58-102.
- 138 T. Henricks, Disputed Pleasures. Sport and Society in Pre-industrial England, London, 1991, p.17; P. Chalmers, The History of Hunting, London, 1936, p.97
- 139 Sir J.E. Eardley-Wilmot, Reminiscences of the Late Thomas Assheton Smith Esq., or the Pursuits of an English Country Gentleman, London, 1860, pp.1-2
- 140 The Times, 23rd August 1867, p.7.
- 141 The Shooting Times, 9th April 1927, p.1
- 142 The Field, 4th February 1922, p.10. W.A.G.B.I. became the British Association for Shooting and Conservation in 1980. Meeting between the author and Director, John Swift and Public Relations Manager, Andrew Semple, April 1998 at Marford Mill, North Wales.
- 143 The Field, Vol.147, June 1926, p.952
- 144 H.A. Bryden, Nature and Sport in South Africa, London, 1897, p.281

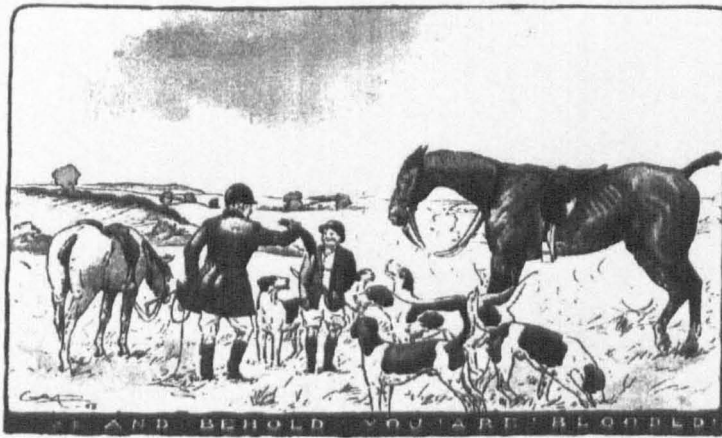
- 145 I am grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Henry North of Clifford Hall, Yealand Conyers, Carnforth, Lancashire who opened up their home to me. Clifford Hall now stands, shorn of its former, 'imperial' glory, hunting trophies long since dispersed to museums. The library, however, remains as testimony to a family whose values are not in step with contemporary, egalitarian trends. Family photographs show Oliver North as a regular rider with the Oxenholme Staghounds and the Vale of Lune Harriers. Private letters from abroad back to his mother reveal the significance of hunting and polo playing to his regiment when based at Lahore after the 1914-18 World War. Returning to civilian life in the 1950s, Oliver North became a local J.P. And maintained his interest in hunting, shooting and steeple-chasing. Lieutenant Colonel Oliver H. North - 1874-1953
- 146 Sir Claude de Crespigny, Forty Years of a Sportsman's Life, London, 1910, p.230
- 147 I am grateful to Hamish Wallace, Secretary of The Shikar Club of Little Whirley, Staffordshire, for his advice and letters on the Club and its history. Hamish Wallace's father, Frank Wallace, was Club Secretary during the 1920s and 30s and was considered an authority on hunting and natural history as evidenced from his numerous publications.
- 148 'The Shikar Club', The Field, Vol.111, June 1908, p.1006. See H. Seton-Karr, My Sporting Holidays, London, 1904, for accounts of Seton-Karr in the field. See also, The Field, Vol.111, 1908, p.1006, and, W.T. Stearn, The Natural History Museum at South Kensington, London, 1981, p.79, and see A.E.T. Watson, King Edward VII as a Sportsman,

- London, 1911; See also R. Hyam, Britain's Imperial Century, London, 1976, pp.57, 122, 135-48 and, R.C. Bristow, Memoirs of the British Raj: A Soldier in India, London, 1974, pp.65-66. John Guille Millais - 1865-1939
- 149 J.G. Millais, The Life of Frederick C. Selous, London, 1918, p.367
- 150 The Field, Vol.109, March 1907, pp.494-495.
- 151 J. Stevenson Hamilton, Animal Life in Africa, London, 1912, Preface
- 152 Gilmore, Manhood, p.26-7
- 153 See D. Jackson, Unmasking Masculinity, London, 1990, pp.271-5; V. Seidler, Rediscovering Masculinity: Reason, Language and Sexuality, London, 1989, p.10
- 154 Hearn, Men in the Public Eye, p.5
- 155 See A. Cornwall and N. Lindisfarnes, eds, Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies, London, 1994
- 156 Reiger, American Sportsmen, p.106
- 157 G.S. Sandilands, Atalanta or the Future of Sport, London, 1928, p.9; P. Mason, The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal, London, 1982, p.83

Part One:

'Blooding the Male!'

Attitudes and Arguments, Continuity and Change



Chapter One:

Morality, Hunting and Gendered Identities: a Period Overview



Masculinity, it has been suggested, 'must be understood in relation to femininity' - it is, therefore, a 'relational construct' which is 'incomprehensible from the totality of gender relations'.¹ Men's attitudes towards women as the latter developed interests in field sports during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries emphasised the importance of field sports as a preparation for manhood. Thus, field sports were promoted not only for the simple enjoyment of the 'chase', but for their contribution to the process of 'masculisation'. Although women took part in field sports, such participation was not universally accepted as 'socialisation' per se.

In the mid 1920s, for example, The Field had lamented the dearth of boys coming through to run and organise shoots under their father's guidance - to remedy this, it offered some sanguine advice: lessons at shooting schools had to be supplemented by keen observance of things 'he and his father's friends are out to kill'.

² Educating the boy sportsmen, the newspaper continued with due seriousness, meant differentiating between dead and wounded birds during covert shooting, the despatching of wounded rabbits, and the carrying distance of shot. For the boy who had not started to shoot yet, carrying the adult's gun represented a suitable initiation into 'manhood'. In short, The Field concluded that the "boy's mind" was open and retentive and if he 'shown and told things it will make him a knowledgeable shot with a love and understanding of woods and birds and the things he shoots'.³

Emphasis on field sports as a preparation for future responsibility 'as a man' reflected the importance of killing wildlife as a way of indoctrinating masculinity and its associated moral imperatives. In this view, field sports, *prepared* the boy for his life's journey whatever difficulties might arise. 'Who would not sometimes be

soaked?', asked one sportsman - 'it is then you may feel a little of the elemental man in you. And how, if you always were to run away from the elements and keep dry indoors, could you grow hardy and seasoned? It is part of the business of the British boy to lay in such a store of hardiness as shall serve him well in later life. It is not the least thing that can be said for shooting that when taken up early in life, it does in many cases help to give a man the toughness and endurance which may be called a virtue'.⁴

It was essential that field sports were indoctrinated during the receptive stage of childhood - conveniently known as the 'hunting stage' by exponents - since in later life, so the argument went, the urge to kill wildlife receded.⁵ One Rugby School Master, for example, 'challenged' his pupils by taking them on shooting trips and rejoiced to see the 'keenness of youth which one rarely finds in the middle aged - it is a melancholy fact that as we get older, we lose much of the thrill we got out of shooting as a boy'.⁶

Consequently, the concept of the boy's 'first kill' assumed a moral significance which went far beyond the actual death of the quarry. It was a period axiom found in both imperial and domestic hunting. In 1893, imperialist and hunter-explorer, Ewart Scott Grogan traversed Africa from the 'Cape to Cairo' where he found 'solid satisfaction' when sitting on his 'first elephant' or 'shaking the paw of his first lion', new experiences which heightened his 'fierce joy of life' by 'grappling with death' and basking in the 'warm glow of vigorous manhood'.⁷ In similar style, late Victorian and Edwardian hunting stalwarts, Henry Seton-Karr, Frank Wallace, Alfred Pease and the Lord Ormathwaite enthused that their first 'kills' gave them more satisfaction than any other and shaped their subsequent

interest in hunting.⁸ The moral and 'spiritual' significance of the first 'kill' was also extolled by Abel Chapman who 'graduated in the craft of big game hunting' by learning how to shoot from boyhood, a preparation, which, he claimed, differentiated him from the mere 'tyro'.⁹

The importance of the first symbolic 'kill' as male socialisation found expression through art and juvenile literature. By way of example, Scott Rankin's painting of 'His First Stag' adorned the 1924 Boy's Own annual while 'Dick Carleton's First Lion - a Tale of East Africa' was still considered suitable reading for the young in the Young England Magazine of 1922.¹⁰

Even the 'gentle' art of angling bestowed much-admired, moral 'virtues'. The significance of the boy's 'first' salmon was succinctly described by one young 'nimrod' as an 'indelible experience which fully tested my knowledge and manly skill... my father was a fisherman. What a triumph if I should kill a fish larger than he had! With what pride should I display my prize and afterwards narrate my prowess! Moreover, *would I no longer be considered a boy?*'¹¹

Hunting had long facilitated the transference of masculinity from one generation to the next as a "rites of passage". In the Classical world, boys from political and military elites were grouped together in "herds" and prepared for lifelong military service through an education steeped in discipline, physical hardship and outdoor exercise.¹² Field sports, therefore, became associated with a masculine orthodoxy which was necessary for the survival and the expansion of the community. Moreover, a knowledge of field sports was equated with respect for the hierarchical structure of society essential for social stability and military order.¹³

This virile hunting legacy re-emerged in Britain from about the end of the eighteenth century when 'manliness' became synonymous with recreations such as riding to-hounds. ¹⁴ One consequence of hunting as an essentially male-pursuit was that 'normal' masculinity could only be ratified by other, like-minded men. Later moralists and hunting proponents, Sir Henry Newbolt and Robert S. Baden-Powell, argued that 'manliness can only be taught by men and not those who are half men, half women'. ¹⁵

There were many moral and even commercial benefits for a boy trained in hunting, when linked to the pervasive, bourgeois ideology. ¹⁶ In this view, poverty afflicted those who were lazy, perverse, or lacked 'manliness'. It was an ideology which defined women in terms of biology and sex and comforted the male, parental class. ¹⁷ The concept of bourgeois hegemony in the nineteenth century, according to modern historian, Jennifer Hargreaves, illustrated how gender relations intersected with specific forms of capitalist and 'patriarchal' relations. ¹⁸ The indoctrination of males rather than females into hunting, therefore, was another way in which 'dominant men' asserted their authority over 'subordinate' women. The assumption was that the 'painful evolution' of good riding-to-hounds 'stood so well to *many a man* - the lesson to act promptly, self-reliance, decisiveness, cool-courage and strong nerve, were all the product of the hunting field, and kept a man in the front ranks of any walk of life.' ¹⁹

Hunting not only allowed men a superior position in the gender order but differentiated between different 'types' of men. Consequently, the economic and social elite were able to monopolise the 'virtues' implicit in hunting by differentiating

between men who could, for example, rise early, had strong equestrian skills and were indifferent to inclement weather. ²⁰

In short, superior leadership abilities and admirable physical qualities were identified with the higher moral qualities found in hunting as practised by the economic elite. These qualities were explicitly associated with mens' success in the wider community. The respected example of the Master of Foxhounds ensured stability and respectability at the apex of rural society. 'The virtues of the hunting field, according to Baily's Magazine's Reverend Clark, 'the munificence, the political talents, the warm heart and extensive liberality of the nobleman, the minister, the country squire and landowner. You may take my word for it that few men live more capable lives of exalted patriotism, stern self-denial, moral courage, and chivalric honesty and tenderness than the fox-hunter: and that it is his love of sport which cherishes manliness and liberality as a young man, till riper years build up a structure of character upon that foundation which makes the English gentleman trusted and respected, if he be not loved, wherever he goes'. ²¹

The Master of Hounds was expected to possess a high morality. ²² After all, fox hunting was a 'powerful moral engine... of all field sports its claims are the most general upon the properties of manhood. The tiger-hunts of the East may appeal more directly to the courage, but with activity and physical endurance they have little or nothing to do. But see the qualities that must combine to form the accomplished fox-hunter. He must be bold, ready, decisive, capable of commanding and sustaining great bodily exertion: he must join unity of purpose to promptness of action; capability of foreseeing events, that he may best turn them to advantage, with a frame and a spirit alike competent to meet and oppose undauntedly difficulties and dangers,

how and when they may assail him'.²³ It was expected for the M.F.H. to show the 'boldness of a lion, the cunning of a fox, the shrewdness of an excise man, the calculation of a general, the decision of a judge, the purse of Squire Plutus, the regularity of a railway, the punctuality of a time piece, the liberality of a sailor, the patience of Job, the tact of an M.P., the wiliness of a diplomatist, the politeness of a lord the coolness of a crocodile; but all these would be to no avail unless the master also had "that indescribable quality" of being a *gentleman*'.²⁴

The explicit correlation between hunting, masculinity and a superior social position enabled men and boys to claim superiority in the social *and* gender hierarchy in a society which valued physical strength in the ideal male image. By the early Victorian period, however, it was apparent that women were enjoying chasing the fox by joining established hunts.²⁵ They were not playing to established social roles - and turning logic on its head! What were the reasons for change? It may have reflected wider social changes in gender relationships influenced by an upsurge in female confidence due to increased opportunities for education and employment.²⁶ An unprecedented interest in natural history field clubs and the study of natural history by women and the educational opportunities they offered for self-improvement and raised self-esteem was one manifestation of feminist development.²⁷

Despite the gradual appearance of women at the larger hunts after the 1850s, men's attitudes towards women's hunting capabilities were changing-or perhaps they were reverting! Apparently, during the eighteenth-century, women killing foxes produced little or no complaint from sportsmen; indeed, upper-class women killing foxes and game without men complaining was well-documented.²⁸

Confident insertion into the structured, male hierarchy of the early Victorian hunt, however, was more difficult as many men balked at the invasion of their domain and a number of reasons were offered as to why women should not take part in field sports.²⁹ A strict Anglicanism endorsed the idea of segregation between the sexes. Canon Charles Kingsley, for example, identified and reiterated the link between hunting and a proper, period masculinity. 'You cannot understand', he noted, 'the excitement of animal exercise from the mere act of cutting wood or playing cricket to the manias of hunting shooting or fishing... of these things more or less, must young men live; even those who have calmed from age, or from necessary attention to a profession, have the same feelings flowing as an undercurrent in their minds... and if they had not, they would neither think nor act as men. They might be pure, good and kind, but they would need that stern determined activity, without which man cannot act in an extended sphere either for his own good or that of his fellow creatures'.³⁰ Unsurprisingly, Kingsley intended to raise his children as naturalists - 'my boy as both 'naturalist and sportsman: and then, whether he goes into the army or emigrates, he will have a pursuit to keep him from cards and brandy.'³¹

Women were disadvantaged not merely by instinct but by instinct reinforced by the material condition of society through custom, law, language, literature and public opinion. The all male Anglican clergy was a case in point. The majority of parish clergymen were in public office largely through private transactions with the owner of the right of presentation. Many younger sons of peers and gentry automatically went into the church, guaranteeing them an assured income and a large house for life.³² The leadership of the church invariably came from a wealthy

aristocratic background : between about 1800 and 1875, one half of the bishops of England and Wales were of patrician origin.³³ Squire and parson controlled the rural justice system, with over one thousand clergy employed as county magistrates in the 1860s, about half the magistrates in the country, a situation which remained the same up to the 1880s.³⁴

The hunting parson as a social category was eulogised by sporting press, particularly The Field and Baily's Magazine and affectionately treated by hunting writers and cherished by fellow sportsmen. Baily's Magazine, for instance, waxed eloquent about the Reverend Edward Elmhirst rector of Shawell at Lutterworth in Leicestershire and local magistrate; educated at Cambridge, Elmhirst was a member of the University eleven, a leading athlete and a hard rider to hounds. Later, he kept wicket for the Amateurs when the Gentlemen of England met the Players in 1845. It was, however, game shooting in which Elmhirst particularly excelled, 'having few equals, even after losing his sight in his right eye.'³⁵ Baily's Magazine also paid tribute to the Rev. Cecil Legard, educated at Eton and Magdalene College, Cambridge between 1857 and 1867, who came from an old Yorkshire family which yielded 'loyal statesmen, soldiers and divines, but always sportsmen'.³⁶

Indeed, Baily's Magazine even had its own sporting cleric! The Reverend Andrew Clark contributed to Baily's Magazine on hunting matters from 1861 to 1887.³⁷ He held entrenched views against womens' encroachment into the early Victorian hunting field. Women who hunted, he boasted, '*were not women* - there is nothing so disagreeable, nothing so distasteful to men, especially hard-riding men, or true sportsmen, as a horsey female. How far is woman fulfilling her mission by adopting the attributes of the other sex?'³⁸ His antipathy towards the adulteration of

the chase was shared by other indignant observers. According to one uncharitable male rider to -hounds, women who ventured into the hunting field were 'rather masculine', while more jaundiced commentators held up the deleterious physical effect of hunting on the faces of the 'fair sex' as a warning to ambitious 'Dianas'.³⁹

In a society which glorified physical prowess, it was felt by some that the female body was too delicate for hunting. A 'first-rate horsewoman', according to Baily's Magazine, could never equal a first-class man as she lacked the necessary muscular power.⁴⁰ If women persisted with their desire to *compete* in the field, lamented another observer, they would be better served with 'powerful bits' and easily controlled horses which were less of a liability.⁴¹

In contrast, physical exertion and 'outdoor' recreations were encouraged for boys as it meant they were 'well-balanced' and in control of their passions.⁴² 'The boy', according to one period academic, 'grows up to be the man where he encounters stress and opposition in the work of life and the strenuousness of his pursuits comes to be expressed in his facial characteristics. And so it is with women; the more they allow themselves to approximate the life-pursuits and the emotional stress inseparable from the polemic life of man, the more do they lose softness and tenderness of expression and become hard and lines in feature, weather-beaten from exposure to the air, and stamped with the strained look which comes to those who exchange the placidity of unobtrusive home life for the rebellious spirit of opposition and competition'.⁴³

In short, the prospect of losing essential femininity was used to dissuade aspiring 'Dianas' from developing interest in hunting. Female attempts at parity in hunting, so the argument went, contributed to 'unfeminine mediocrity in the hunting

field,' perpetrated by 'pretty women' with inadequate horsemanship - all of which contributed to a 'loss of feminine innocence and their natural, trusting confidence'.⁴⁴ When women persisted in their desire to hunt, it only 'hardened them, making them more like men'.⁴⁵ In other words, hunting made the lady rider to hounds 'less womanly in the old way in which women used to be appreciated: they are talked about with less consideration, men are less deferential towards them, because woman is less of a mystery now that it is seen that her mental and physical capabilities are the same in kind as men. Hunting has made women more assertive and less sex-conscious'.⁴⁶

Contravention of mores or not, structural changes in hunting during the nineteenth century meant that it was more suitable for so-called "feminine sensibilities". The fox-hunt had progressed from a savage recreation, dominated by the desire to witness a 'kill', to a 'visual enjoyment', described as a 'civilising spurt' with a greater function for the hounds.⁴⁷

Although this metamorphosis may have encouraged more women to take part in the sport, fox-hunting still remained in the control of men. As noted in a series of letters to The Field in 1857, the rising tide of women in the hunting field was still dependent on the goodwill and 'paternalism' of the Master-to Hounds.⁴⁸ There were, it continued, 'moral benefits' to this arrangement and women who were properly 'advised and trained' in hunting techniques by their husbands reaped physical and spiritual advantages without sacrificing 'true delicacy and intelligent refinement...women of this quality are wise as well as gracious and affectionate by instinct and culture.'⁴⁹ This subsidiary position was even endorsed by one grateful lady in The Field who described herself as 'one of the 'softer sex', and after thanking

The Field for 'producing such an acceptable hunting newspaper', the appreciative huntress advised that the 'husbands and brothers of many English women take an interest in field sports, and it follows as a matter of course that we, their 'ministering angels', must be anxious to participate in all that amuses them. It is pleasant to see a sporting newspaper on the breakfast table and to be allowed to read it'.⁵⁰

The period preoccupation with 'separate spheres' clearly inhibited women's efforts at parity in the hunting field. Concerned about the adverse moral effects of hunting by women, one male hunter asked whether hunting and killing foxes were appropriate activities for women, adding that 'fox-hunting resembled women racing in public, and the presence of a father, brother or even a husband cannot prevent the fair amazon from hearing language, and seeing sights that are not fit for her to expose herself to. And I am sure that no lady ought to derive enjoyment from the cries of a hare in the fangs of a greyhound, or the sight of a fox torn to pieces by Foxhounds after the animal has been hunted till he succumbs to his fate from inability to run any further. Let ladies avoid the coursing and hunting field, and only grace with their presence those scenes where their presence is undoubtedly in accordance with feminine modesty and humanity'.⁵¹

Although Old 'Meltonian' was a 'fervent admirer of the Real English Lady', he complained that 'if females must hunt and accompany men in their sports, they must adapt their costume as much as possible to ours. I advise Diana to consult her father or brothers on the subject of underclothing'.⁵² The anxiety about dress and decorum in the field lingered on into the twentieth century when fox-hunting was described by one antagonist as an 'unseemly' sport for ladies since 'they have so many resources which beautify and embellish life, that no lady should follow hounds.

It is a pretty sight to see ladies at a meet but when the chase begins, let them go home and, having had their morning exercise, return to their social duties and elegant amusements, leaving the excitement of the chase to that sort to whom dirt and disarray, red faces and noses are not unbecoming. The best runs are on moist days when a female looks limp and uncomfortable in the saddle. Could the lady hear the remarks of the sex she seeks to emulate on ladies hunting, she would turn to cultivation of the mind and accomplishment, by which she becomes a real magnet to us, and obtains the love, sympathy and respect of our sex'.⁵³ In short, although female riders-to hounds 'enhanced the social quality of the chase', aspiring 'Dianas' had to be 'properly trained', act with 'appropriate discretion' and not neglect their 'domestic duties'.⁵⁴

In 1859, The Field, in response to an apparent demand for field sports amongst ladies, adopted a cautious approach towards assimilation, stating that Britain's national reputation for 'bodily strength' was dependent on the 'health of the mothers of the next generation. Consideration should be given to the participation of young ladies in field sports - so long as they are not led to adopt the slang in which too many sportsmen indulge. We desire greatly to see the fair sex in the coursing field or even with hounds to a certain extent.'⁵⁵

Less magnanimous contributors to the debate also encouraged women into field sports but persisted in the view that women were still 'ornaments' who were welcome 'provided they were not in danger to themselves or a hazard to other riders in the field'!⁵⁶ To make matters worse, certain women who insisted on hunting, so the argument went, often ignored the seriousness of the hunt and were thus more likely to disturb the Master at inappropriate times.⁵⁷ In short, ingrained codes of

sporting etiquette obligated men to 'look after ladies in the field', even at the expense of their 'natural sporting instincts'.⁵⁸ Moreover, women's growing insistence on parity in the field encouraged male riders to hounds to show them less consideration than formerly.⁵⁹

By the late-nineteenth century, however, a new breed of 'feminist' horsewomen, exemplified by the likes of Francis Slaughter, Violet Greville and Mabel Howard, flouted conventional wisdom and argued for full and proper recognition for female hunting talents. In their view, most women matched men for 'nerve' in the saddle and had stronger equestrian skills.⁶⁰ This upper class 'feminism' was bolstered by ideological support for hunting against those who would abolish the sport. 'For ladies especially', according to Mabel Howard, 'the cessation of hunting would be a severe blow. It is the only sport they can really take part in to any great extent. A few have gone in for shooting, some fish with fair success and some try to play the game of cricket, but in hunting alone are they really successful and can equal and even surpass men, in spite of pommels and a one-sided balance'.⁶¹

Unsurprisingly, the notion that 'superior' equestrian skills compensated for the 'inferior' physical abilities of women in general was rejected in some quarters. Certainly, men continued to dominate equestrian training and many complained that 'school-taught' female-riders were ill-equipped to deal with the rigours of difficult hunting country and, in general, lacked the strength of personality to control energetic packs.⁶² Thus, the argument against women in the field continued since 'only a few' reached the physical standards demanded by established male riders-to-hounds.⁶³

It would be erroneous, however, to suggest that women's skills at riding-to hounds went unrecognised or appreciated by all. Discussing the 'Rights of Women to Sport' in its editorial, The Field, after noting women's advances in education, cautiously supported 'feminine ambition to aspire to what have hitherto been masculine sports - so long as they can be followed by the weaker sex with due regard to that delicacy of taste which should be the watchword of a woman. One great merit of sport is that it inculcates instincts of fair play and of generosity to an opponent. 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 suchlike sympathies; and the same doctrine will apply to the newly-expanding class of sportswomen'.⁶⁴ Similarly, 'Borderer', writing in Baily's Magazine, acknowledged women's 'hard-riding capabilities', while others went as far as to suggest that certain dedicated huntresses were in better physical and mental shape for hunting than many male riders.⁶⁵

It was a development noticed in The Times, which, concerned that many upper-class women were being left 'stranded' in Britain as 'suitable' men were busy empire-building, asserted that they too should leave for colonial outposts to make use of their burgeoning skills in 'outdoor pursuits'.⁶⁶

The appearance of female 'essential' ephemera for hunting confirmed women's improving status in the field. Increasing parity was mirrored in the hunting dress 'code'. Thus, Alys Serrell who hunted otters with Master of Otter Hounds, and Courtney Tracy who chased carted deer at Baron Wolverton at Blackmore Vale, wearing the green coats, gilt buttons and green habit displayed by Mr. Garth's Hounds of the South Berks and the 'pink and scarlet' of the Vine.⁶⁷ 'Every new season', it was noted 'heralded fresh advertisements of skirts, saddles and stirrups,

each firm trying to out-do the other with suggestions and inventions; and there is no doubt that all this has considerably improved the conditions of ladies hunting. But still the element of danger must always exist, more so perhaps in hunting than in other sports, although accidents occur more or less in every form of amusement for ladies as well as for men.’⁶⁸ Discussions of female dress, equipment, horsemanship and accidents in the field, therefore, was commonplace in Baily’s and Badminton sporting magazines.⁶⁹

Authoritative contributions to period sporting literature by women writers confirmed their standing as independent practitioners of hunting. The eminent Grafton and Bicester Hunt was documented by Lady Sophie Scott in her Hunting Diaries between 1894-1936, breaking the tradition of male-dominated hunting narratives in this premier hunting county.⁷⁰

Moreover, the number of ‘serious’ contributions to women’s sporting historiography increased significantly during the 1890s, reflecting women’s increased self-awareness and autonomy in the field. Indeed, Miss Augusta Samaurez Tawk’s Hunting Recollections, (1911) affirmed her reputation as the ‘*hardest riding woman in the Essex Union Country*’ while Violet Bullock-Webster’s The Sport of the Past and the Future (1929) and Dorothy Conyer’s, Sporting Reminiscences (1920), contributed to a ‘nostalgic femininity’ which enabled female riders to be ‘remembered’ in same way as their male counterparts.⁷¹

Female hunting literature written by Lady Violet Greville, The Gentlewoman’s Book of Sports, (1892), The Gentlewoman in Society, (1892), Ladies in the Field, (1899), The Greville Memoirs, (1899), Alice M. Hayes, The Horsewoman, (1893), F.E. Slaughter, Ed., The Sportswoman’s Library, 2 Volumes, (1898), Francis Alys

Serrell, With Hounds and Terrier, (1904), Amy C. Menzies, Women in the Hunting Field, (1913), Maud Isabel Harvey, Hunting on Foot with Some Yorkshire Packs, (1913), Beverly Robinson, From Start to Finish, Fifty Galloping Years, (1919), Lady Diana Maud Nina Shedden's To Whom the Goddess, Hunting and Riding for Women, (1932) and Frances Pitt, Hounds, Horses and Hunting, 1948 emphasised the feminine perspective in the hunting field. Francis Slaughter admitted that most of this literature provided women with information and help they were not likely to find in those books which were written from a man's point of view although such works did not exclude the 'great body of sportsmen who so far have held almost undisputed sway in the realm of sporting literature'.⁷² 'Women', she advised, 'should take more opportunities to understand the art of venery and the work of the hounds'.⁷³ It was gaining access to shooting, however, which presented most difficulties to females interested in field sports.

Although the Encyclopedia of Sport, (1911) diplomatically suggested that there were not many sports from which women were excluded, it insisted that sports such as cycling and lawn-tennis were more *appropriate* for ladies than shooting: big-game hunting therefore - particularly its extreme forms such as alligator-hunting shooting - and other 'unfeminine practices' - such as badger-digging, were best considered by experienced, male hunters.⁷⁴

The message was clear: chasing after a fox on horseback was one thing - being responsible for taking a sentient life by 'pulling the trigger' - was another matter. Objections to female 'shots' were made on the grounds of their 'tender sensibilities'. Despite that 'a few had become skilful with the gun, the fishing rod and in the hunting-saddle', The Field questioned whether women should be allowed to

“draw blood” from sentient life, while another indignant observer grudgingly admitted that the presence of women at the covert-side could be tolerated - provided they took no active part in the killing. ⁷⁵

The stigma attached to women ‘taking life’ meant that even the ‘gentle craft’ of angling was subject to debate. Females who ‘killed’ fish, therefore, contravened the appropriate canons of ‘good form’. ⁷⁶ The slight dangers involved in both trout and salmon fishing, such as wading into rivers to cast, was, in this view, unsuitable for women but ‘perfectly natural for men’. ⁷⁷ The prospect of women fishing for ‘aggressive pike’ was, unsurprisingly viewed, with alarm in some quarters unless they were assisted by a competent male chaperone to ‘gaff’ and kill the fish. ⁷⁸

More progressive observers noted that both hunting and fishing were best seen as androgynous activities. Women, therefore, were as indifferent to ‘cruelty’ as men. The ‘fair sex’ ‘might easily play and land a trout... and begin to cast again at the next rise! That the indulgence in sport produces a certain callousness in the infliction of cruelty is a necessary consequence of the law of habit, and therefore the sporting woman must become less sensitive to the infliction of pain than is she who confines her energies to exercises with inanimate objects. All of which shows that her objection to cruelty depends very much upon the degree with which it interferes with her occupation and pleasure. It cannot but be that the pursuit of sport must then have a deadening effect upon the sympathy with pain and suffering of those who follow it’. ⁷⁹

Not everyone was so enlightened. Indeed, The Field confessed to a prejudice against ‘ladies armed in the stubble or turnip field’, while sportsman-writer, Frederick

George Aflalo explained that 'serious' shooting differed from both fishing and fox-hunting because of its greater cruelty and bloodshed.⁸⁰

Consequently, a hierarchy of field sports emerged. Riding to hounds was more suitable for women than shooting because the rider could distance herself from the actual 'killing'. The 'hierarchy' between sports was explained by sportsman, Alfred Edward Pease, who claimed that 'fisherman may weary of flogging the unresponding waters; the best shot may feel sated with killing, grow disgusted at the shrieks of dying hares and have moments when he asks in vain for a logical defence of pleasure derived at the expense of wholesale slaughter and mutilation. There is no sport without blood, but there is no field sport with so little bloodshed about it as hunting'.⁸¹

The idea of women killing game with guns, therefore, took longer to mature. After all, shooting could unnerve even '*strong men*, and the cries of wounded game, especially rabbits and hares, was felt to be incongruous with 'female sensibilities'.⁸² Accordingly, if women were to persist with the gun, one male 'expert' advised them to practice despatching wounded game without 'shuddering about it'.⁸³ The Field objected to gun-wielding females on other grounds. Appealing to her 'romantic' sensibilities, the country gentleman's newspaper was 'strongly inclined to believe that a young lady firing small shot at partridges rather deters than attracts serious suitors. The cool handling of even a semi-toy gun suggests a *strong force of character* which future domestic contingencies might render uncomfortable to the accredited head of the house. If ladies desire to test their accuracy of eye and aim, is there not archery, with its absence of saltpetre, its attractive costumes, its leisurely ways, its imposing, engaging attitudes, and its bloodless results?'⁸⁴

More intransigent sportsmen decreed that women should have nothing to do with shooting in any way. Their contribution to Scottish shooting lodges, for example, undermined their 'manly' environment through unwanted music, 'lady-billiards' and 'no tobacco'.⁸⁵ Such effeminate excess and luxury were appropriate only for the 'caricaturist and satirist.'⁸⁶ The trivialisation of field sports through 'charades, private theatricals, surprise dances, dinners and late hours', so the argument went, was anathema to 'real' sportsmen and an affront to their heritage of 'hardiness.'⁸⁷

In spite of these attitudes, some women did make their mark with the sporting gun. Barbara Hughes was a case in point. In 1897, she determined to shoot pig in Albania - despite 'wounding the finer susceptibilities of disapproving men' - and found the experience 'edifying, making 'life worth living'.⁸⁸ Similarly, Kate Martelli also described her shooting experience with 'male' terminology asserting that her tiger-shooting experiences were a useful school for endurance, judgement and self-reliance, while Catherine Ninna Jenkin's Sport and Travel in Both Tibets (1909) and Agnes Herbert Two Dianas in Somaliland (1908) suggested that big game hunting in remote locations was not an entirely male preserve.

Despite a general lack of encouragement from male exponents, the allure of the rifle and game shooting game continued to attract women.⁸⁹ Winifred Louisa Leale at the Bisley Meet of 1891, provoked correspondence in the national press from other women anxious to learn the secret of her success against the best male 'shots' in Britain.⁹⁰ It should be noted that Leale's performance was ungraciously regarded by some as beyond the capacity of the 'normal female shot.'⁹¹ Leale's success, however, was not an isolated phenomenon. Pat Strutt on her Kingairloch

Estate on the Morvern Peninsula shot her first stag at the age of 17, before killing another two-thousand deers in her career as a 'sportswoman'.⁹² She added physical prowess to her accuracy and was able to climb the Kingairloch hills, at a height of 2500 feet up to her eight-fifth year without assistance, in order to shoot.⁹³ Earlier, the Duchess of Bedford was glowingly described by Baily's Magazine as a bold rider to hounds, expert angler, and had the enviable record of shooting almost four thousand head of game in one season.⁹⁴

Some women went further by writing about their big game hunting experiences as a means of promoting an independent 'feminist-hunting' culture. Motivated by the voluminous big-game literature offered by male 'shots', Isabel Savory endorsed independence for the 'Diana' by writing her Sportswoman in India, (1900) from a 'female perspective' in an effort to encourage future lady shots.⁹⁵ Her sporting accounts represented a departure from male-dominated hunting literature of which, in Savory's view, was excessive and repetitive.⁹⁶

Her book was more than mere hunting narrative as it challenged the hegemony of the 'heroic male hunting stereotype' which had occupied an unprecedented place in the masculine imagination. For Savory, big game hunting and the narratives which flowed from it was a medium which allowed women to break free from the grip of the 'male imagination' which was over-represented in all cultural forms.⁹⁷

Her claims were not mere rhetoric. Savory travelled unaccompanied to the Indian and African continents in search of sport and adventure. In India, she enjoyed tiger-shooting in the Deccan, the thrill of which had 'not been worked' from a woman's perspective.⁹⁸ Her description of an 'expert and calculated long-shot' to

save the life of a stricken army Captain as he was about to be mauled by a tiger, reversed the stereotypical definition of the 'male hero' universally portrayed in the genre!⁹⁹ Her competent hunting image was enhanced with the Peshawur Hunt made up from dogs specifically brought over from England every year by Lady Harvey. Along with other ladies in the Hunt, Savoury had a 4.a.m. start to hunt with 'the best pack in India'.¹⁰⁰ Within a few years, a number of ladies had also experienced hunting with dogs, elephant and rhino shooting, displaying 'true nerve, determination, physical endurance and skill' in the process.¹⁰¹

Their robust example was steadily eroding the myth of 'tender' female sensibilities. The emotional distress caused by hunting, shooting or fishing was now being seen as an experience which could be handled by women as well as men.¹⁰² Certainly Lady Boynton, without sentiment, enthusiastically recounted her exploits with the gun, including rabbits and hares, her only regret being that she had never shot a stag.¹⁰³ The redoubtable Lady insisted that feminine charm, refinement or grace was not compromised by women's participation in field sports.¹⁰⁴

The limited hunting success of Lady Boynton and her ilk was now acknowledged in some quarters. In 1892, Colonel T.S. Sinclair extolled the virtues of both the sportsmen *and* sportswomen, asserting that 'the sporting instinct is generally planted in every British lad...and the ladies too! In these days of sexual equality are they less sporting than the youths? Certainly not. Depend upon it, our prestige among the nations of the world will never diminish so long as our wives and daughters maintain their present high standard of devotion to duty and honour and their participation in healthy open air exercises.'¹⁰⁵

The degendering of shooting, however, was fraught with other difficulties. Hunting and exploration, for example, were seen as essentially masculine activities which lost their intrinsic value if adulterated by 'others'. Although 'white women' were to be found travelling alone in every quarter of the globe', for example, The Field cautioned that colonial lands explored by the likes of Helen Caddick and Violet Markham had 'already been documented by earlier imperialists and hunter-naturalists, such as Sir Alfred Sharpe and Harry H. Johnston' while another 'shot' argued that the dangers and difficulties involved in hunting overseas had diminished by about 1900 with easier transport links and better rifles, so much so that 'women could do well now'.¹⁰⁶

Both ideologically and materially, women aspiring 'shots' faced more problems in their quest for parity with men. 'Within the education of the family, boys both cost and are allowed more, and the opportunities of girls are more cramped, so that whilst men can indulge in the more expensive, the women have to be content with the less exciting occupations. The woman can play tennis, golf and croquet, which are comparatively cheap, but she does not get asked, as her brothers are, to go shooting, fishing and hunting. Take the case of a man with money and a sporting estate; he will entertain his male friends and give them of his best. But a woman with like advantages never thinks of having her house full of women... she is much more likely to get married and surrender the sporting capabilities to her husband!'¹⁰⁷

This entrenched prejudice was reinforced by the 'training' of boys and girls. Women were not taught how to handle guns - a training which was often so readily available to boys. 'The first thing a *boy* does when he gets home for his holidays', according to one acolyte, 'is to rush off to his den to see if his fishing rod, gun,

butterflies or stuffed birds are all right: then, off he goes to the kennel to see his spaniel and ferrets. His first question will be whether there are lots of rabbits or trout about, and whether any rats have come back to the hayloft since he left home. That boy in his spare time will pore over books of sport and travel and it will be his dearest wish to visit the countries he has read so much about, when he is a man. All night, his dreams will be about shooting elephants and lions, or getting to a country where no man has been. He will not give a thought to towns in foreign countries, but only of the mountains, forests and plains where big-game exists. When he goes to the library, he will make for The Field and Country Life, and whenever the opportunity comes, he will be off to obtain trophies of his own'.¹⁰⁸

Clearly, a schism divided the training of boys and girls.¹⁰⁹ The voluminous 'instructional' books for young men emphasised the 'seriousness' of the topic as appropriate socialisation. Juvenile sporting literature for boys, including Woodlore for Young Sportsmen (1922) by sportsman, Harry Mortimer Batten, F.Z.S., and Horses, Guns and Dogs, (1903), penned by established 'shots', J. Otho-Paget, G.A.B. Dewar and A. Innes Shand, disseminated shooting as a boys' activity. Their instructions in field sports were part of an ethnocentric series containing 'The Young England Library' made up of The Road to Manhood, (W. Beach Thomas, President of Oxford University Athletic Club), British Soldiers in the Field, Herbert Maxwell), The Open Air Boy, the Reverend G. Hewitt of Winchester College and Sea Fights and Adventures, (J.Knox Laughton) which lavished space on the aspiring young, male 'gun'.

With the exception of occasional indulgences from gamekeepers, there was little practical and technical training in firearms, marksmanship and field craft for

females.¹¹⁰ It was a gulf both illustrated and reinforced in the likes of F.A.M. Webster's laconic Splendid Stories for Boys (n.d.) which, inter alia, instructed its presumably male readers how to hunt lion and bear, since, in a chapter entitled 'Girls Don't Count', hunting was clearly a gendered activity.¹¹¹ Many boys, on the other hand, were often trained by gamekeepers and subsequently initiated into shooting by assisting with 'beating' on some shoots.¹¹²

According to Colonel Alexander A. Kinloch, the cultural emphasis on hunting as a male activity merely confirmed the right and proper divisions between the sexes and between 'ruler' and 'ruled'.¹¹³ Consequently, he vociferously condemned those liberal Humanitarians who would end shooting as 'men would then become effeminate and woman would lose much that now gives dignity and charm to their sex'.¹¹⁴ Without a trace of irony, Kinloch 'loved his hunting rifle as much as his wife' who dutifully followed him to encampments and outlying posts during his time as an army officer. Her secondary presence as chaperone was, he suggested, for female interest - to show how 'the fair sex' could overcome the difficulties of the jungle and 'enjoy a little adventure'.¹¹⁵ To succeed in this challenging endeavour, the woman had to be good walker and rider and possessed of the 'pluck' in which English ladies seldom fail'.¹¹⁶ Mrs. Kinloch never killed game but was fully compensated in her husband's view, by 'crossing some of the highest passes in the Himalayas by riding a Yak and, in the lower hills, when she did not walk, she travelled in a dandy, a small hammock carried by four men. My wife saw nearly every species of game in the wild state, and actually *saw me* shoot *Ovis Hodgsonii*, Thibetian Antelope, Ibex and Bear'.¹¹⁷

The image of the female and her protective male chaperone was an enduring one. Writing in 1920, E.P. Stebbing advised when shooting with women, even from the safety of machans,¹¹⁸ that 'ladies should be escorted by respective husbands or fathers, or with a senior male member of the party'.¹¹⁹ This subordinate position was part of the accepted scheme of 'imperial' things. In her account of Roughing it in Southern India, (1911), Mrs. Mavis Handley fully endorsed and supported her Forest Officer husband in his duty and sport, activities 'which every energetic Englishman, if inclined to outdoor pursuits, would revel in; a constant change of scenery, sylvan occupation dignified by the name of duty'.¹²⁰ On one occasion, Mr. Handley caught a record specimen of Mahseer - over 96 pounds - which was duly mounted and presented to the Madras Museum; 'clearly', according to the dutiful Mrs. Handley, who had been sent to the opposite bank with her books and a chair, 'it was no light thing to interfere with such sport'.¹²¹ Similarly, Mrs. Frances Swayne, sister of noted hunter-soldier Lt. Colonel Henry G.C. Swayne of the Uganda Rifles, wrote of her fascination watching big game hunting, a sport she described in her book, A Womans Pleasure Trip in Somaliland, (1907)¹²² In short, she was on a mere 'holiday' while her brothers did the 'real' work of surveying and mapping Somaliland for military and hunting imperatives, activities which Henry had already fully described in his earlier, second edition, Seventeen Trips Through Somaliland and a Visit to Abyssinia. A Record of Exploratrion and Big Game Hunting, (1900)¹²³

In short, the subsidiary position of women reinforced the idea that hunting was a man's territory which clearly defined male sexuality as distinct from female sexuality. Although more enlightened observers conceded that female riders-to

hounds, anglers and 'shots' brought a new dimension to field sports, their involvement never equated to 'indoctrination'.

The unconditional acceptance of females in the hunting field was inhibited by the ubiquitous classification of achievements with gun and hound. Lady riders were continually, assessed and appraised, with only 'only a few' reaching standards demanded by established male riders-to hounds and shooters.¹²⁴ The distinguished sportsman, Frederick George Aflalo, for example, ungraciously noted that only twelve lady 'shots' in England in 1903 could attain the criteria required of a proper 'marksman.'¹²⁵ Perhaps this propaganda adversely affected the confidence of aspiring female hunters. According to one of their own kind, for example, men's superior physical strength was enhanced by a natural 'pluck' which was a 'moral quality' resulting from education and self-respect.¹²⁶ The following chapter will describe how hunting sustained male hegemony within elite education in the ancient schools and universities.

- 1 G. Whannel, Media Sports Stars, Masculinities and Moralities, London, 2002, p.252; M. Roper, J. Tosh, eds., Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800, London, 1991, p.2
- 2 'Boys and Shooting,' The Field, Vol.143, January 1924, p.97
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 J. Otho-Paget, G.A. Dewar, A.B Portman, A.I. Shand, Horses, Guns, and Dogs, London, 1903, p.121
5. Andrew Clark, 'School Life; its Sports and Pastimes,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.1, April 1860, p.370 and A. Lang, 'The Old Sportsman,' Badminton Magazine, 1895, Vol.1, pp.370-5
- 6 D.J. Watkin-Pitchford, Tide's Ending, London, 1950, p.18
- 7 E.S. Grogan and A. Sharpe, From the Cape to Cairo, London, 1900, p.172
- 8 Sir H.Seton-Karr, My Sporting Holidays, London, 1904, p.6; H.F. Wallace, Hunting Winds, London, 1949, chapter 5; A.E. Pease, Hunting Reminiscences, London, 1898, pp.159-60; and The Lord Ormathwaite. 'My First Stag', Badminton Magazine, Vol.6, June 1897, pp.119-132
- 9 A. Chapman, Wild Norway, London, 1897, preface. Abel Chapman - 1857-1929
- 10 Scott Rankin, Boy's Own Annual, London, 1923-4, p.192, 'Dick Carleton's First Lion - A Tale of East Africa', Young England, Vol.43, London, 1922, pp.203-6.
- 11 Parker Gilmore (pseud. Ubique), Accessible Field Sports, London, 1871, p.11

- 12 J.K. Anderson, Hunting in the Ancient World, San Francisco, 1985, pp.10-12, 24-6; P. Vidal-Nanquet, 'The Black Hunter and the Origin of the Athenian Ephebeia,' Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Vol.194, n.s., 1968, pp.49-64; W. Burkett, Homo necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth, trans. P. Bing, Berkeley California, 1983, pp.35, 47 and R. Benedict, Patterns of Culture, Boston, 1959, chapter 1
- 13 For a broader treatment of hunting and masculinity in early societies see, B.G. Campbell, Humankind Emerging, 2nd Ed Boston 1979, pp.278-98; E. Canetti, Crowds and Power, trans. C. Stewart, 1962, Repr. New York, 1978, p.93
- 14 E. Cook, Observations on Fox-hunting, London, 1826, pp.2-4
- 15 R.S. Baden-Powell, Scouting for Boys, London, 1908, p.226; Sir Henry Newbolt, The Book of Good Hunting, London, 1922, pp.22-3. See also J. Hearn, Men in the Public Eye, London, 1992, p.109 and see J. Hearn, 'Reviewing Men and Masculinities - or Mostly Boys' own Papers', Theory, Culture and Society, Vol.6, 1989, pp.665-689; R. Horrocks, Masculinity in Crisis, New York, 1994, p.89; D. Jackson, Unmasking Masculinity, London, 1990, p.54
- 16 L. Kremis, 'Authority and Rebellion in Victorian Autobiography', Journal of British Studies, Vol.18, 1978, pp.107-30
- 17 M. Messner and D. Sabo, Sport, Men and the Gender Order, Champaign, Illinois, 1990, pp.50-56

- 18 J. Hargreaves, quoted in C. Rojeck, ed., Leisure for Leisure: Critical Essays, New York, 1990, p.134; A.M. Hall, Feminism and Sporting Bodies, Champaign, Illinois, 1996, preface, pp.23-6 and 'Where's the Virtue, Where's the Grace', Theory, Culture, Society, Vol.3, 1986, pp.108-9
- 19 'The Apotheosis of Hunting', Baily's Magazine, Vol.64, November 1895, pp.23-7; see also D. Gilmore, Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity, New Haven, 1990, pp.219-224
- 20 C. Bindley (pseud. H. Hieover), Sporting Facts and Fancies, London, 1853, pp.72-3; Baily's Magazine, Vol.19, February 1869, p.108; The Saturday Review, Vol.40, December 1876, p.776
- 21 'The Gentleman in Black', 'The Pytchley', Baily's Magazine, Vol.5, May 1862, pp.275-284
- 22 See D. Itzkowitz, Peculiar Privilege: A Social History of English Foxhunting, 1753-1885, Hassocks, 1977, pp.48-9; J. Lowerson, Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870-1914, Manchester, 1993, pp.33- 34
- 23 D. Walter, Walker's Manly Exercises, London, 1886, pp.243-4
- 24 R.S. Surtees, Analysis of the Hunting Field, London, 1846, pp.4, 21 and E.C. Wingfield-Stratford, The Victorian Sunset, London, 1932, p.76; G. Maxwell, The House of Elrig, London, 1965, pp.138-40; G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England, London, 1962, p.255
- 25 See Itzkowitz, Peculiar Privilege, pp.48-9
- 26 'Impecunious', 'Ladies and Field Sports', The Field, Vol.105, January 1905, pp.43-4

- 27 'The Progress of Sport in Scotland', Baily's Magazine, Vol.50, December 1888, p.157.
- 28 The Field, Vol.10, December 1857, p.180; See also, J. Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, Third edition, London, 1838, p.13 and R. Longrigg, The History of Foxhunting, London, 1975, p.30; T. Wright, A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England During the Middle Ages, London, 1862, p.305-10; S. Shahar, The Fourth Estate, trans. By Chaya Galai, London, 1983, p.152; A. Guttman, Women's Sports, London, 1992, p.18. For female hunting prowess in the Classical world, see, E.T. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, Chicago, 1964, p.194, and R. Dawkins, Artemis Orthia, London, 1929, pp.150-1.
- 29 'Foxhunter', The Field, Vol.10, October 1857, p.251
- 30 Letter to Peter Wood, April 1857, in Mrs. Kingsley, ed., Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life, 2 Vols, Vol.1, 1877, pp.20-1
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 A. Haig, The Victorian Clergy, London, 1984, pp.254-6164; D.H. Morgan, 'The Social and Educational Background of Anglican Bishops - Continuities and Changes,' British Journal of Sociology, Vol.20, 1969, p.297 ; F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century, Toronto, 1963, pp.82-3; J. Gerrard, Country House Life, Family and Servants, 1815-1914, Oxford, 1994, p.49
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid.

- 35 The Field, Vol.82, December 1893, p.757. Rev. Edward Elmhirst -
1811-1893
- 36 Baily's Magazine, Vol.59, June 1893, pp.1-3
- 37 Andrew Clark, pseudonym, 'The Gentleman in Black'.
- 38 'Women and their Habits,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.5, February 1862, p.163
- 39 The Field, Vol.10, December 1857, p.180; 'The Progress of Sport in
Scotland', Baily's Magazine, Vol.50, December 1888, p.157
- 40 'Fair Huntresses', Baily's Magazine, Vol.65, January 1896, p.33
- 41 The Field, Vol.105, April 1895, p.514
- 42 G. Barker-Benfield, The Horrors of the Half-Known Life, New York, 1977,
p.25
- 43 Shaw-Claye, 'Women in Sport', Baily's Magazine, Vol.99, June 1913, p.407;
'Fair Huntresses', Baily's Magazine, Vol.65, January 1896, p.33
- 44 'The Gentleman in Black', 'Women and their Habits,' Baily's Magazine,
Vol.5, 1862, p.163
- 45 Shaw-Claye, 'Women', Baily's Magazine, Vol.99, June 1913. p.407
- 46 F. Slaughter, Ed., The Sportswoman's Library, 2 Volumes, Vol.1, 1898,
pp.6, 30-1; T. Shaw-Claye, 'Women', Baily's, Vol.99, June 1913, p.407
- 47 E. Dunning and N. Elias, Quest for Excitement. Sport and and Leisure in the
Civilising Process, Oxford, 1986, p.160, and The Civilising Process,
Oxford, 1978, p.202
- 48 'Ladies Hunting', The Field, Vol.8, September 1857, pp.180, 196, October
1857, p.251
- 49 Ibid., October 1857

- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 The Field, Vol.8, September, 1857, p.180
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 The Field, Vol.2, October 1853, p.362
- 55 Quoted in The Field, Vol.301, January 2003, pp.38-9
- 56 The Field, Vol.99, January 1902, p.36
- 57 'Ladies and Field Sports', The Field, Vol.105, January 1905, p.44
- 58 Mrs. Humphry, Manners for Men, London, 1897, pp 43, 44
- 59 M. Wynter, C.M. Creswell, 'Hunting Ladies', Baily's Magazine, Vol.85, March 1906, p.235; Shaw-Claye, 'Women', Baily's Magazine, p.407
- 60 See Violet Greville, The Greville Memoirs, London, 1899; The Gentlewoman's Book of Sports, London, 1892; The Gentlewoman in Society, London, 1892; Alice M. Hayes, The Horsewoman, London, 1893; F.E. Slaughter, ed., The Sportswoman's Library, 2 Vols, 1898; F. Alys Serrell, With Hounds and Terrier in the Field, Edinburgh, 1904; Amy C. Menzies, Women in the Hunting Field, London, 1913; Maud Isabel Harvey, Hunting on Foot with Some Yorkshire Packs, Monkton, 1913. See also, Jennifer Hargreaves quoted in E. Dunning, J. Maguire, R. Pearlson, eds., The Sports Process, Champaign, Illinois, 1993, p.80
- 61 Mabel Howard, 'Ladies in the Hunting Field', Badminton Magazine, Vol.4, 1897, pp.110-20
- 62 'Fair Huntresses', Baily's Magazine, Vol.65, January 1896, p.33; 'Ladies and Field Sports', The Field, Vol.105, January 1905, p.44. See also, R.S. Surtees,

- Analysis of the Hunting Field, London, 1846, p.295 and A. Trollope, Hunting Sketches, London, 1865, p.30
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 'The Rights of Women to Sport', The Field, Vol.65, September 1885, pp.449-50
- 65 'Borderer', Baily's Magazine, Vol.86, November 1906, p.354. 'Borderer', was the pseudonym of Sir Richard Dansey Greene-Price, 1862-1909. See also, 'Hunting From a Woman's Point of View', in A.E.T. Watson, ed., English Sport, London,1903, p.33; See also, 'Borderer', Baily's Magazine, Vol.86, November 1906, p.354; M. Wynter, C.M. Creswell, 'Hunting Ladies', Baily's Magazine, Vol.85, March 1906, pp.234-7 C. Cordley, 'Women in the Hunting Field', Baily's Magazine, Vol.73, April 1900, pp.269-272
- 66 The Times, 11th April 1899, p.8
- 67 Serrell, With Hounds, 1904, pp.39, 111-112
- 68 'Fair Huntresses', Baily's Magazine, Vol.65, January 1896, pp.33-40; 'The Fashions of Hunting', Baily's Magazine, Vol.65, March 1896, pp.163-166; 'Hunting Dress, Ancient and Modern', Vol.73, January 1900, pp.19-23; 'Women and their Dress', The Field, Vol.99, March 1902, p.452
- 69 "Diana" Fashions for Sportswomen', Badminton, Vol 4, 1897, pp.545-553
- 70 MS. Hunting Diaries: Lady Sophie Scott', Hunting Diaries, 1894-1936, YZ 8773-7. The Pytchley, The Hunting Diaries of Charles King, 1800-18; William Scarth-Dixon, ZA 7791, c.1900; Diaries of William Wilson, 1833-76, ZA 3801; The Fitzwilliam Hunt, Diaries of V.H.Sykes, c.1900, ZB

- 772; The Grafton Hunt, Lord Euston, c.1860s, G 3947-6, Northampton Record Office
- 71 Miss Augusta Samaurez Tawk, Hunting Recollections, Essex, 1911, printed privately; V. Bullock Webster, (Mrs. Armel O'Connor), The Sport of the Past and the Future, Ludlow, 1929. Miss August Samaurez Tawk - 1865-1949. Dorothy Conyer - 1873-1957
- 72 F.E. Slaughter, ed., The Sports Womans Library, Vol.2, Westminster, 1898, preface.
- 73 Ibid., p.145
- 74 Lord Suffolk, Lord Berkshire, eds., The Encyclopaedia of Sport, 4 Vols, Vol.1, 1911, preface. Alligator-hunting seems have aroused contrasting emotions in hunters and non-hunters, owing to, perhaps, its aggressive nature and 'prehistoric' physical characteristics. For a criticism of the persecution which these animals suffered at the hands of imperial hunters see, G.S. Sandilands, Atalanta or the Future of Sport, London, 1928, pp.9-10
- 75 'Sport and Matrimony,' The Field, Vol.39, January 1872, p.49; A. Haig-Brown, 'Women and Sport', Baily's Magazine, Vol.83, 1905, pp.25-6.
- 76 Ernest Phillips, 'Angling as a Sport for Ladies', Baily's Magazine, Vol.86, July 1906, pp.62-64
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Ibid.
- 79 T. Claye-Shaw, 'Women', Baily's Magazine, Vol.99, June 1913, p.408

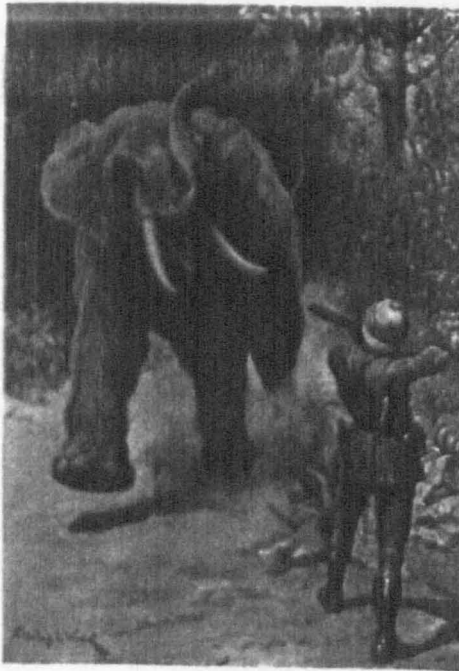
- 80 'Sport and Matrimony,' The Field, Vol.39, January 1872, p.49; F.G. Aflalo, 'The Sports Woman', Fortnightly Review, N.S., Vol.77, May 1905, pp.891-899
- 81 Pease, Hunting Reminiscences, p.160
- 82 F.G. Aflalo, 'Sports Woman', Fortnightly Review, N.S., Vol.77, May 1905, p.892
- 83 Ibid.
- 84 'Sport and Matrimony,' The Field, Vol.39, January 1872, p.49
- 85 'Sporting Sybarites', The Field, Vol.39, May 1872, p.45; 'Some Excesses in Sport', The Field, Vol.40, December 1872, p.575
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 'Pig-shooting in Albania', The Badminton Magazine, Vol.4, 1897, pp.239-41
- 89 Amy C. Menzies, 'Skirts and Guns', Badminton Magazine, Vol 5, 1899, p.761
- 90 W.L. Leale, 'Rifle-Shooting', in Greville, ed., Ladies, pp.159-172. Winifred Louisa Leale - 1868-1945
- 91 The Daily Telegraph, July 2000, p.33. I am grateful to Professor J.A. Mangan for this reference. See also, The Badminton Magazine, Vol.4, June 1897, pp.238-41
- 92 Ibid. Pat Strutt - 1895-1999
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Baily's Magazine, Vol.120, November 1923, p.223
- 95 I. Savory, Sportswomen in India, London, 1900, p.3

- 96 Ibid., p.255
- 97 Ibid., p.267
- 98 Ibid., pp.47, 255, 262-7
- 99 Ibid., p.267
- 100 Ibid., p.47
- 101 R.B. Cunningham, 'A Lady's Experience of Elephant and Rhino Hunting', The Badminton Magazine, Vol.26, 1908, pp.503-515, 512
- 102 Lady Boynton, 'Shooting', in V. Greville, Ladies, pp.199-200, 230.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 'The Subaltern in India' T.S. St Clair, Baily's Magazine, Vol.49, 1888, pp.97-105
- 106 Review of White Woman in Central Africa, 1903, by Helen Caddick, in The Field, Vol.95, August 1903, p.256; Lord Cranworth, Profit and Sport in British East Africa, London, 1919, p.321
- 107 Claye-Shaw, 'Women', Baily's Magazine, p.406
- 108 C. Stigand, D. Lyell, op.cit, p.4
- 109 Menzies, 'Skirts and Guns', Badminton Magazine, Vol.5, May 1899, pp.759-768;
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 F.A.M. Webster, Splendid Stories for Boys, London, 1932, pp.19-29
- 112 Edward, Duke of Windsor, A King's Story. The Memoirs of the Duke of Windsor, New York, 1947, p.87

- 113 A.A.A. Kinloch, Large Game Shooting in Tibet, Himalayas and Central India, Calcutta, 1885, Introduction, p.4
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 Ibid.
- 118 A machan was a safe area built into a tree top where the sportsman could see and shoot his quarry from.
- 119 E.P. Stebbing, The Diary of a Sportsman Naturalist in India, London, 1920, pp.30-50
- 120 Mrs. M. Handley, Roughing it in Southern India, London, 1911, p.3
- 121 Ibid., p.38
- 122 F. Swayne, A Woman's Pleasure Trip in Somaliland, Bristol, 1907, preface
- 123 Ibid., pp.1-3
- 124 A. Haig-Brown, 'Women and Sport', Baily's Magazine, Vol.83, 1905, pp.25-6.
- 125 Aflalo, 'The Sports Woman', Fortnightly Review, pp.891-899
- 126 Greville, Ladies, preface, p.iv., p.13

Chapter Two:

Making Manly Boys with Gun and Hound



During the 1860s, pedagogue and erstwhile hunter, the Reverend Andrew Black, proudly proclaimed that ‘English youth could find their way through the world with some crumbs of Latin and Greek, a good fund of honesty of purpose, an energy and goodwill to work, which they owe to nothing but the sports of early years... I feel inclined to bless the circumstance that made football, cricket, hunting, and the birch peculiarly English institutions’. ¹ In this view, hunting was a recognised and traditional ‘maker of men’ which maintained the cultural pre-eminence of the country ‘gentleman’ in a period when middle-class sensibilities were reconstructing his image and redefining his masculinity.

Despite this gradual reformation, the ‘patrician’s’ masculinity found expression through a number of durable “national” icons from the great public schools and universities; this iconic status was maintained through a recognised prowess in hunting. Thus, Jack Myton was praised by distinguished sporting author, Charles James Apperley, (“Nimrod”) as an indomitable pugilist and the ‘hardest rider-to hounds’ in Shropshire. ² Myton’s outrageous self-confidence, however, deteriorated into notorious, anarchic behaviour culminating in expulsions from Westminster and Harrow all before the age of nineteen! ³ Similarly, George Osbaldestone and Thomas Assheton-Smith with hunting skills honed by the family hounds and encouraged by their respective fathers, were also much admired by rural aristocratic society. ⁴

Indeed, it was normal for the young country gentleman to continue his training in hunting at school and university. ‘Blooded’ with his own ‘rabbit beagles’ in his early years, Assheton-Smith, for example, hunted with packs while at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford as Master of the College foxhounds. ⁵

Continuity between generations of hunters was maintained in the West Country, for example, by gentlemen who persuaded their sons into the hunting saddle in readiness for hunting at Winchester School. It was a continuity applauded by Baily's Magazine.⁶ At this 'very sporting school in a very sporting county', both conventional games and field sports were available to pupils, an arrangement which suited the school sports schedule: spring hunting, summer cricket, shooting, hunting and fishing in the winter.⁷ This judicious time-tabling meant that pupils had no 'valid reason to avoid character-building sports since boys who disliked cricket or football could always go ratting, poaching, fox-hunting or shooting'.⁸

Prowess in hunting sports created and maintained a hierarchy between the boys. Hunting badgers, rabbits, hares or foxes with terriers and other dogs kept for the purpose induced admiration from 'other' pupils, while shooting hare, partridge and duck with guns kept in school brought about a 'hard-won' and coveted, manly reputation.⁹ Even "toozling" - the chasing and killing of birds in the hedgerows - was a popular pursuit which, in some instances, laid the basis for more mature hunting in later life. By way of example, a student at Eton recalled the importance of killing squirrels and birds with catapults which encouraged him to hunt big-game in adult life; another pupil confided that his experiences in 'bird-nesting', shooting and butterfly collecting, prepared him for a career as a hunter-naturalist.¹⁰

'The education of sportsmen' began with the first stone thrown from childish fingers at a "confiding" sparrow, and was 'continued with the use of that series of boyish missile weapons which leads up to the adult dignity of the gun...as boys, we never had a moments doubt as to our ambition: the killing, skinning and stuffing, capturing, caging and taming of every wild thing that came our way'.¹¹

At Harrow one pupil enthused about his 'shooting over Hedstone fields and having no sport, put down the gun and found a Joe Bent in Hedge adjoining private road, which was killed after a splendid run by M. Tufnell. Found a robin in same hedge, which, after an exceedingly brilliant run, was killed by Mr. Torre. Had an animated run with Joe Bent. Home by Church Fields. NB Game plentiful but blackbirds wild. First eggs taken, Missle Thrushes. ¹²

A similar story emerged at Marlborough where boys would steal birds' eggs and pursue rabbits and squirrels with the 'squaler', a small cane with a lead head. ¹³ Hapless frogs fared no better, particularly when hunted by the notorious Marlborian 'barbarians' who 'collected in gangs to beat frogs with sticks in the wilderness and filled buckets with their bodies'. ¹⁴ Later, distinguished artist and hunter-naturalist, John Guille Millais collected more sophisticated game during his time at the College between 1878-1881 when he killed over two-hundred British birds, an astonishing feat of which he was 'not ashamed'. ¹⁵ Evidently, neither was his father who provided him a new, specially-made gun for shooting when away at school. ¹⁶

Fitting out a son with a new gun was endorsed by The Field, since many 'boys Men' - or 'sporting fathers' - wanted their boys to shoot, an interest which usually showed 'itself at an early age, the best present that can be given is a small bore rifle adapted to the user'. ¹⁷

Shooting and riding to hounds, therefore, were seen as ways of moulding the 'character' of public schoolboys. ¹⁸ There was logic to this since these schools were responsible for supplying suitable candidates for imperial administration. Alexander Arbuthnot, later known as the 'strong man of Madras' for his uncompromising administration as an official in British India, owned his own horse, combined

stag-hunting with fox hunting, joined the prestigious Midland hunt at Pytchley, vigorously coursed hares and found time to fish in the Avon as a pupil at Rugby between 1832 and 1840. ¹⁹ In 1841, he graduated to Haileybury College where he continued his education in hunting with the York and Ainstey, the Vine and the Craven Hunts. ²⁰

In time, Arbuthnot moved to India as a Senior administrator - he was equally adept with the pen as the bridle. There, he kept greyhounds for coursing and indulged in jackal hunting and pig-sticking with former graduates of Rugby and Haileybury. In adult life, Arbuthnot enthused that he 'never lost a chance of hunting, whether as a school boy with the Pytchley or later with the Craven and Vine, or in India with a pack after jackals'. ²¹ The expatriate hunt therefore, reinvoked a glorious post school ambience of imperious authority which enabled soldiers and administrators to 'forget' that they were in India.' ²²

Fellow Rugbaen, William Cotton Oswell, also took his well-developed hunting skills to the Raj in the 1840s. ²³ His earlier nonconformist attitude towards school authority and his prowess in athletics, games and hunting had endeared him to fellow pupils. ²⁴ One entranced admirer commented, 'with his clear-cut, aquinine features, keen glance, and lithe frame, suggested perhaps the most typical specimen of a man born to adventure. His striking physical gifts, combined with his aristocratic bearing and winning but modest address, seemed a living realisation of the perfect and gentle knight of whom we read in old romances' ²⁵ His subsequent career as an administrator in India allowed him to hunt, go pig-sticking, play cricket, racquets, and boxing, recreations which, according to his peer, imperialist and soldier-hunter,

Samuel White Baker, had a greater influence in maintaining imperial stability than Christian or educational initiatives.²⁶

Oswell was an uncompromising monologist who had ‘the strongest objection to the modern flat-chested emancipated, tailor-made woman, and was very strict on the subject of adequate chaperoneage and attendance for girls. He held equally decided views that boys should be independent and self-reliant from babyhood.

Effeminacy and unmanliness were the vices he hated most in the world. It was his creed that a man should be able to bear any pain, trouble worry or privation, without murmuring: act in any emergency, go out in any weather, walk any distance, eat anything, sleep anywhere and he was unmerciful to petting, coddling or talking about one’s self’.²⁷ His attitude typified the sentiment of a generation of big-game hunters.

Undiluted ‘manliness’ was also the guiding light of Rugbaen, Frederick Courtney Selous who made a triumphant return to the school in 1897 to celebrate his by now messianic achievements as a hunter. His reminiscences on ‘extra-curricular’ poaching activities while a student at Rugby were heartily received by the assembled masters, boys and assembled natural historians.²⁸ Indeed, Selous’s proclivities with the gun made him the perfect imperial proselytiser and his hunting prowess was dutifully extolled in the Boys of Our Empire, a Magazine for British Boys all Over the World, (1902) which applauded the ‘great Nimrod’ for ‘bagging’ over five hundred and fifty head of African game within a twelve month period in the 1890s.²⁹

The insouciant poaching practised by Selous and his ilk while at school was not stigmatised by “dishonour” but was part of a long heritage of manliness based on a privileged resistance to conformity. Such ‘boyish bravado’ was strongly endorsed

by pedagogue, the Reverend Andrew Clark, who baulked at the “bookish diligence” of ‘romantic boys who never did any wrong and usually ended up mismanaging parishes and falling in love while receiving slippers, tea and muffins from mother and admiring devotees’.³⁰ Others waxed lyrical over ‘the early pleasures of bird-nesting with its tree-climbing and limb-breaking associations or the thrill of “ratting” as ‘widely practised by *spirited* young men’.³¹

This cultural mind-set was reinforced by Sam Beeton’s Boy’s Own Magazine and the early editions of Boys Own Magazine with its ‘Forest, Field and Fen’ series which promoted such activities as ‘character-building’ exercises for ‘robust boys’! ‘If you get into wild marshes or forests, my boys’, lectured Beeton, ‘you must patiently endure cold and wet and feed on what you carry with you - you must learn to be silent...no true sportsman will follow the same birds or animals many times in one day but allow them to rest and recover...squirrel-hunting is a favourite among boys during autumn and winter’.³²

In short, the insouciant hunting of rabbits, badgers and the like provided scholars with the necessary talent for subsequent careers as Masters of Foxhounds.³³ These sentiments lingered on into the twentieth century, promulgated by Boy’s Own Annual which continued to peddle the so-called moral benefits of hunting these hapless creatures by the ‘public school’ boy.³⁴ Rather fancifully, ‘England was safe from emasculation and moral decadence’, according to one ethnocentric magazine, as long as ‘boys in England try to copy hunting men’.³⁵

At Eton College, hunting and poaching skills were certainly not inimical to institutional success. Indeed, throughout the Victorian period, it remained a place where ‘the most artful poacher’ could easily graduate to the respected position of

kennel huntsman.³⁶ Some 'poachers' even aspired to the peerage in adult life. As a pupil, Sir John Dugdale Astley chased deer in Home Park, shot game and evaded local landowners and their gamekeepers in preference to 'dull' religious instruction and attempts at 'book learning'.³⁷

As a marker of bravado, nonconformity and freedom, 'poaching' as a suitable activity for the boy was perpetuated in the likes of Rudyard Kipling's Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides, while in life, boys at Eton were still poaching large amounts of game. Between October 1908 and July 1910, for example, six friends at Eton poached over two thousand head of game.³⁸

Fieldsports played a distinctive and influential role in Victorian Eton. In part, this reflected the social composition of the College which contained about twenty per cent of boys from titled families in every decade during the first half of the century.³⁹ Hunting at school was a continuation of home traditions. Lord Hawke, for instance, combined time at the Doncaster Races with partridge-shooting in Lincolnshire during his school holidays before returning to Eton, while quintessential aristocrat Hugh Lupus Grosvenor spent liberal amounts of free time hunting, fishing and shooting both at home on his family's vast estates in Cheshire and as a pupil at Eton.⁴⁰

The creation of the Eton Hare Hunt in 1857 illustrated the importance of continuity between home traditions and school recreations.⁴¹ The new 'Hunt' represented a departure from earlier defiant and less formal modes of hunting by its regulation through a sporting 'code'. Previously, hunting with dogs at Eton could be an unruly experience which included the somewhat ridiculous pastime of chasing and killing rams and badgers.⁴²

After 1857, hunting at Eton fitted functionally into the new era of conformity which influenced other 'middle class' school sports. ⁴³ The Boy's Own Magazine as part of its 'Forest, Field and Fen' and the first Boy's Own Paper of Pure and Entertaining Reading of 1879 reflected this transition. Now 'gentlemen' were advised to control the hounds and strive for appropriate standards of etiquette in the field. ⁴⁴ The prohibition of unregulated hunting at Haileybury and at Winchester after to 1860's was more evidence of the move towards conformity, although one pedagogue argued that it was worth running the risk of the magistrates fine to continue hunting! ⁴⁵

In January 1858, a new Beagle Pack, the 'Oppidan Hunt' ⁴⁶ appeared at Eton, initiated by 'a manly country-loving boy, versed in the etiquette of hunting and devoted to a healthy open-air life, who loved horse and hound, and who spent every moment of daylight cultivating the instincts of a clean, country bred Englishman'. ⁴⁷ Mastership of the Beagles was instantly associated with a privileged status which was a sound basis for Mastership in adult life. ⁴⁸ William Michael Curtis, for example, was 'blooded' at six years of age, before Mastering the College beagles in the early 1870s, after which he regularly hunted with the Christchurch Beagles while at Christchurch, Oxford, while Colonel William Hall Walker, 'blooded' at seven years old with the Cheshire Hounds, Mastered the Eton Hunt in the late 1870s and the Cheshire Hounds in later life. ⁴⁹

The Eton Hunts were open to all on payment of an annual subscription of £52 and 10 shillings. This democratisation reflected utilitarian developments in the wider hunting community where monies from the *nouveaux riche* increasingly subsidised the rising costs involved in hunting. Moreover, it was a practical arrangement which,

according to one apologist for the 'patrician class', bestowed benefits on both aristocrat and 'new man' of wealth. 'In sharing the sport of his superiors in rank', it was noted, 'the young middle-class Englishman began to acquire the virtues and good qualities of a governing race, and to graft on his sturdy common sense the habits of regularity and the business capacity which have always distinguished his own class, the boldness, the dash, and the endurance that are common characteristics of our aristocracy. It is these latter which have served in our own day to help us to create a flourishing province out of a desert, to regenerate an ancient and glorious kingdom, and to rule successfully an immense dependency of mixed races. It is no more defence of a favourite recreation, or excuse for a pursuit in which so many delight, but in a serious spirit of thoughtful deduction from facts, that I claim for fox hunting more particularly that grafting of aristocratic virtues on a democratic polity which is the peculiar source and strength of English character and power of rule'.⁵⁰

Other purists, however, balked at the "adulteration" of the hunting field. John Andrew Doyle, a pupil at Eton during the Hunt's formative period, abhorred the democratisation of his 'noble hare-hunting' by the bourgeoisie who, in his estimation, were more suited to common 'coursing'.⁵¹ Ironically, coursing was fast becoming a 'gentleman's sport', sanitised by middle class regulation and 'wholesome' competition.⁵² Doyle completed his education at Balliol College, Oxford then graduated to Fellow at All Souls Oxford where he devoted his energies to the promotion of 'virtuous' activities such as rifle shooting before establishing dog and horse studs in later life.⁵³

Despite its open membership, the early Eton Hunt relied on two aristocratic senior pupils, Valentine Lawless and Eyre William Hussey. Both boys had already

attained high social and recreational positions within the College, the latter being the Captain of the Boats while the former was a member of the "Pop".⁵⁴ These positions were highly prestigious, indicating institutional success and popularity. The administration of the Hunt added another sporting string to their bows. Valentine Lawless, later the fourth Lord Cloncurry, attended Eton between 1850 to 1858, rowed in the VIII in 1857 and 1858 and also played in the Oppidan Wall Game and Field Games teams in 1857, while Eyre William Hussey, combined Hunting with athletics at Eton from 1853 to 1858, was a talented athlete and rowed in the VIII in 1857 and 1858.⁵⁵ Their respective sporting talents reinforced the idea that 'silk and scarlet' and racquet and ball, were held in higher esteem than 'Greek and Roman Classics'.⁵⁶

In 1864, the Eton Chronicle suggested that athletics should be organised by the Master of the Beagles instead of the Captain of the boats, an indication of the institutional autonomy, authority and rank already acquired by the Hunt.⁵⁷ That articles on sport within the Chronicle were now sequenced as 'Beagles, Fives, Athletic Sports and Rowing' reinforced the prestige of hunting at the College.⁵⁸

In 1861, Headmaster, Dr. Goodford resigned at the prospect of the publication of a highly critical Report of the Clarendon Commission into educational standards at Eton.⁵⁹ Dr. Goodford was succeeded by Dr. Balston who was asked to state his views on the Hunt by Lawless and Hussey; Lord Knaresborough, Master during the early 1860s noted that the Hunt was accepted in principle by the Headmaster.⁶⁰ By allowing hunting privileges in exchange for the assistance of senior huntsmen, Dr. Balston brokered a way of limiting the 'Lower Boys frequenting Tap', a private room in a public-house beyond Barnes Bridge. Here, boys

were prone to drink large quantities of beer and took part in boisterous customs such as 'drinking the Long Glass'. Dr. Balston proposed that, in return for Lawless's assistance in keeping Lower Boys away from 'Tap,' he would withdraw the tentative rules against dogs in College and give full, official recognition to the Beagles. ⁶¹

There was logic in this offer since hunting, shorn of its earlier rumbustious and anarchic elements, was perceived by some as an antidote to the degenerate behaviour of the young found in 'smoking, the racecourse and the billiard table'. ⁶² 'What is a youth', asked one sportsman, 'without his shooting and his hunting, his gloves and his foil? - an inflation of tobacco and beer, of vice and folly. And what's a man without his recreation? - a miracle of inaptitude, of infirmity of purpose, and incapable of action'. ⁶³ It was a morality which was found favour with hunting author, John Carleton, who stressed in his Young Sportsman's Manual (1867) that responsible sportsmen condemned inappropriate behaviour in the hunting field - there was 'no place for drink in the field, covert or moor'. ⁶⁴

Alcohol was, of course, linked in the popular imagination to hunting, particularly the "man's" drink of whiskey. Indeed, there was an explicit association between meat-eating, whiskey drinking and 'real men' in the popular imagination. ⁶⁵ It was an idea discouraged by hunting apologists concerned with the moral welfare of young minds. Both Sir Henry Newbolt and Robert Baden-Powell recoiled from mixing hunting with drink while Claude de Crespigny argued that the 'pernicious cocktail habit' of the fin de siecle had adversely affected the 'moral fibre' of the young. ⁶⁶ Another 'sportsman' was going to bring up his children as naturalists - my boy both as naturalist and sportsman, and then whether he goes into the army or

emigrates, he will have a pursuit to keep him from the cards and brandy-paunee, horse-racing and the pool of hell.’⁶⁷

For their parts, Dr. Balston and Valentine Lawless ratified the moral propriety of beagling at Eton by the introduction of a ‘Silver Cup’ in the early 1860s for the rider deemed to have excelled in the Hunt, a reward system which recognised the sport’s parity with conventional games with their house-trophies and house matches.⁶⁸

Although some Masters were opposed to boys hunting during school-time - The Eton Chronicle, for example, ‘regretted’ that certain authorities were not ‘well-disposed towards this fine and invigorating exercise’ - the Hunt was an instant success, with over one hundred pupils out following the pack in its first month.⁶⁹ It was a measure of the boys’ confidence that they could pursue hare or fox as far as Maidenhead and Slough, a freedom only slightly impaired by the Head’s insistence that the riders should be back in time for ‘evening chapel’.⁷⁰

Pupils’ privileged autonomy meant that they were capable of administering the Beagles without material assistance from the College. The construction of new kennels on College land in 1872 was financed by the boys and had an educational rationale.⁷¹ This example of competent autonomy harmonised with the observations made by the Public School Commission of 1864 which emphasised the importance of ‘freedom’ in public school life which, they suggested, promoted ‘independence and manliness of character’.⁷² In the Head’s view, ‘English gentlemen should not be excessively manipulated and shaped by the school’.⁷³ The Hunt and its administration, therefore, fitted functionally into prevailing conceptions of appropriate masculinity based on autonomy, self-reliance and achievement.

In March, 1866, judicious self-government by the riders-to-hounds at Eton resulted in an amalgamation between the Oppidans and Collegers to strengthen the Hunt against local farmers, some of whom were reluctant to allow meetings on their crops. ⁷⁴ The capacity of Etonians to successfully organise their own Hunt was a further expression of a competent and superior masculine identity.

The relationship between the Hunt and adjacent farmers steadily deteriorated during its early years. The successful management of conflict, which might require a superior stance to others, was another element of period, upper-middle class masculinity. In short, the early Hunt represented a contest of wills against both quarry and dissident farmers. In May, 1863, for example, The Eton Chronicle reported that farmers had asked in 'a good-natured' manner for the Eton gentlemen not to cross the young corn. Without relinquishing class superiority, The Chronicle argued that it would be expedient to co-operate in this as farmers generally were helpful in finding hares. ⁷⁵

However, some Beaglers ignored this sound advice. It was reported in 1863 that the Beagles had a poor season owing to 'the extreme perversity of some farmers, who own the best land about the place. We cannot see what possible harm a few boys running over ground could possibly do to crops, and compensation is easily and readily obtainable'. ⁷⁶

That the local farming community felt confident enough to resist the young riders-to-hounds reflected developments at the national level where the rising number of farmers' clubs and societies generated discussions over issues such as damages to fences and crops through hunting. ⁷⁷ In August 1865, The Field remarked that such

local groups were intent on publicising the issue of game and landlords' sport, a sure sign of farmers' growing self-awareness. ⁷⁸

The Eton Hunt adapted to the changing farming community by compromise and negotiation, a demonstration of superior leadership abilities expected of the social elite. One Master of the Beagles, H.B. Creswell, noted in the Hunt Diaries that 'great care should be taken with regard to certain farmers, or my successor will get into serious trouble which may lead to the abolition of the Hunt'.⁷⁹ A policy of admonishing those riders who trespassed indicated the new respectability of the Hunt.⁸⁰

It was fitting that conformity occurred when games and sports were part of a wider debate over educational standards during the 1860s. The Public Schools Commission, for example, found that intellectual standards were 'unsatisfactory at Eton and other Great Schools.'⁸¹ Nevertheless, games, athletics and the Hunt continued to flourish, with a gradual admission of collegers into Oppidan school sports in general: the lower club and lower college were now allowed into cricket, football, rugby and athletics, which were seen as a natural extension of their privileges.⁸²

These developments encouraged the 'all round' sportsman who was competent in a variety of sports. This was no liability. A.J. Pound, the first Master of the combined hunt in the 1866 was intellectually below average, but was revered for his 'thoroughly honest and straightforward disposition', a 'spartan and spirited youth who would be early at the 'Saying Lesson', away from school at seven-thirty a.m., before breakfasting insubstantially on beer and biscuits which allowed him to hunt until mid-day'.⁸³

“Spartan” qualities predominated over the “Athenian” and generated institutional prestige to the young huntsman since all but the most material forms of intelligence were construed as effeminate.⁸⁴ The distinguished Eton Headmaster, Edward Warre expressed concern over boys who were excessively academic at the expense of games, and argued that strenuous endeavour was the panacea for associated youthful inadequacies.⁸⁵ His laconic observation that the public school system ‘possessed in itself the antidote to effeminacy’ fitted easily into the hunting experiences at Eton and other public schools.⁸⁶ Students such as Norman Loder, described as simple, direct, conscientious good-natured, solid and reliable, a ‘perfect Knight of the saddle, a gallant English gentleman exemplified Warre’s beau ideal’⁸⁷ Loder’s hunting friend at Marlborough College, Siegfried Sassoon, coined the term ‘Loderism’ in respect of the ‘healthy, decent but animal and philistine life’ which Loder represented.⁸⁸ In time, Loder transferred to Cambridge, where he failed to get his degree but was compensated by copious amounts of hunting which he followed until his death in 1938.⁸⁹

Loder’s hedonistic example at Cambridge was not an isolated one. At some Cambridge colleges there was even less emphasis on academic attainment and more licence to hunt and shoot than at Eton.⁹⁰ Indeed, the ascendancy of field sports over sedentary classwork has had a long history at Cambridge.⁹¹ The sardonic observation that elite educational institutions permitted the sons of gentlemen to keep dogs and greyhounds to the detriment of their learning, for example, was made by visitors to Cambridge in the seventeenth century.⁹²

Little had changed in the eighteenth century when one observer of the sporting scene at Magdalene College, Cambridge, opined that wealthy

fellow-commoners and noblemen were indulged by tutors who hesitated to oppose the hunting inclinations of the socially-powerful country gentleman.⁹³ The appearance of informal shooting associations, made up of Cambridge undergraduates, which appeared at regular intervals during the nineteenth century, was a further evidence the country gentleman's social power.⁹⁴

Unsurprisingly, privilege and patronage eroded the authority, power and status of the school beak and the university don.⁹⁵ The appeal of preferments and benefices to Dons, therefore, enabled students to arrange hunting parties in place of lessons as they pleased, to race at Newmarket and avoid lectures and chapel wherever possible.⁹⁶ The pleasures associated with this unregulated riding to hounds, partridge, duck and snipe shooting were sometimes associated with riotous drinking bouts with little regard for local farmers and landowners.⁹⁷

At Oxford too, overzealous undergraduates angered local huntsmen and farmers, occasionally destroying crops and, perhaps more heinously, mistreating hounds.⁹⁸ George Osbaldestone, for example, hunted for three days a week at Brasenose during the early nineteenth century, and kept two hunters in college while Captain John White, educated at Eton and Christ Church, hunted regularly on his three hunters, breaking numerous bones, before bravely or stupidly, 'riding harder than ever.'⁹⁹

Christ Church, Oxford was a case in point. As late as the 1890s, it was colourfully described a college where ample opportunities existed for any student 'who could eat, drink, hunt, play cricket and punt.'¹⁰⁰ Earlier, John Musters had graduated from Christchurch having acquired a hard-earned reputation as an incorrigible rider-to hound and game-shot which entailed keeping guns and hounds at

the college.¹⁰¹ He was in good company. Rejecting the superfluous discipline of book-learning, both Harry Chaplin and George Lane Fox extravagantly raced, hunted, shot and entertained at Christ Church, Oxford during the 1860s and were remembered for enjoying the pleasures of existence, especially sport and eschewing the rigours of academic life.¹⁰² Obsessed with the “chase”, Chaplin had four hunters stabled at Oxford and had ‘command’ of some eighteen other horses at Bicester so that he could hunt for up to six days a week. According to one observer, it was ‘rare for him to spend a whole day in Oxford.’¹⁰³

It was a regime which evidently suited the Rt. Honourable Harry Chaplin who subordinated book-learning at Christ Church Oxford in favour of hunting hares and foxes, sports which formed the basis for his subsequent ‘education in big-game hunting’; earlier, Chaplin had been reprimanded by an exasperated Dean Liddell for disrespectfully wearing a hunting kit under his surplice in Cathedral.¹⁰⁴ Tighter controls over traditional sporting freedoms, however, inveighed against such irreverent behaviour and in 1878, the Dean of Christchurch wrote to Lord Bathurst suggesting that his eldest son find a more convenient hunting box for the following season than the ‘House.’¹⁰⁵ The Canute-like attempt to proscribe hunting sports, however, floundered as Christ Church, New College, Magdalene and Exeter all maintained flourishing beagle packs into the twentieth century which were supported by College Amalgamation Club.¹⁰⁶

Continuity between the Eton and Cambridge Hunts was maintained by the Trinity Foot Beagles at Cambridge where Old Etonians, Lord Yarborough, Watkin Wynn, William Warton, Edward Mesey-Thompson, Rowland Hunt and James W. Larnach among others, ‘graduated with the degree of Master of Foxhounds’.¹⁰⁷

Larnach had instituted his own dwarf beagles pack during the school holidays at Eton before moving up to Magdalene, Cambridge where he hunted with the Cambridgeshire and Fitzwilliam and raced at Newmarket. ¹⁰⁸ Baily's Magazine noted approvingly that immediately prior to his finals he raced during the day and worked through the night. ¹⁰⁹

It is worth noting that the obsession with hunting was not limited to students but attracted Don and beak. Jack Hawkins of Downing College Cambridge, in the 1870s was remembered as an uncompromisingly physical, hard-drinking and hard-riding Dean whose enthusiasm for hunting at the expense of other duties was apparently endorsed by colleague, Walter Rouse-Ball, a rider with the Trinity Foot Beagles and Don of Trinity College. ¹¹⁰ This prestigious pack had been initiated by Trinity Don, William Edward Currey in 1867, who had combined academic and sporting duties with consummate ease. ¹¹¹

The Committee of the Trinity Foot Beagles was drawn from Trinity, Caius, Christ's and Magdalene although it was the latter which best illustrated the licence and laxity associated with privileged hunting sports. Only about forty per cent of undergraduates took honours courses between 1850 and 1906, a serious academic under performance encouraged by the ascendancy of sport. ¹¹² Poorly attended lectures, which were not compulsory in any case, allowed more time for sporting interests. ¹¹³

In the early Victorian period, Magdalene was known as a sanctuary for unruly and ill-disciplined students rejected by other colleges. ¹¹⁴ By the autumn of Victoria's reign, the College had acquired an infamous reputation as the appanage of Audley End, a long-established shooting estate in North Essex used by wealthy

students from the College. ¹¹⁵ Under the charismatic Mastership of Latimer Neville, sardonically described as a 'thoroughgoing opponent of academic progress', Magdalene maintained its Epicurean reputation as a 'pleasant residential sporting club for the well-to-do or more or less well-descended young men'. ¹¹⁶

Superior social position demonstrated by access to field sports, particularly the relatively costly riding-to-hounds, enabled students from the traditional landed elites to distinguish themselves from their non-hunting counterparts. In this way, they could and did, flaunt an older tradition of masculinity, and distanced themselves from their 'inferiors'. As public schools and the ancient universities received a greater number of middle class entrants during the nineteenth century, aristocratic hegemony based on hunting and shooting assumed a greater significance. ¹¹⁷ Thus, field sports at Eton and Oxbridge were manifestations of social demarcation which heightened self-perceptions of superiority based on cultural heritage. ¹¹⁸

No Cambridge college projected this self-perception more completely than Magdalene. Magdalene College in the 1860s, it was observed, was occupied by 'decent chaps devoted to horse and hound, but unfortunately, there were also in residence a few undergraduates, mostly sons of monied parvenus from the North of England, who exhibited a cheap imitation of these very creditable gentlemen... They tried to liken themselves to country gentlemen, and succeeded in looking like stable boys'. ¹¹⁹ The 'unnatural' hauteur of the nouveaux riche had been long been the butt of satirists as they attempted to ape their social 'superiors'. In 1818, for example, a journey man cotton spinner contemptuously described the new industrial employers as a 'set of men who have sprung from the cotton shop without education or address, but to counter balance that deficiency, they give you enough of appearances by an

ostentatious display of elegant mansions, equipages, liveries, parks, hunters, hounds and the like'. ¹²⁰

Later, according to The Spectator, 'diligent boys' from Northern manufacturing grammar schools, complete with creditable work ethic and scholarships, took part in hunting at Magdalene College to better their social status despite the 'decadent and indulgent atmosphere'. ¹²¹ To be sure, five or six couples of hunters, according to one observer, were regularly to be found at the College gate in readiness for riding or hunting. ¹²² This obsessive "Beagle Club" culture was food and drink to contemporary parodists: 'The chief distinction of Magdalene was its understanding of horseflesh...

There was a boat captain of Magdalene
On the river who always was Magdalene
But the Master, he cried
If you don't hunt or ride,
I'm hanged if we keep you at Magdalene!' ¹²³

Between the 1850s and early 1900s, undergraduates at Magdalene College were allowed to count two nights towards term if they were in college before eleven p.m. and did not leave before six a.m. on the following morning. This arrangement was intended to control the large number of Magdalene men who hunted two or three days per week with the Fitzwilliam Hunt or the Oakley, often staying overnight at Bedford. Absence from Chapel or Hall entailed payment of fines, although when racing was on at Newmarket, Hall was cancelled. ¹²⁴ Official sanctions against errant undergraduates, however, were pointless since many broke curfews and proctoral regulations in order to hunt. Proctor, F.G. Howard of Trinity College, tended to waive undergraduate fines after apprehending students caught out of bounds after hunting or riding. ¹²⁵

While success on the games field was increasingly evidence of a proper masculinity, many undergraduates saw themselves as an elite male cadre, unwilling to become part of the general drive towards muscular excellence through conventional games. Hunting filled this vacuum. As noted by one 'beagler,' 'we were extremely, almost morbidly, sensitive of being regarded as having any connection with any form of athletics, and the appearance of a stray member of the 'Hare and Hounds,' a paper-chasing athletic club, set all our defensive bristles erect in half a minute. He might be a magnificent runner and keep with the hounds all the way, but we would observe that he knew nothing of skirting, or of saving himself by any knowledge of the shifts of the hunted hare: his running was fine running, but it wasn't running to hounds, so he was felt to be no sportsman and therefore to merit no trophy. Beagling is hunting...the exercise of running was a subordinate consideration'.¹²⁶

In contrast to Hellenic athletic contests, the masculine imperatives associated with traditional beagling was clear evidence, according to Trinity Foot Beagle historian and aristocrat, F.C. Kempson of the natural superiority of the 'Barbarian' character'. The ability to 'control' farmers through negotiation rather than confrontation was, according to Kempson, one manifestation of the natural superiority of the 'Barbarian' character.¹²⁷ 'Barbarian' beagling, then, was strenuous, well-appointed and well-organised on the basis of tradition.¹²⁸

The term 'Barbarian' was coined by Matthew Arnold who used it to as a derogatory definition of the hunting and shooting gentry; however, Arnold also spoke of his attraction to field sports and that he was 'properly a philistine, as I never take a rod or gun without feeling that I have, in the ground of my nature, the self-same

seeds which, fostered by circumstances, do so much to make the Barbarian: and that with the Barbarian's advantages, I might have rivalled him'.¹²⁹

For his part, Kempson was suspicious of middle -class athletics which he considered inferior activities and the antithesis of virtuous field sports which remained 'rightfully' in the control of the country gentleman. The appearance of a critique of hunting in the Cambridge Review hardened his suspicions against the utilitarian aspects of public school athletics.¹³⁰

Unsurprisingly, Kempson regretted that the ancient universities and Great public schools appeared to be under the control of the middle classes. The 'true' sportsman, he suggested, matched himself against nature and pursued no contrived reward unlike the modern multicoloured blazered and much-coveted game-playing blue.¹³¹ Thus, dress for hunting was a plain tweed jacket, breeches and a soft cashmere scarf, unassuming garb which distinguished the traditional huntsman from the gaudy athlete or games player.¹³²

In reality, prowess in games, athletics or rowing *and* field sports enabled students to demonstrate a proper masculinity which drew respect and admiration from both peers and public. An early training in field sports, therefore, was part and parcel of a much-admired masculinity based on robust sports. The upper class boy, according to one proponent, was quickly initiated into the mysteries of horsemanship and taught to laugh at tumbles after which he was 'speedily transferred to Eton where he learns to swim, row, play cricket and football, which teach him a quick eye, presence of mind and indifference to pain...hunting and shooting soon complete what cricket and boating had begun; manliness and modesty are the foundation of the

gentlemanly character and no specimen can be quoted like the young Englishman whom Eton, Winchester, Oxford or Cambridge have done their proper work.’¹³³

Interestingly, field sports did not always fit comfortably with other sports in every school. On the introduction of a Beagle pack at the Royal Agricultural College, the Principal noted that the ‘term’s work had hardly been so gratifying as usual, the Pack having had a disturbing effect on the other sports notably football as well as on the studies of the College’.¹³⁴

Nevertheless, beagling at Eton and Oxbridge was successfully integrated into the sporting mainstream and generated a number of masculine icons. Francis Grenfell, was eulogised for his abilities at cricket, running and football and his peerless Mastership of the Hunt between 1898-1899, while H.M. Mesey-Thompson had basked in the reflected glory of his success as an ‘all-rounder’ during the 1860s.¹³⁵ Winning the hurdles and the mile in 1863, the steeplechase in 1864, contributed to his heroic status and his assertion that the ‘ambition of all Beaglers was to win the steeplechase’ emphasised the aspirations of the much-admired all-rounder.’¹³⁶ Mesey-Thompson took this doctrine to Magdalene College Cambridge where he was instrumental in the successful development of the Beagle Club whilst achieving athletic success.¹³⁷

Rowland Hunt also bridged the worlds of games player and huntsman, winning the Eton steeplechase and the walking races ‘with consummate ease’ for two consecutive years, while maintaining his reputation as an ‘excellent shot, fearless rider and good fisherman’.¹³⁸ In addition, Hunt was one of the best exponents of the Eton Football Game, was keeper (Captain) of the Field Game, won the School Diving and House Racquets and was in the School Shooting Eleven. His incumbency

at Eton between 1871 and 1877, however, peaked with his Mastership of the Beagles in 1876. With typical largesse, fully expected of the 'Barbarian' class, Hunt sent game to all the local farms associated with the Eton Hunt.¹³⁹

In time, Hunt went up to Magdalene College Cambridge where he never 'wasted much time in attending lectures, chapel or Hall; he did pass Part 1 of the 'Little-Go' which satisfied his aspirations for academic honours.¹⁴⁰ Some, like Hunt's friend, L.C. H. Palairret, preferred Oxford over Cambridge, where he demonstrated prowess in cricket and football, but devoted most time to fox-hunting which he regarded as his principal recreation.¹⁴¹

In short, while games, athletics and rowing, with their intense inter-college rivalries predominated at Oxbridge during the late nineteenth century, hunting found solid support in some quarters. It is certain that, for some scholars and Dons at Magdalene College, Cambridge in particular, killing wildlife for sport fitted easily into the fabric of a University experience, which produced 'tastes, inclinations even vices which were positive and virile... there were hardly any ladylike men in the University, not a single one at Magdalene. The tendency of reading, conversation and pursuits was to the manly rather than to the effeminate'.¹⁴² It was view shared by Arthur C. Benson, Master of Magdalene College in the 1880s, who bought a seven hundred acre estate in the Fenlands to accommodate his passion for shooting which he shared with his two brothers, Fred and Hugh Benson.¹⁴³

University education, according to another Magdalene man, was not the prerogative of scholars '*but men bold, energetic, methodic, liberal-minded, magnanimous*', an ethos which 'drink, horses, gambling, cards, prize-fighting, fishing and poaching' all had parts to play.¹⁴⁴ The merits of such masculine behaviour in

Kingsley's overtly romantic opinion lay in the moral message - field sports engendered a love of nature and fed the 'soul'. The ideal naturalist, therefore, was 'gentle, courteous, sympathetic to the poor, brave and enterprising, patient and undaunted, reverent and truthful, selfless and devoted and would aspire to the ideals of chivalry'.¹⁴⁵ A central tenet of these 'chivalrous' ideals was self-assertion which, for Kingsley's part, included manly sports. The 'Kingdom of Nature, like the Kingdom of Heaven', he concluded, 'must be taken by violence, and that those who knock earnestly and long, does the Great Mother open the doors of her sanctuary'.¹⁴⁶

A similar story emerged at Magdalene College, Oxford, where rugby, football *and* hunting and beagling packs illustrated the passion for manly sports.¹⁴⁷ There, 'no undergraduates ever talked to women; all energies and thoughts were occupied with sport, games and work. No women were allowed. If they were, it might have been more enjoyable, although it would not have been the same; would it have produced more useful citizens or better leaders?'¹⁴⁸

Despite the real or imagined ideological differences between Beaglers and 'Bloods', all had become, to varying degrees, bound by the imperatives of 'fair play'. The Trinity Foot Beagle and the Eton College Hunt were created in the mid nineteenth-century, a significant time in the application of utilitarian values in the form of compulsory and regulated team games. This new code of conduct was not the instinctive behaviour of upper-class youth, but depended on the acquisition of new attitudes through the medium of sport towards self-control and self-discipline.

Given the initial aristocratic substance of the Eton Hunt, there is merit in the notion that 'fair play' was in part a continuation of subscription to the older 'patrician' and chivalric tradition of honour, style, manners and decency.¹⁴⁹

Consequently, upper-class sporting periodicals, such as Baily's Magazine, for example, declared that hunting embodied the “natural” social superiority of the traditional landed elites. From its beginning in 1861, Baily's had paraded an impressive set of exemplars. John Poyntz Spencer, educated at Harrow and Trinity College Cambridge and Master of the Pytchley Foxhounds, for example, inspired Baily's to write: ‘we believe that sport of every kind is calculated to promote generous and manly impulses, and to strengthen a character for honesty and chivalry which has usually been considered a national peculiarity of Englishmen’.¹⁵⁰ Henry Wentworth Fitzwilliam, from a large dynasty of country gentlemen, all sportsmen who in Baily's view, embodied the necessary attributes of traditional manhood, namely, ‘true, courteous, quiet in demeanour, a sportsman, but not a sporting man’.¹⁵¹ His class credentials were impeccable. Like most of his family before him, he educated at Eton before moving up to Trinity College Cambridge where he became Master of the Drag-Hounds and hunted regularly with the Fitzwilliam hounds. His peer, the Duke of Bedford, was also of unquestionable pedigree, being a ‘bold and elegant rider’ and leading ‘shot’ and a country gentleman whose most conspicuous quality was his ‘sense of justice’.¹⁵²

Despite this belief in the superiority of aristocratic tradition and past privilege, hunting at Eton and Oxbridge by the 1860s had become part of a wider subscription to rules and regulation. Hunting did not reflect an untrammelled continuation of noble aristocratic demeanour but an amalgam of newly acquired sporting codes and customs. Hunting, therefore, was an evolving sport. The attitudes, procedures, language and dress code of both Hunts at both Eton and some Cambridge Colleges, for example, did respond to change and changed. However, association with historic

codes of conduct enabled aristocratic pupils at Eton and Cambridge to adopt an attitude of superiority based on past privilege.

When evangelical pressures 'civilised' the public schoolboy, producing a new regard for rules, there was an appropriate rationalisation in the hunting field. Playing within the rules and respect for quarry species induced a more compassionate morality. Several members were ousted from the Hunt, for example, during the 1860s because they complained of poor sport.¹⁵³ During its early years, the hunting of 'bagged' -captive animals brought in from Leadenhall Market - such as foxes, hares and rabbits was part and parcel of the hunting scene.¹⁵⁴ By the mid 1860s, however, the killing of *wild* hares was considered to be the only acceptable way to hunt, since 'bagged or semi-tame hares implied emasculated sport.'¹⁵⁵ This new sporting 'code', according to a later advocate of the public school system, reinforced the notion that the "kill" was a subsidiary part of the hunting experience which was defined as a redemptive and moral 'ideal of hard living...if we remember all the discipline of his apprenticeship and the strictness of his self-imposed rules, we shall perceive an ascetic and even a moral element in sport sufficient to satisfy the ancestral Puritan to whom we are all inwardly answerable'.¹⁵⁶

According to one Old Rugbaen, the hardships of public school were beneficial. The 'rude and boisterous familiarity of equals, the tyranny of seniors, the rod of a cruel and capricious pedagogue...in order to steel the mind and body against the assault of fortune...'a great school', moreover, was a miniature representation of the world at large, and he who had performed his part in the miniature scene had rehearsed it for the greater.'¹⁵⁷ In short, 'boys, should be introduced to the arts which will be useful to them when they become men'.¹⁵⁸

The benefits of a hunting 'education' were there for all to see: 'Lord Granby', according to one firm exponent, 'was in many respects the type of Englishman formed by our school life and our sports; and if the type is commoner now, as it undoubtedly is, than was the case in the eighteenth century, that is one of the results of the ideals in school life and in sport being to raise all training, mental and bodily, to the level of the higher classes, rather than to bring down the higher to the level of the lower. Every Englishman, as Mr. Rudyard Kipling has told us in verse and prose, is an aristocrat when among an inferior race; and from the rare insight Kipling has into the many-sided character of our national life, that great genius has risen to be the laureate of England, and the English as formed by the hunting field, the cricket pitch, and the football ground. ¹⁵⁹

There were, however, dissenters from this appealing, confident chauvinism who rejected hunting as a suitable preparation for 'manhood'. Chapter Three will outline and evaluate the educational and Humanitarian effort within Rugby School, Eton and Oxbridge which railed against killing wildlife for sport.

- 1 The Reverend Andrew Clark, 'School Life: its Sports and Pastimes', Baily's Magazine, Vol.3, April 1861, pp.370-377; 'When we Old Fogeys Were Boys', Baily's Magazine, Vol.33, January 1879, pp.146-7
- 2 C.J. Apperley (Pseud. Nimrod), The Memoirs of Jack Mytton, London, 1851, preface, pp.1, 10. Jack Mytton - 1765-1860. Charles James Apperley - 1778-1843 Boxing and hunting were particularly esteemed manly recreations at the public schools. They were the preferred activities of Richard Christian at Uppingham in the 1820s, where he suggested that, 'if you want to like a man thoroughly, there's nothing like fighting him first,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.71, June 1899, pp. 360-1. See also J. Eardley-Wilmott, The Reminiscences of Thomas Assheton-Smith, London, 1860, pp.12-15; J. Boyd, Hunting Sketches, London, 1934, pp.75-6, 1790-1861; G. Paget and L. Irvine, The Flying Parson and Dick Christian, Leicester, 1934, preface; A.G. Bradley, Exmoor Memories, London, 1926, pp.10-22; 'Great Sportsmen of the Past,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.82, November 1904, pp.193-6. Jack Musters was a noted Corinthian who excelled in a variety of exacting sports; see P. Mason, The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal, London, 1982, pp.83-5
- 3 'Jack Mytton,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.60, November 1893, pp. 328-33
- 4 E.D. Cuming, George Osbaldestone, Squire Osbaldestone: His Autobiography, London, 1927, p.10; Eardley-Wilmott, The Reminiscences of Thomas Assheton-Smith, pp. 9-16. George Osbaldestone - 1747-1834; Thomas Assheton-Smith - 1776-1859
- 5 Eardley-Wilmot, Reminiscences of Thomas Assheton Smith, Ibid., p.1

- 6 A. Clark, 'When We Middle-Aged Fogeys Were Boys', Baily's Magazine,
Vol.33, January 1879, p.147
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 'Felix', 'How to Become a Good Big Game Shot', Baily's Magazine,
Vol.86, December 1906, pp.273-4, H. Hutchinson, 'The Sportsman at
School,' Badminton Library, Vol.1, November 1895, p.614
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 H.J. Torre, 'Harrow Notebook 1832-1837' Harrow School Association in A.
Burns, ed., A Victorian Schoolboy: Tom Brown's Schooldays, from the
Letters of Thomas Harris Burns, 1841-1852, unpublished TRR, quoted in J.
Chandos, Boys Together, London, 1984, p.150. For a further description of
'toozling' see Harrow Association Record, (1907-12), p.29 See also, J.A.
Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The
Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge, 1981,
pp.18-21, 273; Bird-nesting seems to have preoccupied many an errant
scholar at certain schools: E.P. Rawnsley of Uppingham was lamenting that
bird-nesting had become unfashionable amongst boys by the early
twentieth-century: see, W.F. Rawnsley, Highways and Byways in
Lincolnshire, London, 1914, pp.86-7
- 13 A.C. Bradley, A History of Marlborough College, London, 1893, pp.106,
126

- 14 A. Burns, ed., A Victorian Schoolboy: Tom Brown's Schooldays, from the Letters of Thomas Harris Burns, 1841-1852, unpublished TRR, quoted in J. Chandos, Boys Together, 1984, p.150. See also, E. Lockwood, The Early Days of Marlborough College, London, 1893, pp.58-60
- 15 J.G. Millais, Wanderings and Memories, London, 1919, pp.10-12. In time, Millais was eulogised as the epitomy of the period 'sportsman'. See, 'Millais the Sportsman', Baily's Magazine, Vol.73, January 1900, pp.14-17
- 16 Ibid., p.3
- 17 'Teaching a Boy to Shoot,' The Field, Vol.112, November 1908, p.914. As with the first 'kill', the first 'gun' was also an exalted and indelible experience. George Dewar, for example, felt that he had a 'wretched memory for most things, but that first gun is unforgettable'. See G. Dewar, in J. Otho-Paget, A. Innes Shand, Horses, Guns and Dogs, London, 1903, p.110; see also, J. Mackillop, H. Hutchinson, K. Dawson, Letters to Young Sportsmen, London, 1920, p.169
- 18 B. Mutimer, 'Thomas Arnold and Organized Games,' Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971, p.283 held at Rugby School Library. I am indebted to Rusty Maclean, Archivist at Rugby School.
- 19 A. Arbuthnot, Memories of Rugby and India, London, 1910, pp. 34-5
- 20 Ibid., pp.46-7, 73-4
- 21 Ibid., p.92
- 22 E.P. Elmhirst, Foxhound, Forest and Prairie, London, 1892, p.127
- 23 W.E. Oswell, William Cotton Oswell, London, 2 Vols, Vol.1, 1900, p.47.
William Cotton Oswell - 1818-1897

- 24 Ibid., preface
- 25 Oswell, William Cotton Oswell, Vol.1, p.xvi, pp.47-50
- 26 A. Silva-White and T. Douglas-Murray, Sir Samuel White Baker, A Memoir, London, 1895, pp.320-2. Samuel White Baker - 1821-1893
- 27 Oswell, Oswell, Vol.1, pp.47-59
- 28 The Meteor Rugby School Magazine, June 1897, pp.58-63. The School Magazine was started in 1863. See also, J. Millais, The Life of F.C.Selous, London, 1918, pp.52-3
- 29 Boys of Our Empire, a Magazine for British Boys all Over the World, Vol.2, 1902, p.308. F.C. Selous's portrait remains in the Temple Speech Room at Rugby School as a permanent reminder of his influence.
- 30 A. Clark, 'School Life: its Sports and Pastimes', Baily's Magazine, Vol.3, April 1861, pp.370-377
- 31 John William Carleton, The Young Sportsmans Manual, New Edition, 1867, p.11
- 32 'Forest, field and Fen', Sam Beeton's Boys Own Magazine, Vol.2, 1855, pp.271, 275, 354-5
- 33 C.J. Apperley, The Life of a Sportsman, London, 1842, p.77
- 34 The Boy's Own Annual, No.1551, Vol.31, 1908, pp.2-3
- 35 'Hints on Birds Nests and Egg Collecting', Boys of Our Empire, a Magazine for British Boys all Over the World, Vol.2, 1902, p. 442
- 36 Letter by A. Turnor in A.C. Crossley, The Eton College Hunt, London, 1921, p.10. Thanks are extended to Mrs. P. Hatfield, College Archivist, Eton for her kind assistance in gathering this information.

- 37 Sir John D. Astley, 1829-1894, Fifty Years of My Life, Vol.1, London, 1894, p.13. Sir John D. Astley, 1829-1894.
- 38 R. Kipling, Land and Sea Tales For Scouts and Guides, Leipzig, 1926, pp.262, 269, 270; T. Card, Eton Reviewed: A History From 1860 to the Present Day, Berkshire, 1994, p.50
- 39 T. Bamford, 'Public Schools and Social Class, 1800-1850', British Journal of Sociology, Vol.12, September 1961, p.225
- 40 Lord Hawke, Recollections and Reminiscences, London, 1924, p.70, and G. Huxley, Victorian Duke. The Life of Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, First Duke of Westminster, London, 1967, pp.48-56
- 41 I am grateful to Tom Parsons, current Master of Hounds for information about the Eton Hunt. Letter from Tom Parsons, 'The Eton College Hunt,' 17th October 1996.
- 42 'Remains of J. Aubrey', 1688, quoted in H. Salt, Memories of Bygone Eton, London, 1928, pp.241-246. The discontinuation of the annual Eton ram-hunt in 1747, 'a hundred years before the reformers managed to suppress the proletarian Stamford bull running', has been described as a triumph of middle-class humanitarianism. See K. Thomas, Man and the Natural World, Harmondsworth, 1984, p.186
- 43 D. Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, London, 1961, pp.224-5; Mangan, Athleticism, chapter 3.
- 44 Boy's Own Paper, Vol.1, 1879, pp.122-3 and Boy's Own Magazine, Vol.2, 1855, pp.271-9

- 45 A. Clark, 'When we Middle-Aged Fogeys Were Boys', Baily's Magazine,
Vol.33, January 1879, pp.147-8; Arbuthnot, Memories, pp.73-4
- 46 Oppidan Hunt. The term Oppidan referred to to 'non-scolars', who were not
King's Scholars, usually residing in the town with a landlady.
- 47 The Diaries of Edward Charrington, in A.C. Crossley, Eton College Hunt,
chapter one; The Eton College Chronicle, Vol.121, June 1899, pp.8-10
- 48 E.D. Cumming ed., My Life and Times, London, 1927, p.155
- 49 Baily's Magazine, Vol.78, December 1902, pp.373-5 and Vol.75, June 1903,
p.399
- 50 T. F. Dale, History of the Belvoir Hunt, Westminster, 1899, p.40
- 51 J.A. Doyle, Essays on Various Subjects, London, 1911, pp.176-8
- 52 The Field, Vol.10, November 1857, p.348
- 53 Doyle, Essays, pp.306-12
- 54 The Eton Society.
- 55 P. Hatfield, College Archivist, Meeting, June 1996
- 56 Crossley, Eton Hunt, p.8
- 57 Eton Chronicle, Vol.2, September 1864, p.59
- 58 For one example of many, see Eton Chronicle, Vol.2, September 1864
- 59 Dr Charles Goodford 1812-1884, Headmaster, 1853-62, Provost, 1862-1884.
See Clarendon Commission, Report of Her Majesty's Commissioner,
Appointed to Enquire into the Reserves and Management of Certain Colleges
and Schools and the Studies Pursued Therein with an Appendix and
Evidence, 1864.

- 60 E.G. Parry, Annals of an Eton House, London, 1907, p.10. Dr. Edward Balston, 1817-1891 was educated at Eton then on to King's College, Cambridge. There, he was a Fellow from 1839-1850. He was also an Assistant Master at Eton from 184-60, Fellow, 1860-2, Headmaster, 1862-68 and Vicar of Bakewell, Derbyshire, 1869-91
- 61 Crossley, Eton Hunt, chapter 1
- 62 A. Clark, 'The Gentleman in Black,' 'School Life: its Sports and Pastimes, Baily's Magazine, Vol.3, April 1861, pp.370-371
- 63 Ibid. It was a view reiterated by hunter, H. Frank Wallace a century later in his book, Hunting Winds in which he noted that 'a love of sport makes the Man'. H. Frank Wallace, Hunting Winds, London, 1949, p.231
- 64 J. W. Carleton, The Young Sportsman's Manual, London, 1867, pp.51-2
- 65 J. Stevenson-Hamilton, South African Eden, London, 1937, p.69
- 66 H. Newbolt, The Book of Good Hunting, London, 1920, pp.10-13, 28-38 and R.S. Baden-Powell, Aids to Scouting for NCOs and Men, London, 1899, p.12; Mrs. Charles Kingsley, Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of his Life, 2 Vols., London, 1877, Vol.1, pp.20-1
- 67 C. De Crespigny, Forty Years of a Sportsman's Life, London, 1910, pp.295-6
- 68 Crossley, Eton Hunt, pp.7-8; Newsome, Godliness, pp.224-5
- 69 Eton Chronicle, Vol.2, January 1864, p.60
- 70 Crossley, Eton Hunt, p.4
- 71 MS, Eton College Hunt, Hunting Diaries, SCH-SP, Vol.2, 1863-73
- 72 See Chandos, Boys Together, p.329; F.W. Cornish, ed., Extracts from the Letters and Journal of William Cory, Oxford, 1897, pp.59-60

- 73 E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion since 1860, New York, 1941, pp.24-25
- 74 MS, Hunt Journal Book, January 1867, held at Eton College Library.
Collegers was the term for 'King's Scholars' who resided at the College itself.
- 75 The Eton Chronicle, Vol.1, May 1863, p.4
- 76 The Eton Chronicle , Vol.2, April 1866, p.217
- 77 The Field, Vol.26, August 1865, p.131. See also, P. Self and H.J. Storing, The State and the Farmer, London, 1962, p.37; J.A. Scott, M.E. Hobbs, Great Farmers, London, 1937, p.111
- 78 The Field, *ibid.*
- 79 MS., Hunting Diaries, Vols.1-4, 1888-9, p.21
- 80 *Ibid.*
- 81 Mangan, Athleticism, p.106
- 82 Crossley, Eton Hunt, p.24
- 83 *Ibid.*, p.14. Spartan qualities were, of course, more highly valued than Athenian values in the public schools. The 'Saying Lesson' involved constant oral repetition of a task.
- 84 See Mangan, Athleticism for a wider treatment of this topic.
- 85 C.R.L. Fletcher, Edmond Warre, London, 1922, pp.64-5
- 86 Quoted in P.A. Dunae, 'Juvenile Literature in an Age of Empire', Unpublished PhD, Manchester, 1975, p.475; see also, Newsome, Godliness, p.222.

- 87 J. Wilson, Siegfried Sassoon, London, 1998, pp.111-112. Norman Loder -
1859-1940
- 88 Ibid. See also, N. Vance, 'The Ideal of Manliness,' B. Simon, I. Bradley, The
Victorian Public School, Dublin, 1975, p.117
- 89 Wilson, Sassoon, pp.11-12
- 90 MS, Cambridge University Archives, Magdalene College, C/SAD/1, no iii,
letter from Richard Neville, 5th December, 1910. I am very grateful for help
given by Dr R. Hyam, Reader in Imperial History and President of
Magdalene College, Cambridge and Miss E.S. Leedham-Green, Keeper of
the Archives, University of Cambridge. Thanks are also extended to Aude
Fitzsimmons, Librarian at the Pepys Library.
- 91 See H. Gunning, Reminiscences of the University Town and County of
Cambridge from the Year 1780, Cambridge, 1854, pp.40-2
- 92 'Diary of the Journey of Philip Julius, through England, 1602,' ed. G.von
Bulow and W. Powell, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, n.s., vi,
London, 1892, p.35
- 93 Francis Coventry, The History of Pompey the Little, Cambridge, 1978
edition, pp.179-80
- 94 See J. Wentworth-Day, 'History of the Fens', in Victoria County History of
Cambridgeshire, Vol.5, London, pp. 203-4
- 95 Coventry, Pompey, pp.179-80
- 96 J.D. Lewis, Sketches of Cantabs, London, 1849 and A.C. Croome, Fifty
Years of Sport at Oxford, Cambridge and the Great Public Schools and
Universities, London, 1913, pp.174-186

- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Sporting Magazine, Vol.63, December 1823, p.110
- 99 Osbaldestone, Squire Osbaldestone, p.10; 'Captain John White', Baily's Magazine, Vol.5, March 1862, p. 271
- 100 'Sports and Pastime at the Universities' quoted in Baily's Magazine, Vol.53, June 1890, pp.364-365
- 101 Eardley-Wilmott, Reminiscences, pp.6-8; L. Edwards, Famous Foxhunters, London, 1932, p.50
- 102 Marchioness of Londonderry, Henry Chaplin: A Memoir, London, 1926, pp.20-3 Chaplin assumed the Mastership of various prestigious hunts between 1861 and his death in 1923, including the Burton Hunt, purchased from his close friend and mentor, Lord Henry Bentinck. Henry Chaplin - 1841-1923. George Lane Fox - 1846-1925
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 Edwards, Foxhunters, p.77
- 106 Letter from F.W.M. Cornwallis in F.C. Kempson, in Trinity Foot Beagles, London, 1912, p.36. And see, 'Oxford and Cambridge Sport Histories', Baily's Magazine, Vol.89, February 1908, pp.101-111
- 107 Henry J. Haines, Letter to Baily's Magazine, quoted in Kempson, The Trinity Foot Beagles, p.102. Rowland Hunt - 1864-1937
- 108 'J.W. Larnach', Baily's Magazine, Vol.75, June 1901, pp.398-399
- 109 Ibid.

- 110 H. de Windt, My Restless Life, London, 1909, p.72; W. Rouse-Ball,
Assistant Master of Trinity College Cambridge, 1859-63
- 111 William Edward Currey, M.A., Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge,
1862-5
- 112 R. Hyam, Godliness, Hunting and Quite Good Learning: A History of
Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1992, p.201
- 113 W. Everett, On the Cam: Lectures on the University of Cambridge, London,
1866, pp.18, 151
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 The Essex Review, Vol.13, 1904, pp.122-23
- 116 'The Appanage of Audley End', The Spectator, January 1904, pp.120-1
- 117 A. Briggs, Victorian People, Harmondsworth, 1965, p.152
- 118 Mangan, Athleticism, p.142
- 119 S. Sproston, College Magazine, 3 and 4, 1910, pp.65-9, 101-8; MS, The
Beagle Club, held at Magdalene College, Cambridge, G117/6, G72, 73, 74
- 120 Quoted in E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working class,
London, 1968, p.218
- 121 The Spectator, Vol.93, January 1904, p.120
- 122 MS., A. Edgecumbe, 'Magdalene College, Cambridge: A Retrospect',
College Old Library, 1965, p.2
- 123 C. Tennyson, 'The Spirit of Cambridge' in The Spectator, Vol.110, February
1913, pp.306-7
- 124 MS., Edgecumbe, 'Retrospect', p.2. John Musters - 1885-1867
- 125 Kempson, Trinity Foot Beagles, p.109

- 126 Ibid., pp.172-3
- 127 Ibid., pp.4-6, 10-13. See also E. Dunning, K. Sheard, Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players, Oxford, 1979, p.77
- 128 Ibid., p.39
- 129 J. Dover Wilson, ed., M. Arnold, Culture and Anarchy, 2nd. Edition, Cambridge, 1960, pp.106-7
- 130 'The Ethics Of Sport', Cambridge Review, Lent Term, 1912, quoted in Kempson, Trinity Foot Beagles, pp.4-5. See also 'The Over estimation of Athletics', Baily's Magazine, Vol.86, August 1906, pp.449-452
- 131 Kempson, Trinity Foot Beagles, p.8
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 T. Kebbel, 'The Country Gentleman,' Cornhill Magazine, Vol.9, 1864, pp.619-20
- 134 'Introduction of a Beagle Pack to the Royal Agricultural College,' The Field, Vol.87, April 1896. p.10
- 135 J. Buchan, Francis and Riversdale Grenfell: A Memoir, London, 1924, pp.10-22; Crossley, Eton Hunt, pp.35-8. Francis Grenfell - 1882-1916; Henry M. Mesey-Thompson - 1853-1931
- 136 Crossley, *ibid.*
- 137 MS., GII7/6, Magdalene College, Old Library, Cambridge University
- 138 Crossley, Eton Hunt, Chapter Four
- 139 *Ibid.*

- 140 'Little Go': This was the preliminary examination taken by all undergraduates. Kempson, Trinity Foot Beagles, pp.104-5, 'Rowland Hunt', Baily's Magazine, Vol.59, May 1893, p.145
- 141 Baily's Magazine, Vol.75, May 1901, pp.317-9
- 142 'Magdalene in the sixties', Magdalene College Magazine, March 1910, p.106
- 143 Edgcumbe 'Magdalene College, a Retrospect,' unpublished manuscript. See also, D. Newsome, On the Edge of Paradise, A.C.Benson, the Diarist, London, 1980, pp.184-5
- 144 Mrs. C. Kingsley, Charles Kingsley: Letters, p.198; O. Chadwick, 'Kingsley at Cambridge', Historical Journal, Vol.43, 1975, pp.305-6
- 145 C. Kingsley, Glaucus: or the Wonders of the Shore, London, 1855, p.43
- 146 Mrs. C. Kingsley, Charles Kingsley: Letters, p.156
- 147 Sir Francis Lindlay, Lord Lovat, a Biography, London, 1935, pp.38-45
- 148 Ibid., pp.41-2
- 149 R. Holt, Sport and the British, Oxford, 1989, p.364
- 150 'John Poyntz Spence', Baily's Magazine, Vol.5, April 1862, p.273
- 151 'H. Wentworth-Fitzwilliam', Baily's Magazine, Vol.49, May 1888, p.231
- 152 'The Duke of Bedford', Baily's Magazine, Vol.3, 1861, p.51
- 153 MS., Eton College Hunt, Journal Book, 1864-7, p.17
- 154 Crossley, Eton Hunt, pp.3-7
- 155 MS., Journal Book, 1864-7, p.17
- 156 Newbolt, Good Hunting, p.31
- 157 Apperley, The Life of a Sportsman, p.76; My Life and Times, pp.154-5
- 158 Ibid.

Chapter Three:

Moral and Intellectual Alternatives to Mainstream Masculinity



The morality of field sports and their role as a sport for students within elite education were contentious issues during the nineteenth century. Thomas Arnold at Rugby School, Henry Salt at Eton and E.A. Freeman at Oxford all endeavoured to remove field sports from the educational experience at their respective institutions. That all three failed to abolish hunting at Eton, Oxbridge, and, to a lesser extent at Rugby School owed much to the pervasiveness of the hunters' masculine ideal and the associated moral imperatives of the country gentleman.

For many mid-Victorians, Thomas Arnold was a focus for the desire for moral reformation.¹ One of his prime objectives, therefore, was the development of a public-school system which provided a 'meeting place for the moral outlook of the dissenting middle-classes and the athletic instincts of the aristocracy'.² Under the leadership of Arnold, Rugby School became the first Great Public school to challenge the aristocratic conception of culture by attempting to eradicate the hunting and shooting 'class' privileges of its pupils. To achieve this, Arnold attempted to mould his middle class 'beau ideals' into compassionate Christian gentlemen. Arnold's vision of a humane middle class, however, was compromised by the attractions of field sports for the commercial and industrial middle classes.

If his vision for an independent, middle class educational regime was to be realised, Arnold needed to abolish those recreations which reinforced cultural divisions and boundaries. Consequently, on arrival at Rugby School, he checked aristocratic licence to roam the countryside through unprecedented sanctions against pupils who hunted, shot or fished. In 1833, Arnold began his tirade against field sports by issuing an uncompromising gesture of intent by expelling six boys for fishing in the Avon after complaints from a landowner.³

After this draconian measure, Arnold set his sights on hunting with dogs. Since it was common practice for boys to hire cottages from local countrymen for hiding dogs and sporting equipment, Arnold forbade the use of dogs and guns for leisure purposes and established new rules to keep boys near to the school. ⁴ Driven by humanist impulses and pragmatism, Arnold deemed field sports to be 'a waste of time'. ⁵ 'The sturdy rough and tumble of poaching expeditions', he observed, 'could easily lend itself to the lawless tyranny of physical strength'. ⁶ By liaising with local farmers and landowners, Arnold gradually curtailed hunting and shooting, and, curiously, even destroyed packs of hounds kept by the boys. ⁷

Parenthetically, games and school sports were also subject to Arnold's moral objectives. ⁸ Thus, the post-Arnold removal of field sports was facilitated by the substitution of readily acceptable 'wholesome' sporting alternatives, such as cricket and football. ⁹ These became part of an emergent educational ideology, namely athleticism, incorporating tests of manliness and character formation without the need to kill wildlife or exhibit prowess on a horse. ¹⁰ By about the 1850s, various headmasters brought about organisational and disciplinary reform in their schools. ¹¹ These included an increase in indirect surveillance by the headmaster and assistant masters over the boys' recreational activities and pastimes which contrasted with the earlier unrestricted freedom which allowed shooting, hunting or ferreting. At Marlborough boys who persisted in bringing guns to the College were regarded by some as 'undisciplined young reprobates who spent most of their time fighting with town boys or wandering aimlessly in the forest' and one pupil, who was ignominiously birched by the Head four times for poaching, complained that 'at all

public schools there is always a master who does not play games and is concerned with police work in the country - his sole object was to arrest marauders.'¹²

After about 1850, anachronistic liberties were to be replaced by team games at Rugby, which for some, would become the supreme test of masculine moral excellence.¹³ The result was the arrival of a process by which the public schools produced a unified and standardised English educational elite and formulated a new concept of the English gentleman. Arnold's attempts to eradicate field sports from the 'hearts and minds' of his charges, however, was complicated by the attraction of field sports for the rising middle classes. Where the new commercial, industrial or business class sought assimilation with larger landowners, for example, field sports were one expression of class parity. They were a form of recreational conspicuous consumption that demonstrated comparable, or even superior wealth, especially when linked to the expensive honour of Master of Hounds. Certainly, by Arnold's time at Rugby, fox hunting had become 'one of the leading features of English life amongst the 'monies.'¹⁴ Consequently, in an average hunting field, there were 'attorneys, country bankers, doctors, apothecaries - the profession of medicine has a special aptitude for fox-hunting - maltsters, millers, butchers, bakers, innkeepers, auctioneers, graziers, builders, retired officers, judges home from India, barristers who take weekly holidays, stockbrokers, newspaper editors, artists and sailors'.¹⁵ Such was the demand for field sports from the new middle-classes that they had eclipsed the gentry in numerical terms in the hunting field by the 1850s.¹⁶ It would be an oversimplification, therefore, to suggest that field sports were the exclusive preserve of aristocratic youth, since boys from industrial middle-class families clearly developed interests in gun and hound.

Arnold desired parity between social classes, and, in particular, a reduction in the difference in lifestyles of those immediately above and below the upper-middle-classes.¹⁷ The luxury and privilege of the 'sporting squire' without responsibility, and his associated recreational and social excesses were, therefore, anathema to Arnold whose perception of the Christian gentleman was not that of the old chevalier, jealous of his paramilitary honour but otherwise indifferent to morality, but that of the new 'gentle gentleman' competing not in duels but in consideration for others.¹⁸ Hunting was, of course, an integral part of this older culture, and at odds with Arnold's civilising mission for young gentlemen.¹⁹ Masculinity for the aristocracy and gentry, on the other hand, still manifested itself in military prowess, and codes of honour based on medieval chivalric martial values, in which field sports were essential training. The life of the feudal elite, of course, had been dominated by the essentials of war, hunting and the tournament, the last two being preparation for the first.²⁰ This domination, with the exception of the tournament, had by no means disappeared by the first half of the nineteenth century. To address the 'feudal' excess of aristocratic privilege, Arnold battled to exclude the long established landed aristocracy from Rugby. He was partly successful - between the 1830s and 1850, the proportion of boys at Rugby from titled families never exceeded between five and seven per cent in any decade.²¹ This process was thought to have consolidated his crusade against dissolute hunting practices at the school.²²

However, Arnold had a lonely victory. As we have seen, field sports were not abandoned in the public school system at the onset of athleticism. The partial amalgamation of the established landed class and the rising middle-classes had already been taking place from the eighteenth century when Britain underwent at

least some material embourgeoisement.²³ By the early nineteenth century, numerous cotton and iron masters were buying land for sporting purposes.²⁴ The new man of wealth had every incentive to assimilate into the existing social structure by buying land and playing by the rules of existing landed society; few families, it has been argued, held out for long against its leisured, bucolic delights.²⁵ The acquisition of a landed estate, therefore, was one of the benchmarks for the rise of the socially ambitious.²⁶ By the early Victorian period, it was not unusual for the new men of wealth to transfer wealth from commercial enterprises to moneyed interests and then to landed estates for farming and sporting interest.²⁷

Even the opposition to killing wildlife by influential Dissenters did not deter many business and commercial men from taking up field sports.²⁸ The 1831 Game Reform Act quickened the democratisation of field sports by subjecting shooting to certification which could be bought.²⁹ In 1851, the population of England and Wales was 17,927,609 with 28,950 game licences issued; by 1866, 43241 licences had been sold; the number of gun licences sold per thousand males in England confirmed the rise in participation: 9.7 in England and Wales, 7.8 in Scotland; by 1891, this had risen to 11.37 and 8.8 respectively.³⁰

By the mid 1850s, a new class of gentry could be seen in the shires, 'practising estate management and owning the shooting' by developing the science of game-preservation; the 'new men' of wealth did not necessarily have any historical attachment to the countryside but regarded the countryside as a place for rest and repose, where money was spent not made and were contented with the amenities of rural living: riding, hunting, shooting and entertaining'.³¹ It was a form of decadent conspicuous consumption which provoked Arnold's disapproval and the opprobrium

of the period political Radicals. By way of example, John Bright, M.P., ridiculed the 'new' sportsman of industrial wealth as a 'merchant prostrate at the feet of feudalism', an invective which found no support in The Times: 'the sportsman bags pheasants and hares, the Quaker, bishops and lords; the former rejoices to be in at the death of a fox and carries of its brush to adorn his hall - it is the acme of Mr. Bright's anticipation to witness the death of a favoured class'.³²

The Radical onslaught against the period Game Laws, therefore, was construed as an attack on the hierarchical unity by which social standing and political authority was linked to wealth and landed property.³³ According to one aristocratic source at this time, there was a 'war against the aristocracy, the object of which is to degrade it from its place in society and to accomplish its virtual annihilation as a separate Estate of the Realm'.³⁴ Hunting aficionados claimed that without the 'valuable traditions' of hunting and shooting and the social stability provided by the aristocracy, Britain would succumb to the 'delusion and extravagance of universal suffrage'.³⁵

Like Arnold, Bright envisaged a union of social classes against the 'feudal' extravagance of the aristocracy.³⁶ According to Thomas Arnold's son, Matthew, although the aristocracy still governed after the mid nineteenth century, 'the superiority of the upper classes was no longer so great nor were the other classes so willing to defer to that superiority'.³⁷

Despite the weakening of support for the aristocracy, the attraction of field sports maintained interest in the lifestyles traditionally associated with the 'patrician' class. Indeed, The Saturday Review rejoiced that the Radical movement against field sports, which had begun in the 1830s, was ineffective by the 1870s because 'sport

could not be represented as peculiar to the aristocracy, as all men now like to shoot and that many men in trade now bought estates and preserved game'.³⁸ Some, like Old Etonian, Charles Milnes Gaskell, complained that the increased earning capacity of the business and professional classes had made field sports too accessible and that 'all classes who have any leisure or money to spare can participate in the pleasure; it is humiliating to be obliged to acknowledge that in spite of all the additional facilities afforded in this country for the pursuit of a scientific or artistic career, the *average* Englishman's conception of a leisured life is undoubtedly a life spent in the enjoyment of sport. The Englishman who has the means will spend those means on racing, hunting, fishing or shooting'.³⁹

In the light of this evidence, it is tempting and reasonable to suggest that class boundaries and their respective codes of masculinity were becoming increasingly blurred. Nevertheless, while the 'gradual emergence of the bourgeoisie as the ruling class their growing control of major institutions, and the consequent spread of their values through society' was particularly evident in games and athletics, and, despite the 'bourgeoisification' of aristocratic culture through these games, field sports remained powerful symbols of upper-class masculinity.⁴⁰

Arnold's goal for the creation of thoughtful, Christian gentlemen - the 'champions of righteousness especially selected to combat the ever watchful forces of evil' - was also compromised by the attraction of field sports for 'sporting clerics'.⁴¹ This class found no anomaly between Christian materialism and the killing of wildlife for sport and moral redemption. Indeed, any hostility and alienation towards field sports, 'although naturally misguided and regrettable, had to be countered by leadership, example, education and Christian morality'.⁴² Since Arnold's vision for

education was primarily an *ethical* and only secondly an intellectual process which drew heavily on moral example from teachers and guardians, the 'sporting parson's' conspicuous involvement in hunting and shooting was at odds with Arnold's proselytism and Evangelical sensibilities.⁴³

The propriety of field sports for clerics was part of a wider moral debate in which hunting and shooting were promulgated as 'the manly and most exhilarating of all pastimes, designed to bring up the youth of the upper-classes as Christians and gentlemen, not as puzzle-headed sceptics or narrow minded utilitarian theorists'.⁴⁴ Others went further, suggesting that sporting clerics were 'duty-bound' to kill game since it promoted a higher morality. This was not 'to reconcile field sports to the conscience... rather sport has become a primary duty. Sporting is right, because of the moral qualities it fosters: a clergyman needs these qualities more than a layman, therefore it is even more right for a clergyman to sport'.⁴⁵ Delabre Blaine, author of An Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, (1840) agreed, suggesting that a 'moderate pursuit of rural amusements would damp none of the ardour of his reverence for his Maker, or his search after heaven. On the contrary, he might learn in the woods and fields to contemplate God in his works as effectively as he studies him through his word'.⁴⁶

Arnold's objections to field sports derived from his own Evangelicalism, a doctrine which stressed moral earnestness and a compassion towards animals. Broadly, Arnold decreed that the young had a moral duty to 'harmonise' with, rather than harm, nature.⁴⁷ By excluding field sports from Rugby, Arnold looked to instil a sensitivity towards wildlife in his pupils which help to explain the moral difference between 'good and evil'.⁴⁸ By advocating a spiritual 'assimilation' of the natural

environment, Arnold laid the basis for doctrines taken up by the Christian Socialist Movement which was committed to finding 'the beauty in all things that God has made for the service of education.'⁴⁹ Later, compassion and respect for wildlife became the central tenet of a feminist and socialist educational rationale.⁵⁰

Arnold's compassionate ideology fitted easily into prevailing notions of moral concern for animals. Henry Primatt's Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy and Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals (1776) and the Reverend John Styles, The Animal Creation, it's claims on our humanity stated and enforced, (1839) condemned the role of animals as sporting objects and deprecated 'sportsmen' who 'sacrificed life for mere amusement' by 'destroying unoffending and happy creatures without higher motive'.

⁵¹ In 1829, William Wilberforce had questioned the propriety of field sports for spiritual leaders in an age which demanded greater responsibility towards its wildlife in his A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, in the Higher and Middle Classes, Contrasted With Real Christianity, (1829)⁵² By the late 1830s, the morality of field sports came under attack from the publication The Animals Friend, which complained that 'no one in his sense can think that to hunt and tear a living being to pieces for sport is not wickedness in the extreme'.⁵³

Unsurprisingly, aristocratic refugees from Arnold's Rugby, with their too frequent enthusiasm for field sports, were frequently advised that Eton would provide a more appropriate venue and instil a more suitable education.⁵⁴ There was logic in this since field sports played a distinctive and influential part in Eton life at this time. In its 'free pagan' atmosphere, there was only muted remonstrations against 'blood sports' from the College's religious leaders.⁵⁵ As recalled by Old Etonian J. Brinsley-Richards, there 'was never amongst us at Eton what is called a strong

religious movement,'⁵⁶ while another observed that the Eton 'pedagogical experience' discouraged piety and produced 'pupils' not 'disciples'.⁵⁷ According to Old Etonian, John Astley, an avid rider-to-hounds and game shot, there was 'no benefit in hearing a few prayers mumbled in Latin by some college official who seemed in as great a hurry to get through his task as I was to get out of chapel'.⁵⁸

Eton Master, Reverend C. L. Lovett-Cameron, not only hunted with the Eton Beagles but denounced Humanitarian moves to abolish the pack.⁵⁹ He was supported by Canon E.K. Douglas, who combined his role as Senior Keeper of the Field with a Mastership of the Eton Beagles, while M.B. Furse, the Bishop of St. Albans, never refused an invitation to hunt at Eton.⁶⁰

Founder of the Humanitarian League, and Eton Master, Henry Salt and Professor Edward Freeman at Oxford, both denounced the Anglican Church for supporting the sources of masculinity on which field sports depended.⁶¹ 'From the clergy', Salt lamented, 'we got little cheer. Although Archbishop Temple and some leaders of religious opinion personally signed our memorials against cruel sports, from Churchmen as a body, our cause received no sympathy and many of the were ranged against it. In the many protests against all forms of cruelty, torture, vivisection, blood sports - many have asked, 'where is the clergy?' But there is nothing new in the failure of organised religion to aid emancipation'.⁶² Whatever the merits of this argument, it was view which lingered well into the twentieth century when the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports argued that 'little had been done by either Religion or Education to stem the tide of cruelty involved in hunting'.⁶³ As late as 1933, the League rebuked the Rev. J. Hale and the Rev. D. Pughe for their

continued support for hunting while holding senior positions within the Mid-Kent R.S.P.C.A. ⁶⁴

For his part, teaching at Trinity College, Cambridge between 1880 and 1884, Henry Salt complained that he had 'never heard from preacher, professor, lecturer, dean or don, the least mention of the higher social ethics without which there can be no real culture, no true civilisation and no animal welfare programme'. ⁶⁵ His concerns were compounded by senior clerical staff who hunted while on the teaching staff at Cambridge. The Reverend Frederick Gunton, for example, was praised by some colleagues as 'good company, clever at writing elegiacs, fond of Newmarket...and *very* quick with the Chapel services, a view confirmed by Lord Hawke who commended him as a 'real old sport'. ⁶⁶ Gunton was eventually dismissed from his post of Dean following excessive drinking and spending too much time hunting with dogs and racing at Newmarket. ⁶⁷ His colleague at Magdalene College, Edward Warter, fared better and was eulogised as a 'kind and painstaking' Tutor and President whose reputation was enhanced by his ability as an uncompromising rider to hounds. ⁶⁸ Similarly, the Reverend Latimer Neville, sixth Baron Braybrooke and Master of Magdalene College in the 1880s, shot on a regular basis at Audley End. ⁶⁹

The casual indifference to the killing of wildlife for sport displayed by his colleagues was anathema to Henry Salt. Organised religion, he insisted, had rejected the essential kinship of sentient life which divided humans, with their 'immortal souls,' from the 'soulless beast'; in his view, Eton and Oxbridge underpinned 'the *old faiths*,' which were 'dying or dead - Humanitarianism was the new motive power to take their place in the future.'⁷⁰ Both Salt and George Greenwood, his deputy at the Humanitarian League, asserted that a higher morality was necessary to develop

children's 'higher social instincts' which were, in turn, essential for 'humane ideas'.⁷¹ Greenwood admitted, however, that the moral imperatives associated with hunting were widely endorsed in a society which encouraged cruelty: it was, he lamented, 'a manly thing to be indifferent to pain - not only to our own pain but that of others. To be sorry for a hunted hare or to be compassionate to a wounded deer has been accounted by us as a namby-pamby sentimentalism, not fit for man, fit only for squeamish women.'⁷²

His ululation's were founded principally on the notion that hunting encouraged 'manliness'.⁷³ Indeed, Salt conceded, 'that nothing can exceed the ferocity of the national pastimes, in which, under the plea of affording healthful exercise to their tormentors, park-bred deer are worried and baited, foxes, otters and hares are hunted and 'broken-up', bagged-rabbits are 'coursed' in small enclosures by yelling savages, pheasants and other 'preserved' birds are mown down in thousands in an organised butchery known euphemistically as the battue and pigeons are released from traps to be shot by gangs of ruffians gambling over the result of their shooting 'skills.' Every form of cowardly slaughter is practised as 'sportsmanlike' and commended as 'manly.'⁷⁴

Even worse, in Salt's opinion, was the popular idea that the so-called 'zest' of hunting and shooting lay in 'spilling blood'.⁷⁵ Accordingly, field sports were described by The League as 'blood sports', a term which Salt used to antagonise sportsmen during debates about the ethics of hunting. Interestingly, The League's belligerent approach to 'blood sports' contrasted with the more circumspect attitude of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds which had begun in Didsbury, Manchester in 1889; unlike The League, the R.S.P.B., which had obtained a Royal

Charter in 1904, was careful not to alienate influential sportsmen by publicly condemning shooting. The rules of the Society, therefore, stated that it was 'strictly neutral on the question of killing of game birds and legitimate sport of that character'.⁷⁶

Ironically, The League's bellicose stand against the use of animals for sport was not always supported by the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. In 1891, executive member of the new League, The Reverend John Stratton, lamented that the R.S.P.C.A. had not as yet made a consistent stand against 'blood sports';⁷⁷ the Society's reluctance to bring wild hunted animals under the protection of the 1911 Protection of Animals Act for example, meant that only domestic and captive animals benefited from the new legislation, much to the annoyance of George Greenwood.⁷⁸

Within the context of period social reform, The League brought to public attention the way in which animals were abused for sport. More radically, however, it also questioned the underlying cultural reasons as to why men hunted. The organisation was in no doubt that hunting was so popular because it was glorified in some quarters as 'passage into manhood' which acted as a *preparation* for the twin cults of 'sport and war'. Consequently, The League ridiculed the idea of hare-hunting at Eton College, in particular, as a training in manliness for war skills. Thus, Henry Salt trumpeted the Eton Hunt used 'bagged' - or semi-tame - ground game from Leadenhall Market, while George Greenwood scoffed at the idea of hare-hunting as part of 'England's greatness which strengthening the muscles and sinews of a conquering Imperial race!'⁷⁹

Salt's teaching experiences at Eton made clear to him that the inculcation of masculinity through sport and hunting were popular disciplines within the curriculum. In his view, however, this was an outmoded curriculum which remained an 'anachronistic nursery of barbarism, a microcosm of that predatory class whose members seek their ideal in the twofold cult of 'sport and soldier-ship', and despite a superficial show of learning and refinement, Eton was at heart a stronghold of savagery, a most graceful, easygoing savagery, for savages, as we know, are often a very pleasant people'.⁸⁰ In response to the belief that field sports at Eton reflected the patriotic values expected of an ancient seat of learning, Salt referred to 'blood-sports' as part of a 'slavish British obsession with 'Hunnish sports and fashions'.⁸¹

Salt was careful not to condemn cricket, rowing, football, cycling and the drag-hunt, as to denounce all sports was to run the risk of undermining The League's credibility.⁸² It was a premise supported by George Greenwood who contended that 'opposition to 'sport' in *any* form is generally looked upon as a mark of the faddist' while to attack 'amusements such as stag hunting and hunting 'carted deer' was to court social exclusion.⁸³

Changing attitudes towards hunting and the militaristic culture which supported it, therefore, was The League's priority. These objectives were bolstered by author Dr. R.F. Forton and anti-imperialist, J.A. Hobson. The latter noted with concern the prevailing 'epidemic' of martial feeling and the 'will to glory and conquest which fired the public's imagination and perception of imperialism through hero-worship, sensational glory, adventure and the sporting spirit which served to stimulate the combative instincts'.⁸⁴ His concerns were taken up by Dr. R.F. Forton,

who deprecated the mania for competitive sport and hunting as moral example for the young. Forton's allegorical public schoolboy, 'Athlete', 'had natural talent and was quite prepared to be interested in books. But at school he found that nothing was more despised than learning, and that to love books was the sure mark of a milksop or a knave. He therefore gave himself to the games which were the sure road to honour and consideration. At the age of nineteen, he was equipped for life by a very thorough ignorance of classics and mathematics, a dabbling in natural history, and a complete knowledge of all the forms of manly sport. 'Athletes' has a busy life, and seldom get away for more than two days a week for hunting in the winter, or more than a month or six weeks at a time for shooting in the autumn or for fishing in the summer; his 'duty' toward England was to protect the holders of foreign bonds and to manipulate the world for their advantage'.⁸⁵

For his part, Henry Salt had observed first-hand the symbiotic relationship between hunting, war and 'duty' being brought up by 'manly folk' - his sardonic term for 'sportsmen'- particularly, his father, Colonel T.H. Salt of the Indian Army, who was a keen 'hunting and shooting man'.⁸⁶ The younger Salt disappointed and antagonised by his father by claiming that both war and hunting were both "blood-sports" which emanated from the same inhuman impulses.⁸⁷ There was more suffering, he suggested, caused to animals in a day of war than in a year of peace.⁸⁸ Salt's incubus was the Great War which he denounced as 'an orgy of hatred', a chaotic conflict which would inevitably lead to incredible animal as well as human casualties.⁸⁹

Salt was also pessimistic about the scattered intervals of peace between Britain's imperial wars in the late nineteenth century and likened them to 'armed

truces', during which, so far from being at genuine peace with their neighbours, the military was 'occupied in speculating where the next attack shall be delivered, or how they shall repel the next attack from abroad. Under the pretence of a wholly ridiculous maxim - '*if you wish for peace, prepare for war*' - they keep their minds for ever set on wars and rumours of wars, with the result that, in spite of all their profession of benevolence and brotherhood, the trade of killing is that which is above all respected by them'.⁹⁰

It was a central tenet of Humanitarian ideology that international rivalries would remain until the mind of man was humanised in other respects. This doctrine made explicit the association between war, hunting and the wider abuse of animals. Therefore, 'as long as man kills the lower races for food or sport he will be ready to kill his own race for enmity... *the ubiquitous morals of the racecourse and the sportsman*' would continue to motivate children to use and abuse wild creatures for amusement.⁹¹ The inhumanity of both war and hunting was taken up by Hamilton Fyfe, president of the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports, an organisation which emerged in 1924. Fyfe asked rhetorically how 'anyone who considers it justifiable to torment and kill animals for fun can ever really look with horror or shame at the killing and wounding of men in battle, and until those are the feelings aroused by war we shall never be rid of it'.⁹²

In an effort to reduce the glorification of 'sport and soldiership' at Eton, the League published 'The Beagler Boy,' to parody hare-hunting as a sport which contributed Britain's so-called dominant martial identity.⁹³ Much to the League's amusement, the hoax aroused unwitting support from pro-hunting publications such as The Sportsman, the British Medical Journal, Sporting Life, Illustrated Sporting

and Dramatic News, Horse and Hound, Army and Navy Gazzete, Court Journal, and E.K. Robinson's Country-Side .⁹⁴

By bringing the ethical issues surrounding the Eton Hunt into the public arena, the League had found a way of questioning the way in which society defined 'manliness'. Humanitarian League, co-founder and publisher, Ernest Bell asserted that field sports could only be considered 'manly' if definitions of 'manliness' included a calculated indifference to the suffering of animals, while Salt asked rhetorically 'what could be more flagrantly and miserably *unmanly* than for a crowd of men to sally forth, in perfect security, armed and mounted, with every advantage of power and skill on their side, to do death some poor, skulking terrified little habitant of the woodside. It can hardly be doubted that this comical aspect of modern 'sport' will force itself on the attention of the caricaturists'.⁹⁵

Professor Edward A. Freeman, Regis Professor of Modern History at Oxford between 1884-92, was of like mind. In his view, quarry species were 'defenceless against savage pack of hounds, therefore pursuit was of no moral benefit to those who chased them'.⁹⁶ Thus, Freeman rejected the proposition that hunting on horseback promoted manliness by virtue of its inherent 'risk' - riding-to-hounds, in his eyes, was a more 'cowardly' than manly' activity.⁹⁷ In short, Freeman considered fox hunting to be nothing more than a cruel and anachronistic legacy of barbaric 'sports' which pitted man against beast in one-sided 'fights to the death'.⁹⁸

Freeman's intellectual crusade against fox hunting had originated some years earlier in 1869 but he had received scant support from other Oxford academics. Christ Church Don, Lewis Carroll, however, did criticise Oxford students who hunted the hare.⁹⁹ Reformist efforts at Oxford were not successful. Despite the

existence of the Statutes, De Ludis Prohibitis, (1838) which forbade the hunting of wild animals with hounds, ferrets or traps, or the use of firearms or hawks against game, students with sufficient financial means continued to hunt as they pleased.¹⁰⁰ In fact, hare hunting flourished at Oxford University well into the twentieth century and induced only 'muted protests' from some College authorities.¹⁰¹ Similar support for hunting was achieved at Cambridge where, as late as 1949, the Cambridge Union voted overwhelmingly in favour of field sports, a view enjoyed by The Field which claimed that hunting to hounds was a healthier and more virile exercise for students than sitting in cinemas and the like.¹⁰²

For his part, Professor Freeman's offensive was fraught with other difficulties. 'Unpopular' criticism of the '*national*' sport, he argued, required 'careful consideration', a fact confirmed by his close friend, John Stuart Mill who commented that, although he would have liked to publicly condemn field sports, he declined to do so as he 'already championed enough unpopular causes'.¹⁰³ It was a problem identified by George Greenwood who reluctantly agreed that fox hunting, for its exponents and others in the wider community, celebrated the activity as a conspicuous part of the 'British Constitution!'¹⁰⁴ Freeman sympathised with J.S. Mill's reluctance to censure 'constitutional' sports, admitting that public support for hunting was of 'religious' proportions and that dissension was likened to 'sacrilege'.¹⁰⁵

Ironically, a number of hunting articles written by sportsmen, which drew attention to the intellectual, moral and legal threats to field sports, suggested that their opponents were having a limited degree of success. Articles located in Baily's Magazine such as 'Fox-hunting, its Future and Prospects', 'The Future of Hunting,' 'Pheasant Shooting and its Future,' 'On some Abuses in Fox-hunting,' 'A Sportsman's

Cruelty to Animals,' 'The Future of Field sports' and 'An Age of Extermination' illustrated a collective concern among the sporting ranks at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁶

Unsurprisingly, The League looked to build on the cracks appearing in the wider hunting fraternity by focusing greater attention on the privileged bastion of the Eton Beagle Club. Initially, the League had remonstrated with Headmaster Dr. Edward Warre who had consistently resisted pressure to abolish the Beagles and routinely defended the College Beagles as an '*old institution*' which merited privileges rather than sanctions.¹⁰⁷ He recommended, for example, that the Hunt Master and Whips be allowed unrestricted use of the College trap, to ensure that the 'field' had sufficient time to hunt and could return at their leisure in time for 'lock-up'.¹⁰⁸ Ironically, Warre was an executive member of the Committee of the Windsor and Eton Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals which had already made numerous requests to the Governing Body of Eton to reform the Beagles.¹⁰⁹

Warre's unswerving commitment to the Hunt was now the subject of scrutiny from reformers concerned at the way hunting was used as a moral example for Eton pupils.¹¹⁰ The support of public figures, including Herbert Spencer, Thomas Hardy, John Galsworthy and Arthur Conan Doyle, who all subscribed to an end to the Eton Beagles, bolstered the Humanitarian cause.¹¹¹

The reformist case against the Beagles received a welcome fillip from Harry Hamilton Johnston, imperialist and occasional 'shot' who had professional and informal contacts with many hunter-naturalists of the period. In his view, 'the Eton boy must be taught not to hunt hares (which should be bred for food and humanely

killed) or defenceless fallow deer, but should be encouraged to pursue both the camera and the notebook'.¹¹² There were both moral and practical benefits, he suggested, to this pragmatism. Johnstone, therefore, speculated that the end of the Beagles would 'civilise the Eton boy', so that when 'he grows up to be a soldier or administrator, a representative of Britain beyond the seas, he will not thirst to destroy all the big-game and game birds within his reach, nor stand by un-protesting when backward races are being driven to desperation, or uneatable egrets, terns and trogons are shot wholesale for the decoration of women's heads'.¹¹³

In 1905, the Beagles received another blow from of all people, arch-Nimrod, Frederick Courtney Selous, who was surprisingly receptive to anti-hunt propaganda sent from the League's Reverend John Stratton.¹¹⁴ After reading a League pamphlet condemning the Eton Hunt he wrote without a trace of irony, 'I certainly think it would be better to substitute drag-hunting for the pursuit and killing of a hare at Eton College. To see one of these animals worried and torn by a pack of hounds is not an edifying sight for a young boy'.¹¹⁵

His advice was taken up by Henry Salt who asked Dr. Warre to substitute live hare-hunting with the innocuous and 'wholesome' drag-hunting to maintain the so-called 'health-giving' 'virtues' of riding-to-hounds.¹¹⁶ This bloodless form of hunting had been practised at Eton before the Beagles but fell into decline because, according to one observer, it lacked the authenticity of 'real hunting'.¹¹⁷ To strengthen his case, Salt published a letter from the Headmaster of Mostyn House School in Cheshire in December 1903, who enthused that drag-hunting, 'resplendent' with twenty-four hounds, had been successfully '*making men from boys*' at the school for over ten years.¹¹⁸ There was logic in this. Drag-hunting had 'measurably

improved' participants performances in other sports against other schools and was, according to the Head of Mostyn School, more popular with students than regulation football and rugby.¹¹⁹ Humanitarian reason, however, was to no avail, and, despite the contemporaneous discrediting of the Royal Buckhounds' 'carted-deer', live-pigeon trap-shooting and rabbit-coursing, the Eton Beagles continued to flourish without recourse to a drag-hunt.¹²⁰

Reformist attacks on other forms of 'blood sports' did at least bring the morality of hunting under greater scrutiny. Much to its supporter's chagrin, the hunting of carted deer by Staghounds, a pack with a long and proud heritage, was dragged into the public realm.¹²¹ Kennels were maintained at Tring and Leighton Buzzard, where the pack came under the direction of Lionel Rothschild. The Hounds, as their detractors pointed out with some relish, cost some £6,000 per year from the civil list for their upkeep.¹²²

The Humanitarian offensive against the Eton Beagles, therefore, became part of a wider assault against field sports. Strategy was important, since according to Salt, 'specific practices of tyranny can only be successfully combated on the ground of a broad democratic sentiment'.¹²³ Salt realised that animal welfare reform was subsumed within the wider need for social reform and consequently fought hard to stop the League becoming a depository for sentimental indulgences and false enthusiasms. Consequently, Humanitarianism, in his opinion, had to rid itself of a 'false love of animals a pampering of pets and lapdogs by people who care nothing for the real welfare of animals or even of the welfare of men. Humanitarianism must show that it is not 'bestarian' and must aim at the redress of all needless suffering, human and animal alike - the stupid cruelties of social tyranny, of the criminal code of

fashion, of science, of flesh-eating'.¹²⁴ The League, therefore, had to reconcile the needs of wild and domestic animals without embracing a potentially damaging image of anthropomorphic sentimentality. In short, Salt emphasised that the League, had a commitment to 'redress the suffering of all sentient life. By Humanitarianism I mean nothing more and nothing less than the study and practice of humane principles - of compassion, love and gentleness and universal benevolence. If the word, in the sense in which I use it, is associated in the minds of my readers with 'sickly sentimentality' I ask them to divest themselves of all such prejudices'.¹²⁵

Salt's pragmatism, however, was not universally accepted as it precipitated conflicts of interest within Humanitarian ranks. Anti-vivisectionist, Lord Llangattock, Conservative M.P. for Monmouthshire, for example, was also Master of the Monmouthshire Foxhounds, while vociferous campaigner against hunting, George Bernard Shaw was horrified to find himself 'on the same platform with fox-hunters, tame stag-hunters, men and women whose calendar was divided, not by pay days, but by seasons for killing animals for sport'.¹²⁶ At one such meeting, Shaw complained that the 'ladies among us wore hats and cloaks obtained by wholesale massacres, ruthless trappings, callous extermination of our fellow creatures. I made a very effective speech not exclusively against vivisection, but against cruelty; and I have never been asked to speak since by that Society'.¹²⁷

The resignation of Lord Lonsdale, a forceful supporter of field sports, in May 1909 from the Anti-Vivisection Society illustrated the difficulties faced by reformists without specific goals and confused state of animal reform politics.¹²⁸ The objectification of wild animals for sport, therefore, was only one aspect of the League's work and disseminated through anti-hunting publications such as Rabbit

Coursing, an Appeal to Working Men, (William Reeves, 1892) and Salt's Animal Rights (1892) and Killing for Sport (1913)

In spite of internecine problems facing the League, its broad sentiments continued to attract support from unlikely sources. In 1905, Frederick Courtney Selous publicly denounced trap-pigeon shooting, rabbit-coursing with whippets and tame stag-hunting, which, in his experience, were 'degraded forms of amusement from which every element of 'fair-play' has been excluded.'¹²⁹ Although pigeon-shooting by the wealthy had long been practised at Hurlingham, Selous's moral scepticism was shared by others concerned at the absence of physical effort required to shoot pigeons' whose chances of escape were limited at best.¹³⁰

Trap-pigeon shooting, therefore, was advanced as the weakest link in the field sport chain and was recognised by sections of the public to be objectionable and cruel.¹³¹ In 1904, a number of Radical M.P's led by George Anderson, introduced a Cruelty to Animals Bill to ban trapshooting, which subsequently passed through the House of Commons with a majority of 155 at which the Daily News rejoiced that this 'unmanly and immoral' practice took place for the last time in January 1906 at its former stronghold of Hurlingham.¹³²

Predictably, disgruntled 'sportsmen' viewed its demise as an ideological victory to 'vegetarian cranks' and 'a precursor of legislation under which fishermen would be imprisoned, butchers would be hanged and we should all be ridden over by rampant vegetarians'.¹³³ Interestingly, the burgeoning, period vegetarian movement not only provided an ideological bulwark against shooting, but encouraged the networking of reformists through the growing number of tea rooms and vegetarian restaurants; for his part, Henry Salt opined that vegetarianism, like field sport reform,

was linked to 'socialism, anarchism and Bolshevism', terms which were trotted out by the "respectable classes" when 'others' questioned the social order.¹³⁴ The end of trap-pigeon shooting was linked by more measured opinion to the rise in other pastimes such as polo, golf and tennis.¹³⁵ Following its demise, Humanitarian attention now turned to another 'spurious' sport of the privileged - the Queen's Buckhounds.¹³⁶ Initially, a national petition, supported by David Lloyd George, Lord Coleridge, Edward Carpenter and Herbert Spencer, together with seventy M.Ps from all parties, propelled the issue of hunting 'tame carted deer' into the public domain.¹³⁷ As part of a wider ethical debate about 'hunting and cruelty', Sir Henry Newbolt, rebuked assertions that deer 'anticipated' death when being pursued.¹³⁸ Invoking a crude Darwinism, Newbolt countered that all hunting was a 'struggle for existence upon which terrestrial life is founded. If sportsmen were to be condemned, greater criticism should be levelled at the Power who created the order of the world'.¹³⁹ Interestingly, Newbolt was not slow to condemn the socially inferior pastime of rabbit coursing by working class men which, he opined, was 'relatively cruel' because rabbits could not defend themselves, unlike deer, through stealth or great speed.¹⁴⁰

In 1902, the beleaguered supporters of the Buckhounds justified their 'sport' on the grounds of its contribution to manliness and 'true' sportsmanship. Admitting that it was cruel to inflict needless physical suffering on wildlife, proponents asserted that the canons of true sport, which they represented, required a man to kill quickly, with as little pain as possible.¹⁴¹ Appeals to the precepts of 'fair play', however, fell on deaf ears and reformers continued to censure 'tame' deer hunters through leaflets, articles, press letters and lectures.¹⁴²

The collaboration of leading suffrage feminists Josephine Butler, Mrs. Bramwell Booth, Alice Meynell and Agnes Maitland against the Buckhounds, strengthened the reformist case by attacking the social privileges associated with male dominated hunting.¹⁴³ The reformist case was strengthened by the support of Shafts, a progressive feminist journal started in the 1890s, which campaigned against field sports, prostitution, and 'cruelty to women, children and every animal that breathes and moves, every bird, fish and reptile'.¹⁴⁴

The feminist disapproval of male hunting sports included women and girls from factories in the Buckingham shires against the Queen's Hounds.¹⁴⁵ Their contribution to the crusade against the Buckhounds can be seen as 'younger females' against older males symbolising new feminist confidence. The eventual discontinuance of the Buckhounds in the early 1900s was described by a jubilant Henry Salt as the end of the 'last and dearest stronghold of the savage'.¹⁴⁶ The Hunt's supporters were left to rue the effectiveness of propaganda when directed against sport which, in the popular imagination, made little contribution to the moral imperatives of masculinity.¹⁴⁷

It was now open season on those who hunted 'carted' deer. In February, 1902, an undergraduate of Cambridge University, in his role as the Master of the University's Draghounds, was charged with cruelty after a 'carted' hind, previously kept in captivity by the huntsmen, died during a chase at Great Shelford.¹⁴⁸ The Senior Proctor of Jesus College Cambridge ordered the removal of stags kept by the University for hunting. This ended the confinement of any quarry species for the purposes of hunting at the University.¹⁴⁹

Bolstered by these successes, the League reasserted its objections to the Eton Hunt, particularly the hunting of does in March and April when hares were most likely to be pregnant. According to its detractors, the pursuit of quarry in this handicapped state was more likely to create 'healthy barbarians' than 'civilised men', an 'advanced' objective according to its proponents! ¹⁵⁰ Unsurprisingly, Dr. Warre's continued support for hare-hunting and his executive position within the Windsor R.S.P.C.A brought further allegations of moral complacency from Humanitarians still concerned at the priority given to 'barbarianism and cruelty over education'. ¹⁵¹

Warre's introduction of natural history study to the Eton curriculum at this time was one way of broadening boys' interest in wildlife although Henry Salt, for his part, found little evidence of it being taught. ¹⁵² With mounting Humanitarian opposition, Warre apparently capitulated, stating that hare hunting should cease by February to allow for pregnant hares. ¹⁵³ However, by allowing the Hunt to start earlier, in mid-November, rather than the usual January, Warre, in reality, was making no concessions. ¹⁵⁴

In January, 1905, the Master of the Beagles, P.M. Wroughton, visited Dr. Warre's successor, Canon Edmund Lytton to determine his attitude to the Hunt. He was not to be disappointed since Lytton had no objection in principle to boys hunting provided it was 'kept quiet as possible and the field was reasonably small', a 'reasonable' approach built on by H.S. Loder, Master of the Beagles in the following year, who insisted that all future Beaglers must visit local farmers out of courtesy and that the Headmaster should be consulted and informed with details of meets. ¹⁵⁵

Such minor structural changes in the running of the Hunt were of no interest to critics who, under the aegis of the Windsor Ladies Memorial Committee, now

assailed the Head by petition.¹⁵⁶ An impenitent Lyttleton retorted that 'petitioners seem to assume that hares are hunted here in an unfit condition. This is not true. No one can fully judge of there being a risk unless they are on the spot and fully conversant with all the details. If there was any risk, I should take more stringent measures than I have done. The petitioners like others who have written on the subject, are protesting against an evil which does not, and so far as I can make out, never has existed here'.¹⁵⁷ Chairwoman of the Ladies Committee, suffrage feminist, Ellinor Penn Gaskell, unsurprisingly condemned his intransigence, complaining that Lyttleton's knowledge of natural history and hunting was 'flawed' and 'untrustworthy' since he never 'ventured out with the hounds of Eton; that many other beagles and harriers had ceased hunting early out of respect to pregnant hares was further evidence, according to Penn Gaskell, of the Eton Hunt's anachronistic tendencies.¹⁵⁸

Using the pseudonym 'Old Etonian,' George Greenwood joined the debate and denounced his almer mater for ignoring the 'supreme importance of impressing on young minds the sacred duty of kindness to animals, and an abhorrence of cruelty in every form; boys would not learn to be compassionate from hunting hares. I should like my old school to take the lead in these matters, instead of lagging far behind. The Headmasters' sympathies are, I believe, with us, but I fear he lets 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would'.¹⁵⁹

Retaliation was instant. A Hunt supporter, using the pseudonym 'Merry Beagler', observed that 'the large majority of packs of harriers and beagles continue until April, whereas the Eton Beagles cease hunting in March. Every possible precaution is taken against hunting heavy does; and also in the last five seasons, no gravid doe has been killed in March. 'The Old Etonian,' however goes further,

advocating the abolition of the Eton Beagles altogether. He seems to forget that 90% of the boys who beagle hunt at home and all have their parents permission, or rather *desire*, to run with the beagles at Eton: and therefore there is no need for the sons of parents who hold similar reins to the Old Etonian even to witness the terrible brutality and cruelty of the Eton College Hare Hunt! Fortunately, the instinct of sport is born in the English boy and it will not cease with the abolition of beagling at Eton, which has been carried on so successfully since 1860. May I end with the Latin quotation which the Old Etonian will more readily understand than the above arguments, in support of beagling at Eton - 'Venator nascitur, non fit'.¹⁶⁰

Such was the commitment to hunting at Eton, the Beagles were stopped for only a few months at the end of the Great War after which the sport was continued with renewed gusto.¹⁶¹ In January 1919, J.F. de Sales La Ferriere, a pupil keen to reinstate the pack, met with the Headmaster, Canon Lyttleton, to negotiate on behalf of the Hunt.¹⁶² By October of the same year, written approval was received in a revealing letter from the Head : 'let me begin by saying that though I do not like killing anything myself (perhaps because I have always done it so badly) I have never thought that Beagling as carried on at Eton, has, or could have, any bad effect on the character of those taking part. Without any disrespect to you or your predecessors, a hare's chances of life in this district are appreciably greater than in most parts of the country. I sent a circular to all likely to be concerned with the reintroduction of the Beagles, and the great bulk of opinion is favourable to their being reinstated. The only conditions I make are that if there was any unfavourable local opinion the hunt should be discontinued, that Lower Boys should not be allowed to run, and that hunting should stop at least as early as March 19th'.¹⁶³

The radical ambitions of the Humanitarian League to end hunting at Eton thus lay in tatters. ¹⁶⁴ In September, 1919, the League capitulated, an ignoble ending, according to its founder 'as it began, in its character of forlorn hope. We had the goodwill of the freelances, not of the public or of the professions. Although the likes of Keir Hardie, J.R. Clynes, J.R. Macdonald, Bruce Glasier and George Lansbury were 'good friends' of the League, they showed little interest in reforming the Game Laws. Literary men were afraid of incurring the name 'humanitarian', and schoolmasters looked askance at a society which condemned the cure'. ¹⁶⁵

In 1918, Salt admitted that 'a new campaign' against field sports was needed. ¹⁶⁶ One response to this need was the establishment of the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports in 1924 which rekindled hope for those opposed to field sports on the wider stage. ¹⁶⁷ In one of its first Journals, Cruel Sports, it claimed that the defunct Humanitarian League had made the most effective contribution against blood sports, in particular its efforts to educate the young away from cruelty through hunting. ¹⁶⁸

The new League also kept a watchful eye on the activities of the Eton Hunt and, in 1928, presented a Memorial against the Beagles - nothing came of this. ¹⁶⁹ Eton's intransigence against reform of the Beagles brought further attacks from the League. In 1938, for example, The Times reported that an Old Etonian had sparked a public protest by contravening the rules of 'fair play' after a pupil had 'picked up a hare and placed it in front of the hounds'. ¹⁷⁰ A senior Eton Housemaster and Master of Harriers attended the ensuing public meeting at Slough determined to defend the proud tradition of the Eton Hunt against Hamilton Fyfe and novelist Ethel Mannin of the League. ¹⁷¹

In other words, the ideological battle for the hearts and minds of Eton pupils would continue as long as College authorities deemed that hunting helped in the formation of 'men'. After all, Britain's proud military heritage was in part dependent on Eton's reputation for producing manly boys. Part Two will examine the relationship between hunting and the military in the making of a virile period masculinity.

- 1 G. Himmelfarb, Victorian Minds, London, 1968, pp.280-2. In fact, Arnold argued that religion and education were inseparable processes. See The Quarterley Review, October 1860, p.411
- 2 C.L.R. James, Beyond a Boundary, London, 1969, p.164
- 3 T.W. Bamford, Thomas Arnold, London, 1960, p.159. See also, A. Arbuthnot, Memories of Rugby and India, London, 1910, pp.17-19
- 4 J. Gathorne-Hardy, The Public School Phenomenon, London, 1977, pp.72-3
- 5 Letter from Vaughan to L.A. Tollemache, quoted in L.A. Tollemache, Old and Odd Memories, London, 1908, pp.126-7 See also, N. Wymer, Dr Arnold of Rugby, London, 1953, p119
- 6 E. Dunning, K. Sheard, Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players, Oxford, 1979, p.77
- 7 Bamford, Thomas Arnold, p.159
- 8 Dunning and Sheard, Barbarians, p.77
- 9 B. Mutimer, 'Arnold and Organised Games', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Alberta, 1971, held at Rugby School Library. I am grateful to School Archivist, Rusty Maclean for his help in this area.
- 10 J.A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School, Cambridge, 1981, pp.179-203. See also, H. John Field, Towards a Programme of Imperial Life: the British Empire at the Turn of the Century, Oxford, 1983. For a wider discussion of 'character' and sport see T. Cook, Character and Sportsmanship, London, 1927. For a discussion of public schools and 'character', see G.W. Parkin, Edward Thring, His Life, Diaries and Letters, London, 1898.

- 11 Ibid.
- 12 J.G. Millais, Wanderings and Memories, London, 1919, pp.2-3, Ibid., p.5
- 13 B.W. Lappin, A Distant Project, London, 1964, p.23
- 14 E.W. L. Davis, A Memoir of the Rev. John Russell and his out of door life, London, 1883, pp.215-216
- 15 A. Trollope, British Sports and Pastimes, London, 1868, pp.72-5
- 16 See for example, The Times, 10th October 1865, p.10
- 17 T. Arnold, Miscellaneous Works, London, 1845, letter 6, pp.196-7; A.P. Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, London, 1844, p.554, and Thomas Arnold, Miscellaneous Works, letter 2, p.176
- 18 H. Perkin, Origins of Modern English Society, London, 1972, p.298
- 19 L. Gautier, Chivalry, London, 1965, pp.9-31; see also, J. Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, London, 1801, p.4
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 T. Bamford, 'Public Schools and Social Class, 1800-1850', British Journal of Sociology, Vol.12, no.3, September 1961, p.225
- 22 A.W. Merivale, Family Memorials, Exeter, 1884, p.330
- 23 Perkin, Origins, p.269
- 24 E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, London, 1963, p.218
- 25 E.L. Jones, 'Industrial Capital and Land Investment: the Arkwrights in Herefordshire', in E.L. Jones, G. Mingay, eds., Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution, London, 1967, p.51
- 26 D. Rapp, Economic History Review, 2nd. Series Vol.27, 1974, p.380

- 27 C. Shrimpton, The Landed Society of Essex in the Late Eighteenth Century, London, 1977, p.1
- 28 F.M.L. Thompson, The Rise of Respectable Society, 1830-1900, London, 1988, p.270
- 29 Sporting Magazine, Vol.82, November 1858, p.317
- 30 Quoted in B. Martin, The Great Shoots, Newton Abbot, 1987, p.19
- 31 D. Cannadine, The Rise and Fall of the British Aristocracy, London, 1991, p.358
- 32 The Times, 28th February 1845, p.3; R. Carr, 'Country Sports', in G. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, 2 Vols., Vol.2, London, 1981, pp.475-489
- 33 A. Offer, Property and Politics in Victorian and Edwardian England, Cambridge, 1981, Chapter 2
- 34 D. Robinson, 'The Game Laws', Blackwood's Magazine, Vol.22, December 1827, p.644
- 35 The Times, 13th January 1864, p.3 and 20th October 1869, p.12
'The Game Laws', The Saturday Review, Vol.31, April 1871, p.481
- 36 J.E. Thorold Rogers, ed., Speeches on Policy of Public Policy by John Bright, 2 Vols., No.2, London, 1869, pp.317-332
- 37 M. Arnold, 'Democracy', in Mixed Essays, Irish Essays and Others, London, 1880, p.6
- 38 'The Game Laws,' Saturday Review, Vol.31, April 1871, p.481
- 39 C. Milnes-Gaskell, 'The Country Gentleman,' Nineteenth Century, Vol.10, September 1882, pp.460-463

- 40 Dunning and Sheard, Barbarians, p.306
- 41 A. Whitridge, Dr Arnold of Rugby, London, 1928, p.133
- 42 Quoted in F.M.L. Thompson, 'Landowners and the Rural Community' in Mingay, The Victorian Countryside, Vol.2, p.463
- 43 Stanley, Life and Correspondence, pp.60-9; Gathorne-Hardy, Phenomenon, pp.597-8. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Evangelicalism had been the dominant philosophy within the Church of England, although it had little relevance to the lower-orders. The poor were still largely encouraged to accept their state with resignation and humility.
- 44 'The Game Laws', Blackwood's Magazine, Vol.60, December 1846, p.762
- 45 The Saturday Review, January 1859, p.122
- 46 Delabere Blaine, An Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, London, 1840, p.151
- 47 Wymer, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, p.40; J.J. Findlay, Arnold of Rugby, Cambridge, 1897, pp.58-9, 153, 156-7
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 E.T. Cook, The Life of John Ruskin, 2 Vols., Vol.1, London, 1911, pp.132, 284 and J. Ruskin, A Joy For Ever, Orpington, 1857, p.106
- 50 H. Kean, The Socialist and Feminist Educational Experience 1900-30, London, 1990, pp.54-77
- 51 John Styles, The Animal Creation, its' claims on our humanity stated and enforced, London, 1839, p.23; W.A. Mackinnon, On the Rise, Progress and Present State of Public Opinion, in Great Britain and Other Parts of the World, London, 1828, pp.10-15; D. Wahrman, Imagining the Middle Class,

- The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c.1789-1840, Cambridge, 1995, p.16-19 R. Ryder, The Duty of Mercy, London, 1992, pp.10-20.
- 52 William Wilberforce's popular treatise, A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, in the Higher and Middle Classes, Contrasted With Real Christianity, London, 1811, p.135; E.S. Turner, All Heaven in a Rage, 2nd. Edition, London, 1992, Chapter Two; J. Turner, Animals, Pain and Humanity in the Victorian Mind: Reckoning with the Beast, New York, 1980, pp.10-20;
- 53 The Animals Friend, Vol.7, 1839, pp.15-17
- 54 J.R. Honey, 'The Victorian Public School 1828-1902, D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford, 1969, pp.20-1
- 55 S. Winsten, Salt and his Circle, London, 1951, p.26; H. Salt, Memories of Bygone Eton, London, 1928, pp.53-5
- 56 J. B. Richards, Seven Years at Eton, London, 1883, p.53
- 57 J. Chandos, Boys Together, London, 1984, pp.149-50, 341-2
- 58 Sir John D. Astley, Fifty Years of My Life, 2 Vols., Vol.1, London, 1894, p.13
- 59 Salt, Memories of Bygone Eton, p.241
- 60 Ibid. and see A.C. Crossley, A History of the Eton College Hunt, London, 1921, chapter 4. Their example was followed by numerous period sporting parsons. The Reverend Edward A. Milne even established his own pack, the North Bucks Harriers in 1896, after having been Master of the Trinity Foot Beagles at Magdalene College Cambridge. Milne worked from Shenly Rectory whilst retaining Mastership of the Harriers, hunting on average two

days a week. See Victoria County History of Buckinghamshire, Vol.2, London, 1905-28, p.229, and see, F. Kempson, The Trinity Foot Beagles, 1913, pp.190-7. Similarly, the Reverend Cecil Legard Legard, from a landed family of 'loyal statesmen, soldiers, divines and sportsmen, moved up to Magdalene College, Cambridge, before Mastering his own pack in Leicestershire. While C.Selby Lowndes, after an Eton education in the 1880s, later hunted with the Bucks Otterhounds at Great Linford. See Baily's Magazine, Vol.59, January 1893, pp.1-3 and see also, J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, Hunting Reminiscences, London, 1926

61 Edward A. Freeman, 1823-1894, Regius Professor of History at Oxford, 1884-92. W.R.W. Stephens, E.A. Freeman, His Life and Letters, 2 Vols., Vol.2, London, 1895, p.463; Animals Friend, Vol.17, London, 1870, pp.4, 16-17, 20

62 H. Salt, Seventy Years Among the Savages, London, 1921, pp.211-213

63 The League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports, Annual Report, 1933, p.3
 The sporting cleric was still eulogised in the sporting press. The Reverend George D. Bourne, J.P., of Oriel College, Oxford, for example, was described as a 'stalwart, square figure, up-right and comely and genial, an all-round sportsman, shooting, hunting and stalking with the best'. See, The Field, Vol.97, 9th February 1901, p.162

64 Ibid.

65 Salt, Savages, pp.47-8

66 MS, C/LN/27, held at Magdalene College Old Library;

- 67 Lord Hawke, Recollections and Reminiscences, London, 1924, pp. 34-5; S. Sproston, Magdalene College Magazine, Vol.3, 1910, p.101
- 68 Hawke, Recollections, p.35
- 69 'The Appanage of Audley End', The Spectator, January 1904, pp.120-1.
- 70 H. Salt, Humanitarianism, Its General Principles and Progress, London, 1891, pp.3,15
- 71 Old Etonian, M.P. and social reformer, George Greenwood insisted that effective, decent, moral example to the young was essential in order to 'higher civilisation'. See H. Salt, ed., Killing for Sport, London, 1914, pp.13-14, 18
- 72 H. Fielding, The Soul of a People, quoted by George Greenwood, in Salt, Killing for Sport, p.29
- 73 See J.A. Mangan, 'Noble Specimens of Manhood: schoolboy literature and the creation of a colonial chivalric code', in J. Richards, Imperialism and Juvenile Literature, Manchester, 1989, pp.173-94
- 74 Salt, Savages, pp.11, 151-2
- 75 H. Salt, Animal Rights Considered in Relation to Social Progress, London, 1922, preface
- 76 Salt, Savages, pp.162-3 He used the term "blood sports" in place of the euphemism 'field sports', to emphasise his aversion to killing for sport. The term seems to have first appeared in contemporary issues of the newspaper, The Echo in 1895 and was coined Humanitarian, John MacDonald. See Salt, Savages, pp.150-2

- 77 E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work for Animals: The History of the R.S.P.C.A., 1824-1924, London, 1924, chapter 2-3. John Stratton was Master of Lucas's Hospital Wokingham during the 1890s.
- 78 Protection of Animals Act, 1 and 2, George, 5, 191; R. Thomas, The Politics of Hunting, Aldershot, 1983, pp.210-19. See also F. Buxton, Men I Have Known, London, 1871, pp.10-21, A.W. Moss, Valiant Crusade, London, 1961, chapter 1; K. Tester, Animals and Society, London, 1991, pp.10-14
- 79 G. Greenwood, 'Cruelty of Sport,' in Salt, Killing for Sport, pp.28-9 ; E. Bell, 'Big Game Hunting,' in Salt, Killing for Sport, pp.112-3
- 80 Salt, Savages, p.11
- 81 Salt, Savages, pp.154-9
- 82 Salt, Killing for Sport, preface.
- 83 Greenwood, 'The Hunting of Carted Deer', The Times, 20th April 1908, p.11
- 84 J.A. Hobson, Imperialism: a Study, 3rd Edition, London, 1968, p.222; J. Schumpeter, Imperialism and Social Classes, Oxford, 1951, pp.83-4, 195-7; G.S. Sandilands, Atalanta or the Future of Sport, London, 1928, p.8; R.F. Forton, 'Mania of Muscularity' in F. Atkins, ed., The Young Man, Vol.12, London, 1898, pp.126-7 ; S. Winstein, Salt and His Circle, pp.10-21; G. Hendrick, Henry Salt, Humanitarian Reformer and Man of Letters, Illinois, 1977, chapter 2; Salt, Animal Rights Considered in Relation to Social Progress, preface
- 85 Forton, 'Muscularity', p.126
- 86 H. Salt, The Company I have Kept, London, 1930, pp.165-72
- 87 Ibid.

- 88 Salt, Savages, p.227
- 89 Humanitarian, Vol.8, no.193, January 1919, p.154
- 90 Salt, Savages, pp.10-11
- 91 Salt, Savages, p.246
- 92 Cruel Sports, Vol.10, no.5, May 1936, p.37
- 93 George Greenwood and Henry Salt, 'The Beagler Boy', Humanitarian League Publications, February and March 1907
- 94 Salt, Killing for Sport p.22; Memories of Bygone Eton, pp.241-46
- 95 Ernest Bell, quoted in Salt, Killing for Sport, p.112 and H. Salt, 'Cruel Sports,' The Westminster Review, Vol.140, August 1893, p.546
- 96 'A Sportsman's Apology', Macmillan's Magazine, Vol.21, December 1869, pp.341-44
- 97 Ibid. Interestingly, fox-hunting is still defended today on the grounds that encourages a 'sanitised' form of acceptable 'risk-taking'. See The Independent, January 1997, p.17
- 98 'Sportsman's Apology', Macmillan's Magazine, pp.341-44
- 99 'Beagling and The Statutes,' The Oxford Magazine, held at the Bodlian Library, Oxford, 12th November 1931, pp.160-2
- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 The Field, Vol.193, January 1949, p.286
- 103 Stephens, Freeman, His Life and Letters, Vol.2, p.463
- 104 G. Greenwood, 'Sport', Paper to the Animal Protection Congress, Caxton Hall, London, July 1909, p.6, re-printed in Animal World, March 1910

- 105 Stephens, Freeman, His Life and Letters, Vol.2, p.463
- 106 See, 'Englishmen's Sport in the Future', Baily's Magazine, Vol.85, June 1906, p.347, 'The Decadence of Sport,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.83, June 1905, pp.198-202, 'The Future of Wildlife in England,' The Field, Vol.113, May 1909, p.895, 'Englishmen's Sport in Future Years,' Baily's Magazine, No 85, May 1906, p.348; Sir Ian Colquhoun, 'The Future of Deerstalking,' in J. Ross, H. Gunn, The Book of the Red Deer and Empire Big Game, London, 1925, p.111
- 107 Salt, Memories of Bygone Eton, p.241
- 108 MS, Letter From Edmund Warre, 26th January 1889, SCH-SP, ECH, 1-3
- 109 See The Animal World, March 1902, pp.2-3;
- 110 Salt, Killing for Sport, p.11; See also, Thomas Hardy, 'Compassion' 1924, in The Selected Poems, London, 1930, p.783
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Sir H.H. Johnston, 'The Protection of Fauna and Flora, A Common Sense View,' Nineteenth Century, Vol..74, December 1913, p.587
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 Salt, Savages, p.155
- 115 Ibid.
- 116 'Why not the Drag-hunt', Quoted in Salt, Killing for Sport, pp.23-24
- 117 Salt, Killing for Sport, p.24
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Ibid.

- 120 E. S. Turner, All Heaven in a Rage, pp.242-3. For a general history, see also T.L. Ribblesdale, The Queen's Hounds and Stag Hunting Recollections, London, 1897
- 121 Ibid. The pack was started in the 1830s by Sir Charles Shakerly at the Vale of Aylesbury
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 H. Salt, 'Cruel Sports,' Westminster Review, Vol.140, December 1893, p.544
- 124 Winstein, Salt and his Circle, p.26; Salt, Memories of Bygone Eton, pp.53-5
- 125 Salt, Humanitarianism, pp.3, 15; H. Salt, 'A Lover of Animals', quoted in G. Hendrick, Henry Salt, Humanitarian Reformer and Man of Letters, Illinois, 1977, p.181
- 126 S. Paget, The Case against Anti-Vivisection, London, 1904, pp.11-15; G.B. Shaw, Prefaces, London, 1965, p.257
- 127 Shaw, Prefaces, p.257
- 128 The Times, 26th May 1909, p.8
- 129 Frederick C. Selous, Letter to Salt, 1905, quoted in Salt, The Company I Have Kept, pp.169-70
- 130 The Daily News, 26th February 1906, p.3
- 131 House of Commons Debates, 7th March 1883, col.1684 quoted in B. Harrison, Peaceable Kingdom, Oxford, 1982, p.90
- 132 Salt, Savages, pp.152-3
- 133 House of Commons Debates, 7th March, 1883, col.1684 in Harrison, Kingdom, p.90

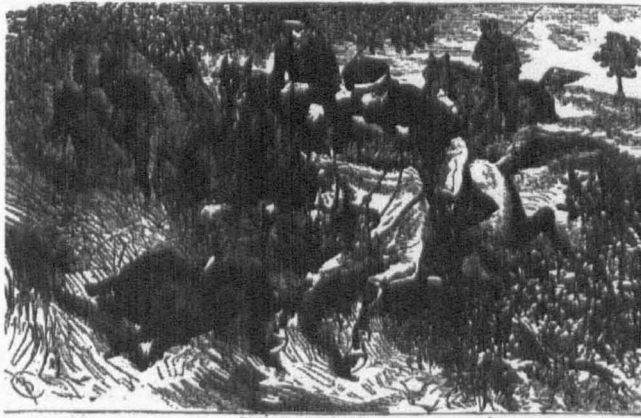
- 134 Salt, Company I Have Kept, p.136; Savages, pp.64-5. Later observers have argued that the emphasis on hunting as male dominance is part of the exploitation of women which encouraged meat eating as an example of sexual discrimination. See Carol J. Adams, The Sexual Politics of Meat, A Feminist Critical Theory, New York, 1990
- 135 The Field, Vol.105, May 1905, p.858
- 136 See B. Lennox, Merrie England, London, 1857, pp.3, 28-39
- 137 Humanitarian League, Memorial promoted by the Humanitarian League Sports Department, 27th January 1900
- 138 Sir Henry Newbolt, Book of Good Hunting, London, 1920, pp.6-7
- 139 Ibid.
- 140 Ibid., chapter 2
- 141 'What is Cruelty in Sport', Baily's Magazine, Vol.77, April 1902, pp.300-1; see also for a wider view, H. Kean, Animal Rights, London, 1998, pp.139-64; R. Ryder, Animal Revolution, Oxford, 1989, pp.106-146
- 142 Salt, Savages, pp.152-3
- 143 Humanitarian League, Memorial promoted by the Humanitarian League Sports Department, 27th January 1900
- 144 Shafts, January 1897, p.1. Shafts was a periodical which appeared in the 1890s aimed at publicising the plight of prostitutes and the social under-class.
- 145 'The Royal Buckhounds', The Field, Vol.97, March 1901, pp.381-82
- 146 Salt, Animal Rights, preface

- 147 'The Royal Buckhounds', The Field, Vol.97, March 1901, pp.44-47; 'The Carted Deer,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.92, December 1909, pp.449-454
- 148 The Field, *ibid.*
- 149 *Ibid.*
- 150 P. Dickerson, B. Kidd, E. Crickney, The Eton College Hunt: Three Prize Essays, London, 1904
- 151 Humanitarian League Publications, Savage Sport at Eton, London, 1909, p.7
- 152 H. Salt, The Humane Review, London, January 1906, pp.225-237
- 153 Letter from Dr. Warre to Eton Hunt, Eton College Hare Hunt Diaries, 1906-1920, SCH, 1-5, Vol.2
- 154 *Ibid.*
- 155 *Ibid.* The issue of hunting and farmers' grievances was by this time topical. In January, 1906, The Field waxed lyrical about the necessity of 'good conduct' in the hunting field and quoted M.F.H., T. Butt-Miller of the Cricklade, who had received a large number of complaints from farmers in the North Wiltshire area concerned about damage to crops and fences. The Field, perhaps as a broadside to the large number of new men' in the hunting field, concluded sadly that this 'inconsiderate' behaviour was 'typical' of the majority of hunting followers in the shires. See 'Hunting', The Field, Vol.107, January 1906, p.119
- 156 Salt quoted in The Humane Review, January 1909, pp.225-237; The Times, 7th October 1908, p.15
- 157 The Times, 20th October 1908, p.13

- 158 Ellinor Penn Gaskell, Secretary to the Windsor Memorial Committee, The Times, 6th October 1908, p.8
- 159 'Old Etonian', The Times, 24th October 1908, p.19
- 160 'A Merry Beagler', The Times, 28th October 1908, p.7
- 161 S. Sassoon, Memoirs of a Fox Hunting Man, London, 1928, p.105; Hansard, Vol.92, col. 282, 25th April 1917
- 162 MS, Letter, E. Lyttleton to J. La Ferriere, Eton College Hare-Hunt, SCH-1-5, Vol.3
- 163 Ibid.
- 164 Humanitarian, Vol.8, no.195, September 1919, p.165
- 165 Salt, Savages, p.212
- 166 Humanitarian, Vol.8, no.184, April 1918, p.100
- 167 Thomas, The Politics of Hunting, pp. 85, 210-9
- 168 (Re-named the League Against Cruel Sports in 1927) Cruel Sports, The Journal of the League Against Cruel Sports, Vol.1, London, 1927, p.1
- 169 The L.P.C.S., Annual Report, 1933, p.3
- 170 The Times, 5th November 1938, p.14
- 171 Ibid.

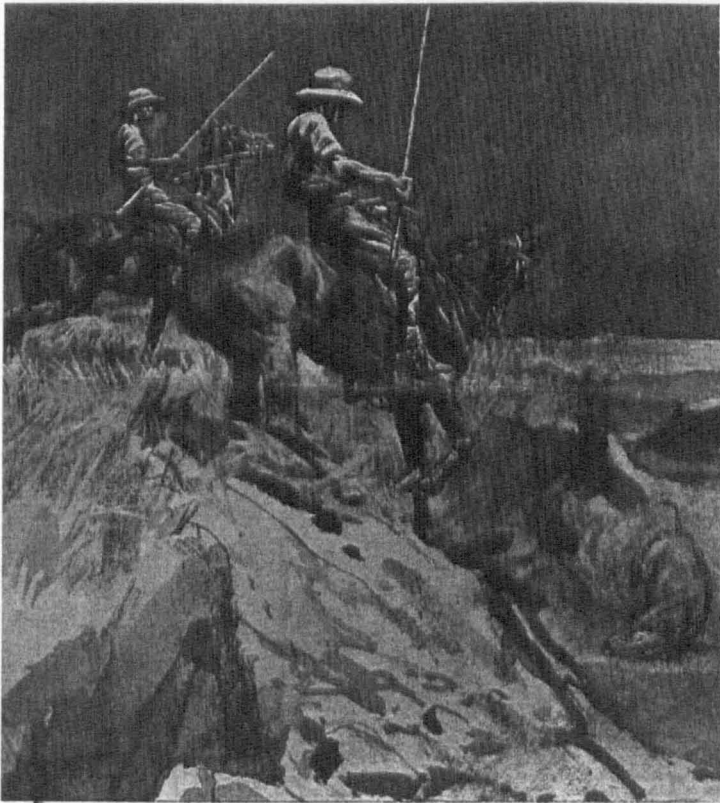
Part Two:

Imperialism Maintained: Masculinity Exalted



Chapter Four:

Horse and Hound and the Making of a Martial Identity



'I need not enlarge upon the political advantages of encouraging a sport which propagates a fine breed of horses and prevents our young men from growing quite effeminate in Bond St., nor upon the high reputation of the English horse abroad which are perhaps the only cavalry that ever won whole battles against a very superior horse and foot'.¹

Self-controlled and in control, the officer hunting on horseback was a potent, enduring and widely caricatured image of Victorian and Edwardian masculinity both in the shires and on colonial plains. By way of example, the 'unapproachable Sahib' aloof on horseback added to his 'natural and unassumed hauteur' which, according to many military observers, was a necessary expedient with which to 'hold a huge Continent with a handful of men'.² In short, qualities such as endurance, self-belief and 'self-sacrifice' were strongly associated with hunting and fully required of the subaltern officer in the line of 'duty'.³ Manhood ideologies have always included a criterion of 'selfless generosity, even to the point of self-sacrifice' and the soldier-hunters' casual dismissal of personal injury and even death, when circumstances demanded it, in hunting and of course, in war itself, illustrated his 'fitness for struggle' in the defence of imperial society.⁴ The association between sporting 'self-sacrifice' and martial 'self-sacrifice' was there for all to see in numerous sporting narratives written by serving subalterns in the empire.⁵ As will be discussed later in this chapter, the overtly masculine virtues portrayed in hunting books thrilled Victorian and Edwardian readers.

Hunting on horseback by the officer class, it was believed, sustained and inspired chivalric values which ensured his courage, control and confidence necessary

for social order. The defence and extension of the Nation state in the form of imperialism, of course, bound men to men and accorded special significance to military virtues. The 'warrior', his hunting and other sports have been and remain central to the survival of the state. ⁶ Soldier-hunter, William Cotton Oswell, for example, regarded hunting as the foundation of his professional success in India, declaring that his horses, spurs and whips were symbols of his and his country's 'magisterial authority'. ⁷

Hunting and other sports were part and parcel of the Victorian subaltern's early training. He was, therefore, usually well-educated and had attended public school. ⁸ Subalterns left school for the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich or Sandhurst where hunting was not only encouraged but considered indispensable for career advancement. ⁹ In his textbook for aspiring subalterns, Captain George Younghusband asserted that a 'good' staff-officer required 'coolness' and dash borne of equestrian skills; those without such skills, the weed or 'theoretician,' were 'heavily handicapped'. ¹⁰ It was a logical view since warfare in the age of the horse required physical fitness and a 'dash' borne of fast, decisive action. With its 'certainty of hardship and danger', hunting on horseback, so the argument went, 'possessed invincible charms for the majority of our countrymen...justified and desirable upon much broader and higher grounds than mere amusement, and, systematically and properly pursued, they are grand auxiliaries to the performance of men's duties and to the formation of their characters. The confidence in one's self begot upon field sports tends to help men in the difficulties of life, and enable them to *conquer*. They are the justification of one of our most pronounced national characteristics'. ¹¹

It was a doctrine shared by sporting writer and established soldier-sportsman, John Colquhoun whose experiences in both the hunting and battlefield taught him the difference between a soldier schooled in hunting and one who was not. 'Although a man who devotes all his time and energy to military duty may be an excellent and valuable parade officer', he opined, 'our commanders know that in actual service, when anything dashing was done, it was, in nine cases out of ten, achieved by those who loved the hunting-field far better than the barrack square, and that these were generally the most efficient officers in an arduous campaign'.¹² Unsurprisingly, therefore, hunting with dogs was part and parcel of the officers' regime at Sandhurst and Woolwich.¹³ Together with rifle-clubs, the preservation of game by instructors and game shooting, hunting with horse and hound underpinned a pervasive, military masculine orthodoxy.¹⁴ As a result, liberal amounts of leave were available for the favoured meets of 'Mr Garth's Hunt' and the Queen's Buckhounds and such like.¹⁵

The notion that hunting developed specific military qualities, such as discipline, courage and stamina received an impetus from about the 1850s as the need to secure and protect imperial acquisitions and to annex new ones, added to mounting concern over the development of Continental armies, boosted the conviction that prowess with horse and hound was useful for national security.¹⁶ A mid-century jingoism emerged which exalted the virtues of fearlessness and self-control in both sport and war especially in the young. 'He does greatly who dares greatly', according to the huntsman Harry Hieover, was a 'glorious feeling that actuated Englishmen, and brought our country to the highest pitch of military achievement. This was not done by a servile adulation of foreign habits or foreign accomplishments, but by teaching our youth, before they become fiddlers, to become

men'.¹⁷ This was the moral message learnt at public school where more emphasis was placed on manly pastimes than on 'book-learning': 'The jungle', according to proselytiser, was the 'battlefield of play hours; it leads straight up to the red ribbon and the Victoria Cross. If the examiners will let you, subject your young hopeful to the discipline of the saddle; put him on pony-back almost as soon as he can walk; do not check the instinctive longings of boyhood. After the workmanship of Purdey and Marston, and the percussing of copper caps: there is *rough work* before him, for which he will need a true eye, a steady hand, a strong nerve, not to be acquired in the schoolroom and the cramming-shop. Do not fret yourselves if you find that he takes more kindly to the stable and the rabbit-warren than to Euclid and Eutropius. When the struggle comes, as come some day it will, for dear life, what will it avail him that he can demonstrate the *Pons Asinorum* or recount the labours of Hercules? But that true eye, that steady hand, that firm seat in the saddle, with all the cool courage of the hunting-field - these are the aids which will find him out in the hour of trial, and help him to the front'.¹⁸

The emergence of military Tent Clubs for boar-hunting - or pig sticking - in the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny, was one manifestation of the need for a military schooled in cavalry skills honed on the hunting field. The Calcutta Tent Club, (Bengal 1862) the Nagpur Hunt, (1863), the Meerut Club (Northern Territories 1865) and the Nuggur and Deccan Tent Club (1867) all flourished in the immediate post Mutiny era. If these resources had been available before the Mutiny, there would have been, according to Major Henry Shakespear, a speedier conclusion to a 'regrettable insurrection'.¹⁹ As a result of these more urgent military imperatives, students at Woolwich after the Mutiny found that their training involved a greater

emphasis on field sports. In 1861, for example, one observer suggested that 'the soldier wants these days' required a 'habit of endurance and a capability for roughing it'.²⁰ Hunting not only met this requirement but acted as a bulwark to the enervating effects of peace which, it was thought, might induce complacency within the officer class. Thus, hunting proponent, Captain John Palliser, complained that 'we gentlemen of England feel how very little we are in the habit of doing for ourselves and how helpless we are rendered by our civilisation.'²¹ In short, there was a strong belief in some quarters that 'the best corrector of effeminacy which refined luxury is apt to introduce, particularly when military ardour has been damped in any country by a long continued state of profound peace, was the regular pursuit of hunting so that we can hope to keep up that spirit of enterprise, that determination of purpose and contempt of danger, that are the ground work of a martial character. The records of history afford ample proof that wherever luxury had introduced effeminacy into the habits and pursuits of its youth, the ruin of that country was at hand'.²²

Unsurprisingly, dissenters from this pleasing association between military strength and field sports were castigated as "effeminate subversives". In this view, 'unpatriotic cranks' were denigrating a proud military tradition based on a sound social system by transforming decent gentlemen into a 'race of petits-maitres deeply imbued with the vices of foreign countries' while reducing field sports to the 'level of drawing-room amusements'.²³ Not only gentlemen were at risk. Misguided liberal deviants, if given their way, would emasculate the hunt 'foot-followers' of the lower orders, endangering, in turn, their 'honest,' manly sports such as boxing.²⁴ Heinous efforts to transform 'gunpowder mills and kennels into cotton factories or lecture rooms' threatened the manliness of Britain's youth and the proper preparation for

manhood which was in danger of being usurped by 'constitutional walks and gymnastic drill varied by tea-meetings, lectures on the ologies or part-singing'.²⁵

Fortunately, according to Richard Jeffries, gamekeeper, naturalist and ardent huntsman, Britain's martial culture was 'too manly to allow victory to the cranks who sought a dry passage for our enemies into our midst - those who would cheerfully sink our navy and joyously dismiss our army'.²⁶ Espousing the merits of a crude period Social Darwinism, victory for these pacifists, he claimed, would cause '*survival for the fittest*' to be replaced by 'survival of the meanest and most cowardly'.²⁷ Jeffries contemporary, Samuel White Baker, a similarly patriotic hunter on horseback and iconic game shot agreed, asserting that there would be no moral 'victory' for the 'mild people' who resisted field sports.²⁸ The antidote to the incubus of effeminacy, therefore, was to be found in hunting, a character-building, wholesome activity viewed by some as the antithesis of handwringing, metropolitan degeneracy.

Consequently, hunting was peddled in military quarters as a panacea for effeminacy. Subalterns, for example, were advised to spend less time in passive pursuits such as bookwork and more time with gun and hound.²⁹ The emergence of a hierarchy of nations with recognisable hunting traditions during the nineteenth century demonstrated the close relationship between hunting and war. Britain and Prussia, with their proud tradition of military endeavours and hunting icons, for example, maintained a distinctive national prestige while the French, Spanish and Portuguese, who lacked a hunting heritage, were lampooned for their effeminacy.³⁰ By way of example, 'feeble' French fox-hunting was ridiculed for its lack of 'competition and danger... it is almost impossible for an Englishman to give to a foreigner an adequate idea of the practice'.³¹ Overtly patriotic shibboleths fitted into

the 'amateur' upper-middle class ideal of 'gallantry' in defeat and victory.

Self-sacrifice in the name of duty shown at Crimea in 1851, to offer but one example, was linked confidently to the spartan training provided by gun and hound.³²

Hunting incorporated this doctrine by enhancing the higher level cavalry skills essential for the imperial demands of nineteenth century warfare on horseback.

Maintaining and developing imperial boundaries provided ample opportunity for the hunting subaltern to show his military mettle. Thus, Robert Wigram Arkwright was able to combine military duties with a heavy sporting schedule on his tour of duty in South Africa in the 1840s without censure from senior officers.³³ He was aided by local Boers who understood and practised hunting, and regularly provided food and assistance for British huntsmen, hounds and horses.³⁴ In return, Arkwright allowed local Boers to take part in his hunting activities, purchased horses from Boer farmers, and even erected permanent kennels at Fort Beaufort.³⁵ The compulsory wearing of hunting attire of black caps, short coloured jackets and long jack boots by Arkwright and his fellow officers, however, ended the pretence of democratic parity with lower ranks and Boer civilians.³⁶

Arkwright had ordered twenty-one couple of hounds from England before embarking for the Cape, a pack which became known as the Fort Beaufort Fox-Hounds. The practice of importing English hunting dogs was common among military and colonial officials and sustained prestigious hunts such as the Calcutta, made up of 'Haileybury civilians' and the Barrackpore Jackal Hunt.³⁷ If superior British dogs were not available, it was not unusual for officers to usurp control of local civilian hunts.³⁸

For his part, Richard Arkwright alternated hunting with dogs in the 'British' style with the pursuit of big-game, a practice taken up by later officials such as Francis D.P. Chaplin, head of the Southern Rhodesian administration in the 1890s, who combined leopard shooting, which were chased up trees by the hounds, with more formal fox-hunting, and, in time, founded the Salisbury Hunt Club.³⁹ The imported fox hunt, therefore, was a cogent manifestation of Britain's *material* wealth and cultural hegemony, which, in the non-European imagination, according to one observer, was more potent than Western science, philosophy or religion.⁴⁰

The protection of imperial society and its values was entrusted to those with proven hunting credentials such as Lord Melgund, a hard rider-to-hounds who became a celebrated strategist of both the military and hunting fields.⁴¹ Even before attending Eton in 1859, Melgund had been 'blooded' with the Duke of Buccleuch's hounds, and was equally proficient in fox and otter-hunting as rabbit shooting and fishing.⁴² In challenging Scottish winters, Elliot was often forced by his father to hunt without hat, gloves or coat. It was a spartan training known to others of his background. Elliot's contemporary, A.I.R. Glasfurd, also endured the rigours of hunting, fishing and shooting in Scottish winters while a pupil at Fettes College, experiences which he later regarded as essential for his successful military career.⁴³

Elliot was as energetic at Eton as he was in Scotland. He excelled in rowing, football, swimming, steeple chasing and hunted with the newly-formed beagles. In 1867, now at Trinity College, Cambridge, his preference for gun and hound over academic activities was only too apparent as he hunted with the Fitzwilliam and Pytchley and attended race meetings at Newmarket.⁴⁴ His unacademic student life was apparently approved by his mother who noted admiringly that 'the boys' talk of

Cambridge is very amusing and thoroughly satisfactory - I mean to the moral effect of their residence. I can't see any evidence of intellectual training whatever!' ⁴⁵

In the late 1860s, Elliot began a military career with the Scots Guards. The sedentary nature of military life at Windsor and Aldershot failed to satisfy his desire for action. His restlessness was partly assuaged by his coverage of the Franco-Prussian War for The Times newspaper and later as a Special Correspondent for the Morning Post following events with the Carlist Army in Spain in 1874.⁴⁶ In between, he found time to establish the Border Mounted Volunteer Corps in 1871, made up of local gentry and followers of the Duke of Buccleugh's Fox-hounds! ⁴⁷

During this period, described by his biographer as an era of 'strenuous idleness', Elliot's snobbish dislike of the commercial and industrial nouveaux riche became increasingly apparent. Elliot, therefore, sang the praises of the aristocratic military officer, with his relaxed, decent, 'natural' and manly style, borne of hunting and shooting, and his frequent preference for a 'rough life in wild places'. ⁴⁸ Elliot's own vigorous sporting life - he broke his neck steeple chasing in a fall during the Grand National in 1873 - mountain-climbing, and soldiering encapsulated an integral element of upper-middle class masculinity in action, even to the point of a glorious death. In his youth in his 'Journal' at Eton he recorded, 'when I think of death as a thing worth thinking about, it is in the hope of pressing one day some well-fought and hard won field of battle and dying with the shout of victory in my ear - that would be worth dying for and more, it would be worth living for!' ⁴⁹ Glorious death in battle was denied him, however, despite active service in the Russo-Turkish War (1877), the Afghan War (1879) and the Egyptian conflict of 1882 ⁵⁰

The colonies, of course, provided ample opportunities for testing the manliness of the hunting subaltern, none more so than India. The ‘whole peninsula from Peshawar to Cape Comorin’, according to one officer, was ‘practically the boundless undisputed preserve of the subaltern. In England, only a man of fair means keeps a horse; in India, the least affluent officer keeps a pony as a natural part of his outfit.’⁵¹ Arguably, the imperious image of the rider-to-hounds underpinned emotional deference to British rule. As British officers consolidated metropolitan control in India during the 1820s and 1830s, Captain Thomas Williamson was in no doubt that hunting with dogs by the officer class contributed to both social stability and British authority.⁵² By the 1830s, the new Oriental Sporting Magazine not only provided a ‘much-needed, new public channel of communication’ between India and Britain but graphically illustrated how British modes of fox hunting reinforced metropolitan domination.⁵³ In India, officers chased jackal and hunted the wild boar on horse back armed only with a spear. These manly dangerous sports invested with a strong moral significance and duly celebrated through numerous banal “soldier’s hunting songs”. One example, replete with military and hunting connotations began,

‘Wealth, beauty, power, ye tempt in vain; I ask no gifts from you,
Give me oh! Give me my jungle plain - And the dear old, grey Boar in view!
No dearer hope, no dastard fear Should turn my corpse aside,
Till the unstained steel of my long boar-spear, in that Boar’s best blood was dyed!’⁵⁴
The violent imagery implicit in early nineteenth century hunting songs was

still extant during the era of High Imperialism and peddled by the likes of Robert Baden-Powell, the doyen of pig sticking, when duty called for sterner tests:

‘He on his good steed erect appears’,
‘As when he met the boar,
But now a worthier foe inspires,
A deadlier game his skill requires’.⁵⁵

More than any other colony, the military imperatives required in India necessitated the dash and decisiveness expected of the hunting, cavalry officer. ⁵⁶ Hunting on horseback, according to Major Neville Taylor of the 14th Bengal Lancers, was an essential preparation for cavalry skills and an important part of the 'fighting man's' education, an axiom confirmed by R.S. Baden-Powell who found in pig sticking the perfect preparation for the battlefield: 'in action' he noted confidently, 'fear plays some game with one's saliva secretion - and a great thirst results...I do not recollect any thirst connected with it. I have never seen much difference between the thirst of the battlefield and that of the popfield, cricket field or any other field except the pig sticking field which certainly can produce a thirst peculiarly its own - and one which transcends that of any other pursuit'. ⁵⁷

Hunting, however, not only honed martial skills but was also a practical administrative asset. The Indian native, so the argument went, was well disposed to manly rather than effeminate European officials; furthermore, where the administrator encountered difficult or dangerous situations, it was felt that a hunting background, with its emphasis on authority and rank, was a useful expedient. ⁵⁸

The sport of pig sticking encapsulated all such virtues required of the public official in India: one Governor even closed down his whole administration for staff hog-hunting holidays. ⁵⁹ In addition, it was believed that good pig stickers made robust district officers since an over conscientious approach to desk work drew unwanted comparisons with the weedy intellectual. ⁶⁰ Such men had better work records than the 'plump, sleek creature just down from his annual poodle-faking in the hills'. ⁶¹

Unsurprisingly, the 'manly and noble' sport of pig sticking was de rigeur for the ambitious soldier in the Raj. ⁶² The aphorism that the 'good pig sticker could not be a bad soldier' meant that the officer unfamiliar with pig sticking was at a distinct disadvantage in India. ⁶³ The successful pig-sticker, therefore, was seen as the cream of the officer crop, embodying horsemanship, elan, decisiveness and killing abilities as well as 'fair-play'. Major A.E. Wardrop, Secretary of the Meerut Tent Club between the 1890s and 1914, knew of 'no better men' than the best exponents of the sport, while Robert Baden-Powell eulogised the 'sticker' for 'going straight to the point, playing fair, riding with courage and judgement to help kill the pig and not to win the suffrages of the gallery.' ⁶⁴

For the cognoscenti, this praise was well-merited. Pig sticking or 'hog-hunting,' the frenzied chasing down of a wild boar to spear it in a 'fight to the death', best illustrated the cavalry mentality in the Raj. This hazardous, uncompromising and often brutal test of equestrian skills and hunting commitment was described by one enthusiast as 'the most primitive of all hunts...the pursuit, with a good weapon in your hand, of an enemy whom you want to kill'. ⁶⁵ The brutal rules of engagement - the drawing of first blood brought honour rather than the death-blow - ensured it remained a gentleman's sport. Pig sticking was touted as a noble rather than a savage pastime which honed the leadership skills necessary for a civilised imperial military. Colonel Walter Campbell in his Indian Journal (1862), therefore, referred to the pig sticking field as an arena in which honour could be won. ⁶⁶ It also provided a necessary distraction from the regular and mundane routine of work.

The hapless 'foe' was admired by its assailants for providing testing, spirited, unpredictable and dangerous sport - qualities tailor-made for perfecting imperial military skills. ⁶⁷ Accordingly, the boar was respected in military circles as a 'really firm and determined fighter who does *battle* for the love of the thing. There is an immense amount of character in the pig. Not only is it a fierce antagonist, but it is a clever and thoughtful creature. The pig, being endowed with a fighting and blood-thirsty nature as well as a particularly tough and unfeeling nervous system, seems to revel in the fight up to the bitter end'. ⁶⁸ This admiration for a plucky 'enemy' was transferable to real battle situations. In a bizarre rationale of period war, Old Etonian and Master of the Eton Beagles, Francis Grenfell felt that 'one loves one's fellow man so much more when one is bent on killing him'. ⁶⁹

Pig sticking was widely extolled within military circles as the 'acknowledged king of Eastern sports', and, according to its doyen, Robert S. Baden-Powell, was superior to even tiger-shooting on foot. Although tiger-hunting was a risky sport, it was, in his view, more 'foolhardy' than courageous. ⁷⁰ This unflattering assessment was shared by Captain James Wilson, a veteran of pig sticking, who scoffed at the 'tiger-shot safely ensconced in his howdah'. ⁷¹

In short, pig sticking was a suitably dangerous pastime and fitted easily into the type of activity expected to be undertaken by the imperial cavalry officer. The sport was trumpeted as the 'palm of sporting supremacy,' which benefited from the 'charm' of danger, a recreation 'worthy of the sportsman's steel' which required the 'seat and judgement of a foxhunter, the eye of a falconer, the arm of a lancer and a horse, fleet, active, bold and well in hand'. ⁷²

There was logic to this praise of pig sticking. In the heat of battle or in hot pursuit of quarry, 'parade ground' reputations counted for nothing. It was in 'the field' with horse or hound where the real test of manliness was displayed for all to see. Without hunting experience, it was argued that officers lacked the 'power of taking in at a glance the peculiarities of the terrain and making the best uses of them and seizing them with dash and determination -two of the most useful requirements of a cavalry officer. Any hardy exercise gives much to the training and formation of a soldier; pig sticking gives a man a "stalker's eye" which is, par excellence, the soldier's eye'. ⁷³

More than this, pig sticking provided training in 'team work,' essential for military performance. According to one exponent, pig stickers 'live and move and hunt in parties,' but the sport still allowed for individual excellence which marked off the 'enterprising and dashing Englishman from the ordinary'. ⁷⁴ Major Wardrop, for example, also a proficient big-game hunter, advised officers to hunt boar alone to give him 'confidence in his horse, spear and himself'. ⁷⁵

As in England, certain districts developed as centres for hunting. Intensely competitive and parochial 'Tent Clubs' emerged in the Deccan, Nagpur, Meerut, the Cawnpore and Delhi. ⁷⁶ Baden-Powell noted that the term "pig sticking" was used in centres such as Bengal but changed to "hog hunting" in Bombay. ⁷⁷

Pig sticking endorsed the hierarchical nature of the army and the assumptions which governed the military. The Tent Clubs ensured the 'institutionalisation' of formal sporting 'rules' based on 'fair-play' which ensured the sport's image as 'decent and civilised'. With the exception of certain high-ranking Nabobs, indigenous elites were excluded from pig sticking because, as we shall see, it was felt in some

quarters that they lacked the manly nerve necessary to succeed at the sport. It was a notion which had a long history within the Raj. In the early nineteenth century, Captain Williamson had differentiated between 'manly' European hunters and the 'unsporting' natives of India, while army surgeon Daniel Johnson observed that only natives killed boars by nets and guns, practices which were seen as unfair by 'manly' European sportsmen.⁷⁸

The development of military hunting clubs demonstrated the importance of formal rules and regulation necessary for 'fair-play' within military circles. At Sholapoor in the 1830s, a hunting club emerged 'to be designated the Royal Sholapoor Sporting Club, the uniform to be a scarlet coat, blue cuffs and collar with gilt buttons of the King's pattern; a pack of dogs are to be kept....It is to be understood that the Club is in no way intended to interfere with or oppose the Sholapoor Hog Hunt.'⁷⁹

Structurally, a Master and a Committee, a Head Shikar and assistants were appointed to ensure that pigs were readily available for hunting.⁸⁰ As in British foxhunting, a strict code of conduct indicated rank, leadership potential and social reputation. Unsportingly shooting a pig instead of 'spearing' it was likely to bring about the stigma of dismissal from the close-knit camaraderie of the club.⁸¹ Similarly, it was as much 'bad form' to kill a sow as to shoot a fox in England.⁸² In districts where pig sticking was impracticable, such as Malaysia, however, it was common for British officers to shoot wild boar to 'protect farmers and their crops.'⁸³

The metropolitan 'code' was also useful for distinguishing English from 'inferior' foreign sportsmen. In 1888, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police in Bengal, lamented that the 'Calcutta Tent Club was famous for excellent sport before

the hungry German clerks in the mercantile offices had taken to shooting the wild boars, and the sows and their little ones'.⁸⁴

Each Club had its own regulations suited to its location but everywhere adherence to the 'rules' guaranteed assuring conformity. Thus, the Cawnpore Tent Club and the Delhi Club rules stated that a 'spear given to an undisturbed pig, standing or lying will not count as a "first spear"; all questions of disputed "first spears" to be settled by the majority of those present; no boar under twenty eight inches to be killed'.⁸⁵ The highly-coveted Kadir Cup in 1874 and the Guzerat Cup in 1885 brought an increased interest in the sport. According to Major Wardrop, this period witnessed a great expansion in pig sticking based along new, 'scientific lines', including the use of stronger breeds of horses and the improved preservation of pigs.⁸⁶ This maintained Britain's 'dashing and determined' mounted force in India enabling it to meet the demands of *modern* warfare while using chivalrous techniques.⁸⁷

To hunt the 'antagonist in a fair fight with spear only', then, was invested with a 'dignity, a veneration, an attachment, such as no other trophy possesses'.⁸⁸ The 'reward' system for 'success' in the field celebrated the sportsmans' ability to deploy superior physical force against a potentially dangerous 'foe'. Highly competitive matches between garrison teams provided opportunities to test players' mettle. Competition was heightened by the giving of highly-prized 'cups' for achieving the greatest number of 'first spears and the highest number of 'kills' using the 'second spear.'⁸⁹ In Bengal and Bombay, the Bheema, Kadir and Ganges Cups were competed for throughout the year at the Poona, Meerut, Muttra and Cawnpore Tent Clubs.⁹⁰

Winning one of the major hunting cups was highly prestigious within military circles. The Guzerat meeting of 1888, for example, was trumpeted as the 'most exciting sporting event in the Bombay Presidency, especially amongst those whose kingdom is the jungle-side and whose sceptre is the spear. There is more than honour and glory to be won. The handsome cup, weighing many shekels of silver, becomes the property of the winner, to be handed down to his children's children as a standing testimony to the skill of those who have gone before them, as an incentive to them to go and do likewise and as a permanent memorial of Guzerat liberality'.⁹¹

Pig sticking as a training for battle certainly maintained competition between officers and garrisons and boosted soldiers' morale in remote encampments. Robert S. Baden-Powell, for example, proudly proclaimed that pig sticking encouraged a 'friendly but necessary rivalry' between officers.⁹² Regional competitiveness spawned a commitment to the values of the 'Hunt' expressed through numerous, often excruciating doggerels: 'I can't for my life think the cause of this fuss,

Why we hear so much of the Packs in Bengal,
And what's Sholapoor, Dharwar, or Poona to us?
Let us e'en be content, though we're not first of all.
Some Deccanite Would-be's complain we are slow,
And can't carry ahead; but don't take it for granted,
If we have but a scent, such a pace we can go,
As I warrant will soon leave these malcontents planted!' ⁹³

Not surprising then that for some, hunting invoked a public school esprit de corps. Old Rugbaen D.J.F. Newall, therefore, dedicated his Highlands of India, Fieldsports and Travel in India (1887) to 'all Rugbaens, past and present', describing them as 'comrades of Camp and Field,' who were linked not only by school moments but also by hunting moments.⁹⁴ Contributions, in his book, from 'old school friends'- General J. Abbot, Colonel F. Debude, Major General G. Maister,

Captain J.T. Newall, Major General Sir Campbell Ross and Lieutenant General H. Sarel, fleshed out Newall's own hunting reminiscences and similarly illustrated solidarity, both of schooldays and hunting days.⁹⁵ There was a pleasing logic to 'wild' hunting with like-minded 'boys'. By way of example, Old Etonian, Francis Grenfall, waxed lyrical about the untrammelled and distinctly masculine joys of tent life, shooting and stabbing: 'all day and every day... riding, polo, stalking. Pig sticking is the greatest fun... you get up alongside the brute and wait until he turns and goes at you, then if you are lucky, he runs on to the spear, and if you are unlucky, he runs on to you... There are buck, jackal and pig everywhere... Its very like heaven... surrounded by the most glorious jungle... We soldiered and played polo, and the rest of the time we spent in tents in the jungle, unwashed and undressed and unashamed, shooting buck, sticking pigs, which beats anything hollow for excitement. I loved the life and the soldier-boys. Then, three weeks here at Kashmir shooting bears and things'.⁹⁶

The singing of hunting songs, 'sitting round the camp fire after a hard day's sport, comparing notes on the incidents of the chase recreated a post-school ambience of nostalgia, which invoked memories of the "merry" evenings after hard fought house matches on school playing fields: 'Hunting the Boar, The Boar, the mighty Boar's my theme,

Whate'r the wise may say,
My hope throughout the day
Youth daring spirit; manhood's free
Firm hand and eagle eye
Does he require who would aspire
To the wild Boar die!⁹⁷

Exciting descriptions of pig sticking in boys' magazines reinforced the moral message of hunting to younger readers. In 1879, Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon Cuming provided an account of his successful pig sticking in the Boy's Own Paper: of Pure and Entertaining Reading, complete with native beaters acting as his subservient 'foot soldiers', dangerous but 'fair' rides in pursuit of 'plucky' but ultimately speared "piggies".⁹⁸ By apostrophising the wild boar as 'piggy', the stature of its assailant was appropriately enhanced since it suggested humour and restraint in the face of potential danger. Moreover, exciting illustrations, including 'riding for the first spear', an officer 'falling into a mud bath' in pursuit of a boar, preparation against a charging boar, and the unceremonious hacking down of a pig, projected the soldier's insouciant and "boyish" mastery of hunting skills contained within the pages of boys' contemporary literature.⁹⁹

The attraction of this manly esprit de corp which occupied the lives of the subaltern was well expressed by Francis Grenfell, who, while on 'duty' in India in 1904, advised his fellow Etonian and brother, Riversdale to 'go to Calcutta; stay with Curzon as Viceroy's guest. Just like going to England and staying with the King. In mornings see Calcutta trade. Afternoon, racing; see hundreds of pals. Get a little pig sticking. Then go to Cawnpore - biggest trade centre in India. Then do Agra, Delhi, and on the Pindi; see F. G.; on to Peshawur and Khyber Pass. Across to Quetta and see other end of frontier. Back, play a little polo, perhaps Sialkote tournament. Go to Lucknow; play in open tournament in Civil Service Cup race week. Pig stick; arrange tiger shoot. If possible (doubtful), you have time to go to Mysore for an elephant. This tiger-shooting and pig sticking will take you into March. Come to Patiala. If I play for 9th I shall be there practising for Inter-Regimental. Come to

Meerut Inter-Regimental week. End of March, compete in Kadir Cup - pig sticking, best sport in the world. If you only let me know in time, can buy you three good horses. Train to Bombay; arrange to see trade and town. Tip F.G., get on steamer, and leave about 1st April, having had best time in the world'.¹⁰⁰ During the nineteenth century, then, hunting was welcomed in some quarters as a necessary preparation for war. In the period leading up to, and during the Great War, hunting skills were still favoured by many influential officers within the army hierarchy as an essential preparation for the imperial officer. In 1913, General E.A. Alderson unequivocally advocated field sports as builder of martial character in his book, Pink and Scarlet, or Hunting as a School for Soldiering, (1913) while Field Marshall Douglas Haig was still appointing cavalry men from the 'old school' with its hunting traditions to high command during the Great War itself.¹⁰¹ Lord Cavan's success in his role of the Chief of the Imperial Staff, it was claimed, derived from his hunting proclivities which he continued, when possible, to pursue throughout the Great War.¹⁰²

As long as senior officers believed that the rules of nineteenth century warfare prevailed, then hunting was seen as a source of military success. The trained rider-to-hounds, according to General Alderson, knew invariably the best location to launch an attack - 'what taught him to take his horse by the head and turn him out of the road over the bank, to open the next gate with a swing, and pop over the rails beyond in order to go and see quickly if the position was as good as he thought? How did he learn to take in the lie of the country at a glance?'¹⁰³ The answer, according to Alderson, was a training in field sports, a view shared by Sir Evelyn

Wood and Commandant General G. Hamley who contended that 'no man's soldiering education was complete without a training in hunting'.¹⁰⁴

It was training which was considered to be a huge practical asset by some as the battle lines were being drawn for the Great War. In September, 1914, North Country Master of Foxhounds, John Fairfax-Blakeborough was asked to take a Commission and teach the Queen's Own Yorkshire Dragoons at York in preparation for combat in France.¹⁰⁵ Owing to his high-ranking and influential contacts within the army, however, this consummate and prolific rider-to-hounds was swiftly moved by the War Office to the Reserve Cavalry Barracks at Longmoor, Hampshire. There, he joined other upper-class huntsmen who adapted their hunting skills into military purposes by learning how to use arms when mounted and practising the 'military seat'.¹⁰⁶ Teaming up with other Masters of Foxhounds, including Sandhurst trained 'boy officers', Fairfax-Blakeborough rode every day before breakfast and lectured on horse management to these Junior Yeomenry. These 'talents' he took with him to the Front between 1916 and 1918.¹⁰⁷

For the initiated immediately before the Great war, it was on the battlefield where the qualities associated with advanced equestrian and hunting skills were most apparent. Speaking of the 'successes' enjoyed by late-Victorian British, imperial armies, Master of Foxhounds, F.C. Loder-Symonds, boasted with reference to Old Berks Hunt: 'how many of that batch of gallant yeomen who sprang to arms in the hours of their country's difficulties and who did such splendid service for their native land in South Africa were trained in the hunting field?'¹⁰⁸ The answer, it seems, was to be found in the triumph of the British Mounted Infantry's campaign against the Mashona Rising in 1896, viewed by some as 'a victory for sportsmen and good men

to hounds'.¹⁰⁹ Baily's 'Blackthorn', enthused by such victories in South Africa, trumpeted that the 'sportsman's training in hunting has made British officers the best officers in the world'.¹¹⁰

Understandably then, any threats to British hunting was treated with due gravity, as illustrated in a curious incident on the 23rd July, 1901, in 'Anglo-Egyptian' Cairo.¹¹¹ A fox-hunting party of British officers were physically assaulted by the land-agent and watchmen of radical landowner and social commentator, William Scawen Blunt after 'straying' on to his property in pursuit of a fox. Despite doubts about the alleged 'assaults', three of Blunt's men were subsequently arrested and charged under Egyptian law and sentenced to between six and three months in gaol. Their defence was that they acted under the strict instructions of Blunt not to let anyone on his property - particularly for sport - and to use what ever means were necessary to bar their way.

The ensuing legal conflict between Blunt and the British imperial administration was widely reported in the British and Egyptian press and became the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry. Blunt used the incident to publicise the scant regard for native cultivators and the laws of trespass typical of European sportsmen in search of game. Natives were not protected by law against the indiscriminate European trespassers, since they were unable to arrest or detain transgressors. Although Blunt acted on their behalf, it was to be a forlorn gesture.

The eventual involvement of the distinguished administrators, the Marquess of Lansdowne, Sir Rennell Rodd and Lord Cromer in support of the fox-hunters illustrated the considerable steps taken to safeguard the reputation of military sportsmen and their 'traditional' sport. As the case progressed, Blunt attempted to

humiliate his opponents by questioning the 'manliness' of the soldiers involved, arguing that Egyptian 'foxes' were tame in comparison to British animals and did not provide 'manly' sport. In the end it was Blunt who was humiliated and was forced to back down, eventually offering the 'M.F.H.' - a Major Rycroft - an apology.¹¹²

The imperial establishment was triumphant. The stout defence of imperial sporting traditions demonstrated the status of hunting in the colonies as a 'man's sport' not to be undermined by indigenous restraints or whinging English 'cranks'.

By this time, however, there was an overdue move towards a professional 'technocracy' within the army which questioned the hegemony of the 'gentleman', and his 'unreflective dash' as a sound basis for combat.¹¹³ One manifestation of this change in attitude was the reduction in the members of the landed elite in the officer class.¹¹⁴ Many established officers lamented this 'usurpation' of the 'traditional' officer type with his hunting lifestyle.¹¹⁵ The two went hand in hand for reasons of cost. It was a lifestyle which favoured the upper class as £1000 per year was required to provide the uniforms and horses for a cavalry regiment, with a further £700 needed to cover the expected social expenses.¹¹⁶ Clearly, expensive uniforms for both regimental and hunting duties projected an image of smartness which instilled awed respect and discipline in the lower ranks.

Despite these outward symbols of stability, the poor performance of the officer class during the Boer War heightened concern about the army's class structure and its associated incompetence. The 161 officers and 1337 men killed between 1899 and February 1900, for example, was considered far too many and provoked alarm: The Field, no less, exasperated at military mismanagement, stated

bluntly that an inflexible military elite, entrusted with the vital affairs of the empire, had been found wanting. ¹¹⁷

Others went further. The messy debacle of the Boer Wars provided pacifists, for so long the butt of patriotic 'sportsmen', ample opportunity to question the so-called relationship between hunting and martial excellence. 'The Boer War, and the miserable figure cut by our officers in comparison with the Boer officers in both shooting and riding,' according to these dissidents, 'disposed conclusively of the 'sportsman'. In fact, 'sport' as understood in England cannot prepare men for war, even if they ride to hounds three days a week, shoot the other three, and read the *Pink Un* on Sunday. English sport and war are different in their essence, and one has no analogy to the other.' ¹¹⁸ This provocative assertion even won support from Rudyard Kipling who announced that field sports impaired rather than enhanced the military effort. ¹¹⁹

Efforts to incorporate this revisionist thinking within the army was met, predictably, by hostility from hunting buffs who argued obstinately that any basic structural changes within the army which limited officers access to, and experience of, gun and hound were unsafe and unsound. Consequently, proponents sagely suggested that field sports had 'stiffened up' rather than weakened the army at the Boer War. ¹²⁰

In the aftermath of this conflict, Baily's Magazine, asked 'What have We Learnt From the War?' ¹²¹ It offered the blasé answer : 'at no period of British military history have our officers shown greater robustness and activity, or greater capacity for enduring hardship, want and exposure than in the South African War. There cannot therefore be any fault with the system of life that all ranks pursued

before the war'.¹²² The system of life for officers was quite substantially a system of "hunting, fishing and shooting!" While bravely admitting that lapses in standards, a consequence of 'misdirected training' which gave inadequate training in gunnery and marksmanship, Baily's condemned the calls for structural reforms in the army which would limit opportunities for hunting in its various forms.¹²³ Referring to peacetime officer training, The Field supported the idea that hunting had served the nation well, stating that 'there is not a hunting, cricket or football field which has not contributed its individuals to the force which has been fighting England's battles'.¹²⁴

Unsurprisingly, the continued importance of the 'cavalry' principle was strongly peddled in some quarters. In 1901, The Field suggested that horses would play a leading part of any war in the future and demanded that more should be done to train the military in both shooting and equestrian skills while Baily's claimed that the high number of foot-soldier fatalities during Boer Wars only confirmed the need for cavalry in modern war.¹²⁵

The use of cavalry as the vanguard, however, was questioned by noted hunting exponent, Siegfried Sassoon, who argued that horses and cavalry were obsolete in the face of modern guns deployed on the Western Front.¹²⁶ By this time, soldiers as well as Humanitarians argued that horses as well as men were suffering together on the battlefields, a radical idea clearly at odds with earlier attitudes towards cavalry.¹²⁷

Such compassion for man and beast, however, had not deterred imperialist and keen hunting exponent, Lord Lonsdale, from donating hunting horses to the Imperial Yeomanry during the Boer War, a 'patriotic' gesture which he repeated during the Great War.¹²⁸ Indeed, Lonsdale's largesse confirmed fellow Master of

Foxhounds, Willoughby de Broke's contention that the 'immediate consequence of mobilisation in 1914 was the recognition of foxhunting as a first class national asset. It is not too much to say that the Expeditionary Force (1914) could not have left England unless the nation could have drawn upon the studs of well-bred hunters to bring army horses up to strength'.¹²⁹

Calls for the reduction of time spent on hunting by the officer class asked for within the Committee on Military Education Blue Book of 1902 were emphatically dismissed by hunting stalwarts. Although the Committee criticised the keeping hounds for hunting at some military colleges, in particular at Duhallow in Ireland, Woolwich, the Household Brigade and the Staff College, their proposed reforms outlined in the Blue Book underestimated the widespread attachment to 'bloodsports' by officers within sections of the military.¹³⁰

According to one observer, 'there seems to have lurked among many officers a simple desire to perpetuate the privileges and attractions of the late Victorian and Edwardian army, with its pleasant life, social networks and amateur ideal'.¹³¹ Certainly, there was a substantial social prestige allocated to the mounted officer and local hunts competed with one another for their patronage when quartered nearby, a reciprocal arrangement which often entailed the liberal use of army grooms to maintain equipment and hunting horses.¹³²

Of course, professional purpose as well as social reasons was part and parcel of hunting. It was a status enhanced by a pleasant social and professional networking maintained by officers such as Claude de Crespigny and his ambitious sons, for example, who often entertained Sir Evelyn Wood and General F.J. French of the Royal Marines at their sporting estate at Champion Lodge, Essex in the years before

World War One.¹³³ This form of exclusive socialising, which included politicians and high-ranking officers, was encouraged by Masters such as Lord Lonsdale.¹³⁴ His laconic remark during the Great War, 'what would officers home from the front do if they could not hunt' typified the attitude of his class.¹³⁵

Lonsdale and his ilk saw themselves as an extension of true English yeomanry, duty bound to answer and support the clarion call of war. Masters of Foxhounds such as John Fairfax-Blakeborough found a renewed sense of purpose when their nation was under threat during the Great War. The resultant military conflict, he suggested, tested and showed to all others the British nation's manliness achieved and maintained through hunting.¹³⁶ Without any trace of irony, this period hunting icon observed that 'there are those who fear that the Great War will write the epitaph of hunting and racing - contrariwise, it should give both such a fillip, as making men of that robust type that the nation needs - men who are cool, observant, unselfish, ready to endure all weather and hardship'.¹³⁷

Others made explicit the link between hunting, masculinity and military success. Sir Henry Newbolt, for example, commended the determination of the hunting officer class to maintain his defining 'sporting spirit' in adversity. It was, he claimed, evident in victory in 1918 when the superiority of this British sporting 'spirit' over 'Teutonic materialism, order, and science' was finally evident.¹³⁸

The virtues in hunting and shooting as training for the Great War, however, were not universally accepted. Thus, the French lack of 'entente' was blamed by one British commentator on their failure to understand the importance of the 'thrusting spirit' required of the British cavalry.¹³⁹ Their attack on the cavalry struck hard at a system of fighting which, according to some, had created some of Britain's most

admired soldiers. Winston Churchill, for one, was described as a man's man, an adventurer and thruster, never at peace unless he was in action. His life in the cavalry was founded on the cult and companionship of the horse, aimed at the development of equestrian and hunting skills. ¹⁴⁰ Baily's, annoyed at this myopic criticism of Britain's huntsmen-soldiers, insisted that the Royal Scots had enjoyed 'great sport' until stopped by the interfering French. ¹⁴¹

Hard-riding British gentlemen, of course, were not to be persuaded by saloon Frenchmen and the parochial Gallic criticism of British officers and their taste for hunting was countered by the British cult of masculinity. The ethnocentric magazine, 'Greater Britain', for one, defended this 'sporting spirit' which emanated from the British 'character' and which was part and parcel of a 'common love of the chase in any of its forms...whatever may betide us in politics, our British spirit is a thing of permanence'. ¹⁴²

In glorious recognition of this British sporting 'spirit', a number of articles written by huntsmen appeared in Baily's Magazine from 1914 onwards, such as 'What Hunting Men Have Done for Britain', and 'Famous Sportsmen Fallen', which not only emphasised the indefatigable nature of an indigenous sporting 'spirit' but also stressed the class-specific self-sacrificial leadership of those steeped in hunting for the benefit of the wider community. ¹⁴³

Nowhere was this spirit more necessary than in the abyss of the Great War. John Fairfax-Blakeborough devoted his privileged life before the war to hunting on horse back with his friends from society's upper echelons. With typical, phlegmatic understatement, it is fitting that he described his greatest moment in the conflict as analogous to a foxhunt taken with fellow officers: at Souastre in June, 1918, 'the

Bosche was on the run and never stopped running until the finish of the war. It was like a great hunt, nearly as much fun as a fox hunt though Colonel Sykes and I nearly got in from of the 'fox' at Caudry and brought an end to our own part of the fun - and it was fun, the sweets of victory, revenge and the very devil let loose within us'.¹⁴⁴

The perceived military virtues associated with horse and hound lingered on beyond the Great War. By this time, pig sticking was still peddled as the cream of imperial hunting, a sport which, according to its protagonists, maintained British hegemony during the last years of the Raj.¹⁴⁵ Occupation of the Dera Ghazim Khan in Pakistan, for example, meant that 'keen hunters prepared to work hard for small results' could have their own Tent Club before long while the local gentry 'would develop into hard and keen horsemen instead of growing corpulent as they sit with a gun and hookah pipe waiting for potshots at game'.¹⁴⁶ The appearance of The Hoghunter's Annual in 1928, lasting up to 1939, and Lt. Colonel. L.A. Bethell's "Blackwoods" Tales from the Outpost X, Shikar, (1935) confirmed the sport's moral influence.¹⁴⁷

The moral values associated with the imperial cavalryman were not abandoned as Britain's imperial destiny was transformed in the inter-war period. The Times defiantly remarked in 1931, opportunities for '*real men*' to combine active duty with sports such as riding, polo and hunting and shooting were still abundant in the open spaces of the British empire.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, hunting the wild boar with sword and spear was proudly 'inherited' by the Indianised Civil Service and army.¹⁴⁹ Even at this late stage of the Raj, some enthused that it was 'good to see the never-ending enthusiasm and support of the elder generation of pig stickers, the keenness and

successes of the younger and to know that, in spite of growing expenses and diminishing incomes, all is at present well with the best of Indian sports'.¹⁵⁰

There were, of course, other forms of hunting which attracted the British subaltern both in India and other exotic settings. Big game shooting was recognised by some as the sport which best defined the imperial officer and contributed most to the making of a period martial 'manhood'. Chapter five will consider the relationship between big-game hunting and the subaltern.

1. MS. Letter, James Yorke to Countess de Grey, 25th August 1802, Bedford County Record Office, L/30/11/332/2. I am grateful to Trevor Cunnick of Bedfordshire and Luton Archives and Records Service for his kind assistance.
2. Captain G.J. Younghusband, The Queen's Commission, London, 1891, pp.106-7; 'Hunting', D. Walter, Walker's Manly Exercises, London, 1886, pp.243-4; F.G. Aflalo, The Sports of the World, Special Edition, 2 Vol.s, Vol.1, London, 1902, p.1
3. J.A. Mangan, 'Muscular, Militaristic and Manly: The British Middle Class Hero as Moral Messenger', in R. Holt and J.A. Mangan, eds., European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport, London, 1996, pp.28-47
4. J.A. Mangan, 'Games Field and Battlefield: A Romantic Alliance in Verse and the Creation of Militaristic Masculinity', in J. Nauright and T. Chandler, eds., Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity, London, 1996, pp.146-52
5. See Chapter 5
6. See David Andrews, who has argued that it was in the cultural domain 'that national identities and ideologies were fashioned, fermented and eventually became symbolically represented, through cultural patriarchy which privileged the male pursuit of what were construed as predominantly masculine practices.' D. Andrews, 'Sport and the Masculine Hegemony of the Modern Nation,' in J. Nauright, T. Chandler, Making Men, p.89
7. W. Oswell, William Cotton Oswell, London, 1900, pp.80-1
8. 'The Career of an Indian Officer', The Cornhill Magazine, Vol.3, March 1861, pp.73-4

- 9 Younghusband, Commission, p.80
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 The Field, Vol.57, January 1881, p.31
- 12 J. Colquhoun, Moor and Loch, Edinburgh, 1854, pp.37-8, See also, The Gentleman in Black, 'School Life, Its Sports and Pastimes,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.3, April 1861, pp.370-6, and see Younghusband, Commission, p.156
- 13 'Woolwich and its Recreations', Baily's Magazine, Vol.5, June 1862, pp.6-14; Younghusband, Commission, pp.155-7
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 H. Hieover, pseudonym, Charles Bindley, 1795-1859. Sporting Facts and Fancies, 1853, pp.36-7; The Earl of Wilton, Sports and Pastimes of the English People, London, 1867, p.44; Anthony Trollope, British Sports and Pastimes, London, 1868, pp.45-9
- 17 Hieover, Sporting, pp.36-7
- 18 Military and administrative imperatives seem to have been linked to the notion of rough work' for which hunting and other sports were essential for character-training. See, Colonel T.S. St Clair, Badminton Magazine, December 1899, Vol.5, pp.9, 112; and Bishop J.E.C. Welldon, 'The Training of an English Gentleman in the Public Schools,' Nineteenth Century, Vol.60, pp.409-10; John Ruskin noted, 'the man, in his rough work in the open world, must encounter all peril and trial: to him, therefore, must be the failure, the offence, the inevitable terror: often he must be wounded or

- subdued, and always, always, hardened'. J. Ruskin, Sesame and Lillies, New York, 1865, p.3. Ruskin advocated management of the empire through superior British moral and military strength. See R.H. MacDonald, 'A Poetics of War: Militarist Discourse in the British Empire, 1880-1918', Mosaic, Vol.23, 1990, pp.23-40
- 19 Major H. Shakespear, The Wild Sports of India, London, 1862, p.2
- 20 'Woolwich', Baily's, Vol.4, 1861, p.10
- 21 Captain Palliser, quoted in J. Madden, The Wilderness and its Tenants, 3 Vols., Vol.2, London, 1897, p.92
- 22 D.P. Blaine, An Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, London, 1870, p.154
- 23 The Sporting Magazine, Vol.67, January 1826, p.121 and The Field, Vol.57, January 1881, p.31
- 24 Sporting Magazine, *ibid.* and The Sporting Magazine, Vol.72, July 1828, p.244
- 25 This patriotic 'shot', concerned at the humanitarian threat to 'all violent muscular amusements', envisaged the end of game, as hunting and shooting became as 'obsolete as the tournaments of the Middle Ages.' 'The Cost of a Battue', All the Year Round, September, Vol.1, 1860, p.484
- 26 Jeffries, Fortnightly Review, Vol.1, 1883, pp.931-932.
- 27 *Ibid.*
- 28 Samuel White Baker, 'Elephant Shooting in Ceylon,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.49, 1888, pp.473-8
- 29 'Woolwich', Baily's, Vol.4, 1861, pp.10

- 30 See The Earl of Wilton, Sports and Pursuits, pp.44, 89-95; and The Times,
28th February 1845, p.6
- 31 Trollope, British Sports, pp.45-9
- 32 D. Goodall, Huntsmen of a Golden Age, Stephen Goodall, 1757-1823,
William Goodall, 1817-59, London, 1956, pp.95-6
- 33 Unpublished MS., R.W. Arkwright, Four Years Campaign in South Africa,
1843-7, pp.13-14, 19, 29-36 T/B 577, held at Essex Records Office,
Colchester. Thanks are extended to Assistant County Archivist, Janet Smith
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 J. Anstruther Thompson, Eighty Years Reminiscences, 2 Vols., Vol.2,
London, 1904, pp.9, 281-5; The Field, Vol.57, January 1881, p.31
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 S.W. Baker, Wild Beasts and their Ways, London, 1890, pp.375-77
- 41 Gilbert John Elliot, 1859-1913. The Minto Papers, Technical Letters, Ref.
12533, pp.10-12, held at the National Library of Scotland. See also, J.
Buchan, Lord Minto, a Memoir, London, 1924, p.57
- 42 Buchan, Memoir, p.57
- 43 Colonel A.I.R. Glasfurd, Musings of an Old Shikari, London, 1928, p.10.
A.I.R. Glasfurd - 1870-1947
- 44 MS Minto Papers, Diary, Ref.12487, held at the National Library of
Scotland, p.129 and Buchan, Memoir, pp.16-17

- 45 Buchan, Memoir, p.17
- 46 Ibid., pp.37-8
- 47 J. Grierson, Records of Scottish Volunteer Force, 1859-1908, Edinburgh, 1909, pp.8-12
- 48 Buchan, Memoir, pp.56-7
- 49 Ibid., p.17
- 50 MS Minto Papers, 12543, 12503-10, pp.12-18
- 51 Younghusband, Commission, p.116
- 52 T. Williamson, Oriental Fieldsports 2 Vols., Vol.1, London, 1808, preface, p.v
- 53 'The Bombay Hounds', The Oriental Sporting Magazine, Vol.2, August 1830, p.420
- 54 The Oriental Sporting Magazine, Vol.1, August 1830, pp.439, 474
- 55 R.S. Baden-Powell, Pig sticking or Hog-hunting, London, 1889, p.45
- 56 Major Neville Taylor, 'Military Sports in India, in F.G. Aflalo The Sports of the World, Vol.1, London, 1902, pp.49-52; R.S. Baden-Powell, The Matabele Campaign, London, 1897, p.192
- 57 Taylor, 'Military Sports', Ibid.
- 58 'Hunting in Ceylon', Baily's Magazine, Vol.49, March 1888, pp.38-42; E. Maconochie, Life in the Indian Civil Service, London, 1926, p.26
- 59 C. Allen, ed., Plain Tales From the Raj, Oxford, 1975, p.99; P. Woodruff, (Pseud. Philip Nelson) The Men Who Ruled India, 2 Vols., Vol.2, London, 1953, p.180; C.E. Gouldsbury, Tigerland: Reminiscences of Forty Years Sport and Adventure in Bengal, London, 1913, p.35

- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Allen, Plain Tales, p.99 and A.I.R. Glasfurd, Musings of an Old Shikari. Recollections on Life and Sport in Jungle India, London, 1923, p.210
- 62 General H. Shakespear, Wild Sports of India, 1852, pp.29,41, J. Best, Indian Shikar Notes, Allahabad, 1931, p.199; J.T. Newall, Hog-hunting in the East and Other Sports, London, 1867, p.5, R.S. Baden-Powell, Pig sticking or Hog hunting, London, 1889, pp.41-45, Lieutenant A.E. Wardrop, Modern Pig sticking, London, 1914, p.1; H. Compton, 'Pigsticking,' in Aflalo, The Sports of the World, Vol.2, 1902, pp.203-7
- 63 Wardrop, Modern Pig sticking, p.1, Baden-Powell, Pig sticking, pp.20-21
- 64 Baden-Powell, Pig sticking, pp.20-21
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Baden-Powell, Pig sticking, pp.271-2
- 67 Captain W. Campbell, My Indian Journal, Edinburgh, n.d.,p.326
- 68 R.S. Baden-Powell, Indian Memories, Recollections of Soldiering and Sport, London, 1915, p.47; Hog hunting, pp.20-1
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 J. Buchan, Francis and Riversdale Grenfell, London, 1920, p.54
- 71 J. Wilson, The Rod and the Gun, London, 1840, p.317
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Baden-Powell, Pig sticking, pp.41-2
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Wardrop, Modern Pig sticking, p.83

- 76 Wardrop, Modern Pig sticking, p.5, chapters 4-6, Baden-Powell, Pig sticking or Hog-Hunting, pp.19-20, and chapters 6-7; The Oriental Sporting Magazine, Vol.1, August, 1828, pp.102-7
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 Williamson, Oriental, pp.xii-xiii and D. Johnson, Sketches of Fieldsports as Followed by Native Indians, 2nd edition, London, 1827, p.48
- 79 The Oriental Sporting Magazine, Vol.2, 1830, p.169
- 80 Baden-Powell, Pig sticking, p.271
- 81 Ibid., pp.290-3
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 E.H. Lynn-Allen, Leaves from a Game-Book, London, 1946, pp.11-12
- 84 E. Baker, 'Sport in Bengal', Baily's Magazine, Vol.49, 1888, pp.391-398
- 85 Baden-Powell, Pig sticking, pp.290-2
- 86 Wardrop, Modern Pig sticking, p.1
- 87 Ibid.
- 88 Newall, Hog-hunting, p.5
- 89 Ibid.
- 90 Baden-Powell, Pig sticking, pp.292-4
- 91 Wardrop, Modern Pig sticking, p.178
- 92 Baden-Powell, Pig sticking, pp.34-36
- 93 'Song for the ___ Hunt, 1828' in the Oriental Sporting Magazine, Vol.1, October 1828, pp.76-7
- 94 D.J.F. Newall, Highlands of India, Fieldsports and Travel in India, 2 Vols., Vol.1, London, 1887, p.v

- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Buchan, Grenfell, 1920, p.54
- 97 'Pig', Baily's Magazine, Vol.93, February 1910, p.126
- 98 'Boar Hunting in India', James Macaulay ed., Boy's Own Paper: of Pure and Entertaining Reading, No.1, Vol.11, 1879pp.332-334
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Buchan, Grenfell, pp.x, 1, 2, 11, 54
- 101 General E.A. Alderson, Pink and Scarlet or Hunting as a School for Soldiering, London, 1913. General E.A. Alderson, 1859-1927.
T. Travers, 'The hidden army: structural problems in the British officer corps, 1900-18,' Journal of Contemporary History, Vol.17, 1982, p.538, and
C.B. Otley, 'The Educational Background of British Army Officers,' Sociology, Vol.7, 1973, pp.191-209
- 102 N. Lytton, The English Country Gentleman, London, 1925, pp.80-1
- 103 Alderson, chapter 1
- 104 Alderson, *Ibid.*, Lytton, Gentleman, pp.80-1
- 105 J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, Sporting Days and Sporting Stories, London, 1925, pp.164-5
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 *Ibid.*, p.201
- 108 F.C. Loder-Symonds and E.P. Crowdy, The History of the Old Berks Hunt, 1760-1905, London, 1905, pp.1-2
- 109 Ibid.

- 110 'Blackthorn', 'Englishmen's Sport in Future Years, Baily's Magazine, Vol.85, May 1906, pp.346-350
- 111 'Uncovered Editions', Wilfred Blunt's Egyptian Garden - Foxhunting in Cairo, 1901, Cd.796, Cambridge: The Stationary Office, 2001, pp.1-4, 49-53, 102-5, 112
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 C. Barnett, 'The Education of Military Elites,' in R. Wilkinson, (ed.), Governing Elites, New York, 1969, p.206
- 114 E.M. Spiers, Army and Society, 1815-1914, London, 1980, p.25
- 115 Alderson, School for Soldiering, pp. 24-8
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 The Field, Vol.99, June 1902, pp.895-6
- 118 H. Salt, ed., Killing for Sport, London, 1914, p.153
- 119 'Sports and Arms', The Field, Vol.99, January 1902, p.35
- 120 'Cottenham Memories,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.79, February 1903, pp.332-334
- 121 'What have We Learned from the War', Baily's Magazine, Vol.78, September 1902, pp.3-8
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 'Sport and War', Baily's Magazine, Vol.73, April 1900, pp.85-9; 'Sport with Horse and Hound', Baily's Magazine, Vol.77, March 1902, pp.214-7.
- 124 'Peace and Sport', The Field, Vol.99, June 1902, p.848

- 125 'Sports and Arms', The Field, Vol.99, January 1902, p.35; The Field, Vol.97, April 1901, p.526; 'What Have We Learned From the War', Baily's, Vol.78, 1902, p.3-8
- 126 S. Sassoon, Memoirs of a Fox-hunting Man, London, 1928, p.136
- 127 MS., MS D.Lons/L9/2, 53, 62, Carlisle Record Office
- 128 S. Galvayne, War Horses. Present and Future, London, 1902, preface.
Unsurprisingly, Lowther was the D.A.A.G. for the Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa during the Boer Wars. See, Who's Who in Cumberland and Westmorland, Limited Edition, Number, 111, London, 137, p.147
- 129 W.de Broke, Hunting the Fox, Carlisle Record Office 1925, p.2
- 130 The Field, Vol.99, June 1902, pp.895-6
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 G. Millar, ed., Horsemen: Memoirs of Captain J.H. Marshall, London, 1970, pp.96-98
- 133 C.C.de Crespigny, Forty Years of a Sportsman's Life, London, 1910, p.238
- 134 MS., D.Lons/L9/2, 53, 62, Carlisle Record Office
- 135 Quoted in D. Sutherland, The Yellow Earl. The Life of Hugh Cecil Lowther, 5th Earl of Lonsdale, 1857-1944, London, 1965, p.189
- 136 J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, 'What Hunting Men Have Done for Britain', Baily's Magazine, Vol.103, May 1915, pp.195-199; Baily's Magazine, 'Nature and Sport at the Back of the Front,' May 1917, Vol.107, pp.196-9
- 137 Ibid.
- 138 H. Newbolt, The Book of Good Hunting, London, 1920, pp.26-28

- 139 Fairfax-Blakeborough, Sport at the Front' Baily's, Vol.107, May 1917,
pp.197-9
- 140 E. Wingfield-Stratford, The Making of a Hero, London, 1942, pp.10, 34-5
- 141 Fairfax-Blakeborough, 'Sport at the Front', Baily's, Vol.107, May 1917,
pp.197-9
- 142 Greater Britain, August 1891, p.507
- 143 'Hunting and War', Baily's Magazine, Vol.102, November 1914, pp.296-9;
'What Hunting Men Have Done for Britain', Baily's Magazine, Vol.103,
May 1915, pp.195-199; 'The Sporting Spirit', Baily's Magazine, Vol.111,
March 1919, pp.110-112
- 144 Fairfax-Blakeborough, Sporting Days, p.202
- 145 'Pigsticking', The Field, Vol.142, October 1923, p.557 and 'The Kadir Cup',
The Field, Vol.142, December 1923, p.25
- 146 The Field, Vol.142, *ibid.*
- 147 The Hoghunter's Annual, 1928, Vol.1; Lt. Colonel. L.A. Bethell,
"Blackwoods" Tales from the Outpost X, Shikar, Bombay, 1935, preface
- 148 The Times, 18th February 1930, p.xiii
- 149 Allen, Plain Tales from the Raj, pp.129-39
- 150 'Kadir Cup', The Field, Vol.142, October 1923, p.25

Chapter Five:

Out of England, into Empire: Aspects of Big Game Hunting and the Imperial Officer



Maintaining continuity of masculinity between one generation and the next was an issue of some importance in the families entrusted with the safekeeping and expansion of empire. Military families frequently ensured that big game hunting featured in the upbringing of the male members. This tradition was, for example, exemplified by the Norths of Yealand Conyers, Lancashire.

There had long been an assumption within the family that big game hunting was an essential attribute for the officer when overseas. Henry North was the first member to hunt big game as an officer. He was born in Bangalore, the eldest son of John S. Burton, an administrator in the East India Company. By the age of sixteen, Henry was himself employed in the East India Company, and by 1845 had joined the 32nd regiment of the Bengal Native Infantry. Throughout his army career, Henry was an avid hunter of game for trophies.

All male members of the North family went into the army. Brigadier-General Bordrigge North, CB, J.P., Henry's son, served with the King's Own in Sudan in 1885, the Boer and the First World Wars. He was a keen big game shot and inherited the family estate at Newton Hall near Kirby Lonsdale. His brother, Captain Louis North, born in 1866, joined the Royal Scots Fusiliers. He was another avid big game trophy collector before his death in action in South Africa in December 1901. Another brother, Captain Edward B. North, served with the Royal Fusiliers in Egypt and Sudan where he enjoyed the delights of hunting game. Finally, the youngest brother, Piers William North, was with the Royal Berkshire Mounted Infantry in South Africa between October 1898 and the outbreak of war in 1899, when he also developed an interest in big-game shooting. All family members brought trophies back from overseas which were placed in Clifford Hall. They were a reminder of the

family's contribution to the Empire. And they were more. These trophies were symbols of the *military virtue* attached to big game hunting. It was a period axiom that an officer who didn't hunt big game lacked *military virtue*.¹

Whatever the criteria for this 'military virtue', big-game hunting and pioneering "exploration and adventure" were essential activities shaping the construction, expectation and manifestation of the subaltern's masculinity as Britain consolidated her hold on colonial assets in the nineteenth century. The gallant and intrepid soldier-hunter expressed the idiom of the age through numerous, laconic hunting narratives. Books published in the mid- nineteenth century, such as Portraits of the Game and Wild Animals of South Africa (1840) by Captain W. Cornwallis Harris, Colonel Walter Campbell's Old Forest Ranger, 1845 and Indian Journal, 1862, Captain A.W. Drayson, Sporting Scenes Amongst the Kaffirs of South Africa, 1858 Major A. Brinckmann, The Rifle in Cashmere, 1863, Captain J.T. Newall's The Eastern Hunters, 1866, and Hog-Hunting in the East, 1867, portrayed the appropriation of dangerous game by British soldiers as part of a much-admired rationale which legitimately extended the boundaries of a growing empire.

Unsurprisingly, the quintessential imperial officer came to be defined, according to proponents, by his commitment to, and success in, big game hunting.² Casual indifference to the obvious dangers of hunting and war invoked admiration from Victorian and Edwardian societies which remained wedded to the idea of "survival of the fittest". Consequently, big-game hunting was frequently presented as a right and proper manifestation of European cultural superiority. In Britain, the moral values associated with hunting 'dangerous' game were peddled as the 'best possible guarantee for the development of those manly attributes of mind and body

which we are *all taught* to admire'.³ This moral influence was a feature of the imperial officer's "fitness for struggle". The role of big game hunting as a harbinger of sterner tests on the imperial battlefield will form the basis of this chapter.

British imperial colonies throughout the nineteenth century provided numerous opportunities for the martial development of the imperial officer through a heady combination of big game hunting and military action. Colonel T.S. St Clair, for one, declared that hunting overseas cultivated the soldier's '*killing abilities*' while 'flirtations with dangerous, exotic game' according to his peer, Captain Charles Sykes, inspired *military* 'intellect and character'.⁴

A belief in the 'gun at the shoulder' perfected martial skills because both activities required advanced physical and mental prowess.⁵ In this view, big game hunting was an uncoded message in military masculinity which ensured the cultivation of hardihood necessary for the survival and extension of the 'nation state'. 'To all others,' proclaimed Captain William Cornwallis Harris, speaking of his explorative South African hunting trips in the 1840s, 'I prefer the life of adventure -its very privations constituting excitement', an imperialistic view shared by Captain Arthur Neumann, who argued that his beloved elephant hunting, although cruel and 'barbaric', symbolised the hunters' strength and virility, attributes which were essential for the maintenance of a great empire.⁶

Accordingly, big game shooting was ranked above mere domestic shooting. Captain John Best, therefore, confidently extolled the testing virtues of hunting in Albania in the 1840s, describing it as 'a wild country with great sport for the hardworking and disciplined sportsman...such a contrast to the milk and water shooting of tame birds which get up steadily and give much time for "gunning"'.⁷

The merits of Best's shooting excursions were enhanced by the often hazardous 'altercations and adventures' against indigenous Albanian soldiers which 'spiced up his sport'!⁸ The intrepid officer's contemporaries, Captain Richard Arkwright, Captain William Cornwallis Harris and Captain James Forsythe also waxed lyrical about the 'attractions' of hunting wild game in unexplored territories whilst under constant threat from hostile indigenes.⁹

In short, a state of readiness for 'battle' brought about by confrontation with both human 'enemies' and big game was considered a military asset. In other words, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Cecil Lowther, the subaltern 'must be prepared to be shot at; it is probably this which keeps men in the service. Just the remote possibility of taking part in the greatest sport the world has to offer - hunting man and being hunted by man - keeps many officers with the colours'.¹⁰ There was little difference between the one and the other - the human enemy was a beast on two legs! The inherent dangers of both hunting and the battlefield, therefore, fitted easily into the concept of "self-sacrifice" - expected of the subaltern in the interests of empire.

Moreover, the notion of 'glorying' in danger fitted perfectly into period notions of masculinity. Thus, The Spectator examined 'The Pleasure of Peril' and concluded that there was merit in the 'danger wherein something or someone is overcome, whereas there is an enemy over whom to triumph... How small the prize of honour for which men have made faces at death: a lion's skin, a mountain top! Yet the Selous of humanity standing face to face with the great yellow savage of the desert, have drunk the cup of joy to the lees and will again. And how small the prize of life!' ¹¹ It was a philosophy which was taken to extremes by one senior officer in

1900 when he advised subalterns at Sandhurst to 'try and get killed' as a prerequisite for military honour!¹²

The merits of dangerous pastimes as a preparation for sterner tests on the battlefield found favour with some ideologists who were disenchanted with intervals of peace between nations. According to one hunting apologist, self-sacrifice was a 'natural' manifestation of true manliness... 'war gave the opportunity for the most splendid self-sacrifice to the nation at large. It is the only activity which can shake the average citizen out of his self-absorbed tranquillity. The contingent possibility of a state of war renders the interval of peace no less salutary to the nation. It fosters the national spirit, the spirit of independence, the spirit of competition which is the animant of the human race'.¹³

In short, hunting benefited the officer because it prepared him for self-sacrifice when duty demanded it. However, there were other 'benefits' for the soldier-hunter. The imperial soldier-sportsman was a true 'pioneer', fulfilling his own ambitions whilst furthering national objectives. During a four year military expedition which left Fort Beaufort near the Cape in 1843, Richard Arkwright hunted down antelope on horseback, an activity which 'was but a taste of sport... enough to give me a longing for the wilds of Africa. Then it was that I learnt to love the wild sports of the wilderness, to wander unrestrained by game laws far away from the haunts of men, by the elephant's path or buffalo glen. I never felt satisfied till I had seen more of it, till I had really seen the grandest and most magnificent of all sport such as falls to the lot of but few to witness'.¹⁴ Captain Cornwallis Harris exemplified the officer type, contending that the largely unexplored South African veldt with its dangerous game and unpredictable natives provided the soldier-sportsman with intoxicating

challenges which he was expected to overcome.¹⁵ At one point he discerned ‘three hundred elephant browsing in majestic tranquility amidst the wild magnificence of an African landscape - a wide stretching plain darkened with gnou and quaggas’, adding that he ‘that would behold so marvellous a sight must leave the haunts of man and dive into pathless wilds traversed only by brute creation where the grim lion prowls, monarch of all he surveys’.¹⁶ Captain Hesketh H. Prichard also wrote in florid style about the moral virtues of ‘real sport, the pursuit of the perfectly wild-animal on its own primeval and ancestral ground, as yet unanexed and unappropriated in any way by man; where, therefore no permission can be asked, granted or refused, where the wild expanse is free to all human or animal’.¹⁷

By asserting himself through hunting, the soldier-hunter ‘opened up’ new lands for the edification of others. Thus, Major Henry G. C. Swayne asserted that the ‘romance’ of hunting lay in creating paths for others to follow; it was, he suggested, ‘a great privilege to have known the Africa of yesterday. My brother and I have always been pioneering men and the men who have followed in our footsteps have naturally had better opportunities for sport than we had’.¹⁸

However, the argument of most observers was that exploration, empire-building and hunting in hostile territories was essential for the martial development of the officer. Poultney Bigelow, a military commentator writing in 1902, for example, stated specifically that ‘warfare was not unconnected to the war against wild beasts’.¹⁹ In other words, officers with skill in big game hunting were invaluable on the battlefield. Indeed, Captain Hesketh Prichard, to name but one, used his skills, honed through dedication to hunting big game, as a sniper during the Great War.²⁰

Analogies between big game hunting and the battlefield proliferated in periods of rampant imperialism and national rivalries. As Britain consolidated her hold on South Africa in the 1840s for example, Captain Richard Arkwright enthused that 'elephant hunting is glorious sport, exciting in the extreme...what can be more grand than an elephant fight; it is like going into battle, you know too for certain that if your enemy catches you, you are a dead man and no mistake', while Captain John T. Newall of the Indian Staff Corp described his many raids after the Bengal tiger as a 'glorious form of war;' during which he prepared to engage his 'enemy'.²¹

By the period of High Imperialism, proselytisers such as Captain Sir Samuel White Baker made brutally explicit the association between his beloved big game hunting and the skills required for successful soldiering. The army general, he argued, was made from the same mould as the big game hunter; both had to be 'keen but calm, have a correct eye for country' and both 'must thoroughly comprehend the character of his adversary, to know the position of his haunts and the secrecy of his retreat. He must understand the nature of the animal in order to contend with a vast superiority of physical strength. A thorough sportsman should be sound in wind and limb, sharp of hearing, and quick of sight. His nervous-system should be under the most perfect control, to enable him to seize an immediate advantage without an instant of irresolution or delay. In the moment of danger he should become preternaturally cool, instead of yielding to excitement. The art of a stealthy approach should be reduced to a science'.²²

The association between wild, untrammelled hunting as a prerequisite for the martial development of the 'pioneering' imperial officer lingered on into the twentieth century. As late as 1922, Captain Frank Webster F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., and professional

hunter pondered whether any 'undiscovered animals' still lurked in remote areas suitable for the more intrepid officer to kill while in 1916, Lieutenant L.B. Rundall had asked rhetorically, 'shouldn't *every man* be glad to rough it out and test his power of endurance, and harden himself, and sharpen his animal wits in the keen mountain wind, and silence of the forests? Next to my profession I am keenest on such sport, not necessarily from the point of view of firing off a number of cartridges and drawing blood, but because I love the mountains for their beauty, their moods, their music, and their absolute eeriness. I have already thought out my future expeditions. One into unexplored Spiti, beyond the hills of Waziri Rupi which run up to about 23,000 feet; several short ones into Chamba, and Bhagal, and then a big one into Thibet. That's the one I want to do most'.²³

Protagonists, therefore, anxious to peddle the benefits of hunting, confidently asserted that the psychological and physiological skills necessary for war could be had through killing big game. The link between hunting and war was made clear, especially to the young, through crude hunting tales which made light of hunting "human game". One example, 'Sport on the Warpath', a simplistic paean to the virtues of British hunting prowess, appeared in Boys of Empire: A Magazine for British Boys all Over the World, (1902) in order to reinforce the conviction that 'Englishman were 'never happier than when in pursuit of game or human enemies'.²⁴ The analogy between 'game' and natives was alluded to by, of all people, Robert Baden-Powell, who ungraciously suggested that indigenous were, when the occasion demanded it, 'fair game'.²⁵

In mitigation, hunter-officers often found themselves caught up in imperial skirmishes where their lives depended on shooting belligerent natives in self-defence.

According to one, John G. Milais, his close friend, Frederick C. Selous, for example, 'never shot a native except in self-defence'.²⁶ However, the same could not be said for Captain Maurice Egerton who disrupted his safari in March, 1896 to bolster the Matabele Campaign and, much to his delight, killed thirty rebels with his hunting rifle at distances exceeding a thousand yards!²⁷ Victory in this campaign was 'inevitable' according to Robert Baden-Powell since his officers were raised on a 'diet' of hunting which ensured a 'spirit of practical discipline' necessary for killing hostile natives.²⁸

According to the cognoscenti, this discipline was enhanced by an early training in rifle-shooting, usually at public school and army college.²⁹ Sir Richard Burton was unequivocal about the simple merits of a public school training in rifle skills: life in Victorian England, he averred, was 'complicated and artificial...that those who would make their way in the world, especially in public careers, must be broken to it from the earliest day - the future soldiers must be prepared by Eton and Cambridge'.³⁰ It was view not lost on Colonel T.S. St. Clair who noted that an imperial battalion was made up of men who may not have 'shot at home...the opportunity is quickly seized and then is found the advantage of a public school training - those bodily exercises whereby hand and eye have been taught to work together and pluck and endurance have been stimulated'.³¹ His peer, Lieutenant-Colonel Hartopp was a case in point. Educated at Eton College in the 1860s, Hartopp laconically suggested that his 'playfellows were my dogs, my toys were my rabbit-traps, nets and snares and my study was natural history', an 'education' completed by a training in the rifle-corp; in time, Hartopp joined the 7th King's Royal Rifles and spent five 'glorious' years hunting big game in Canada and

the United States with his regimental 'brother sportsmen'.³² Similarly, Gideon Murray, describing the criteria for his book, A Man's Life, recalled with pride his rifle shooting experiences at Blairlodge during the 1890s which 'taught the boy the art of obeying and commanding with its emphasis on discipline.'³³ In later life, he used these lessons to good effect to shoot a 'mixed bag' - game, belligerent natives and enemy soldiers in imperial outposts such as British New Guinea, South Africa, the West Indies and in France during the Great War.³⁴

The development of the Rifle Movement from the public schools in the mid Victorian period represented a growing challenge to aristocratic pre-eminence within the army. Before the middle class emergence of 'athleticism' at Eton in the 1850s, games, for example, 'had little organisation and their staff stood aloof from what little there was. There was no Rifle Corps'.³⁵ However, the middle-classes were useful and needed for the propagation of the empire. The Rifle Corp movement, therefore, provided the rising number of middle-class entrants to the public schools and military colleges with 'what they so much needed - a taste for disciplined labour, a love of healthy pursuits and recreations, subject to rule and regulation; a fine, manly, independence of character and bearing, enhanced by the virtues of discipline, duty, 'coolness' under pressure, self-denial, temperance and determination, which would provide both the morale and physique necessary for personal pride and imperial propriety'.³⁶ In short, training middle-class boys' in arms and marksmanship would 'implant in the youthful mind a respect for the manly virtues which tend towards the manufacture of good and useful citizens'.³⁷

Advocates and exponents of the rifle as a moral tool were numerous. John Andrew Doyle, educated at Eton between 1853 and 1863, and later a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and William F. Waldegrave, also educated at Eton and later Chairman of the National Rifle Association, popularised the rifle-range and advanced its associated moral role within privileged education. ³⁸ The moral significance of the 'gun at the shoulder' was taken up by practitioners such as John Rigby, Superintendent of the Government Small Arms Factory at Enfield, who claimed that sporting shooting and big game shooting were synonymous as they both endorsed the robust health and manliness necessary for the military officer. ³⁹

The insouciant attractions of target rifle shooting, however, encouraged an unrealistic attitude towards both war and hunting. Ignorant of the realities of war, for example, many 'public-school' men applied for their commissions in the firm conviction that war was a 'glorified form of big-game hunting- the highest form of sport; his whole upbringing had prepared him for that view. From his earliest conscious moments, he had been taught that it was the mark of a gentleman to welcome danger, and to regard the risk of death as the most piquant sauce to life'. ⁴⁰ The notion that war resembled 'big game shooting with just a spice of danger thrown in to make it really interesting' emphasised the unrealistic and 'romantic' perception of the battlefield. ⁴¹

The agony of war and brutality of hunting was hidden from him, and others, by the romanticised presentation of sporting narratives, a representation which not only sold books and magazines but reassured imperial society. Even 'mild, parochial people, who never fired a rifle, or saw a wild beast, except in a cage', according to Samuel White Baker, formed a proportion of readers intrigued by the subaltern's

sporting narratives; however, Baker concluded that 'men who have not seen cannot understand the grandeur of wild sports in a wild country'.⁴²

The soldier's sporting narrative also allowed him to wallow in the 'peculiar pleasure of looking back at bygone days and in fancy, fighting one's battles over again' - a "nostalgic masculinity" which was part and parcel of both war and the hunting experience. By the 1850s, reprinted editions of popular hunting books illustrated the continuing demand for the genre. William Rice's Tiger Shooting in India, (1845) for example, was written to generate even greater public interest in big-game hunting which the author reworked into Indian Game of 1884.⁴³

Vivid representations of the soldier-hunter, made possible by technical developments in illustrations and photographs after the 1850s, gloriously depicted the soldier-hunter risking life and limb to maintain imperial boundaries and hunting its wild and dangerous game with the style and competence expected of the officer class. Indeed, according to one observer, photographic images of 'men in the empire' at this time reinforced their cultural hegemony as the 'legitimate' protectors of the colonies.⁴⁴ Thus, images of the "cool" subaltern in harrowing situations regularly appeared in the popular sporting press and hunting books. The cover of Captain Forsythe's Highlands of Central India, (1871), for example, is strikingly eye-catching with its successful kill of a 'Man Eater'.

Widespread public pleasure at the subalterns' domination of both nature and indigenous people continued into the period of High Imperialism through the likes of Major C.S. Cumberland, Sport on the Pamir Steppes in Chinese Turkestan and the Himalayas, (1895), Major-General D. Macintyre, Hindu-Koh: Wanderings and Wild Sport on and Beyond the Himalayas, (1889), Major Hesketh Prichard, Hunting

Camps in Woods and Wilderness, (1910) Lt. J.H. Paterson, The Man eaters of Tsavo, 1910, Major A.I.R. Glasfurd's, Rifle, Romance and Indian Jungle (1921) and Lt. Col. A. Wilson, Sport and Service in Assam and Elsewhere, 1924.

These books not only detailed the soldier-hunter's personal achievements in the field but confirmed to a wider audience his "fitness for struggle". Accordingly, Major Albert Brinckman confidently asserted that articles on big-game hunting generated much public interest especially if game had been shot in recently annexed territories while Captain James Forsythe claimed that the imperial officers' hunting literature had increased public confidence in his military capabilities.⁴⁵ Interestingly, British dominion was not to be limited by spatial considerations. A Rear-Admiral A. Markham, for example, advocated big-game hunting in the Arctic 'for plentiful and unusual game, with the added attraction of the difficulties and dangers of getting and being there'!⁴⁶

In time, such was the craze for hunting by British subalterns- and its resulting publicity- that one soldier complained that 'we have made a mistake in encouraging too much publicity of adventures and of all bold actions. We cannot now distinguish between sterling merit and that which has obtained publicity. Honours are getting too cheaply earned of late'.⁴⁷ It was a charge which questioned the legitimacy of hunting dangerous game as a suitable opponent for soldiers armed with technologically advanced weapons. Colonel James Stevenson-Hamilton argued that the lion, for example, was a 'lazy, very intelligent and until annoyed, good-natured and placid creature whose reputation as a "man eater" was usually the result of man over-killing game which made the lion hunt man'.⁴⁸ Other officers were of like mind. Captain James Forsyth suggested that the Indian Bison presented few dangers to its

pursuers while other “sportsmen” ‘increased the size’ of their hunted tigers for the edification of the public.⁴⁹ Thus, Forsyth noted sardonically that ‘the British public *demand*s its twelve foot tigers.’⁵⁰ ‘Books on man-eating tigers’, according to another dissident, were ‘written to be read by the masses and the first idea of the author is to romance.’⁵¹

The notion of the brave soldier-hunter in pursuit of dangerous game, however, fitted in well with public demand for imperial adventure by “proxy”. There was Darwinian logic in the soldiers’ domination of nature. By hunting the lion -the “king of beasts” - the soldier emphasised his fitness for imperial purpose. After all, according to one observer, the lion was seen as the most challenging of opponents.⁵²

Accordingly, the colourful and enthralling descriptions of encounters with wild beasts by the military were highly popular in periodicals such as Badminton Library, Baily's Magazine and The Field. Major-General A.E. Wardrop's Days and Nights with Indian Big-Game, (1922) to provide but one example, was glowingly reviewed in The Field: Wardrop was ‘mauled by a panther’ - but retained a warm affection for the boldness of the beast and recovered from his ‘extensive’ injuries by using cold water and strong carbolic - a ‘wonderful testimony to good health, pluck and determination’.⁵³ He was subsequently bitten by a poisonous snake and saved only by impromptu first-aid, dislocated his elbow and broke his left arm in a fall, but was *still* able to attend the Kadir Cup Meeting, the premier military pig sticking competition, on the 21st of the month, riding, of all things, an elephant! Soon after, Wardrop killed seven tigers, two panthers and a bear, but broke his nose due to the incapacity of his previous injuries and the heavy duty .470 rifle he was using.⁵⁴

Not a little press adulation was due to the casual dismissal of personal injury, even death, in the name of 'sport' and of course, war itself. 'Self sacrifice' in both hunting in both war and hunting was part of the attraction of such literature. However, it was 'self-sacrifice' within the prescribed 'rules of 'civilised' society since both war and hunting were governed by the conventions of 'civilised' society.

Although the 'plot' of the sporting narrative invariably focused on the 'shot', etiquette dictated that 'success' should be presented with the modesty expected of a well-bred officer. Adherence to the officers' decent, sporting 'code' implied restraint and reinforced the unruffled image of its protagonists. Thus, Major Douglas Macintyre complained that too much was made of tiger-shooting when shooting from the safety of a 'howdah', an 'unfair' practice which stacked the odds in favour of the pursuer.⁵⁵ Macintyre concluded that stalking the evasive gooral, a Himalayan goat-like animal, accompanied only by his rifle and no help from local shikarees, was more representative of the testing 'genuine sport' expected of the imperial officer.⁵⁶

The mere slaughtering of game was not part of the decent behaviour expected of the officer class. In this view, the inherent moral qualities of hunting only surfaced when carried out by a 'gentleman' employing 'fair' means. Hunting by officers in imperial Africa, according to Captain James Forsyth provided better opportunities to 'slaughter more animals than India'; this debased practice, he suggested, was immoral and encouraged 'inferior sport' unbecoming of the officer class.⁵⁷ Annoyed at the flouting of British conceptions of 'fair play', Forsyth ruminated on 'how men could continue to wade through the sickening details of daily massacre of half-tame animals offering themselves to the rifle. In India, fewer animals will be bagged and all will have to be worked for, and some, *fought* for.'⁵⁸ Subscription to the sporting

'code' was a rallying call for other officers. Concerned at the spread of 'vulgar and childish' desires for heavy 'bags', Colonel A.A.A. Kinloch noted that hunting in India was superior to elsewhere since 'game there cannot be killed in any quantity without considerable personal exertion.'⁵⁹ Similarly, Captain John Newall and Major-General Donald Macintyre 'discouraged the cruel and indiscriminate destruction of game... those who hope to be successful in Himalayan sport must be prepared to undergo a good deal of trouble, toil and frequent disappointment and to have a fair stock of those cardinal virtues in all manly sports - patience, endurance and perseverance. For no one ought to start with the idea that game will always be found wherever it is sought after.'⁶⁰ It was a pragmatic view which underpinned Captain Samuel Baker's hunting philosophy as he abhorred the 'senseless destruction' of Ceylonese and animal life from other colonies without 'sufficient cause or justification; his pleasure', it was suggested, 'was not in slaughtering'.⁶¹

Ruthlessness, however, was a military asset. In short, big game hunting required an unsentimental approach which sometimes included brutality. The triumph of the 'will' over nature could not be inhibited by mere sentimentality! Preoccupied with killing a camelopard, for example, Captain William Cornwallis-Harris, after enduring days of difficult and patient tracking, at long last encountered a suitable 'male' adversary. At that point, blood coursed through his veins like 'quicksilver... after chasing the beast down on horseback, I was next to the stately bull being distinguishable by his superior stature. I applied the muzzle of my rifle behind his dappled shoulder and drew both triggers, but he continued to shuffle along; afraid of losing him, I sat in my saddle firing below the elbow until, the tears trickling from his full brilliant eye, his lofty frame began to totter and at the seventeenth discharge, his

form was prostrate in the dust. Never shall I forget the tingling excitement of that moment. At last, the summit of my hunting ambition was actually attained. Alone in the wild wood, I turned with bursting exultation, sank exhausted beside the noble prize I had won. The spell was now broken.’⁶² The brutal language of the ‘sporting’ officer was a commonplace. A Major H.D. Fanshawe of the 19th Hussars explained to readers of Baily’s Magazine in a routine manner, the effects of well-placed bullets on game: using a .303 Martini-Metford, the Major killed an Indian cheetah stag with a soft-nosed bullet which ‘went straight through him, just behind the shoulder, making only a small hole on both sides. The stag went about fifty yards and fell dead. In the case of an old tigress, the Express bullet, which passed through both shoulders and lodged under the skin, was slightly mushroomed; no doubt for bison, the extra weight and penetration of a .577 solid bullet is preferable’.⁶³

Although hunting required ruthlessness, the officer’s sporting ‘code’ ensured that he did not become so acclimatised to savagery and the wild as to become part of it. Clearly, there were different interpretations of the sporting ‘code’. More sensitive officers questioned the ethics of shooting game at nightly watering holes while others deemed such practices as meritorious because they required ‘nerve’ - an essential quality for both hunting and war. For the former, shooting unsuspecting game in the dark was not ‘unfair’ but expressed the officer’s “pluck”. This quality was likened to ‘character’ which was eulogised in some quarters as an ‘inborn determination to excel in competition with all adversaries - on the battlefield with odds against us or in sport; this natural craving of Englishmen for manly exercise’ which was one manifestation of the soldier’s desire to overcome, ‘either by skill or by stratagem, the wonderful instincts of birds and animals that imparts that particular sort of excitement

which sport alone affords; 'fair play' is the keynote of sport, and is the essential factor in a true sportsman's enjoyment of the death or capture of his prey'.⁶⁴

Interestingly, night shooting -or 'midnight assassination' - as practised by the Indian Rajahs was a source of amusement for some British officers who noted that their 'hosts' would occasionally secure themselves in masonry constructions before taking on dangerous quarry.⁶⁵

The inability of both rich and poor Indians to embrace metropolitan canons of 'fair play' reinforced the divisions between metropolitan 'rulers' and the 'ruled'. The indiscriminate destruction of game at all seasons, in particular, was singled out as 'an unsportsmanlike practice which is common in a country where there are no strict laws in force to prevent it - and one which has ruined sport in many easily accessible places'.⁶⁶ Consequently, Assamese hunters were lambasted because they hunted for utilitarian rather than sporting ends, and, more heinously, exterminated tiger, leopard and bear for mere profit.⁶⁷ His type was not a sportsman 'in the best sense of the word' because he killed animals without skill, strategem or remorse through the nefarious net, pit or trap.⁶⁸ When the Pooliars, an agricultural caste of Northern India were successful in securing big game, they were condemned by Major Douglas Hamilton for using 'unethical and immoral' practices such as the driving of ibex through narrow, escape-proof passes before shooting them indiscriminately.⁶⁹ Ironically, at the height of British imperial power, an ageing Edward VII, a man regarded by the cognoscenti as the epitome of a 'good sportsman', also had game driven towards his and other waiting guns!⁷⁰ Indeed, such was his reputation as a 'sportsman', sporting author, Alfred E. T. Watson even wrote an extensive book about his King's shooting activities entitled King Edward VII as a Sportsman, (1903)

He was, of course, never accused of lacking compassion towards animals unlike the Pooliards whose disregard of sporting ethics was compounded by a heinous indifference to animal suffering which, according to Major Hamilton, emphasised their moral inferiority. ⁷¹

Consequently, officers warned against rewarding shikarees with guns and ammunition since 'no native...shoots for sport, and it would be far better to give a man who had done good service a handsome present in rupees than to furnish him with the means of destroying a quantity of game whose value to him would be very little'. ⁷²

The officer-hunter's knowledge of fast improving and deadlier rifles and ballistics reinforced his 'technical' mastery over nature. Samuel White Baker used his substantial hunting experience to design and patent a smooth-bore "Boxer" bullet in the 1840s along with his own specialist "sportsman's rifle" which used a heavy three ounce conical bullet. ⁷³ The combination of new rifle and ammunition was an 'immediate success' against the elephants of Ceylon. ⁷⁴ Confidently, Baker admonished the hitherto popular "hollow" point bullet which, in the hands of 'weak' hunters, using light rifles, 'wounded mortally but did not always kill neatly'. ⁷⁵ These emasculated sportsmen, Baker declared, were best suited to 'amusement' in a 'Scottish deer-forest' but not for 'dangerous game'. ⁷⁶

Baker, and others of his ilk, asserted that big-game shooting was particularly important to martial skills because it required at least a working knowledge of rifles and ballistics. Emasculated 'home shooting experiences', on the other hand, were deemed less suitable for training in marksmanship because they were artificial and of little practical use in gauging shooting distances often necessary for the battle front. ⁷⁷

Baker, for his part, made quite explicit the differences between domestic 'sport' and big game hunting in a valediction of 'real' hunting. 'The acknowledged sports of England', he argued, 'will appear child's play; the exciting thrill will be wanting, when a sudden rush in the jungle brings the rifle on full cock; and the heavy guns will become useless momentous of past days hanging up in an old hall. The belt and the hunting knife will alike share the fate of the good rifle and the blade will blunt from sheer neglect'.⁷⁸ Although Baker belonged to a 12th Lancers, he eschewed the cavalry sport of pig ticking and hunted boar for food using only his bare hands and a formidable hunting knife!⁷⁹ Unsurprisingly, prowess with the knife reinforced his reputation as the quintessential subaltern.⁸⁰

Baker practised what he preached, preferring to hunt game which offered a challenge. However, other officers were attracted to hunting by the sheer variety of and numbers of game, from woodcock to tiger, buffalo to pheasant, hog-hunting to coursing, available in the colonies.⁸¹ Lieutenant-Colonel F.T. Pollock, stationed at Assam between 1860 and 1867, for example, killed forty four rhinoceros, twenty-eight tigers, innumerable buffalo and deer, and, had he not been encumbered by military duties, he could have shot 'ten times more than he did'.⁸²

It was the moral values associated with hunting, however, which ensured its importance as a recreation for the imperial officer. The maintenance of imperial rule rested, it was argued, in no small measure on the excellence of officers as sportsmen. 'If our officers had not always been such good sportsmen', according to one proponent, 'we should have had greater difficulty in holding India'.⁸³ Subscribers to the iconography of hunting considered that the soldier-hunter represented a 'British' identity which had a proper and legitimate claim to imperial dominance.⁸⁴ The

warrior and hunter, were synonymous in virtue. The daring spirit shown by the soldier-hunter in their encounters with wild animals, it was suggested, not only illustrated the prestige of the “Anglo-Saxon race” but also their acknowledged leadership as men.⁸⁵ The ethnocentric superiority of the soldier-hunter made impressive, if simplistic, reading copy for the British public. As noted in *The Cornhill Magazine*, ‘you might address natives in all the languages of the earth, and demonstrate the immorality of the habits with a force of logic worthy of Mill; you might go among them with all the learning of all the schools, explain the solar system, and produce no greater impression upon them that you would upon the rock-temples Ellora or Bameean. But show them how to shoot a tiger, and lo! they worship you at once’.⁸⁶

Such overt chauvinism was part and parcel of the soldier-hunters’ complacent rhetoric. In the aftermath of the unsuccessful Indian Mutiny of 1858, it was asserted that the hunting prowess of British officers that helped reconstruct their martial image. Established ‘shots’ Colonel Walter Campbell and District Officer, Walter Elliot even employed their own loyal ‘shikaries’,⁸⁷ pledged to producing the best possible sport for their ‘employers’ in appreciation of their vigorous masculinity.⁸⁸ The ‘shikaries’ devotion to British military sportsmen may well have been founded on memories of their own earlier hierarchical social systems based on duty, war, hunting, chivalry.⁸⁹ Whatever the merits of this assumption, it was certain that ‘the higher kinds of sport in India’ re-established Britain’s superior martial image.⁹⁰

Unsurprisingly, imperial officers had greater admiration for those natives who had an demonstrable interest in field sports. Consequently, hunting encouraged a benevolent paternalism manifested in a duty-bound protection of those natives close

in behaviour to the subaltern's sport.⁹¹ Colonel T.S. St Clair extolled the valiant actions of a fellow officer who, without any consideration of his own safety, took on a rogue tiger which had attacked local villagers.⁹² Perched precariously from a makeshift sling, the gallant officer followed the wounded tiger into a darkened underground cavern and shot it, without hesitation, at close range.⁹³ 'The ordinary reader', according to St. Clair, 'may be inclined to exclaim "what a foolhardy thing to do!" St. Clair, in contrast, had 'never heard of a more plucky action. It is pluck of this sort that impresses natives and maintains our prestige in the East'.⁹⁴

Such bravery was contrasted with the uncertainty, even cowardice, exhibited by natives in similar situations.⁹⁵ Usually, natives 'saved' from 'rogue' beasts were portrayed as 'grateful, ready to bless the white man, who freed them from the incursions of dangerous foes.'⁹⁶ The officers intervention against wild beasts had other self-indulgent advantages. On shooting a lion in Rhodesia, Robert Baden-Powell, for example, was 'delighted with his success'- the attendant 'nigger', however was 'mad with happiness for a dead lion has many invaluable gifts for a kaffir such as love-philters, charms against disease and medicines that produce bravery'.⁹⁷

The systematic debasing of Asian and African natives was reinforced by their subservient role as "foot soldiers" when on safari. A Captain Charles Sykes, for example, recalled that zebra meat was used to encourage their porters in order to 'make them stronger to carry our loads a bit faster', while Captain Chauncey Stigand felt it was 'a good thing for us that they are so stupid, for if they had any intelligence, they would never agree to hunk our loads around the country for us in the first place'.⁹⁸ Stigand later advocated farming for indolent natives in order to satisfy '

their lust for meat' without 'having to exert themselves with the gun', a view shared by a Colonel R.W. Hingston who argued that European sportsmen had a duty to teach natives how to farm for meat.⁹⁹ When the black man did exert himself in search of game with the gun, he was often chastised for his 'irresponsible' misuse of guns 'he knew little about' against apparently dwindling numbers of wildlife.¹⁰⁰

Hunting reinforced patronising attitudes towards these hapless 'footsoldiers' through the system of patronising largesse. Rewarding porters' efforts with, for example, 'bales of white calico and coloured cloth could be given to chiefs for special occasions, when, for example, information was provided on lion or elephant in the area'.¹⁰¹

By the autumn of Victoria's reign, racial prejudice was nakedly discernible in 'sporting accounts' written with the young reader in mind. The imperialist magazine, Young England peddled fantasy-hunting literature as essential schoolboy fiction. In one article, a sixteen year old army officer delivered 'the district of Jubbalpore from a man eating tiger' in heroic fashion in front of admiring, disbelieving and decidedly 'incapable' natives.¹⁰² In another example of the genre, Captain Frederick Courtney Selous, when retrieving a shot hippopotomus carcass, admitted that entering a river to retrieve game was 'a very foolish thing to do, but one cannot help it, if only to show the natives that a white man will do what they dare not attempt'.¹⁰³ According to Captain Chauncey Stigand, 'white men should never allow natives to believe they were 'afraid of anything'.¹⁰⁴

In reality, some indigenous hunters, for example, the Ceylonese, had their own hunting etiquette based on manliness. Thus, Ceylonese hunters, 'before they know a European sportsmen well, start with the idea that he is too luxurious and

effeminate to undergo discomfort and fatigue: they judged him by their Mahatmeyas, (great man)'.¹⁰⁵

Nevertheless, dangerous game, especially lions and tigers were regarded as “plucky opponents” and were clearly suitable quarry for imperial officers. The hunters’ prestige, was of course, enhanced when regularly facing dangerous adversaries, and, the lion held ‘first place in the imagination of the average man’.¹⁰⁶ Tigers, too, were deemed suitable adversaries for the British officer.¹⁰⁷ The “man-eating rogue” tiger was usually ‘too cunning and dangerous to be frequently shot by Asian shikarries’, an ungracious view supported by Captain James Forsyth who suggested that “shikarees” in pursuit of a tiger ‘generally do not get a shot, the tiger being very suspicious approaching bait left to draw him in the shikarres, who, being such bunglers at their work, often disturb him by the noise of their preparations. Often, they miss when they shoot, the jungle king being somewhat trying to their nerves. Weapons are usually a long matchlock which loads with two bullets; these fly a little apart. This method of shooting is sometimes imitated by lazy European sportsmen’.¹⁰⁸ Disregarding conventional wisdom, some officers, however, held their ‘shikarees’ in high esteem. William Rice for example, a lieutenant in the 25th Regiment, Bombay, during the 1850s, argued that his Indian ‘foot soldiers’ were indispensable for a successful tiger-hunt.¹⁰⁹

However, the general thrust of opinion confirmed that Indian natives could be reticent when facing less challenging game which undermined their standing with imperial officers. ‘If,’ according to Captain Williamson, a cornered hog was not disabled and charged, ‘the sportsman must rely on a spear, previously placed for his defence. Were he to depend on the exertions of natives, he would stand but a bad

chance, as they in general, secure themselves by flight wherever a hog shows the least inclination to pursue.’¹¹⁰ At the death of the hog, mandatory praise was offered up in ritualised celebration of the soldier’s skill. Finally, as an act of largesse, the spear was removed from the carcass and the pig taken, gratefully, to the village.¹¹¹

Captain Williamson also derided Indian natives for their unsophisticated attempts at hunting which displayed a lamentable lack of ‘energy and personal exertion’ and the few who partook of ‘British diversions and recreations became objects of ridicule to both English and Nabobs - their countrymen detest their apostasy while we smile at their awkward attempts to conduct themselves with propriety in their new element!’¹¹² It was a moral inadequacy which could be applied to other ‘mild’ castes. When sampling grouse shooting on a Scottish moor, one Hindu character was perplexed by the ‘excessive wildness of the birds and was apprehensive that one might fly at my nose or eyes while I was busied in defending myself against its fellows’.¹¹³ These shortcomings were in direct contrast to the imperial officer’s ‘bold contests with dangerous wild animals’. Thus, Colonel Walter Campbell discerned a peculiarly “British way” of shooting the tiger - with absolute ‘coolness,’ without an elephant or other assistance.¹¹⁴

In this way, hunting established order between “ruler” and “ruled” by sanctioning the ‘natural’ right of the strong to predominate over the weak in imperial society. Hunting also exacerbated the social divisions between army officers. Differences in rank entitled higher ranking officers access to ‘better’ game; men and non-commissioned officers were therefore usually allowed to shoot ducks and peafowl, while tiger bear and bison were usually the preserve of officers.¹¹⁵ Unsurprisingly, younger officers were often keen to provide visiting ranking officers

and administrators access to the better forms of sport to improve their chances of promotion. ¹¹⁶

There were many sporting 'advantages' available to the ambitious, enterprising or merely self-indulgent subaltern or civil servant. The prospect of cheap and plentiful shikar, according to one source, was often a 'deciding factor' in the choice of a career in imperial service in India. ¹¹⁷ In the mid 1850s, big game hunter and government official, Frederick Simpson suggested that aspiring civil servants got the utmost out of their time in India by taking up hunting, while Captain Richard F. Burton and Major John Elliot asserted that participation in field sports was indispensable for military and civil service careers. ¹¹⁸

The result seems to be that hunting was highly popular. Russell's Diary in India of 1860 confirmed the craze for 'gunning', in which it was noted that the 'Queen's officers, doctors, civilians, brigadiers, and the convalescing wounded talked of 'sporting' first and balls, promotions, exchanges, Europe and politics second!' ¹¹⁹ One consequence of the popularity of 'sporting' was that once established in a good hunting region, the soldier, District Officer or government official was often reluctant to leave it. ¹²⁰ Indeed, it was common practice for senior military personnel to transfer to the Indian Police which provided better opportunities for 'shikar'. ¹²¹

Access to 'shikar' and safari was a practical administrative and also very useful for military imperatives. Thus, Major Percy Gordon Powell-Cotton, a subaltern in the 5th Battalion of the Northumberland Fusiliers, was also an important figure in the pantheon of Late Victorian hunters. ¹²² His many hunting trips into Abyssinia between 1895 and 1910 not only provided ground-breaking scientific data as well as sporting trophies, but provided information on Abyssinia's King Menelik and his

attitudes towards British and Italian imperial aspirations in the region. In 1900, senior military and civilian big-game hunters, including Captain James Harrison, Colonel James Harrington and Sir Alfred E. Pease and Powell-Cotton gathered in Abyssinia ostensibly to hunt. ¹²³

However, the 'hunt' was used to meet King Menelik at his Court in order to discuss British and Italian imperial aspirations in the region. ¹²⁴ Two civilian hunter-naturalists - Arthur Butter, from Faskally, Pitlochry and Sir Alfred Edward Pease of Pinchinthorpe, North Yorkshire - met up with military big-game hunters to explore, collect specimens and hunt. Pease was visiting the King of Abyssinia as part of his own safari who promised him 'every assistance' with his exploration of Abyssinia. ¹²⁵ Captain James J. Harrison, an established hunter from Brandesburton Hall, Yorkshire partnered Arthur Butter to hunt the rare Okapi in the Abyssinian Semliki forest of which only one had previously been obtained by Harry H. Johnstone on his address to the inaugural meeting of the Royal Geographic Society, 1901. ¹²⁶ His 'mission' in Abyssinia, however, not only included specimen collecting but reconnaissance objectives, assisted by the British Government which attached an N.C.O. and a sapper of the Survey Department to the expedition to help determine the extent of the Abyssinian frontier and foreign resources in the districts. ¹²⁷ Powell-Cotton explored the Gojan, Tigre and Massowa regions, which to that point, were out of bounds to European explorers; consequently, Powell-Cotton was able to 'furnish the Intelligence Department of the war Office with much valuable information'. ¹²⁸

After gaining the confidence of Menelik, Powell-Cotton confidently predicted that Britain had gained the upper-hand against Italian interest for control of

the Abyssinian hinterland. From potential enmity with Abyssinia, Powell-Cotton asserted that the 'Negus held England in first place in his estimation', a diplomatic victory well-received by large sections of the English press.¹²⁹ Moreover, it exemplified how military imperatives were linked to hunting.

Not only was hunting useful for intelligence reports, it was, so the argument went, an efficient deterrent for alcohol abuse and reduced internecine rivalries and sexual tensions!¹³⁰ Not only was hunting an antidote to sedentary 'club' social life, protagonists claimed that it increased the 'officer's appetite for food and sleep and kept men from their wives and their gossip'.¹³¹ Hunting, in brief, 'kept the boys of England from a thousand temptations and effeminate pleasures; the urge for excitement had to be satisfied in an innocent, manly and useful way' through gun and hound.¹³² In this way, hunting fitted easily into period notions of 'wholesome' masculinity.

As noted above, copious amounts of leave was an official acknowledgement that hunting was a necessary expedient for successful imperial rule. There was no shortage of officers anxious to take advantage of hunting leave. Lieutenant William Rice hunted for a total of one year during his five years service between 1852 and 1857 while his contemporary, J.T. Newall, was given two weeks leave only four months after beginning his service at Ahmednuggar Station in the Deccan.¹³³

Time spent on hunting leave also provided useful anecdotal material for officers to display their 'boyish' success back in cantonment or develop their ideas for hunting narratives. On hunting leave from the Rhodesian Campaign between 1896-8, Robert Baden-Powell's junior officers chased down a wounded lion which had concealed itself and, without care for their own safety, pursued the beast armed

only with a revolver into a darkened cave. Consumed with pride, Baden-Powell described his colleague's sterling efforts back in the garrison, and eventually published in Boys of Our Empire: 'such is Tommy Atkins', Baden-Powell, trumpeted, 'whether it is the outcome of sheer pluck or of ignorance, the fact remains that he will sail gaily in where danger lies and as often as not sail gaily out again unharmed'.¹³⁴

The seamless transition between war and hunting was demonstrated in the autumn of Victoria's reign when wars against the Ashanti, (1874) the Kaffir and Zulu (1877 -1879) the Afghan Wars, (1878-9) the Sudan conflicts, (1884-5) and the Boer Wars, (1881, 1899-1902) provided opportunities for hunters on safari to make the transformation between "hunter" to "soldier". It was fully expected that huntsmen on safari would attend to their duty in their country's "hour of need". Given the rank of acting Captain, big-game hunter, Henry Swinburne, left his South African safari to bolster Baden-Powell's occupation of Mafeking in the Boer War a 'typically selfless' act applauded by The Field while, earlier, James McNeil left his post with the British South Africa Company to fight with the Bulawayo Field Force against the Matabele in 1890.¹³⁵ Hunting trophies at Glasgow and Edinburgh Museums remain as an enduring legacy to the commitment shown by McNeil and a memorial at Daresalem marks his 'last resting place', remembered as an 'upright, honest and humourous' hunter-officer willing to risk his life for "King and Country".¹³⁶

These were not isolated examples and many of the period big game hunters saw active service. Hunting in East Africa in 1879, Arthur Neumann, captained British forces against the Zulus, before continuing to hunt elephants in the Lumpopo and Sabi River regions at Mombassa and Mount Kenya.¹³⁷ Briefly forgetting the

sporting 'code', Neumann, using large-calibre guns - a Rigby .450 and a .577 Gibbs - enjoyed his untrammelled freedom as an imperial "officer" and took advantage by "bagging" one hundred and forty two elephants near the Mackenzie River in 1894.¹³⁸ In partial mitigation, Neumann, widely admired for his marksmanship, usually required only one-shot to kill his quarry.¹³⁹

With the resumption of hostilities against the Boers in 1899, Neumann returned to active duty after which he continued his role as big-game hunter, hunting at Turkana, Northern Gwaso, Nyiro and Turkmel.¹⁴⁰ However, his hunting ambitions were restricted by new game ordinances and, in 1906, he returned to England, embittered by the limitations placed on the hunter who he regarded as the pioneering spirit of imperialism.¹⁴¹

In March 1896, Captain Maurice Egerton also interrupted his South African safari to support the British effort against the Matabele.¹⁴² On the 25th March 1896, Egerton's safari was interrupted with the news that natives had 'risen' and had murdered several Englishmen in the Shangani District. Egerton immediately mobilised civilians near Bulawayo into a fighting unit and secured in a kraal at Shangani from where patrols were sent out to find any other English people left in the bush. After being relieved by a special armed coach from Selukwe, Egerton enthused that 'everyone very warlike, going about with loaded rifles in a most dangerous manner. All the English had now come in from surrounding districts'.¹⁴³ By the 27th March, he learned that 50,000 rounds of ammunition was arriving from Salisbury, with a certain Major Gibbs about to take command. Egerton was put in charge of finding a volunteer unit to 'wipe out 'Jinjans' and other rebels in the Shangani District'.¹⁴⁴ On the 30th of March, supplies from Salisbury brought two

maxim guns and 12000 rounds of ammunition along with the news that Cecil Rhodes was on his way with a 'large force to utterly wipe out the natives'; extra drill manoeuvres were introduced in readiness for this 'important event'.¹⁴⁵ The ruthlessness implicit in big game hunting was clearly a practical asset!

By the first week in April, Egerton was given the rank of Captain in charge of three divisions along with Captains Maurice Gifford and Pascoe Grenfell.¹⁴⁶ Action soon followed, during which many of their colleagues were fatally wounded. The arrival of hunting icon Frederick Courtney Selous on the 22nd of April to the area North East of Bulawayo, however, kept morale high. Valiantly leading his own infantry in advanced parties against large numbers of rebels, the uncompromising Selous still found time to build a new Fort at Mohobutwani in order to defend territories against large numbers of natives.¹⁴⁷ It was an experience which prepared him for similar rearguard action against overwhelming odds during the Great War when he defended the boundaries of British East Africa with a mere two thousand professional soldiers in 1915. This extraordinary feat was described by his peer, Captain, Lord Cranworth, as one of 'endurance and moral spirit', a 'performance' which earned him the accolade of the 'wonder of the unit'.¹⁴⁸ In time, the German Command in Kenya set up Selous as a role-model for their own troops during subsequent hostilities.¹⁴⁹

Selous's spirited rearguard action was repeated by other soldiers in other situations which were subsequently portrayed as part of the British 'sporting spirit'. The short life of Selous's comrade-in-arms, Major Allan Wilson embodied the spirit of self-sacrifice known to both soldier and hunter.¹⁵⁰ Wilson imbibed the manly benefits of a spartan childhood in the Scottish Highlands learning to shoot game,

stalk deer and fish for salmon on the River Spey. Wilson's subsequent career in the army flourished and he took charge of a regiment against heavily-armed Matabele on the Shangani River in December, 1893.¹⁵¹ There, he died a valiant death, in the words of Selous, 'attempting to capture a savage monarch with a force of thirty four men - an exploit which could only have occurred to the mind of a Britisher'.¹⁵²

For his part, Selous lived to tell the tales of imperial battles and served for three years in the Great War before his "glorious" death, appropriately 'in the line of duty,' in East Africa in 1917.¹⁵³ Unsurprisingly, Selous was represented as an icon, skilled in both hunting and war. According to his friend John Millais, Selous established a 'standard of conduct which our own people, and those of other nations, might be proud to follow...he stamped his personality on the wilderness, where life is hard and a man easily loses his grip... he never shot a native except in self-defence, and established a reputation for square dealing and indomitable courage... after all, in the life of any man, it is character and example that count'.¹⁵⁴ It was a panegyric endorsed by Theodore Roosevelt who asserted that Selous embodied the spirit of the age; it is 'well for any country to produce men of such a type', he argued, 'and if there are enough of them, the nation need fear no decadence. Selous led a singularly adventurous and fascinating life, alternating between civilisation and wilderness. He helped spread the borders of his people's lands. He added much to the sum of human knowledge and interest. He closed his life exactly as such a life ought to be closed, by dying in battle for his country while rendering her valiant and effective service. Who could wish for a better death or to desire to leave a more honourable heritage to his family and his nation?'¹⁵⁵ His 'gallant' life and death was one example of the imperial 'hero' who operated on the development of the empire through the

collective consciousness of its citizens.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, the moral leadership and practical hunting skills of Selous and his ilk was considered essential to the survival of the empire.¹⁵⁷ Captain Hesketh Vernon Prichard was a case in point. ‘There was nothing more remarkable’ according to The Field, ‘than the life of this hunter, rifle-shot, explorer and *man*’, a life of leadership built around numerous arduous hunting trips to the likes of Newfoundland, Quebec and Norway’.¹⁵⁸ It was his ‘work in the war’, however, which was ‘greatest and last achievement’. Although he was aged 37 when the Great War began, he insisted that he should fight on the front line where his ‘genius, drive knowledge and skill with the rifle’ acquired more ‘kills’ than any other British officer; for his actions, Prichard received the Military Cross in October, 1916 and the D.S.O. in 1918. The Field concluded its eulogy to Prichard with Kipling’s words, which, in its view, encapsulated the heroic lives of Prichard and his type: ‘God be thanked!... Whate’er comes after, I have lived and worked with Men!’¹⁵⁹

The maintenance of empire required more than nationalistic and personal shibboleths. Accordingly, the moral imperatives of hunting were transmitted to the wider community through other mediums than war. The rise of a museum service contributed to a collective consciousness of British imperial pre-eminence. Chapter six will explore the role of the hunter-naturalist as a moralist, publicist and proselytiser of hunting and its moral imperatives.

- 1 Conversations with Henry North. I am grateful to Mr. And Mrs. Henry North of Clifford Hall, Yealand Conyers, Lancashire for allowing me access to their family home and providing me with their family records for this thesis. See also R.C. Bristow, Memories of the British Raj: Soldier in India, London, 1974, p.73
- 2 A.I.R. Glasfurd, Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle, London, 1905, reprinted 1921, p.v. The point was nicely made by one officer in his article 'A Note of Warning to Big Game Hunters', in Baily's Magazine. The character of men in general and officers in particular, he argued, was best tested in 'serious sport'. Big game hunting, he continued, unlike pheasant and partridge shooting and fox-hunting, was not imbued with petty jealousies. 'In war, when the game is man', he concluded, a commitment to big game hunting taught the officer the 'virtues' required to be a successful officer: 'he must not be jealous of others success; he must have nerve in a crises; he must be cheerful under disappointment - and a fair shot and if he is an inferior hunter, he must be ready to do what he is told and trust your judgement'. 'Felix', 'A Note of Warning to Big Game Hunters', Baily's Magazine, Vol.89, July 1908, pp.66-68
- 3 S.W. Baker, in T. Douglas Murray and A. Silva White, Sir Samuel White Baker, A Memoir, London, 1895, p.391
- 4 Colonel T.S. St. Clair, 'The Subaltern in India', Badminton Magazine, Vol.3, 1896, pp.99-105 and C. Sykes, Service and Sport on the Tropical Nile, London, 1903, p.295

- 5 Captain Rould Gordon Cumming, Five Years of a Hunter's Life, 2 Vols., Vol.2, London, 1850, p.369. See also, Henry A. Bryden, Kloof and Karoo: Sport, Legend and Natural History in Cape Colony, London, 1889, p.61 and Colonel Sir Garrett Wolseley, 'Our Military Requirements', Macmillan's Magazine, March, 1870, pp.524-34
- 6 W. Cornwallis Harris, Wild Sports of South Africa, London, 1852, pp.284-5. A. Neumann, Elephant Hunting in East Equatorial Africa, London, 1898, preface, Neumann, (1849-1907) was a prolific period hunter who had an obsession about hunting elephants.
7. Captain J.J. Best, Excursions in Albania, A Description of the Wild Boar, deer and Woodcock Shooting, London, 1842, pp.54-67
8. Ibid.
9. Cornwallis Harris, Wild Sports, introduction, p.195; MS. Richard Wigram Arkwright Four Years Campaigning in South Africa, 1843-47, Unpublished Manuscript, Essex County Records Office, T/B, 577, p.28; J. Forsythe, The Highlands of Central India: Notes on their Forests and Wild Tribes, Natural History and Sports, London, 1871, pp.34-5
- 10 H.C. Lowther, From Pillar to Post, London, 1911, pp.162-3. H.C. Lowther 1869-1940
- 11 'The Pleasure of Peril', The Spectator, Vol.90, January 1903, p.123
- 12 C. Lowe, Our Greatest Living Soldiers, London, 1900, p.2
- 13 J. Mackenzie, The Children of the Souls, London, 1986, p.27
- 14 Arkwright, Diary, pp.27-8
- 15 Cornwallis Harris, Wild Sports p.195

- 16 Ibid.
- 17 H.H. Prichard , F.Z.S. Hunting Camps in Wood and Wilderness, London, 1910,
pp.3-4
- 18 H.G. Swayne, Seventeen Trips Through Somaliland and a Visit to Abyssinia.
A Record of Big Game Hunting, London, 1900, p.x-p.xii
- 19 Lady Randolph Spencer Churchill, ed., Anglo Saxon Review, March 1900,
p.4
- 20 Captain Hesketh H. Prichard, Sniping in France, London and New York,
1920, preface
- 21 Arkwright, Diary, pp.27-8; J.T Newall, Hog-Hunting, 1867, preface, p.5
- 22 Captain Samuel White Baker, True Tales for my Grandsons, London, 1883,
pp.176-7
- 23 Captain Frank Webster, 'Are there any Undiscovered Animals', Badminton
Magazine, Vol.53, November 1919, pp.255-63; Lieutenant L.B. Rundall, The
Ibex of Sha-ping and other Himalayan Studies, London, 1915, p.xiii
- 24 R.S. Baden-Powell, Sport in War, Toronto, 1900, pp.17-19 and The
Matabele Campaign, 1896, London, 1901, p.417
- 25 'B.P. As a Lion Hunter', Boys of Empire, Vol.2, 1902, p.651; Captain C.H.
Donovan in With Wilson in Matabeleland, or Sport and War in Zambesi,
London, 1894, introduction
- 26 J.G. Millais, The Life of F.C. Selous, London, 1919, p.376
- 27 MS Egerton Diaries, South Africa, DET/3229/60/2/2. 1896, held at Chester
R.O. Maurice Egerton - 1871-1958
- 28 Baden-Powell, Matabele Campaign, p.464

- 29 Ibid.
- 30 I. Burton, The Life of Captain Richard Burton, 2 Vols., Vol.1, London, 1893,
p.32
- 31 St. Clair, 'Subaltern', pp.102-3
- 32 Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Hartopp, Sport in England, London, 1894,
pp.155-6
- 33 Gideon Murray, A Man's Life, London, 1934, p.18
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 D. Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, London, 1961, pp.224-5
- 36 'The Gentleman in Black', 'Volunteers and Their Views', Baily's Magazine,
Vol.3, May 1861, pp.5-14
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 J. Doyle, Essays on Various Subjects, London, 1911, pp.294-5
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 D. Hankey, A Student in Arms, London, 1917, p.91
- 41 F. Emery, The Red Soldier: Letters from the Zulu War, 1879, London, 1977,
p.199
- 42 Captain S. White Baker, The Rifle and Hound in Ceylon, London, 1874, p.5,
quoted in J. Madden, The Wilderness and its Tenants, London, 1897, pp.64-5
- 43 W. Rice, Tiger Shooting in India, London, 1857, p.viii
- 44 J. Hearn, Men in the Public Eye, London, 1992, pp.27-29
- 45 Major A. Brinckman, Rifle in Cashmere, London, 1862, pp.123-5; Captain J.
Forsyth, The Highlands of Central India, pp.18, 56-60

- 46 Rear Admiral A. Markham, 'The English Sailor as Sportsman', Badminton Magazine, Vol.4, 1897, pp.676-92
- 47 Brincksman, Rifle in Cashmere, pp. 123-5
- 48 Colonel James Stevenson-Hamilton in H.C. Maydon, Big Game Shooting in Africa, London, 1932, pp.75-6
- 49 Forsyth, Central India, pp.276-7
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 R. Gilbert, 'Notes on Man Eating Tigers,' Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society, Vol.4, Bombay, p.195
- 52 H.W. Seton-Karr, quoted in H. Salt, Seventy Years Among Savages, London, 1921, p.172
- 53 The Field, Vol.122, January 1923, pp.56-7
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Major D. Macintyre, Hindu-Koh: Wanderings and Wild Sport on and Beyond the Himalayas, Edinburgh, 1889, pp.8,19,20
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Forsythe, Central India, pp.437-9
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 A.A.A. Kinloch, Large Game Shooting in Tibet, Himalayas and Central India, London, 1892, pp.1-3
- 60 J.T. Newall, Scottish Moors and Indian Jungles, London, 1889, p.191;
Macintyre, Hindu-Koh, Wanderings and Wild Sport, p.352
- 61 Murray and White-Silva, Samuel White Baker, pp.393, 395

- 62 Captain Cornwallis Harris, Portraits of the Game and Wild Animals of South Africa, London, 1840, p.v.i.
- 63 'Indian Sport', Baily's Magazine, Vol.73, April 1900, p.268
- 64 T.S. St. Clair, 'Night Shooting in India', Badminton Magazine, Vol.3, 1896, pp.159-167
- 65 Macintyre, Hindu-Koh, Wanderings and Wild Sport, pp.46, 352
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Lt. Colonel Douglas Hamilton, Report on the High Ranges of the Annamullay Mountains Madras, 1866, pp.11-14. This 'scientific' Report illustrated the way that military imperatives had become contiguous with the development of hunting and natural history. Thus, scientific military reports and 'cultural' narratives were useful for outlining topographical and cultural aspects of new lands were utilised to publicise hunting information. See also, Major-General D.J.F. Newall The Highlands of India, 2 Vols., No.2, London, 1887, pp.159-166, which was, in effect, natural-history narratives spiced with shooting anecdotes.
- 69 Hamilton, Report, pp.11-14
- 70 C. Gibson, Highland Deerstalker, Coupar Angus, 1958, pp.68-72
- 71 Hamilton, Report, pp.11-14
- 72 Kinloch, Large Game Shooting, pp.3-5
- 73 S.W. Baker, Wild Beasts and Their Ways, 2 Vols, Vol.1, London, 1890, p.5
- 74 Ibid., pp.2-3
- 75 Ibid., pp.11-12, 18, 20-1

- 76 Ibid., p.22
- 77 Ibid., and see, Captain J. Palliser, The Solitary Hunter on North American Praries, London, 1853, quoted in J. Madden, The Wilderness and its Tenants, London, 1897, p.92 and Captain C. Sykes, Service and Sport on the Tropical Nile, London, 1903. Eulogising the merits of hunting and front line battle for officer training, a Captain Sykes warned that 'home keeping youth hath ever homely wits', p.24
- 78 S.W. Baker, Quoted from The Rifle and Hound in Ceylon, in Wild Beasts and their Ways, p.119 See also, Douglas-Murray, and Silva-White, Memoirs, pp.390-4
- 79 Baker, Rifle and Hound, pp.114, 128-9
- 80 R. Hall, Lovers on the Nile, London, 1980, pp.10-19; M. Brander, The Last Victorian Hero, Edinburgh, 1982, chapter 1
- 81 See for example, 'Small game Shooting in the Himalayas, The Field, Vol.114, July 1909, p.176
- 82 F.T. Pollok, Sport in British Burma, Assam and the Cassyah and Jyntiah Hills, London, 1879, Vol,1, p.24, Vol.11, pp.30-2
- 83 Brinckman, Rifle, p.127
- 84 See A. Rutherford, ed., Kipling's Mind and Art, Edinburgh, 1964, p.185
- 85 J. Ross, H. Gunn, eds., The Book of the Red Deer and Empire Big Game, London, 1925, p.137
- 86 The Career of an Indian Officer, The Cornhill Magazine, Vol.3, March 1861, pp.73-4. See also Colonel Walter Campbell, My Indian Journal, Edinburgh, 1862, pp.70-2

- 87 Shikar is a classical Persian term for hunting.
- 88 G. Tancreed, Annals of a Border Club, Edinburgh, 1903, p.215
- 89 Ibid. See also, H.G. Rawlinson, India, A Short Cultural History, London, 1943, p.36
- 90 Tancreed, Annals of a Border Club, p.215
- 91 E. Maconochie, Life in the Indian Civil Service, 1926, p.26
- 92 Colonel T.S. St Clair, 'The Subaltern in India,' Badminton Magazine, pp.102-3
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 R.G. Cumming, Five Years of a Hunter's Life, 2 Vols., Vol.2, London, 1850, pp.321-2
- 96 C.F. Gordon Cumming, Two Happy Years in Ceylon, 2 Vols., Vol.2, Edinburgh, 1892, p.74
- 97 'Sport on the Warpath; B.P. As a Lion-Hunter', Boys of Our Empire, Vol.2, 1902, p.651
- 98 Sykes, Service and Sport, pp.293-5; Captain C.H. Stigand, Hunting the Elephant in Africa, New York, 1913, p.205
- 99 Captain C.H. Stigand, D. Lyell, Central African Game and its Sport, London, 1906, pp.3, 34
- 100 Ibid.; R.W. Hingston, Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire, New Series, Vol. 12, 1930, pp.55-6
- 101 Arkwright, Diary, pp.70-80; Stigand and Lyell, Central African Game, pp.59-60

- 102 'A Tiger Killer at Sixteen', Young England, Vol.13, p.503. See also, 'A Cheetah Story', Young England, Vol.15, pp.33-4
- 103 F.C. Selous, Travel and Adventure in South East Africa, London, 1893, p.300
- 104 Stigand, Elephant, p.210
- 105 See 'Indian Sporting', The Times, 22nd December 1845, p.3; C.T. Buckland, Reviewing E. Baker, Sport in Bengal, London, 1887, in Baily's Magazine, Vol.49, 1888, pp.391-8
- 106 Baily's Magazine, Vol.49, March 1888, pp.38-42
- 107 Major H.C. Maydon, ed., Big Game Shooting in Africa, London, 1932, pp.71-2
- 108 'My Struggles with a Tiger', Boy's Own Annual, No.1551, Vol.31, October 1908, pp.10, 33-5; Major-General R.C. Money, 'A Fighting Tiger', Boy's Own Annual, No.1551, Vol.31, October 1908, p.11; 'A Tiger Shooting Tragedy', Boy's Own Annual, No.1559, Vol.31, pp.135-6
- 109 Forsyth, Central India, pp.257-8; See also, M.G. Watkins, 'The Royal Bengal Tiger', Frasers Magazine, Vol.95, 1876, p.158; The Times, 22nd December 1845, p.3
- 110 Rice, Tiger Shooting in India, p.viii
- 111 Captain T. Williamson, Oriental Field sports, London, 1808, p.35
- 112 Ibid., pp.81-2
- 113 Ibid., pp.xii-xiii
- 114 T.A. Guthrie, Baboo Hurry Bungsho Jabberjee, B.A., London, 1897, p.201.
- For a wider treatment of the non-violent disposition of the Hindus, see N.C.

- Chaudhuri, 'On Understanding the Hindus,' Encounter, Vol.24, July 1965,
p.24
- 115 Campbell, My Indian Journal, p.162
- 116 Major A.E. Wardrop, Days and Nights with Indian Big Game, London, 1923,
p.285
- 117 Glasfurd, Rifle and Romance, p.318
- 118 The Times, 18th February 1930, p.xxiii.
- 119 F.B. Simson, Letters on Sport in Eastern Bengal, London, 1886, preface;
Burton, The Life of Captain Richard Burton, p.110; Major J. Elliot,
Fieldsports in India, London, 1973, p.27
- 120 W.H. Russell, My Diary in India, 2 Vols., Vol. 2, London, 1860, p.146
- 121 P. Woodruff, pseudonym, Philip Mason, The Men Who Ruled India, 2 Vols.,
Vol. 2, London, 1953, pp.180-1, 222
- 122 C.E. Gouldsbury, Tigerland: Reminiscences of Forty Years Sport and
Adventure in Bengal, London, 1913, p.35
- 123 I am grateful to John Harrison and Malcolm Harman, Curators of Quex Park,
Birchington, Kent, for their kind assistance when visiting Quex for the
purpose of this thesis. As will be shown in chapter six, Quex stands as a
repository for Powell-Cotton's ideas on natural history, hunting - and the
period hunter's morality. The archives at Quex are vast. For this chapter, I
have used a 'scrapbook' maintained by Powell-Cotton to follow
developments in Africa affecting military and political affairs. References used
here are, MS., Collections, PCQ, 61-2

- 124 D.M., 'Hunting the Okapi', The Daily Mail, 15th November 1901, p.3, Illustrated, Sporting and Dramatic News, 16th November 1901, p.5, H.H. Johnstone, Land and Water, 16th November 1901, p.7 in Powell-Cotton, Collections, PCQ61, p.34
- 125 Ibid.
- 126 The Army and Navy Gazette, 14th November 1901, p.1, The Morning Post, 20th March 1900, p.2, The Globe, 20th March 1900, p.2, in Powell Cotton, Collections, PCQ61 and PCQ62, pp.34-7
- 127 The Newcastle Journal, 21st February 1900, p.1, Bradford Observer, 21st February, 1900, Kebles, 24th February 1900, The Times, 29th August 1900, Daily Chronicle, 28th September 1900, and The Daily Telegraph 18th August 1900, no page numbers, in Powell Cotton, Collections, PCQ62, pp.34-7.
- Percy Horace George Powell Cotton - 1866-1940
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 Major J.W. Best, Indian Shikar Notes for Novices, Allahabad, 1931, p.x; J.D. Gordon, Work and Play in India and Kashmir, London, 1893, p.210
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 H. Shakespear, The Wild Sports of India, London, 1862, pp.xi, 8.
- 134 Rice, Tiger Shooting, p.vi; Newall, Scottish Moors, Indian Jungles, p.198
- 135 'Tommy Atkins', Boys of Our Empire, Vol.2, 1902, pp.17-19
- 136 'Sports and Arms' The Field, Vol.99, January 1902, p.35; MS., Letter, H.N. De Wilde to Municipal Museum of Glasgow, October 1910, Z/66-176;

MS., Letter, J.G. Watson, 17th August 1913, Z/66-176, held at Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery. For a wider context of Mcneil's activities in Edwardian Africa see, C. Gouldsbury, An African Year: A District Officer in Northern Rhodesia, London, 1912, pp.258-9. Thanks are extended to Richard Sutcliffe, Curator at Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery and Dr. Andrew Kitchener at Edinburgh Museum for their assistance with details about Mcneil's contribution as a hunter to the dioramas at both museums.

137 Ibid

138 Arthur Neumann, 1850-1907. J.G. Millais Wanderings and Memories, London, 1919, pp.138-68

139 *ibid.*

140 *Ibid.*

141 *Ibid.*

142 *Ibid.*

143 MS., Egerton Hunting Diaries, South Africa, 1890-1902, DET/60/2, Cheshire County Records Office. I am grateful to Maggie Mckean, the former archivist at Tatton and Julian Gibbs of the National Trust Historic Buildings for permission to access the Egerton Archives. Thanks are also extended to Andrew Trea, who is currently writing a book on Egerton, and has passed on information about Egerton the soldier.

144 *Ibid*

145 *Ibid*

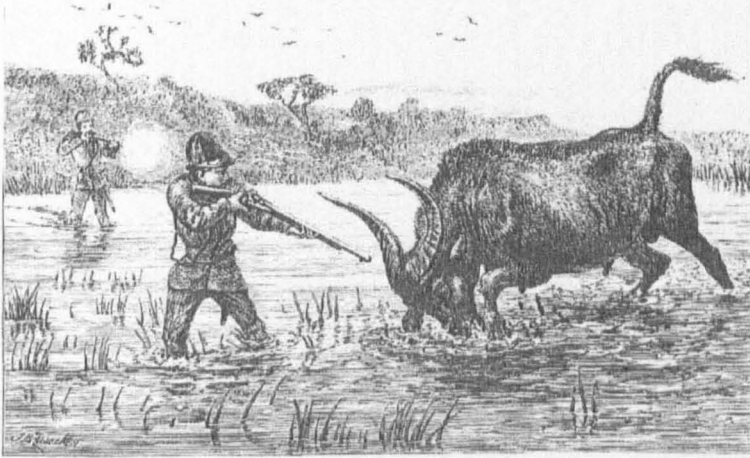
146 *Ibid.*

147 *Ibid*

- 148 Ibid.
- 149 Major B. Bull, On Safari, London, 1988, pp.216-218. It was an influence which Rugby School obviously thought highly of as shown by the creation of a 'Selous Memorial Scholarship' at the School, mainly for the sons of officers killed in action. See S. Taylor, The Mighty Nimrod, London, 1989, p.293
- 150 Ibid.
- 151 Major Allan Wilson 1856-1893, Memorial at Fochabers Private Museum, Morayshire.
- 152 'Scotland's Link with Rhodesia', Fortieth Anniversary Magazine, Fochabers Private Museum, 1933.
- 153 'The Last Stand', Frederick C. Selous, at Fochabers Private Museum.
- 154 The Cornhill Magazine, Vol.55, November 1917, pp.15-18. For a wider view of Selous's 'heroism', see 'Character Sketch: Frederick Courteney Selous,' Review of Reviews, March 1893, pp.255-269
- 155 Millais, Life of F.C. Selous, p.376
- 156 Ibid., p.375
- 157 J. Mackenzie, in Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950, Manchester 1992, p.110. See also, J.A. Mangan, ed., 'Militarism, Sport, Europe, War Without Weapons', European Sports History Review, Vol.5, 2003, especially, pp.97-120, 253-281
- 158 'Hesketh Prichard', The Field, Vol.144, December 1924, p.882
- 159 Ibid.

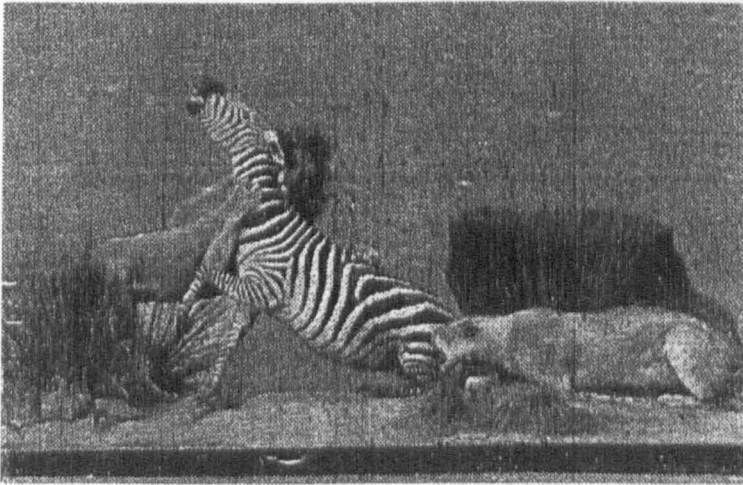
Part Three:

Masculinity Consolidated and Adapted



Chapter Six:

The Hunter-Naturalist as Moraliser, Publicist and Proselytiser: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal



The late-Victorian and Edwardian hunter-naturalist contributed to a period masculinity which, according to one observer, encouraged metropolitan society to 'learn about other people, to codify and disseminate knowledge, to characterise, transport, install and display instances of other cultures, through exhibits, expeditions, photographs, paintings, surveys and schools and - above all, to rule them'.¹ The hunter's 'effort to understand' and perpetuate the imperial ideal was disseminated through hunting narratives, periodicals and books *and* the museum movement which provided a visual and symbolic re-enactment of British cultural 'superiority'. It also maintained the imperial, 'white' hunters' status as the only rational source of hunting 'knowledge' in the public realm.

According to one hunting exponent, the violent appropriation of wildlife was a legitimate function of those '*believer's in vigour and hardihood*' who had shaped Britain's imperial destiny.² The big game hunter, therefore, reinforced the 'survival of the fittest' and displayed evidence of their 'fitness' to rule to the wider public. 'The lover of nature', according to one hunter, 'will never tire of studying her ways. When young, he will wonder and admire; when old he will reflect, but still admire. In all his studies he will discover one great ruling power of individual *self*, whether among the brute creation or the vegetable world. In his wanderings as a naturalist he will remember, that should he endeavour to study in their secluded haunts the wild beasts and their ways, the law of force will be always present. It will accordingly be wise to secure the force beforehand upon his side and no more trusty companion and dependable agent can be found than a double barrelled .577 rifle, to burn 6 drams of

powder, with a bullet of pure lead 650 grains. This professional adviser will confirm him in the theory that 'the law of Force will always govern the world'.³

The hunting trophy symbolised the dominance of 'man the predatory hunter' and reinforced the hierarchy between competent, imperial hunting nations and non-hunting nations. Unsurprisingly, during the period of High Imperialism, it was felt that there was an increasing public interest in hunting trophies as representations of imperial pre-eminence.⁴ This chapter will explore how the hunting community met this expectation.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, British museums singularly failed to capitalise on the opportunities presented by the pioneering hunter-naturalist. Indeed, the first Magazine of Natural History in 1829 lamented that few public museums had given sufficient recognition to the expertise of British hunters.⁵ Such apathy was not confined to the museum service. 'In the case of British zoology', lamented one observer, 'it is hard enough to find a publisher who will undertake a strictly scientific work- and as regards the Zoology of foreign countries, we are not aware of the phenomenon of a 'London publisher' willing to venture his capital on such an unsaleable article having ever occurred. It is a national scandal that so little pains have been taken to make use of the great opportunities enjoyed by our countrymen in India for producing a complete scientific survey of that country'.⁶

By about the 1850s, however, the effort to understand natural history as part of the imperial ideal was gaining momentum, aided, in particular, through the science of taxonomy which had emerged in the previous century.⁷ In 1855, Professor Henry Alleyne Nicholson depicted this trend in his Lives and Labour of Leading Naturalists

(1855), while a year earlier, hunter William H. Maxwell observed a 'new' conception of natural history dependent on a 'scientific' understanding of 'Nature' in his Fieldbook: the 'old-school', he asserted, was now obsolete'.⁸ It is perhaps no coincidence that these developments took place as debates about Darwinian evolution were being brought into the public domain.

The Museums Act of 1848, which allowed the use of public money for the first time to build museums, was one consequence of the burgeoning interest in natural history.⁹ From about this time, both domestic and foreign museums showed a greater interest in hunted trophies as the 'spoils' of empire, a demand encapsulated in the British Museum's 'Appeal for Skeletons of Wild Specimens of the Larger Carnivora for Our Museums'.¹⁰

Sir Walter Elliot, President of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club, member of the Scottish Borders Jed-Forest Club and the Hawick Archaeological Society (1856), for one, contributed a number of hunted specimens to the new Hawick Museum in the 1850s.¹¹ Museums, according to Elliot, were more than mere receptacles for artefacts and trophies: they were places in which to display the cultural superiority of the imperial hunter-collector. Consequently, Elliot believed that the moral virtues associated with shooting had a beneficial effect on the wider community, a view which he endorsed through monthly meetings held at the museum and through articles for local newspapers.¹² Elliot contributed to both the Hawick and the British Museum, including mammal skins from Dharwar during his assistant Governorship there during the 1860s.¹³

By this time, numerous specimen trophies were being sent to British museums from the colonies, a development which reflected the increasing imperial aspirations of metropolitan society and the autonomy of the imperial officer as a hunter-naturalist. A Lieutenant Colonel J. Cobbe procured some sixty mammals from Bengal for the British Museum, a Colonel Sir William Sykes sent ten animals from the Deccan, while Sir Hugh Low presented the first important collection of mammals from Borneo to the British Museum in 1847.¹⁴ Similarly, Captain James Speke, explorer of South and Central Africa, presented to Dr. P.L. Sclater, Secretary of the Zoological Society, 1859-1902, specimens from the East African Expedition of 1863, while Francis Winwood Reade contributed mammals shot during his West Africa expedition of 1864.¹⁵ At the same time, Dr. John Kirk presented over thirty mammals from his Livingstone expedition and over one hundred mammals from Zanzibar.¹⁶

New overseas museums benefited from the largesse shown by 'pioneering' British hunters. The Museum of Bengal at Calcutta flourished as British sportsmen took advantage of copious Indian game, and, through the unstinting efforts of 'civil and military officials of every part of our Indian Empire', the number of mammals exhibited at the Bengal Museum rose from thirty to five hundred and eighty five between 1840 and 1860.¹⁷ A Lieutenant R.C. Bevan and Lieutenant C. Eld not only provided museum exhibits but 'discovered' previously unrecorded species of game.¹⁸ Such 'discoveries' reinforced the scientific status of the imperial hunter, a process supported by the appearance of several quasi-scientific journals which linked sport hunting to a rudimentary comment on natural history. The Oriental Sporting

Magazine, started in 1828 and The Natural History Review, a Quarterly Journal of Biological Science started in 1853, enabled serving officers and administrators to collate and publish scientific data on natural history and hunting. Major T.C. Jerdon catalogued the first 'Birds of India, Being a Natural History of all Birds Known to Inhabit Continental India', (1865) part of the first classification of Indian fauna for those interested in the development of the new Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, while Major-General D. Macintyre developed his interest in fishing to publish new information about the Indian mahseer.¹⁹

By the autumn of Victoria's reign, the sportsman's contribution to natural history had engendered an 'exceptional interest' in displays of hunted animals from the British colonies.²⁰ The British Museum was quick to acknowledge the part played by the sportsman.²¹ The collected Indian wildlife at the British Museum grew from nothing to 60,000 skins between the 1870s and late 1890s, while the collection of birds grew from 40,000 to 400,000 plus some 60,000 eggs in the same period, all of which emphasised the industry of the hunter-naturalist and reflected the prevailing spirit of scientific inquiry and interest in the imperial ideal.²² The Times, wallowing in the feats of British hunter-naturalists, trumpeted that the Catalogue of Birds was the 'greatest of its kind in recorded time, an epoch-marking event in the ornithological world'.²³ In response to the assured competence of British hunters, the Bengal Museum advertised for capable 'British' sportsmen to shoot specimens '*in the name of science*', especially 'under represented' Himalayan species such as eagles, hawks and owls.²⁴

The educational potential of the museum as a 'temple of imperial masculinity' was not lost on protagonists. In 1891, the newly formed Museums Association confidently predicted that public interest in trophies and collected imperial ephemera would continue to grow, adding that museums were now 'widely recognised as potent factors in education and scientific culture'.²⁵ This 'recently acquired' status reflected the wider cultural value attached to museums which was dependent in no small measure to the hunter-collector, a type who was hailed as 'specialist' in taxonomic circles.²⁶ Hunter-naturalist, Captain G.E.H. Barrett-Hamilton, to name but one such 'specialist', was duly praised by the Natural History Museum, not only for providing specimens but for 'working out collections and describing new species'.²⁷

It was expected that the imperial hunter-naturalist had a wider interest in the cultures where big game was found. This hard-won expertise, it was claimed, enabled 'the white sportsman', to comprehend and control the complexities of imperial rule which eluded the non-hunter who merely 'confused the native on matters of discipline, taxes and labour'.²⁸ To the initiated, the hunter possessed a latent desire to enlarge the boundaries of knowledge as well as territories. 'No hunter', it was explained, 'ever walked through a field with a gun, or by water with a rod, without being the better for it. *Knowledge is natural history, and can only be acquired in the open.* From books, images are formed in the mind, but they are unlike reality. With gun and rod, actual facts are reached, touched and understood...reading is not enough. Now I claim for the gun that it is a better book than any printed volume. A

man may be clever with his books and yet be ignorant of the forces which still control the hearts and minds of men in the nineteenth century'.²⁹

The hunter's procurement of sporting trophies and native ephemera helped to disseminate the imperial ideal as a virile, dominant and advantageous concept. In a period of rampant imperialism, the educational merits associated with natural history, gun and hound were paramount. A burgeoning interest in the 'cult of the countryside' focused greater attention on the moral lessons to be derived from studying and killing wildlife.³⁰ 'No modern educationalist', noted one pedagogue, would dispute the 'great advantage of tangible evidence ... a geography lesson is more easy of comprehension when the product of foreign lands and models of aboriginal races are viewed in the British Museum: natural history and science become delightful and intelligible in the presence of animals, birds and mineral specimens at South Kensington'.³¹

The Education Code of 1890 for Advanced Geography incorporated this 'search for order' based on colonialism. For the first time, 'the acquisition and growth of the colonies and foreign possessions of Great Britain as part of the history syllabus' was one manifestation of a wider role for imperial natural history in schools; a request by headmaster of Willaston School in Nantwich in Cheshire for a Caribou head from Maurice Egerton 'to start off the new school museum' exemplified the interest in trophies as a suitable spectacle for children.³²

The observation and handling of specimens rather than images from books was one way in which natural history, both domestic and imperial, was disseminated.³³ In 1860, the first Inspector of the new Salmon Fisheries, Francis T.

Buckland, asserted that recreational fishing and the 'science' of natural history were entering a period of unprecedented importance to wider public. ³⁴ This development was reflected in a spate of sporting literature devoted to understanding the ecological context of sporting fishing rather than the familiar descriptions of the 'kill.' Andrew Young's The Natural History and Habits of the Salmon of 1854 was followed by W. Brown, The Natural History of the Salmon, 1862, F. Buckland, Manual of Salmon and Trout Hatching, 1864, R. Bust, The Stormontfield Piscicultural Experiments, 1866 and H.A. Glass, Report of the Salmon Fishery Congress, 1867.

In short, the field sports practitioner, through his 'legitimate inquiry into the habits' of fish and game, had expanded the boundaries of a particular brand of 'manly' natural history for the moral edification of the wider public. ³⁵

Consequently, a robust and 'manly' approach to natural history became de rigueur for the period hunter-naturalist. ³⁶ Sportsman-naturalist, John Colquhoun's laconic assertion that 'all hunters should be amateur naturalists' underpinned this experience which took the sportsman through a journey of understanding and the 'wilder points of Nature,' while Charles St. John pursued the 'wild' sport of the Scottish Highlands in the name of 'knowledge'. ³⁷

Interestingly, the dispassionate and scientific emphasis preferred by the hunter-naturalist was a departure from simplistic, passive conceptions of nature and the rural 'idyll' championed by the likes of Ruskin, Coleridge and Wordsworth. ³⁸

For the hunter-naturalist, game killed in the name of both sport and science contributed to an *understanding* of 'Nature' which eluded educationalists who had never hunted. ³⁹ Thus, Abel Chapman argued that he was entitled to penetrate the inner mentality of the animal world in order to better understand their instincts and

senses, motives and habits, information which was hitherto, largely absent from the annals of natural history. ⁴⁰ In this view, the 'hunters' effort to understand the ecological context of hunting placed more emphasis on personal observation and handling of prey species rather than 'theoretical,' pastoral or anthropomorphic interpretations of nature. ⁴¹

The hunter-naturalist was taking part in a 'search for order' which clarified the scope and purpose of man's position in the 'Grand Design.' ⁴² In reality, of course, this quest could be both arbitrary and brutal. John G. Millais, for example, once observed a black throated diver while in Orkney and decided to kill it on the spot simply because he had 'never seen one before'. ⁴³ This capricious act, however, left his reputation unharmed as Millais was widely respected as an artist, naturalist, zoologist and sportsman, a reputation enhanced by his killing of at least one species of every British bird to his own gun. ⁴⁴

The messages of moral masculinity implicit in the actions of Millais and his type were manifest in books, art and museums and the public lecture hall. In February 1873, St. Stephen's Young Men's Literary Society of Edinburgh had asked John Colquhoun to 'Lecture on the Ferae Nature of Britain' to evaluate the morality of hunting, and in the following year, Colquhoun addressed the Philosophical Institute of Edinburgh on the function, moral purpose and 'national' benefits of field sports; later F.C. Selous lectured on the moral imperatives of 'hunting adventures' at the London Institution. ⁴⁵

In these ways, the hunter-naturalist was, according to Abel Chapman, attempting to shed light on the '*Unseen World*'. ⁴⁶ Through his reputation as a

'scientist' and natural-historian, the hunter-naturalist was touted in some quarters as an antidote to the demeaning and liberalised 'monetary' culture of the urban middle-classes. ⁴⁷ Inculcating the 'wholesome' values associated with hunting and natural history was essential. Certain sportsman, therefore, declared that the subject was a 'recognised aid to education' within the elementary, secondary and teacher training curricula'. ⁴⁸ A 'nature study' exhibition and museum, organised by a few London secondary schools and based on 'colonial themes,' was met with predictable enthusiasm by sportsmen anxious to contextualise the hunter's spoils within an educational framework. ⁴⁹ Accordingly, Robert Baden-Powell, Frederick D. Lugard, Frederick C. Selous and Harry H. Johnstone duly praised the organisers for bringing the moral benefits of hunted trophies to a wider audience. ⁵⁰

Transmuting the hunting experience into popular form relied in no small measure on the efforts of Oldfield Thomas, taxonomist at the Natural History Museum from the 1880s to 1927. ⁵¹ Numerous letters from the colonies and exotic and far-flung locations testified to Thomas's value as an imperial administrator and educator in the unique Late Victorian and Edwardian hunting fraternity. ⁵² His taxonomy took three main forms: dealing directly with the hunter, liaising between Museum Directors and working with overseas museums and curators. Although the ethnocentric demands of hunting ensured that Thomas prioritised the work of British hunters, he was asked to oversee the development of other museums. In September 1908, Thomas received a letter from Edward C. Chubb, the Deputy Director of Zoology at the Rhodesia Museum at Bulawayo asking for advice on dioramas held at Pretoria, as well as sharing ideas about unclassified big-game held by the Rhodesia

Museum.⁵³ The demand for British museum expertise testified to the pre-eminence of the British hunters and their museum service.

With the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, Thomas's professional career flourished as he processed the numerous requests for specimens and acted as a conduit between period hunters and the Museum. Abel Chapman's hunting trips to Spain, Frederick Selous's African safaris and Major P.H. Cotton-Powell's Asian 'Shikar' and African trips were all precisely documented by Thomas.⁵⁴ Such was the institutional prestige associated with big game exhibits that Thomas was supported by Principal naturalist, Dr. Ray Lankester. The letter received by Lankester in October 1904 was typical of the correspondence between hunters and the Museum in which Major Powell-Cotton explained that he was undertaking a safari to the Northern Nile Basin and that he would obtain 'a pair of giraffes' for the Museum if required.⁵⁵

Thomas worked during a transitional period for mammalogy which, until about the 1890s, was a typological concept reliant on small numbers of specimens, often indifferently preserved without reliable locational information.⁵⁶ A member of the Society for the Preservation of the (Wild) Fauna of the Empire, which worked towards a uniform approach to game classification, Thomas and fellow Society member, Dr. C. Hart Merriman of Washington, provided a new professional taxonomic service which required of the sportsman accurate details of locality, altitude, date and gender of game shot.⁵⁷ In March 1916, Merriman noted how the scientific community associated with museums had maintained the demand for game species, stating that he had obtained over one hundred skulls from British and

American 'shots', mainly from British Columbia, Yukon and Alaska which had provided 'remarkable' new evidence on the range and sex and, in some cases the characters, of various species'.⁵⁸ Research information was also provided on European game with contributions from Abel Chapman who donated his Spanish Lynxes, and Foxes to Washington Museum in March, 1908.⁵⁹

Thomas's work was indirectly assisted by technical developments in taxidermy achieved by Rowland Ward which had enhanced the standard of period British hunting trophies. Montague Brown's Practical Taxidermy, 1884, and Artistic and Scientific Taxidermy, 1896, Edward Coues, Handbook of Field Ornithology and the Preserving of Birds, 1890 and Oliver Davie, Methods in the Art of Taxidermy, 1894 demonstrated the depth of interest in taxidermy.

Rowland Ward, a taxidermist by profession and occasional big-game-shot, was instrumental in propagating the moral value of the hunted trophy.⁶⁰ Indeed, Ward, Oldfield Thomas and the pantheon of big game hunters all promulgated the 'trophy' as an educational artefact. In December, 1899, hunter-naturalist, Edward North Buxton wrote to Thomas regarding two giraffe skins he had obtained whilst hunting near the Rombo River, Kilimanjoro in July of that year which had been prepared by Rowland Ward, stating 'they are in fine order except there is a rubbing mark on both sides of both skins. I think this must have been done in life. I should like to keep them both until the end of next month as I have a public function when I want to show them'.⁶¹

Buxton's attention to detail distanced the moral significance of the 'trophy' from the "amateur" approach of the mere dilettante. Thus, in October 1899, Buxton

wrote to Thomas, asking for his 'expert' advice on the identity of two lesser antelopes he had brought back from East Africa; later, Buxton sent Thomas a skin of an animal resembling a cross between a cheetah and a leopard which he wished to exhibit and would appreciate Thomas's 'close examination which might shed light on its identity'.⁶² In short, hunting and big game hunters contributed to the genesis of 'knowledge' about big game and even shed light on indigenous societies close to big game. In December 1899, for example, Buxton asked Oldfield Thomas did he know of an anthropologist who would like to have the cranium of a Masai he 'picked up' on the Atlic Plains in Masai when looking for artefacts.⁶³

Rowland Ward's big game displays were popular with a public eager to engage in, at least by proxy, the exotic adventures of big game hunting. His innovative 'jungle-scene' from 'Trophies of Indian Animal Life from the Colonial and Indian Exhibition', 1885, which had generated 'great public interest', provided hitherto unseen details of Indian fauna and ephemera.⁶⁴ Occasionally, such exhibitions could provide the opportunity for antagonism between national cultures! The Glasgow Exhibition of 1901, for example, was sardonically described as a 'testament to the skill of the Englishman in Scotland's sporting grounds'.⁶⁵ Despite national rivalries, hunting exhibitions remained popular throughout the inter-war and immediate post-war period, notably at Leipzig (1930), Brussels (1932), Berlin (1937) and Brussels (1946).⁶⁶ For his part, Ward intended to facilitate the flow of taxonomic knowledge between himself and international curators while widening the appeal of the hunting experience.⁶⁷

Others shared in his vision. Lord Desborough, Lord Lonsdale, T.L. Fairholme, and naturalist C.E. Fagan of the British Museum built on Ward's passion for wildlife display by exporting skills acquired through hunting and natural history to other nations. This contingent formed the British delegation to the Austrian Sporting Exhibition in Vienna in 1910 and contributed to the hunting and trophy stand at the Sports and Travel Exhibition at Olympia in London in the same year.⁶⁸

Rowland Ward was also instrumental in the development of dynamic hunting 'art' in which game animals became the focus of authentic and 'exotic' scenes. The 'McCarte Lion', first shown at Ward's 'Jungle' exhibition at Peccadillo in 1874, depicted a raging, wounded lion.⁶⁹ Ward noted triumphantly that the diorama had 'attracted considerable attention from the public as it represented a totally new era in taxidermy destined to supplant the old-fashioned 'stuffing' process which up to that time held the field'.⁷⁰

This celebrated exhibit attracted press and public adulation. The Illustrated London News, proclaimed that the exhibit had generated an unprecedented and 'tremendous amount of public excitement'.⁷¹ In this way, depicting 'dangerous' animals was a form of continuity between the hunter and the wider community. Thus, Powell Cotton had noted that there was 'considerable public interest in the hunting incidents' which took place on his Ugandan safari of 1900, an interest enhanced, no doubt, by the title of his book, In Unknown Africa.⁷²

For his part, Rowland Ward was lauded by the press. The Standard, Bell's Life and Land and Water were all entranced by his unprecedented 'Combat of a Red Deer' at the prestigious 'Scientific Inventions and New Discoveries' section of the

London International Exhibition of 1871, an exhibit described by the Daily Telegraph as 'Wardian Taxidermy'.⁷³ Ward's renown as a taxidermist was complemented by his expertise with the gun which provided him with several 'record' heads including the North American Wapita, (length on outside curve 55 inches), and the Siberian Moose, (38 inches on outside curve) and Siberian Roe Deer.⁷⁴

Such 'records' testified to Ward's status as an 'educator'. While others gained 'degrees' at university, Ward understood the value of hunting as moral metaphor. Indeed, the ability to appreciate the explicit moral implications associated with 'the trophy' distinguished the cognoscenti from 'inferior' cultures. Robert Baden-Powell, for example, confidently discriminated between European and African cultures, when, on the occasion of the Duke of Connaught's arrival in Nairobi in 1903, the town was embellished with a number of East African stuffed trophies.⁷⁵ Amused at the antics of Kenyan Masai warriors on encountering a stuffed buck's head for the first time, Baden-Powell reported that the bewildered onlookers believed 'it was still alive and tried to frighten it'.⁷⁶

By the late 1890s, the meteoric success of Ward's spectacular exhibits brought increased demand for his work at the Natural History Museum at Kensington, where, according to Oldfield Thomas, Ward's exceptional talents were developing an 'exceptional public interest' in displays of game animals.⁷⁷ Both men agreed that the 'trophy' was a tangible educational medium which illustrated 'nature in its living forms and shed light on the behaviour and habits of animals'.⁷⁸

The 'educational' rationale of the hunter's spoils were disseminated through generous trophy donations to civic and private museums. In 1900, Sir Alfred

Edward Pease collected some six-hundred specimens in a trip to Abyssinia, which, in a spirit of characteristic civic zeal, he donated to Middlesborough for public display.⁷⁹

This typical act of privileged largesse endeared him to the local community and he was remembered as the 'personification of all that is meant and best in the terms gentleman, sportsman and scholar'.⁸⁰ Pease also maintained a 'public' museum of his own at his countryhouse in Pinchinthorpe, North Yorkshire.⁸¹

Similarly, Pease's close friend, Sir Edmund G. Loder, a prolific and competitive hunter, also maintained a museum at Leonardslee in Horsham, Sussex as a visual record of his remarkable prowess with the gun while Edward North Buxton established a collection at his home in Knighton Hill in Essex.⁸² For his part, Loder assiduously sought out the best trophies, particularly deer heads such as the Sambur, Barking, Philippine, Moluccan, Swamp, Pere David's, Japanese, Siberian Roe, South American Red and the Burmese Stag.⁸³ In Africa too, Loder procured 'record' beasts, not merely for self-gratification, but for the edification of the wider public. Thus, during the period of High Imperialism, Loder killed 'record' Hartebeest, Jackson's Hartebeest, Tsessebe Antelope, Blesbok, White Tailed Gnu, Blue Buck, Yellow Backed Duiker and Salt's Dik Dik.⁸⁴

Fellow hunter-naturalist, Charles Peel had even more impressive credentials as an 'educator' by creating a museum and writing a number of hunting books.

Charles Victor Alexander Peel, F.Z.S., F.R.G.S., was a member of the Oxford Natural History Society and Field Club and a regular contributor to the Field, the Sporting and Dramatic News and the Gentlewoman. Peel still found time to write Wild Sport in the Outer Hebrides, 1900, Somaliland. An Account of Two

Expeditions into the Far Interior, 1901, and the Zoological Gardens of Europe,
1903.⁸⁵

His own 'Big-Game and Anthropological Museum' was enthusiastically opened in Oxford in July 1906 by Frederick C. Selous.⁸⁶ Utilising illustrated lectures and presenting papers on colonial flora, fauna and native cultures, Peel argued that hunting trophies were a tangible demonstration of metropolitan cultural superiority which had a legitimate function within 'community' based activities in his museum. Accordingly, Peel designed his building to accommodate moveable platforms for both hunting exhibits and other educational users.⁸⁷

Selous's inaugural lecture at this 'community museum' was a perfect opportunity to denounce liberal criticisms of big-game hunting which, in his view, ignored hunting's contribution to 'character' training. Hunting wild beasts in the jungle, he argued, 'exercised all the faculties that make a man most manly, demanding great presence of mind and powers of endurance. He (Peel) had always endeavoured to shoot in a sportsmanlike manner. It was of course necessary when encumbered with natives to shoot sufficient to feed them; but when alone, he simply shot a few specimens and left others of the same variety alone having knowledge of the depredations of disease and other exterminating influences'.⁸⁸ Peel's 'hard-won' achievements in bringing trophies into the public domain had, according to his mentor, reaffirmed his credentials both as an authoritative hunter-naturalist of the 'right-sort' and 'educator'.⁸⁹ This high accolade was accessible to every English boy, Selous enthused, since the hunting instinct was strongly connected to imperialism through which a 'love of' adventure was essential for the maintenance of English

pre-eminence'.⁹⁰ By hunting, collecting and preserving his best specimens and 'housing them in Oxford, Mr. Peel', according to Selous, had performed 'good imperial work' which would 'stimulate the young, in particular, to leave the crowded cities of England, and do good service to the Empire'.⁹¹ By creating his own 'temple of masculinity' for the moral edification of the wider community, Peel had not only 'earned' the gratitude of Oxford, but the 'esteem of his fellow countrymen'.⁹²

Peel's meticulous attention to detail reflected his determination to overcome the difficulties of hunting overseas. It was a fastidious approach which differentiated the 'true' hunter from the dilettante and separated big game hunting from the frivolity of undemanding domestic driven pheasant, partridge and grouse shooting. His essential hunting ephemera, such as tents, guns and weaponry, were placed alongside dangerous carnivores, symbolising the superior intelligence, skill and force of the metropolitan white hunter over 'the jungle' and its denizens. Entering the museum, the visitor was met by the imposing sight of three 'ferocious' Lions, two Lionesses, three Leopards, a Panther, Spotted and Striped Hyenas.⁹³ An impressive Grizzly Bear from Canada, a vast array of one hundred and twenty horns and heads of Antelope and Gazelle and a ten-foot high elephant shot on Christmas day, 1905 in British East Africa, adorned the east wing. Numerous dioramas illustrated the global search for the most collectable and exotic trophies such as Phillip's Dik Dik, Swayne's Gunthors, a complete body of a Klipspringer from Central and East Africa, Hartebeest, including Coke's, Swayne's, Neuman's and Liechtenstein's varieties.⁹⁴

Peel's educational rationale was not to be stifled by anthropomorphic sentimentality and he therefore nurtured an image of remorseless dedication to

'killing' expected of frontier-builders. His unyielding onslaught against hapless Warthogs, Somali Wild Ass, various strains of Monkeys, Common Seals, a Baring's Giraffe and African Python, however, contradicted the idea of the 'gallant hunter' in 'battle' against 'ferocious' animals.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, it was de rigueur to accumulate a wide range of game. By way of example, Frederick Selous maintained a large collection of trophies at Worplesdon, which, according to Captain J.G. Dollman in the Catalogue of Selous Collection of Big Game in the British Museum of Natural History, (1921) reflected the 'art' of the hunter.⁹⁶ After the death of Selous, the British Museum acquired over five hundred mostly male trophies from the Selous estate.⁹⁷

There were many such 'high priests' of hunting who built similar 'temples' of masculinity. Robert Lyons Scott, a shipbuilding chairman from Greenock in Scotland, furnished the town's museum with the majority of its natural history artefacts and dioramas and, as late as 1939, the construction of a civic museum at Kendal for the sole purpose of exhibiting Colonel John Harrison's hunting trophies was a tangible example of the perceived need to 'explain' the work of the hunter; this rationale, according to taxidermist, Henry Murray of Carnforth, Lancashire was part of the 'new approaches' to the dioramas at Kendal, necessary to 'dispel the hunting trophy mausoleum effect and relate the specimens to their original environment'.⁹⁸

Hunter-naturalists, Abel Chapman, Maurice Egerton and Percy G.H. Powell-Cotton merit particular scrutiny as their collections have retained value and interest as educational resources. Abel Chapman of Wark, Northumberland made a major contribution to hunting as an educational medium through sporting literature

and contributions to local and civic museums. An active member of the Natural History Society of Northumberland, Chapman was highly-regarded in the *Societies Transactions* as a 'great sportsman and naturalist of the old school'.⁹⁹ Chapman disseminated an emphatically male interpretation of the natural world and the central role of the hunter within that interpretation. The 'true' hunting experience based on 'wild' overseas sport, he argued, made 'men of men', and distinguished this higher breed from the 'inferior' bourgeois or dilettante hunter who preferred emasculated domestic sport. His sporting narratives reflected his homage to 'wild' hunting in titles such as *Wild Norway* and *Savage Spain*, books which invoked a nostalgic masculinity from 'glorious days -spent in a primordial world with vivid memories of encounters with the biggest beasts that still roam our earth...days in the 'Green Rooms' of wild Nature'.¹⁰⁰ Chapman's contention was supported by other sportsmen who railed against demeaning, inferior, urban-based lifestyles and 'effeminate' pastimes - after all, 'men were most truly alive away from the pedestrian, grinding world when hunting'.¹⁰¹

Entrance to this hallowed realm required subscription to the moral values held dear by Chapman and his ilk. Trophy hunting as understood by the 'true' hunter was not 'uncivilised' but was the ultimate expression of the hunter's art requiring 'sympathy for the beasts of chase or with any fair adversary, with a hatred of cruelty and selfishness... the love of fellowship, above all, with the scrupulous sense that the rules must be honourably kept or the very sport itself will be corrupted and destroyed'.¹⁰²

Chapman's trophies were important enough to occupy a distinctive place in the social fabric of the Late Victorian museum movement at Newcastle.

Accordingly, public funds augmented his own donations to set up new dioramas at the Hancock Museum at Newcastle to house and display his trophies.¹⁰³ It is noteworthy that Chapman commented, 'the *proper function* of a museum is the *education of the public* and not the erecting of memorials to dead men'.¹⁰⁴

Paradoxically, Chapman's own large house at 'Houxty', Wark in Northumberland, remained as a personal "memorial" to his prowess with the gun and was stuffed with numerous trophies throughout his lifetime.¹⁰⁵

Abel Chapman saw himself as pioneering frontiersman both territorially and in the field of natural history. Indeed, pushing back the boundaries of 'knowledge' complemented the evolving demands of imperialism implicit in the 'search for order' in the early twentieth century. That he was able to secure unclassified or rare species, like the Beech Marten-Cat from the Spanish Sierra Nevada and the Bonelli's and Tawny eagle, added to his status as a contributor to this evolution.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, in 1899, the British Museum suggested that his 'generous' donations of the Bonelli and Tawny eagle had generated 'great scientific interest'.¹⁰⁷

His reputation was enhanced through regular contributions to the Natural History Museum's store of information. In March 1908, replying to the NHM's enquiries about the elusive Spanish stag, Chapman explained that two types were known to science, the Mountain and Lowland Deer, both of which Chapman promised to procure during the forthcoming season, along with other 'elusive' Spanish Deer.¹⁰⁸ As late as 1911, Chapman was still obtaining unclassified species

including three Spanish Water-shrew, describing them as 'quite different from those in the mountain streams of the Sierras, being smaller and brown compared to the velvety black varieties'.¹⁰⁹ Notably, Chapman was unable to find any natural history authority to comment on his 'discovery' but promised to obtain 'one or two' for the NHM.¹¹⁰

It was a measure of Chapman's reputation and confidence as a hunter-naturalist that overseas museums sought his opinion on mammalia and the presentation of exhibits. Accordingly, Chapman developed strong links with the Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Genova and donated numerous beasts to the museum.¹¹¹ In March 1908, he received a letter from the Director of the Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Genova, no less, who explained that his trophies would provide the 'greatest assistance in his work' and was particularly pleased to know that he would 'at last see the stag and wild boar of Southern Spain' as offered to him by Chapman.¹¹²

Given the British influence in Africa, it was no surprise that Chapman exerted authority over emerging museums in the 'Dark' Continent well as European museums. The contribution of metropolitan hunters to African museums was important, since by the 1930s, every centre with a 'white population' over ten thousand people had one including Bulawayo, Salisbury, Nairobi, Zanzibar and Khartoum.¹¹³ Chapman's contemporary, Maurice Egerton of Tatton Hall in Cheshire, was also instrumental in the development of African and British museums, supplying the British, Manchester, Liverpool and Stretford Museums with exhibits as well as museums in the Zanzibar, Ngata and Bulawayo.¹¹⁴

Despite taking part in flying and fast-car travel, it was big-game hunting which most appealed to 'the man' in Egerton. Like Chapman, Egerton built up a substantial collection of 'heads' which he displayed at his own residence at Tatton Hall and in the wider public realm at the Manchester Museum. ¹¹⁵ There, he developed a professional relationship with Curator, William Tattersall who claimed that 'it was vital that the spoils of Egerton's effort in the field be shown on to the public'. ¹¹⁶ No doubt, there was an element of self-aggrandisement here. Like Chapman at the Hancock Museum, Newcastle, Egerton gave the Manchester Museum financial support ostensibly to provide a zoological collection 'worthy of the city'. ¹¹⁷ Such altruism, of course, ensured a degree of immortality.

Unsurprisingly, Egerton's influence extended to the Natural History Museum where he maintained regular contact with Oldfield Thomas, R.I. Pocock, H.W. Parker, Captain J. Guy Dollman and S.F. Harmer, all hunters or natural historians responsible for developing dioramas at the British Museum. ¹¹⁸ Egerton belonged to a group of hunter-naturalists who regularly supplied trophies to various museums. Despite the long heritage of British hunters in East Africa, certain trophies remained absent from the British Museum. Kirk's Colobus, the skull of an aard-wolf, and an Ader's Duiker, for example, were not held in the British Museum, a vacuum which Egerton was asked to address. ¹¹⁹ Principal curators, David Allan at Liverpool and William Tattersall at Manchester, also worked with Egerton for information and research purposes which included types of non-game species. By way of example, butterflies from the Sudanese Desert were labelled in Latin by Egerton for the accuracy expected by curators. ¹²⁰

Backed by his massive financial resources, Egerton travelled extensively in search of game ranging from Canadian Spring Salmon, caught from the Campbell River at Vancouver Island to numerous forms of African fauna.¹²¹ In time, Egerton built up a working relationship with Rowland Ward which was useful in the identification of unclassified or rare game. In March, 1935, for example, Egerton asked Ward whether it was ethical to kill a female Bontebok for the Manchester Museum as 'they did not have one'.¹²²

Bringing 'new' specimens into the public domain enhanced the hunters' status as an 'educator'. Thus, Egerton acquired the only two specimens of large stuffed-tuna in England which he insisted should be displayed to the public both at Tatton Park and Manchester Museum.¹²³ He was also of the opinion that smaller "game", such as fruit-bats from Mt. Elgon, and rare skins and skulls of Red and Blue Duiker should be displayed for the edification of the public.¹²⁴

Egerton's preoccupation with the values associated with hunting, however, extended well-beyond the glass cabinets of public and private museums. The moral imperatives of masculinity as understood by Egerton were manifested in a self-styled patriarchal welfare programme for boys, not girls, as he was a confirmed misogynist and bachelor.¹²⁵ Under his guidance, boys from all classes were instructed in countryside activities in line with the prevailing doctrines within the Scout movement. For protagonists, scouting was simply an 'education in manliness' characterised by 'military and moral discipline and sheer fun... it takes the zest of fishing, birds-nesting, collecting and all field sports and joins to them the delight of games and the romance of adventure stories. Close observation of the countryside includes

knowing how to stalk and take cover. The boys trained in this way are by way of becoming an aristocracy, morally, physically and intellectually, with the added charm of brotherhood'.¹²⁶ Both activities required varying degrees of pluck, self reliance and the ability to navigate unknown country, all allied to keen observation skills.¹²⁷ In short, Egerton's patriarchal welfare schemes fitted functionally into the notion that hunting and scouting were useful 'preparations' for masculinity. Naturally, the 'best' scouts were 'smart, did not drink alcohol, adaptable, horse-riders, swimmers and enjoyed going out shooting'.¹²⁸

Egerton trained local boys in rabbit shooting at Tatton with .22 rifles. A training in marksmanship at small game with .22 was an activity which was endorsed by sportsmen concerned at Britain's ability to defend itself from imperial aggression. In 1900, rifle manufacturer, William Greener, for example, insisted that 'rifle shooting today is the subject of supreme importance to every Briton for it is only by general proficiency in the use of the best weapon can the empire be maintained and national safety secured. Let everyone take an interest in shooting and military affairs as this will ensure that the British empire has the best equipped army the world has ever known. Game shooting with the rifle more closely resembles war than does any other sport. Large game shooting is best of all. An excellent substitute is deer and rabbit stalking with the rifle', a view shared by 'Arbor' in The Field who claimed that the young male-shot would benefit from rabbit-shooting with small-bore rifles.¹²⁹

It was a view shared by Robert Baden-Powell who contended that the success of British 'marksmen' during the Bulawayo conflicts in the 1890s was evidence of cadet-training, the 'desirability of which was well-known by 'parents and

schoolmasters - a boy would be considered an awful outsider and milksop by the others if he did not join a corps. The people in England do not realise that by discouraging training for defence, they are encouraging enemies to aggression'.¹³⁰

Egerton's military experience in South Africa, as a Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve and the United States, as Lieutenant Commander supervising the construction of warplanes in 1914, was, therefore, a useful background for teaching boys in hunting and military skills.¹³¹ Naturally, Egerton had an extensive knowledge of guns and ballistics. Instructions in how to use firearms, safety with guns, rabbit and pigeon shooting, canoeing, swimming and walking on the estate formed the basis of Egerton's programme. His version of reality incorporated a paternal interest in boys from less wealthy backgrounds who could now learn the values of 'fair play' in relation to field sports. Rabbit-shooting, for example, provided his young charges not only with experience of a .22 rifle, but gave them lessons in rules usually reserved for the privileged classes. Thus, boys were taught respect for quarry as Egerton insisted that game be given a reasonable chance of escape without being ruined by small shot. Viewing and studying Egerton's collection of bows, arrows and knives, rare birds eggs and natural history specimens he had acquired on his hunting trips were an additional aspect of the programme which broadened horizons and expectations.¹³²

Maurice Egerton's patriarchal schemes perpetuated a tradition of welfare which had been a feature of Tatton estate life during the nineteenth century. The Rostherne Boys School was owned and financed by his father, Alan Egerton, who believed that field sports were more important than schooling when beaters were required. In March, 1878, boys were allowed holidays to assist with the Cheshire

Hounds meet at Bucklow Hill, while in December, 1884, pupil's attendance at school was 'poor' as many were needed to beat 'the covers' for two days.¹³³ Egerton subsequently maintained links with Knutsford Grammar School, where he oversaw the Rifle and Drill Corp in the years prior to 1914, thereby endorsing William Greener's demand that 'instructions in shooting should be made compulsory in all schools for boys for the creation of a national brotherhood in arms'.¹³⁴

Maurice's benevolence spread to 'lower' class boys' clubs such as Salford Lads Club, and the Cheshire Association of Boys Clubs and his financing of the redevelopment of the Knutsford Town Hall as a sports equipment repository to be used by the boys of Cheshire extended his sphere of influence. His untold wealth was also used to assist academically able boys towards special training, or even university and a fortunate few were sent overseas for holidays.¹³⁵

The blind ethnocentric confidence of Egerton and his ilk was illustrated by his ability to continue to hunt big game despite the restrictions imposed by Convention on big-game shooting in 1900, a campaign supported by Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the Congo to safeguard African animals, birds and fish.¹³⁶ Shortly after this, Lord Elgin limited the number of licences issued to 500 owing to the number of sportsmen eager to hunt in the African protectorates.¹³⁷

Requests from major museums, however, enabled Egerton and his ilk to continue hunting rare or unusual game. This may have been the consequence of the continuing uncertainty surrounding imperial fauna, animals and their classification. It was a vacuum which provided an incentive for 'shots' anxious to publicise their contribution to the imperial ideal.¹³⁸ In a lecture to the Zoological Society in the

early 1900s, Oldfield Thomas referred to Britain's incomplete collection of Horned Giraffes at the Natural History Museum. ¹³⁹ Consequently, P.H.G. Powell-Cotton determined to add to Britain's supply of giraffe skins so that the British Museum had an educational resource which could compete with the Continental museums. ¹⁴⁰

Percy Henry Gordon Powell-Cotton was given permission to shoot in Uganda between 1904 and 1907 on the 'understanding that shooting was to be in the interests of scientific research'. ¹⁴¹ To this end, he applied to Dr. Ray Lankester at the N.H.M. in October 1904 asking them to authorise hunting in the Nile basin. ¹⁴² He would collect specimens only if the following conditions were met: 'that the Foreign Office allow me to take out a public office licence with the usual privileges it brings and to shoot two giraffes without the usual fee and that the customs duties not to exceed what I paid last time; the Museum to pay carriage on nice specimens and set them up if in suitable condition'. ¹⁴³

In the interests of 'science' - and self-indulgence - game continued to be killed by the period hunter-naturalist. As late as 1924, Maurice Egerton was asked by the Brussels Museum for a pair of Okapi; to obtain the necessary permission to hunt the beasts, Egerton asserted that 'authorisation from the Museum was essential'. ¹⁴⁴ Similarly, Abel Chapman was asked by C.E. Fagan of the British Museum to obtain a Giant Eland when hunting at the Bahr-el-Ghazal in the Sudan in 1913. ¹⁴⁵ This was part of the Museum's 'Sudan Expedition' of 1913-14 which required some 1500 labels for birds, 1200 labels for small mammals and a 'truckload' of partitioned cases for shot trophies! Chapman noted sardonically that both Frederick Selous and Sydney Pearson had failed in their efforts to locate this elusive beast, but, with special

permission from the Foreign Office through Sir Edward Grey and Lord Kitchener, Chapman felt confident of securing the animal.¹⁴⁶ The results of this safari could be seen as impressive as the party shot or trapped over 100 mammals, 1591, birds, numerous snakes and lizards.¹⁴⁷

By the early 1900s, restrictions on hunting were threatening to limit the number of trophies available to imperial hunters, and, in the opinion of Major Percy Henry Gordon Powell-Cotton, were inhibiting essential 'scientific' research.¹⁴⁸ Abel Chapman's unfortunate experiences in the Sudan confirmed the onerous limitations being placed on trophy-hunters when, much to his annoyance, he was restricted to 'only one' Saddle-backed Lechwi; after shooting two near the White Nile in April 1914, the second, he claimed, by 'sheer misadventure', one was duly confiscated by Government officials.¹⁴⁹

Frederick Selous sardonically remarked that large amounts of game still existed in Africa and North America and complained that 'hardy and vigorous European sportsmen' were persecuted by game-laws which were necessary only for 'unsporting natives' armed with modern rifles.¹⁵⁰ For his part, Major Powell-Cotton determined to 'understand' rather than 'exploit' the colonial environment and set about establishing a museum for the dissemination of 'scientific' knowledge gathered from his extensive hunting experiences between 1880 and 1939. To this end, Powell-Cotton turned his family home, Quex House at Birchington in Kent, into a public museum for future generations to understand and appreciate the hunters' art.

In 1889, with the help of Rowland Ward, he established his first diorama entitled the 'Kashmir Display'. The immediate popularity of this exhibition confirmed

Powell-Cotton's belief that imperial game displays had an important educational rationale. ¹⁵¹ The 'Kashmir Display' presented some eleven hundred zoological specimens and previously unrecorded ethnographic artefacts from Kashmir, Ladak and Baltistan and the Central Provinces of India ranging from one hundred and thirty two specimens of ibex, wild goats, Markhor, mostly in winter plumage, all shot above 20,000 feet during often severe winters. Powell-Cotton would continue to collect an eclectic assortment of trade, military items, cooking utensils, jewellery, tools and hunted trophies throughout his lifetime. In order to organise, classify and catalogue this extensive range of subjects, a full-time curator was employed from 1912.

Major Powell-Cotton relied heavily on the pioneering, technical developments in taxidermy initiated by Rowland Ward to bring the drama of hunting to a wider audience. The Lynx, Snow Leopard, Tibetan Wolf, Yak, and Kiang, all previously unknown to British audiences, were donated to the British Museum by Powell-Cotton to enable a greater number of people to see the enchantment of the colonial hunter's world. ¹⁵²

Ward spared no attention to detail in his search for authenticity at Quex, where he continued to exert a major influence until the 1930s. Critical of unexciting dioramas, Ward wrote to the 'Major' - his preferred title - in July 1909 to suggest that his elephant, shot in Abyssinia in 1903, be shown 'approaching water with his trunk in the air feeling the wind for realism'. ¹⁵³ The emphasis on realistic dioramas maintained Britain's reputation as a pre-eminent hunting nation and, in April, 1904, Powell-Cotton was requested to send specimens from British East Africa to the Washington Museum through Rowland Ward. ¹⁵⁴ Powell-Cotton's close friendship

with respected hunter and primatologist at the Chicago Museum, Frederick Mearns, reinforced the Anglo-American association until the former's death in 1939. ¹⁵⁵

Relationships between hunters and natural historians, however, were not always so cordial. In other words, the hunter's role as an 'educator' was not universally accepted. Schism between certain hunters and naturalists per se expressed the naturalist's independence. In February 1907, Professor Raymond Lankester, for example, refused to buy an assignment of Okapi bones and skins offered by Powell-Cotton. ¹⁵⁶ Rowland Ward, acting as an intermediary between an indignant Powell-Cotton and the British Museum, complained that 'Lankester gave us a lot of trouble' before his decision was overturned by the Trustees. ¹⁵⁷ On another occasion, Powell-Cotton's ambitious plans for a ground-breaking mounted series on the African Waterbuck, complete with maps where he obtained them, were rejected by the Natural History Museum because was 'nothing good enough to start with', besides which, the German Zoologist, Oscar Neumann had 'recently published descriptions of four varieties of the animal'. ¹⁵⁸

Dissension between 'academic' natural historians and hunters were not uncommon. Lankester's colleague at the N.H.M. Roland Lydekker, ignominiously refused Abel Chapman's offering of a rare 'Foxy red-type' of Singing Waterbuck, seen only in Sudan; Chapman complained that 'Lydekker did not recognise any peculiar feature in it', and complained that 'they don't know everything down in Judee!' ¹⁵⁹ In a letter to The Times, Chapman asserted that natural history subjects connected with game, such as 'The Senses of Animals', were topics best suited to those who had hunted wild beasts and had earned the right to call themselves 'trained

hunter-naturalists'.¹⁶⁰ The 'mere academic naturalist', he continued, lacked the authentic experience of the hunter which heightened environmental perceptions and an understanding of the natural world.¹⁶¹

Differences of opinion between hunter-naturalists and academic naturalists, however, did not undermine the hunters' credibility as an 'educator'. In 1905, Powell-Cotton's lecture to the Royal Geographic Society on his "African Travels" was well-received, while two years later, a number of his specimens were used to illustrate imperial topics at the Royal Society Lectures.¹⁶² Two years later, a selection of Powell-Cotton's African game exhibits were shown at the prestigious London Geographical Show, and in the same year, Sir William Lee Warner, and Reginald Gilbert read papers on 'Indian Big Game Hunting' as part of the Indian section of the Society of Arts.¹⁶³

By this time, Powell-Cotton was enjoying unqualified success as a hunter-naturalist, a reputation reflected in the demand for his trophies from other agencies. In July, 1907, the Director of the Royal Scottish Museum at Edinburgh wrote to Rowland Ward describing the *unparalleled* public interest in an elephant shot by Powell-Cotton which had 'given immense satisfaction and has caused quite a sensation. It has been inspected by several thousands of visitors and all who have spoken about it have expressed their admiration'.¹⁶⁴ Following his success at Edinburgh, Powell-Cotton donated a type-specimen of the rare Sudanese White-Rhino and Oribi, both shot at Kero in the Lado Enclave to the Natural History Museum in London.¹⁶⁵

The killing of a rare or unclassified beast attracted the hunter, especially if he could persuade museum specialists to immortalise his actions by applying his name to the species. Swayne's Hartebeest, for example, was named by Captain H.G. Swayne as was Coke's Hartebeest, first shot by a Lieutenant-Colonel W. Coke.¹⁶⁶

Unsurprisingly, competition to shoot elusive or unclassified game was fierce and lingered on into the twentieth century. Major H.C. Maydon and Captain G. Blaine continued to hunt the rare and highly-prized Walia Ibex in Abyssinia as late as the 1920s for both scientific and sporting purposes.¹⁶⁷

Ironically, the scramble for "immortality" encouraged disharmony as hunters sought the patronage of 'academic' naturalists. Thus, Frederick Selous classified a Topi, a type of East African antelope, just months before Powell-Cotton had shot one of his own.¹⁶⁸ Subsequently, Ward told Powell-Cotton that Professor Lydekker had examined his Topi, but referred them all to one species - *Selousi*. Powell-Cotton was compensated however, in his discovery of an intermediate form between the East African Korrigum and Tiang Topi, which was duly named *Damaliscus Cottoni* in permanent recognition of its assailant!¹⁶⁹ In February, 1908, Lydekker gave a fillip to Powell-Cotton's scientific reputation by naming a species of Giraffe the hunter had acquired in the Congo as '*Giraffa Camelopardalis Cottoni*', having earlier named an African Elephant species after him.¹⁷⁰

At the same time, the Natural History Museum confirmed that Powell-Cotton's Sudanese White Rhino was 'sufficiently distinct' to be named after Powell-Cotton. Rowland Ward explained that 'Mr. Lydekker is willing to describe it in The Field or Proceedings of the Zoological Society, which ever you prefer, naming

it after you providing the material is given to the Museum. The Americans would have named it but for lack of material (namely types of the Southern form). The Museum, however, has no finances until April'.¹⁷¹ A perplexed Powell-Cotton wrote by return of post, 'I do not know quite what to do about the White Rhino. If the British Museum do not have the funds at present to buy one it will be better to wait until I presented the specimen to the Congo Museum when I have no doubt that I can get Dr. Matchie to name it after me'.¹⁷² Finally, Powell-Cotton donated two forms of Sudanese White-Rhino to the British Museum on condition it was named after him and 'described it in the PZS with drawings showing how it differs from the Southern type'.¹⁷³

The desire to acquire rare or unusual game to show on to the wider public was still driving Powell-Cotton in his later life. In October of 1933, Powell-Cotton wrote to David Burlace, the new Managing Director of Rowland Wards, about the prospects of acquiring 'new or special beasts' on a proposed trip to the Spanish Guinea.¹⁷⁴ Burlace advised Powell-Cotton that T.A. Barns had already been to the Spanish Guinea for a gorilla, but 'would not go there again, since it was very difficult to hunt and that he had come very ill'.¹⁷⁵

By this time, Powell-Cotton had a widely-admired reputation as a student of African culture through his work with the African Society and his involvement with several African museums. In 1933, for example, the Secretary of the Congo Free State asked him to supply type specimens and professional advice for a new national museum.¹⁷⁶ His experiences in Africa were documented in two published books, A Sporting Trip Through Abyssinia, 1902 and In Unknown Africa, 1904, which,

incidentally, according to Rowland Ward had 'sold well' when first released.¹⁷⁷ In Unknown Africa , with its frontiersman ethic, rekindled the earlier glories of the untrammelled hunter and was dedicated to 'the Wandering Spirit to whose influence England owes her Empire'.¹⁷⁸

In short, hunting was the basis of Powell-Cotton's 'search for order' on a wider, cultural front. The importance of hunting and the imperial ideal was not lost on the British press. The 'Major' undertook twenty-six separate hunting expeditions which were closely followed by various newspapers. Absorbed with Powell-Cotton's 1900 expedition to Abyssinia, The Manchester Evening Mail, for instance, asserted that the 'adventurous spirit of the Englishman is apparent once more in the thrilling narrative by (Captain) Powell-Cotton. It is a story of national interest.

Powell-Cotton's work may have a bearing on the political direction of Sudan and Lord Kitchener's situation'.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, in October, 1903, The African World , describing Powell-Cotton's 'thrilling, exacting and majestic' two-year journey through Equatorial East Africa trumpeted that he had 'discovered six previously undiscovered tribes, collected a mass of scientific data, endured many privations and had some hairbreadth escapes, in an area between the Upper Nile, Lake Rudolph and Lake Victoria where no white man had been before'.¹⁸⁰ Later, the intrepid 'pioneering' hunter proudly recalled that he was also the first white man to enter the Abyssinian Dodinga region where he 'discovered' the previously undocumented Tepeth and Toposa tribes.¹⁸¹ For his efforts, Powell-Cotton was even lauded in certain sections of the American press. The New York The Nation , for example, extolled his achievements in Central Africa in the period 1904-7 as producing

'valuable scientific results' which entailed the classification of six new species of forest animal not previously recorded.¹⁸²

Earlier, it was noted that 'the public exhibition of a Nation, principally form and establish that peculiar character, which the rest of mankind agree in annexing to their general ideas concerning them. Look around you, in this extraordinary country and contemplate the various shows and diversions of the people, and then say, whether their temper or mind at various periods of our History, may not be collected from them?'¹⁸³ Through hunted trophies, Powell-Cotton and his ilk made a significant contribution to the public 'character' of the Anglo Saxon race.

The hunters described in this chapter, however, were not only contributors to museums, books and moral doctrines which kept their masculinity entrenched in the public domain. Such men viewed hunting as a common bond deserving of institutionalisation within a powerful social association. Chapter seven will trace the evolution of one such association, The Shikar Club whose continued existence demonstrates a continuity in the cult of masculinity through hunting.

- 1 Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism, London, 1993, p.130
- 2 Captain Chauncey Stigand, Hunting the Elephant in Africa, New York, 1913,
preface
- 3 Sir Samuel White Baker, Wild Beasts and Their Ways, London, 1890,
pp.376-379
- 4 F.G. Aflalo, 'Hunting Apologies', The Fortnightly Review, New Series,
Vol.72, July 1902, pp.1066-77
- 5 'The Education of Boys', The Magazine of Natural History, 1829, 3 Vols.,
Vol.1, pp.3-8. Others were less magnanimous. William Cornwallis
Harris decided to keep his hunted trophies for himself. 'Next to the slaughter
of the proud giraffe', he explained, 'the desire nearest to my heart was to
discover something new - not a new lizard nor a rat by which to immortalise
myself as a naturalist but an entirely new something or other some stately
quarry unknown to science and adorning no museum save my own' W.
Cornwallis Harris, The Wild Sports of Southern Africa, 1852, 5th edition,
quoted in B. Bull, On Safari, London, 1988, p.30
- 6 The Natural History Review, (begun 1853), 'Quarterly Journal of Biological
Science', Edinburgh, 1865, Vol.17, pp.2-3. See also, Natural History
Journal, London, 1865, Vol.17, p.318; A.P. Gordon-Cuming, 'South Africa
- Big Game in the Early Days', in Hubert C. Maydon, Big Game Shooting in
Africa, London, 1932, pp.358-365 ; E.P. Thompson, The Notebook of the
Naturalist, London, 1845, pp.3-4, 23, and W.T. Stearn, The Natural History
Museum at South Kensington, London, 1981, pp.37, 42

- 7 I am grateful to Henry Mcghie, Manchester Museum, Dept of Zoology, for his kind assistance.
- 8 William H. Maxwell, The Field book, or Sports and Pastimes of the British Islands, London, 1833, pp.vi.
- 9 This development took place as the British Museum of Natural History burgeoned under the Directorship of Robert Owen; see I. Tree, The Bird Man, London, 1991, preface. See also, W.T. Stearn, The Natural History Museum at South Kensington, London, 1981, pp. 41-3
- 10 'Appeal for Skeletons of Wild Specimens of the Larger Carnivora for Our Museums', Nature, Vol.6, 1872, p.435. Professor Ray Lankester, The History of the Collections contained in the Natural History Departments of the British Museum, 2 Vols., London, 1904, pp.20, 25,58. I am grateful to John Thackery, Archivist at the N.H.M for his patient assistance at the Museum;
- 11 Sir Walter Elliot, 1803-1887, See Lady Elliot, The Elliots, London, 1974, preface; G. Tancreed of Weers, Rulewater and its People, Edinburgh, 1907, pp.45, 91-3, 95-7; G. Tancreed, The Annals of the Border Club, Jedburgh, 1903, pp.443-4. I am grateful to former curator John Harrison, who designed the 'Walter Elliot' room at the Hawick Museum and Fionna Colter, the present curator.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Lankester and Thomas, History of the Collections, Vol.2, p.31.
- 15 Ibid., pp.27, 58

- 16 Ibid., p.44
- 17 'The Zoology of British India', Natural History Review, Vol.17, 1865, pp.2-3
- 18 Thomas, History of Collections, pp.51, 53, 56; Dr. Sclater, Proceedings of the Zoological Society, 1864, p.98 See also, Henry Gunn, ed., Empire and Red Deer, London, 1925, chapters 2-4
- 19 The Natural History Review, No. 19, July 1865, pp.1-3, p.306; Major D. Macintyre, Hindu-Koh, London and Edinburgh, 1889, pp.21-2. Macintyre worked with Dr. S. Oldham, the Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India in 1856, on the sporting potential of the mahseer.
- 20 Thomas, Collections, p.42
- 21 Professor R Lankester, ed., Guide to the Great Game Animals in the Department of Zoology at the British Museum, London, 1907, preface. Book held at Clifford Hall, Yealand Conyers, Carnforth, Lancashire
- 22 'The British Museum Catalogue of Birds,' The Times, 6th April 1899, p.8.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 'A Wandering Naturalist', The Field, Vol.39, February 1872, p.98
- 25 Report of Proceedings, Museums Association first General Meeting, Liverpool, 19th June 1890, preface
- 26 Ibid., pp.46-50
- 27 Lankester, Guide to the Great Game Animals, preface. Captain G.E.H. Barrett-Hamilton, 1868-1953
- 28 Stigand, Hunting the Elephant, pp.209-210
- 29 R. Jeffries, 'The Defence of Sport', National Review, Vol.1, 1883, pp.919-32

- 30 See, 'The Cult of the Countryside', The Spectator, 25th April 1903, p.653, and H. Rider Haggard, 'Natural History and the Press', Saturday Review, November 1906, Vol.52, pp.263-4; F.G. Aflalo, Sketch of the Natural History of the British Isles, Edinburgh, 1897, preface and pp.19-20.
- 31 'The Public Utility of Museums,' Nineteenth Century, Vol.74, 1913, pp.1211-1215
- 32 P. Horn, 'English Elementary Education and the Growth of the Imperial Ideal', in J.A. Mangan, ed., Benefits Bestowed, Manchester, 1988, pp.39-44; M.S. Egerton Papers, DET, 3229/123, Chester Record Office. See also D. Allen, The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History, London, 1976, p.180
- 33 Museum, Vol.2, April-January, 1862-3, pp.55-63
- 34 F.T. Buckland, Curiosities of Natural History, 4 Vols., Vol.4, London, 1893, pp.341-2.
- 35 D.P. Blaine, An Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, London, 1840, p.149
- 36 R. Jeffries, 'The Defence of Sport', National Review, Vol.1., 1883, pp.919-32
- 37 J. Colquhoun, Moor and Loch, 4th edition, London and Edinburgh, 1878, preface, viii
- 38 See E.T. Cook, The Life of John Ruskin, London, 1911, Vol.1, p.284; H.M. Margoliouth, Wordsworth and Coleridge, 1795-1834, Oxford, 1953, pp.3-5; B. Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background, London, 1940, p.256
- 39 A. Chapman, The Borders and Beyond, London and Edinburgh, 1924, preface, pp.20-1, p.444; Retrospect: Reminiscences and Impressions of a Hunter-Naturalist, London and Edinburgh, 1928, p.111; Sir A.E Pease, The Book of the Lion, London, 1913, pp.70-1

- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 J. Colquhoun, Lecture on Ferrae Nature, Edinburgh, 1873, pp.44-5. John Colquhoun was educated in Edinburgh, then at a private school in Lincolnshire run by the Reverend Grainger of Winteringham, before attending Edinburgh University. During the 1830s, Colquhoun developed a career in the army which enabled him to hunt and shoot in Ireland and Scotland.
- 43 J.G. Millais, Wanderings and Memories, London, 1919, p.28
- 44 Ibid., p.30
- 45 Colquhoun, Lecture on Ferrae Nature, pp.44-5; 'Mr.Selous at the London Institution', The Times, 11th January, 1898, p.6; see also, 'Mr. Selous on African adventure', The Times, 15th January 1895, p.6; 'Mr. Selous at Exeter Hall', The Times, 19th March, 1895, p.13.
- 46 Chapman, Retrospect, p.278-80
- 47 'A Nature Study Exhibition', The Field, Vol.99, March 1902, p.477
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 R.S. Baden-Powell, Sketches in Mafeking and East Africa, London, 1907, p.127. So popular was the vogue for stuffed animals that, at the zenith of High Imperialism in the 1890s, over 1,000 men and women were pursuing trade of taxidermy, J. Mackenzie, Empire of Nature, Manchester, 1988, p.41
- 51 Oldfield Thomas, F.R.S., 21st February 1858 - 3rd July 1928. I am grateful to John Thackery and Susan Snell at the Natural History Museum (N.H.M.)

for their kind help with reference to Oldfield Thomas and the letters of period hunters. See, J.E. Hill, MRO Thomas, Bulletin of British Museum of Natural History, (Historical Series), Vol.18, no.1, May 1990, pp.25-113. See also, Unpublished Manuscripts, Letters, DF232/14/45, p.45

52 Ibid.

53 See for example, Natural History Museum. M.S., Letter from Alfred E. Pease to Oldfield Thomas, 20th June 1896, DF232-1, p.290, I; Letters, DF232/10/239, p.9

54 Natural History Museum, Letters, from Abel Chapman to Oldfield Thomas, DF232 -14, pp.41-2, Vols1 and 2

55 Letters, N.H.M., Vols.1 and 2, DF 232/6, 2nd October 1908, p.255. Major Powell-Cotton explained 1859-1939

56 I am grateful to John Harrison, Principal Curator at Quex Park, Birchington, Kent and Henry Mcghie, Zoologist at Manchester Museum for their help with the history of mammalia studies.

57 Letter to Oldfield Thomas, DF232/20, F 247, 13th March 1916. See also T.S. Palmer, United States Department of Agriculture, Letters on Mammalia to Oldfield Thomas, 1886-96, Vol.2, N-Z, No.163

58 Ibid.

59 Letters, Natural History Museum, from Abel Chapman to Oldfield Thomas, DF232 -14, pp.41-2, Vols.1 and 2

60 Rowland Ward, 1858-1912. Taxidermist and occasional hunter of Piccadilly, London; see, C. Frost, A History of British Taxidermy, Sudbury, 1987, preface

- 61 Letters, N.H.M., E.N. Buxton to O. Thomas, Vols.1-2 DF 232/5, 4th
December 1899
- 62 Letters, N.H.M., E.N. Buxton to O. Thomas, DF 232/5 11th October 1899;
Letters, N.H.M., E.N. Buxton to O. Thomas, Vols.10-20, 12th May 1903
- 63 Letters, N.H.M., E.N. Buxton to O. Thomas, DF 232/5, 8th December 1899
- 64 'Indian Exhibition', The Times, 31st March 1885, p.9 and 'Colonial
Exhibition', The Times, 21st December 1885, p.5
- 65 'The Glasgow Exhibition', The Field, Vol.97, April 1901, p.564
- 66 F. Wallace, Hunting Winds, London, 1949, p.47
- 67 R. Ward, The Sportsman's Handbook to Practical Collecting and Preserving
Trophies and Specimens, London, 1894, preface
- 68 'The Vienna Sports Exhibition', The Field, Vol.115, 1910, p.480
- 69 Ward, Handbook, preface, p.139
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 The Illustrated London News, 28th November 1874, p.6
- 72 P.H. Powell-Cotton, In Unknown Africa, London, 1904, pp.167, 534
- 73 Quoted in Ward, Handbook, p.xiv
- 74 R. Ward, Records of Big Game, London, 1896, pp.16-21, 59
- 75 Baden-Powell, Sketches in Mafeking, p.139
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Lankester, Guide to the Great Game Animals, preface
- 78 Ward, Sportsman's Handbook, pxvii and Lankester, *ibid.*
- 79 J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, Sporting Days and Sporting Stories, London, 1925,
p.25. Sir Alfred Edward Pease, 1847-1927.

- 80 Ibid.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 Letter, 20th July 1998, to author from Loder's great grandson, still resident at Leonardslee, Sussex. Unfortunately, all big game have apparently disappeared into the midst of time. See also E.N. Buxton, Short Stalks, London, 1892, preface.
- 83 Ward, Records of Big-Game pp.16-21
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 I am indebted to Stephen Rench of Oxfordshire County Council Cultural Services, Centre for Oxfordshire Studies for his assistance in locating information on Peel and his museum.
- 86 Popular Guide to Mr. C.V.A Peel's Exhibition of Big Game Trophies and Museum of Natural History and Anthropology, 1906, G.A. Oxon, 80810,(16), held at The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
- 87 'Museum of Big Game Trophies', The Oxford Times, 14th July 1906, p.8, and Jackson's Oxford Journal, 14th July 1906, p.5; The Oxfordshire Weekly News, 18th July 1906, p.2. Peel's trophies were mounted by Edward Gerrard and Sons of London.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 *ibid.*
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 Ibid.
- 93 Ibid.

- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Ibid.
- 96 Captain J.G. Dollman in the Catalogue of Selous Collection of Big Game in the British Museum of Natural History, London, 1921, pp.v.i, 172.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Thanks are extended to Valerie Boa of the McClean Museum, Greenock and Robert Woosnam-Savage, former Assistant Keeper, Arms and Armour, Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery, Kelvingrove, Glasgow. R.L. Scott is discussed in greater detail in chapter seven. Robert Lyon Scott, 1873-1939 I'm grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Henry North of Clifford Hall, Yealand Conyers, Lancashire for information on Colonel Edgar Harrison, CB, DSO, Murrays Taxidermy and Kendall Museum.
- 99 T. Russell-Goddard, Transactions of the N.H.S. Of Northumberland, Durham and Newcastle, N.S., Vol.7, Part 1, November 1930, pp.13-4. See also, The Vasculum, Vol.15, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1929, pp.89-96. Abel Chapman, 1849-1929.
- 100 Chapman, Retrospect, p.94-5
- 101 Sir H. Newbolt, The Book of Good Hunting, London, 1920, pp.19-22
- 102 Ibid.
- 103 Thanks are extended to Les Jessop, Curator at the Hancock Museum, for information about Chapman's exhibits and the Museum building.
- 104 Russell-Goddard, Transactions of Natural History Society of Northumberland, p.4

- 105 MS., Fauna Houxtiensis', 1898-1923, M.S., ASC3S2, Hancock Museum, Newcastle. "Houxy" still sits among the Northumberland countryside, the trophies long dispersed. Chapman lies buried in the small churchyard close to the house.
- 106 M.S., A.Chapman, 'Catalogue of My Collections', Houxy Records and Results, H139, pp.29-30, held at Hancock Museum, Newcastle
- 107 Letters, N.H.M., 232/17, Vol.1, p.58
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Letters, N.H.M., DF 232/14, Vol.1, p.42; Letters, N.H.M., 4th May 1908, DF 232/14, Vol.1, p.44
- 110 Letters, N.H.M., DF 232/14, Vol.1, p.43
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 'Museums in Africa', The Museums Journal, Vol.33, 1933, pp.12-14
- 114 M.S., DET 3229, 107, N-R, Chester Record Office
- 115 The Manchester Natural History Society was founded in 1821.
- 116 Letters to Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University, 11th May 1936, DET/107, A-M, Chester Records Office.
- 117 Ibid.
- 118 M.S., Letter, DET, 3229, 107, N-R., from J.G. Dollman to Egerton, 7th October 1936, Chester Record Office; Dollman, Catalogue of Selous Collection, pp.21-22; MS., Egerton of Tatton Personal Papers, DET/107 and DET/ 3229/107, N-R., and DET, 3229, 107, A-M., Cheshire Records

Office. H.W. Parker was Head of Dept of Zoology Reptiles, N.H.M.,
1927-1938.

- 119 Letter, DET, 3229, 107, N-R., from J.G. Dollman to Egerton; Dollman,
Catalogue
- 120 Ibid.
- 121 MS., Letters to Manchester Museum, DET/3229/107, A-M and
DET/3229/123
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 I am indebted to Andrew Trea who is currently researching a book on
Egerton's life at Tatton and to the present archivist, Karen Humphries.
- 126 See for example, The Spectator, Vol.103, 25th September 1909, pp.463-4;
- 127 R.S. Baden-Powell, Aids to Scouting for Non Commissioned Officers and
Men, London, 1899, pp.17, 51
- 128 Ibid.
- 129 W.W. Greener, Sharp Shooting for Sport and War, London, 1903, preface,
pp.15, 17; See also The Field Vol.95, 1900, p.528; 'Arbor',
'Rabbit-Shooting with a Rifle', The Field, Vol. 115, June 1910, p.1024
- 130 Baden-Powell, Sketches in Mafeking, pp.81, 135-7
- 131 MS Biographical Notes held at Tatton Park, Cheshire. I am grateful to
Maggie Mckean, former Archivist at Tatton Park, for her help in locating
Notes. Tatton was a major facility for training troops during the Second
World War, under Egerton's watchful eye! Egerton was also a member of the

- Cheshire War Agricultural Committee. See also, Flight, 18th November 1911, p.1001
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 MS., Notes from Rostherne Boys School Log, 1863-1912, Cheshire Records Office.
- 134 Greener, Sharpshooting, preface, pp.17-21. See also, W.A. Baillie-Grohman, 'Rifle Shooting as a National Sport', Nineteenth Century, Vol.46, April 1899, pp.367-74
- 135 MS., Personal Jottings, 1939, held at Tatton Park. See also, Knutsford Guardian, 18th May 1958, and Knutsford Guardian, 8th August 1997, p.6.
- 136 Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, 19th May 1900, Cd. 101, 1vi, 825; Cd. 5136, 1910, 1xvi, 253; Cd.5775, 1911, 1ii, 521; Cd. 6671, 1913, Xiv, 759 See also, R. Fitter and P. Scott, The Penitent Butchers, Seventy Five Years of Wildlife Conservation, London, 1978, p.7
- 137 The Field, Vol.109, 25th May 1907, p.844
- 138 R. Lydekker, The Game Animals of Africa, second edition, London, 1913, p.vi
- 139 Powell-Cotton, In Unknown Africa, pp.2-3
- 140 Ibid.
- 141 Powell-Cotton, Unknown Africa, p.12
- 142 MS, Letters, Powell-Cotton to Ward, PC Q4, 20th January 1908, held at Quex Park, Birchington, Kent. See also, Powell-Cotton, In Unknown Africa, pp.386-8.
- 143 Ibid.

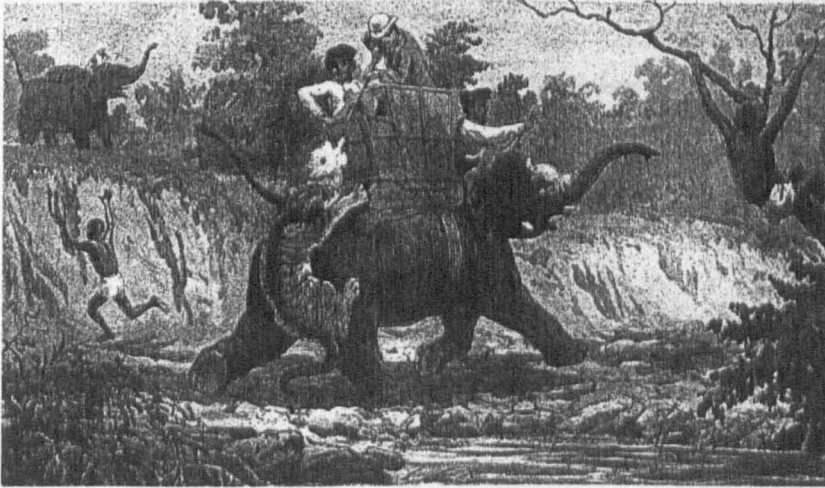
- 144 MS., Egerton Letters to Manchester Museum, DET/3229/107, and
DET/3229/123
- 145 M.S., Chapman, 'Catalogue of My Collections', Houxty Records and Results,
H139, pp.29-30., held at Hancock Museum, Newcastle. See also, A.
Chapman, Memories of Fourscore Years Less Two, London, 1930,
pp.152-56
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 Ibid.
- 148 Powell-Cotton, Unknown Africa, pp.534-8
- 149 M.S., Chapman, 'African Big Game Records' in 'Catalogue of My
Collections', Houxty Records and Results, H139, p.27
- 150 F.C. Selous, Recent Hunting Trips in British North America, London, 1907,
pp.11-15
- 151 Interview with John Harrison, Curator, Quex Park
- 152 John Harrison, 'Collections From Asia,' Five Year Plan, Quex House, 2000,
p.139. See also, R. Ward, A Naturalist's Life Study in the Art of Taxidermy,
London, 1913, p.87
- 153 MS., Letters Ward to Powell-Cotton, PCQ6, 5th July 1909, 26th July 1909
- 154 MS., Letters, Ward to Powell-Cotton, PCQ26/4, 6th April 1904
- 155 I am grateful to Malcolm Harman, assistant Curator at Quex Park, a modern
hunter-naturalist of the old school!
- 156 MS., Letters, Ward to Powell-Cotton, PCQ26/7, 6th February 1907
- 157 Ibid.
- 158 MS., Letters, Ward to Powell-Cotton, PCQ 1/11, 31st October 1907

- 159 M.S., A. Chapman, 'Catalogue of My Collections', Houxy Records and Results, H139, pp.29-30,
- 160 'The Senses of Animals,' The Times, 5th July, 1928, p.14
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 MS, Letters, Ward to Powell-Cotton, PCQ6, 7th May 1907, 8th June 1907; MS., Notes and Scrapbook, PCQ66, 1902-7.
- 163 Ibid., and 'Indian Big Game Hunting', The Times, 14th December 1907, p.16
- 164 Letter, from Director of Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh to Rowland Ward, July 1907, PCQ6/7, Quex Park.
- 165 MS., Letters, Powell-Cotton to Rowland Ward, PCQ4, 20th January 1908
- 166 Ward, Records, p.70
- 167 HC. Maydon, Simen -Its Heights and Abysses, London, 1925, pp.223-4
- 168 MS, Letters, Ward to Powell-Cotton, PCQ4, 27th January, 1908, 29th January, 1908, 21st February 1908, and MS, Letters, Ward to Powell-Cotton, PCQ4, 10/10, 9th October 1907. See also, Powell-Cotton, Unknown Africa, pp.386-8.
- 169 Ibid.
- 170 Ibid.
- 171 Ibid.
- 172 Ibid.
- 173 MS., Letters, Powell-Cotton to Rowland Ward, PCQ4, 30th January 1908
- 174 MS., Letters, Burlace to Powell-Cotton, PCQ66, 16th October 1933, 18th October 1933

- 175 Ibid.
- 176 MS., Letters, Rowland Ward to Powell-Cotton, PCQ4, 15th February 1908,
21st February 1908
- 177 MS., Letters, PCQ3, Rowland Ward to Powell-Cotton, 9th April 1907
- 178 Powell-Cotton, Unknown Africa, preface
- 179 MS., Notes and Scrapbook, PCQ66, 1902-7, The Manchester Evening Mail,
29th August, 1900, p.3; The African World, 10th October, 1903, p.1, The
Aberdeen Journal, 19th June 1905, p.3, The Nation, (New York), 7th March,
1907, p.2
- 180 Ibid.
- 181 Powell-Cotton, Unknown Africa, pp. 331-7
- 182 The Nation, (New York), 7th March 1907, p.2 in Scrapbook
- 183 G.S. Peckham, in British Library Scrapbook, 1840, quoted in R. Altick, The
Shows of London, London, 1978, preface

Chapter Seven:

Fraternalism, Tradition and Big Game Hunting with Particular Reference to the 'Shikar Club'



With particular reference to field sports, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was unquestionably an 'age of associations'.¹ From the mid 1880s to about the Great War, a number of societies were marshalled to protect, encourage or celebrate the killing of wildlife for sport including the National Sports Defence Association, the Salmon and Trout Association, the Wildfowlers of Great Britain and Ireland, the Society for the Preservation of the (Wild) Fauna of the Empire and the Shikar Club. Fraternal 'gatherings' of hunters met with approval from Baily's Magazine and The Field, both of which extolled the need for associations which protected 'national' sports and which promoted the 'wholesome' virtues associated with the rural upper classes.²

The Shikar Club in particular, symbolised and celebrated the virility and ostentation of British big game hunting, a recreation which was increasingly contrasted with the artificial and emasculated sport to be had in game-shooting, the battue or fox-hunting in Britain.³ Indeed, the Club emerged as an institutional focus for 'real' men's sport as domestic field sports were by this time suffering from varying degrees of plutocratic excess, urban decadence, industrial encroachment and, for some, the debilitating presence of women.

The idea of an international sporting club had been mooted during the 1850s by hunter, H.A. Levenson, to provide a forum for 'comrades to discuss exploits in the field'.⁴ Nothing came of this. The somewhat belated emergence of the Shikar Club in 1908 may have reflected the difficulty of individualistic men conforming to the constraints implicit in club mentality.

However, the coincident establishment of the Shikar Club and Wildfowlers Association of Great Britain and Ireland may also have been a reaction to mounting liberal threats to field sports in general. The Club's first Chairman, Henry Cecil Lowther, used his considerable energy and personal skills, gleaned from a combination of aristocrat tradition and business competence, to develop the protection of big game hunting through the establishment of the Club. His example was taken up by others and the organisation was made up of traditional landed and newer industrial elites. In short, Shikarians were both pragmatists and idealists, promoting chivalric values and attitudes of 'fair-play' towards wildlife.

The moral imperatives of 'fair play' were an intrinsic part of the upper class sporting philosophy. In 1907, embittered by a general lack of sportsmanship displayed by both foreign 'guns' and 'dilettante' British hunters, sportsman of the 'old school', Captain Chauncey H. Stigand, lamented that his passion for hunting was receding as it had become too easy to kill quarry species which 'wandered around in a semi-tame state.'⁵ His ululations were echoed by Major-General Nicholas Woodyatt who felt that elephant hunting by the early twentieth century had become emasculated through the over-use of high-powered rifles and the unethical herding of these 'cumbersome' beasts into easily accessible enclaves for shooting.⁶ Erstwhile hunter, John L. Sleeman, also bemoaned the rise of convenient travel which brought about a 'new type of big-game hunter - a luxurious 'shot' with easy access to countries to slaughter as much wildlife as possible; public opinion has been stirred against wanton and indiscriminate slaughter; many critics are unable to distinguish between true and false sportsmen'.⁷

Consequently, Stigand presciently called for an institutionalised series of rules for big-game shooting, enforced by a shooting test and a 'code' of sporting laws.⁸ It was an appeal echoed by other sportsmen. Thomas Dale, a regular contributor to Baily's Magazine, voiced the spirit of the times, claiming that 'all true sport was a game, the credit and pleasure of which ceases if we do not keep the rules and "play the game - a 'true' sportsman required imagination and sympathy for his quarry'.⁹

Chauncey Stigand, for his part, argued that older hunting men were well placed to promulgate a more ethical treatment of game species. His aspirations for a hunting organisation, therefore, were to draw heavily on 'older and experienced sportsmen'.¹⁰ It was a view shared by executive Club member, Frederick Courtney Selous who laconically described himself as an 'elder brother of the hunting craft who marvelled at the ever-growing brotherhood of young, vigorous and fair-minded big-game hunters'.¹¹ By the Club's second annual meeting, veteran 'shot', Sir Arthur Vivian, rejoiced to see so many young, eager sportsmen 'ready to testify to the joys of a hunter's life and to the blessing of health which resulted from the pursuit'.¹²

The transfer of appropriate masculinity from one generation to the next was of great importance to the fledgling association. In this way, older hunters revealed the certainty of their convictions and indicated their full subscription to a belief in the moral values associated with hunting. This order of "true sportsmanship" propagated the notion of shooting fairly within an aesthetic appreciation of the hunting environment. Shikarians emphasised the cultural importance of celebrating chivalric and virtuous *traditions* displayed by "true" hunter-naturalists who embraced 'the standard of sportsmanship which has been *handed down from the past*'.¹³

Accordingly, respect for quarry species was written into the Club's inaugural constitution. ¹⁴

The Club's sporting 'code', however, was constructed around the doctrine of masculinity and not anthropomorphic sentimentality. Accordingly, it emphatically rejected 'squandered bullets and swollen bags', and promoted a 'love of forest, mountain and desert... in acquired knowledge of the habits of animals, in the strenuous pursuit of an active and dangerous quarry; in the instinct for a well-devised approach to a fair shooting distance'. ¹⁵

In short, the Club was the product of a proud hunting tradition and became an institutional focus for socially powerful men who upheld the traditions of shooting in which merit was derived from effort and respect for game and habitat. Hunting which lacked effort on the part of the hunter or deviated from the Club's sporting 'code', such as trap pigeon shooting, was anathema to Shikarian purists. ¹⁶ One member, saddened by 'indiscriminate' and 'luxurious' shooting at the pheasant covert, with its 'hot luncheons and gun-loaders' complained that 'effeminate sport' was no way to acquire authentic hunting skills. ¹⁷

The difference between 'real and 'lesser' sport was explained by Shikarians, Maurice Egerton and Abel Chapman. After killing a large male ram in Sardinia, Egerton 'decided to have him set up whole', noting in his Hunting Diary, 'what a difference to pheasant shooting this 1st of October!', while Chapman also recorded that 'between 1893 and 1900, my game list included not a single pheasant! I was otherwise engaged!' ¹⁸

The Club's commitment to 'proper' sport reinforced stereotypical assumptions about 'vulgar game killers'. In the aftermath of the Boer Wars, a number of incensed members admonished Afrikaners for using wild animals for rifle-practice and for 'not understanding the elementary significance of our British term, 'sport'; no sense of respect for game, no admiration of its grace and beauty ever penetrated their minds debased by decades of slaughter'.¹⁹ In this view, Boer disrespect for game encouraged inhumane attitudes towards African natives.²⁰

The Club's ethnocentric superiority was based on the British hunters' long association with 'discipline' necessary for successful and fair big game shooting. It was essential, according to one Victorian 'shot', that young men understood the importance of moral masculinity -indeed, he had 'always encouraged the love of sport in a lad, and, guided by the spirit of 'fair play', it is a feeling that will make him above doing a mean thing in every station of life, and will give him real feelings of humanity. Sportsmen are generally straightforward, honourable men, who would scorn to take a dirty advantage of man or animal. All *real* sportsmen that I have met have been tender-hearted men - who shun cruelty to an animal and are easily moved by a tale of distress. With these feelings, sport is an amusement worthy of a *man*'.²¹

Indeed, the indiscriminate gunner was castigated by one 'true' shot as the 'curse of the nineteenth century: his one idea is to use his gun, his love is slaughter, indiscriminate and boundless, to swell the long account which is his boast and pride. Such a man may be expert as a gunner, but he is not a sportsman, and should be universally condemned'.²² Respected hunter-naturalist and sporting author, Frederick George Aflalo, went further arguing that 'real' sport was in danger of extinction from the 'curse of the gunner' which 'broods over the close of the century

in a manner which attracts the execration of a great part of the civilised world.’²³

The Shikar Club was one response to the perceived moral inadequacies of the indiscriminate ‘gun’ since the Club member only hunted within prescribed rules and regulations.

Ironically, the Club’s idealistic stance did not preclude its members from making use of the most technologically efficient weaponry in pursuit of game. Maurice Egerton owned an impressive array of the latest weaponry including a Lee-Enfield, a .242 Vickers, a 25-20 Winchester, a .303 British Winchester, a .256 Manlicher and a .35 Winchester.²⁴ His Club associate, Abel Chapman also owned a number of deadly rifles complete with the latest telescopic sights. On one occasion, he extolled the virtues of his deadly double-rifle, .450 hammer-action express rifle ‘in combat with a much coveted big beast...with head and neck exposed at 80 yards, his white ruff gave a splendid mark, and I dwelt on the aim. The express bullet struck to an inch of where I intended, the beast staggered and I saw he was mine. I spotted a second big buck-I planted the second barrel ball in his shoulder...when next I looked he was dead... a right and left for the first shots of my new express! He is the most splendid beast I ever killed’.²⁵ By clothing hunting in the context of exquisite technology, killing was distanced from its brutal reality leaving the Shikarian’s reputation as a member of the civilised, “social elite” intact.

For the Shikar Club purist, there was no contradiction between killing animals with high-powered rifles with sophisticated telescopic sights and respect for and appreciation of nature. Instead, the use of high-powered rifles was part and parcel of the Club hunter’s desire to ensure clean “kills”. Maurice Egerton, for example, using his trusted 25-20 Winchester, carefully selected an old, Sardinian ram which he

killed 'without fuss' at one hundred and thirty yards, 'shot through the spine and kidney...small head, twenty two inches, still very pretty and symmetrical'.²⁶ Other Shikarians avoided the moral censure of "civilised" society by reference to the unemotional "science" of hunting. Thus, General H.G. Swayne shot a leopard which 'had taken her in the centre of the belly and torn quite half of the intestines away' enabling him to detail the creature's anatomy.²⁷

There was no anomaly between 'blood-lust' and the sporting 'code' since hunting, according to Club stalwart, Sir Henry Seton-Karr, was a legitimate and instinctive tendency of 'real' men rebutting the emasculating tendencies of civilisation.²⁸ Trophy hunting, he argued, was simply a manifestation of man's predatory instincts and the pursuit of wild game, within the rules, was a 'perfectly natural healthy and widespread trait of humanity, even necessary in some cases, for health and happiness and probably intended as an antidote to the purple and fine linen and sumptuous fare of refined civilisations'.²⁹ Rather fancifully, Seton-Karr asserted that this form of masculinity transcended arbitrary class boundaries and that all 'real hunting men' from all classes of society were tied by this 'community of blood'.³⁰ Whatever the egalitarian claims of wealthy Club members, however, in reality, it was only those with sufficient economic resources who could indulge their 'male instincts' through the rituals of big game hunting.

The hunting of wild beasts through rules transmuted this economic superiority into 'natural' masculinity. No one better exemplified the qualities associated with 'superior' class masculinity than Club Chairman, Hugh Cecil Lowther. Even before attending Eton in 1872, Lowther had learnt self-discipline through arduous bouts in the boxing ring and hunting days with the Cottesmore Hounds, activities, which,

according to admiring peers, had instilled a commitment to 'character' training. ³¹

Later, Lowther had stressed that 'character-building' sports were an intrinsic part of his family's sporting heritage. ³² Between the 1830s and 1850s, Hugh Cecil's great uncle, Colonel J. Lowther, for example, was President of the Penrith Coursing Club, as well as a rider to hounds with the Cottesmore and Quorn and a passionate 'shot' ³³

Lowther promulgated many sports through a number of sporting institutions and societies before his involvement with the Shikar Club including the Fieldsports Protection and Encouragement Society, the Hound Trailing Association as well as the Cottesmore and Quorn Hunts. ³⁴ His wife, Lady Grace Cecilie Gordon Lonsdale, faithfully accompanied her husband through the social seasons of fox-hunting at Barley Thorpe in Leicestershire, shooting at Cumbria, racing at Newmarket and sailing at Cowes, although she only took part in appropriate 'feminine activities complementary to these rituals'. ³⁵

Hugh Lowther built his considerable reputation within upper class sporting circles on the notion that 'clean sport, pluck and chivalry' had 'built up the British Empire'. ³⁶ Unsurprisingly, the Shikar Club was also composed of men who were 'expansionist and anxious to develop to His Majesties dominions'. ³⁷ Indeed, nationalistic shibboleths emphasising national regeneration through hunting underpinned the Club's ideology. As confirmed by Selous, the geographical range of discovery and exploration undertaken by British hunter-explorers should not be inhibited out of deference to 'delicate feelings' held by anti-imperialists. ³⁸ The unification of 'hunting men, young and old, with the *Empire-maker*, whether soldier

or civilian and the humble globe-trotter who carries a gun' was one element of the Club's imperial rationale. ³⁹

However, in an age of contracting opportunities for the imperial hunter, the Club enabled members to recall the vicarious achievements of earlier hunter-explorers. The hunting successes of earlier hunters such as Livingston, Speke, Grant, Thompson, Burton, and Neumann, were extolled by Shikarian, John G. Millais, who claimed that it was earlier hunting icons who had built up the British Empire 'since their initial spearhead of courage and noble conduct was the apex of all future advancement. If these men were not our very best gentlemen, progress would have been lost to other nations'. ⁴⁰

Shikarians cherished their unique identities as 'pioneering men'. Despite the pace of cultural change in the early twentieth century, there were still some 'pioneering' opportunities for the enterprising hunter. As late as 1910, John Boyes argued that he was the second white man after Club colleague, Lord Delamere, to cross the desert which separated Abyssinia and British East Africa in search of big game while Abel Chapman could still bask in the prestige associated with the 'frontiersman' as he searched for red-deer, wild-boar, lynx and other game in the 'distant Sierras and other remote areas of Spain,' which took him into 'wholly unknown districts, wherein (so far as Englishmen were concerned), we were actually *pioneers*'. ⁴¹

By presenting the hunting environment as an 'untamed wilderness', the period hunter propagated the idea of hunting as an explicitly male experience. ⁴² The "frontiersman" image was utilised by Abel Chapman to bolster his reputation as a "man's man". In his book, Wild Norway, Chapman argued that the special

challenges presented by hunting in Norway could only be undertaken the 'hardy hunter, stalker or mountaineer' as this was a 'primordial world, large, grand, new and pristine wilderness'.⁴³ In this exclusively "mans'world", 'game was always difficult to obtain. Success demands infinite sacrifices. None but the hardier sort should forest-hunt, men who count no cost and are careless of hardships, hard-work, rough living and disappointments without end'.⁴⁴ It was a Shikarian paradise far from demeaning urban environments!

Chapman's rhetoric was far from fanciful. It was based firmly on his appetite for travel and sport. He made twenty three hunting trips to Spain and Portugal, forty-six trips to Scandinavia, including Spitzbergen, and forays into France, Morocco, Scotland, the Shetlands and Outer Hebrides as well as occasional visits to the North American Continent.⁴⁵ Chapman perceived his trophies as evidence of a capable masculinity, a tangible representation of a 'long-series of the most strenuous endeavour, of tremendous hard work, plus the risk of adventuring into unknown regions, where we had no certainty of success or failure'.⁴⁶

The pioneering philosophy engendered by Club members fitted easily into the notion that big-game hunting was a 'natural outlet for masculine energy' which had long reinforced Britain's reputation as a virile and martial nation.⁴⁷ 'The inherent love of sport and manly pursuits so conspicuous among the inhabitants of these Islands', according to one Victorian big-game hunter, was the foundation of a unique and irrepressible British liberty'.⁴⁸ Hunters, according to Henry Seton-Karr, perpetuated this ethnocentric virtue since Englishmen possessed the desire to hunt 'more strongly than any other nation... 'this passion is an inherited instinct of a virile

and dominant race which civilisation cannot eradicate and it forms a healthy, natural antidote to the enervating refinements of modern life'.⁴⁹

Naturally, critics who dismissed the idea of big-game hunting and its underlying ethos of 'murderous masculinity' as a prerequisite for a dominant racial identity were denounced by Club purists as urban-based, Humanitarians, leading 'effeminate and aesthetic lives' and who had acquired a 'righteous horror' of anything involving the death of an animal.⁵⁰ These 'morbid enthusiasts', so the argument went, were more vociferous during periods of 'national languor' as they sought the emasculation of British hunters and their ideology.⁵¹

Club members defended hunting against these 'effeminate' detractors by reference to the moral virtues of large game shooting overseas and deer stalking in Britain. Accordingly, stalking Scottish deer was held up as a particularly good example of 'masculine virtue' over the 'effeminate' disregard for nationhood.⁵² Henry Seton-Karr argued that those 'unpatriotically' seeking to limit deer preservation in Scotland lacked 'virility and robustness', while Sir Ian Colquhoun, a noted authority on Scottish deer-stalking, saw the sport as the ultimate test of masculinity.⁵³ Regrettably, in his view, too many of the young failed the test and that contemporary youth had lost the tradition of hardihood and were now 'fundamentally soft and entirely unashamed of it. If they are tired, they say so with disarming frankness; if they are wet and cold and unwilling to suffer discomfort, they do not hesitate to let the stalker know'.⁵⁴

Executive Club member, Sir Claude De Crespigny also perceived a moral decline in England's young, upper class men.⁵⁵ This lamentable situation, he

suggested, reflected a general lack of hardihood under the influence of bourgeois sports and luxurious living: previous generations of 'harder sportsmen', he asserted, were immune to such emasculation.⁵⁶ Disapproving of 'softer' sports - especially the passing of bare knuckle-fighting- De Crespigny balked at the modernisation, crass commercialisation and professionalism of the rising middle-classes which had threatened the chivalric virtues associated with the 'amateur ideal'.⁵⁷ Mourning the passing of a more disciplined age, De Crespigny abhorred the unpatriotic, and degenerate tendencies of the young, particularly those - 'gilded youth... one cannot live the luxurious, gilded life and *remain a man*'.⁵⁸

He had his supporters, particularly amongst the military. Describing the various faults and virtues of English youth, Colonel Charles Hartopp suggested that the panacea for the 'milksofs of Young England' was instruction in the 'moral code of field sports' which would encourage forbearance, self-discipline and hardihood.⁵⁹ It was doctrine which found favour with Claude De Crespigny who contended that every able-bodied British man had an unequivocal obligation to defend his country; in fact, 'proper' manhood, according to De Crespigny, was an exalted state which was enhanced through experience in the 'heat of battle'.⁶⁰

In short, upper-class sporting pleasures and military duty went hand in hand. De Crespigny practised what he preached. He survived numerous imperial conflicts having served in both the Royal Navy (1860-5) and the Army, (1866-70) and, despite his advancing years, was anxious to play an active part in the Boer Wars at the end of the nineteenth century. With the rank of Brigadier-General, Claude De Crespigny and his son, Major Vivian De Crespigny, fought together in the Boer Wars of 1899-1901, risking their lives for the British cause in South Africa.⁶¹ There, both men deplored

the 'immoral' Boer practices such as the use of expanding bullets against British soldiers, their shelling of ambulances under the white flag and the heinous use of game as 'target practice.'⁶²

Father and son well-understood that hunting was an essential prerequisite for the soldier. Men who excelled with gun and hound, according to Claude De Crespigny, would 'do best and show the greatest amount of resource when on active service'.⁶³ Even in later life, he remained 'one of the hardest and pluckiest men in England...ready to box, ride, walk, run, shoot, fence, sail or swim with any one of over fifty years on equal terms'.⁶⁴ He lived according to spartan values, and enjoyed in particular shooting, riding, boxing, swimming, ballooning, sailing, pedestrianism and 'a cold tub before breakfast'.⁶⁵

Unsurprisingly, this prominent Shikarian was eulogised as a 'remarkable man -winning the Indian Grand National, came close to winning the English Grand National, fell twice in a field of five at Cochester and then won; how he boxed for an hour and twenty minutes with a broken finger; how he swam the Nile rapids; how he crossed the Channel in a small open rowing boat'.⁶⁶ He clearly approached challenging situations with the same characteristic vigour he brought to his sports, and was once observed by fellow Club member and imperialist Sir Alfred Pease, assist in the hanging of three criminals as De Crespigny 'would not ask a man to do what he himself was afraid of doing himself'.⁶⁷ Emasculated men, he continued, had no place in the British social hierarchy, in particular, "feather-bed aristocrats" who he likened to the impotent French and Spanish aristocracy, countries without a strong hunting tradition.⁶⁸

De Crespigny was in good company within the Club which, not surprisingly, had a large concentration of army officers. Many had seen active service including Captain Frederick Courtney Selous, Captain Charles Edward Radclyffe and Captain P.B. Vanderbyl. Commanding the 4th Battalion Rifle Brigade, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Edward Radclyffe was severely wounded in the Burmese War of 1885-87 and gained the Burmese medal and two clasps before returning to the conflict in 1887-89. With typical disregard for safety, Radclyffe fought on the front line during the Boer War, 1899-1902, where he was wounded, mentioned twice in dispatches, receiving the Queen's medal six clasps, the King's medal, two clasps and the Distinguished Service Order. His Club colleagues, P. Van der Byl and Frederick Selous both served in the Boer War and World War One, the latter receiving a D.S.O in 1916.⁶⁹

In keeping with period military convention, all married only in later life, concentrating as young officers on soldiering and big-game shooting.⁷⁰ It was an ethos encouraged by the Club Chairman kept his extensive sporting manors readily available to serving officers, especially those home from the front on leave.⁷¹

The informal socialising within the Club fitted easily into the general notion of networking prevalent in military circles. This expedient, according to officers, William Butler, George Stewart White, and Henry Evelyn Wood, was useful for 'professional' advancement and preparation for leadership.⁷² This form of networking, for example, was taken up by Claude De Crespigny as a means of consolidating friendships with other high-ranking military officials at his home at Heybridge in Essex.⁷³

It would be erroneous, however, to assume that the Club was a mere repository for unreflective, patriotic militarism. Frederick C. Selous contravened popular opinion within the Club by refuting the idea that the Boer soldier was lacking in moral courage or military prowess. ⁷⁴ Writing to Club colleague, Captain John Guille Millais in January 1900, Selous lamented that the current Boer War was 'a deplorable business - but we must bring it to a successful conclusion now at whatever cost - it is a bad business and justice is not on our side. There was a lot of work done by the capitalists to bring it about'. ⁷⁵

Whatever the underlying causes of the Boer War, it had provided future Club members with opportunities for hunting and military action. Charles Allsop of Hindlip Hall, Worcester, was a case in point. After an education at Eton and Trinity College Cambridge, Allsop joined the 3rd. Battalion Worcester Regiment to continue hunting and shooting. ⁷⁶ After front-line experience in the Boer Wars of 1899-1901, Hindlip devoted himself to big-game shooting in Abyssinia (1902), Sardinia after Moufflon, (1903), British East Africa (1904-6), 1907, Cassiar, British Columbia in search of Caribou, Moose and Black Big Horn, and Spain, (1911) before settling into farming in British East Africa. ⁷⁷

The high concentration of military men at the Club maintained a high-calibre of marksmanship expected of the officer-class. Attention to detail exemplified the seriousness of the hunters' enterprise. An essential part of this serious approach entailed appropriate 'rules' of engagement. Accordingly, Club 'rules' regarding trophies were to be decided by taxidermist, Rowland Ward, no less. Earlier, Ward had advised the hunting community to be wary of 'untrustworthy records' kept by 'unrecognised' hunters who may not have applied appropriate rules to their sport. ⁷⁸

The concept of 'rules', therefore was an important one, reflecting ethnocentric and moral values. Every nation, according to The Times, tended 'to have its own strict rules' - subject to national subscription. Hunting within the 'rules', The Times concluded, was part of the 'tradition of chivalry which had bolstered Britain's 'ancient sporting reputation'.⁷⁹

Unsurprisingly, army officers held many of the 'record' trophies from all corners of the British empire and beyond. Major A.E.Ward and Major W.Deeble shot the best Barking or Rib-Faced Deer, Major General Arthur Ellis, Major A.E.Ward and Captain C.Hutton-Dowson proudly owned the ten record Himalayan Sambur, while the best Wapita (North America) and Moose (Canada) were held by Major-General Sir William Crossman and General R.L.Dashwood respectively.⁸⁰ Similarly, Major-General G.E.M.Norrie owned the best Indonesian Hog Deer, Major C.S.Cumberland was attributed with the finest Himalayan Swamp deer, Major P.H.G.Powell-Cotton held a record Rhino (Somaliland) and Kashmir Stag along with Major A.E.Ward, while Captain R.Vivian owned the largest Prong-horned Antelope (Western U.S.A.) and Tora Antelope. (Sudan)⁸¹

The non-military Club member had to be wealthy enough to hunt big game on three separate continents and his preoccupation with 'records' was one conspicuous way of spending disposable income. Abel Chapman even entitled his valedictory book Retrospect, Reminiscences and Impressions of a Hunter-Naturalist in Three Continents 1851-1928, to describe the Shikarian's hunting locations. Given the spatial dimensions of the 'hunt', it was essential that members kept details of 'kills' and records of results. Maurice Egerton shot numerous head of big game whose details were duly recorded in Hunting Diaries.⁸²

Antlered game was highly-prized. The Canadian Moose was generally measured from 'length to the longest line', 'circumference above the burr', 'greatest width', 'points' together with locality obtained and the 'owner'. In 1902, Egerton competed for the Moose record against Club colleagues, William W.Hart, Frank B.Tollhurst, the Duke of Westminster, Viscount Powerscourt and General R.L.Dashwood.⁸³ Later, Egerton revisited Canada and Alaska with Shikarians, Arthur E.Butter, Lord Elphinstone, Lord Hindlip, Frederick C.Selous, Sir Edmund Loder, P.Van der Byl and J.G.Millais.⁸⁴ In this way, the Club ambience was recreated in foreign locations.

The potential for trophies or memorable sport justified the expense and distance of hunting trips, factors which deterred those with insufficient means or the mere dilettante. The quality and range of game rather than the "kill" brought merit. Thus, Egerton landed a memorable 49lb salmon from the Canadian Campbell River in 1902, measuring an impressive 3ft 8inches in length, with a girth of 2ft 4inches, which he decided to have mounted while Abel Chapman travelled extensively in search of 'records', recording his 'indescribable joy at the killing of a 'unique' Royal Mezquitillas Spanish Deer with its striking eight point cast antlers taken from the difficult terrain of the Sierra Morena'.⁸⁵ Chapman fully embraced the roaming instinct of the true Shikarian and travelled extensively for Norwegian Elk, Danish wildfowl, Spanish Foxes, Newfoundland Caribou, and Scottish and American Deer.⁸⁶

With his massive inherited fortune, Egerton, for his part, was able to scour the Continents for rare or 'record' heads. In 1900, he travelled to Southern Europe and Sardinia for large, male Hill-Sheep with the help of local guides before moving on to the Canadian Klondyke in pursuit of moose, mule deer, muflon, elk and

salmon.⁸⁷ In time, Egerton moved on to Africa in pursuit of game 'worth talking about'. In a letter to the curator at South Kensington in 1931, for example, Egerton boasted that he was the first to shoot a Harvey's Duiker on Mount Elgon in Kenya.⁸⁸

Like Egerton, Arthur E. Butter was the owner of an extensive collection of big-game trophies obtained from the Alaskan Rockies, East and central Africa which adorned his home at Faskally, Perthshire. In true Shikar style, he shot a rare and much-sought after albino Reindeer from British Columbia in which he presented to the British Museum in 1898.⁸⁹ Butter's safari to the Sudan in 1900 was even more successful as he acquired an unclassified type of Gazelle which brought glory to himself and the Club by being named *Soemmerringii butteri* by the British Museum.⁹⁰

Chapman's self-confidence sometimes went beyond the modesty expected of the Club member.⁹¹ Of his *first* Scottish stag, he wrote, 'curiously, this was the first, and at the time, the ONLY stag I had shot in a Scottish forest, yet it comes within the first dozen among the thousands of stags that have been shot in Scotland' while he regarded many of his African trophies as the 'finest examples of all the grandest game-beasts which stand first on earth'.⁹² In old age, Chapman was still able to 'compete' against African wildlife, and added a pair of saddle-backed Lechoir, a Roan Antelope, and a Tiang all of which, he added, were 'near the top of the table for all Africa!'⁹³

Naturally, killing a new game species merited distinction although disputed "kills" could break the fraternal bond between hunters. By way of example, Abel Chapman and Francis Issacs became embroiled in an unseemly wrangle over ownership of the first Bongo, a rare African antelope, to be shot in Central Africa by a white hunter.⁹⁴ Such was the prestige associated with killing this mythical-like

beast that both men claimed responsibility for shooting the 'first', a dispute which was debated further in The Times newspaper.⁹⁵ Acrimony between hunters, however, was not common among the brotherhood of hunters. Indeed, 'St Hubert's fellowship' was peddled as the 'brotherhood' of hunters whose 'relations with one another and with the people of the lands they visit in quest of game are important for their effect on international good feeling'.⁹⁶

The 'quest' for game had more self-indulgent motivations. Hunting, therefore, distanced the Shikarian from the mundane, unexciting, urban world of the bourgeoisie. In reality, of course, the Club was an explicitly masculine organisation in which membership signified an advanced degree of manhood based on economic and social status which permitted hunting on a global basis. The collective consciousness of those men who made up the Shikar Club viewed hunting as way of transcending the mediocrity of artificial, bourgeois values. These 'cultural' elites were not bounded by hegemonic work codes or subservient to the laws of the market, and consequently sought the dignity of manhood and personal worth through leisure and the natural world. As explained by Abel Chapman, 'one reads of pound sterling being paid for antiques or curios...and those articles may be worth it too. But we nature lovers enjoy our exquisite design, all pure and fresh, without cost.'⁹⁷

Member, Sir Alfred Edward Pease, ironically disowned the prosaic world of the bourgeoisie despite dependence on industrial capitalism which supported his hunting.⁹⁸ His Quaker family, for example, was closely associated with iron-mining near Middlesborough in the nineteenth century.⁹⁹ During his Quaker childhood, despite the prohibition on dancing, novels and music, field sports were not

condemned, enabling Pease to fish, shoot and hunt throughout his youth.¹⁰⁰ In time, Pease transferred his sporting proclivities to Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he excelled at football, athletics, cricket *and* hunting.¹⁰¹ In later life, Pease maintained the 'pioneering' spirit expected of Club members, illustrated by a hunting trip to the wild and largely unexplored regions in Abyssinia in his seventieth year.¹⁰²

Earlier, Pease had provocatively questioned the materialist culture, based on British goods and services, which underpinned the economic essence of British expansionism. By criticising the workings of capitalism which had 'built up the Empire' without regard to the social costs, Pease ruffled more than a few imperialist feathers.¹⁰³ Moreover, his utopian approaches to the British lower-orders – he advocated their participation in allotment schemes in Africa and the diversion of their 'drinking monies' into travel and big-shooting - gave new and often unwelcome meaning to notions of self-help.¹⁰⁴

Pease was therefore castigated for finding fault with the capitalist system which provided his privileged lifestyle. Indeed, The Spectator found 'no fault with Mr Pease provided he keeps himself to his role of sportsman and traveller. When he leaves this, as he is fond of doing, to instruct us in the grave matters of conduct and belief, he is less to be admired'.¹⁰⁵

His enlightened admiration for native cultures, furthermore, impugned an unsympathetic and prejudiced conservative opinion convinced of the primitiveness of the 'savage', a conviction which found ample reinforcement through hunting experiences.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the idea of the safari appealed to upper-class Victorian and

Edwardian prejudices by imposing 'superior' metropolitan racial and sporting values onto 'inferior' 'lower races'.¹⁰⁷

Other 'industrialists' within the Club reinforced the domination of the "white hunter". Abel Chapman, a second generation brewer of Silksworth Hall, Sunderland unflatteringly asserted that the 'mob of savages' required to service a safari needed strong, British discipline to ensure a successful hunt.¹⁰⁸ His further observation that natives were 'unalterably lazy' sanctioned the notion of hunting as a benign feature of European colonisation - a protection for those unable to protect themselves -and, of course, to like-minded Europeans, it was more- a clear manifestation of the gap between "virile" superior and 'other' inferior cultures.¹⁰⁹

A belief in the idle, undisciplined native was part and parcel of upper middle-class, Victorian and Edwardian conservative thought. Ethnocentric certainty was then woven into the fabric of colonial hunting ideology and used to attack utilitarian hunting by natives because it lacked the training and testing essential for metropolitan notions of 'proper' masculinity.¹¹⁰ Native 'shots' inexcusably preferred to shoot game-birds sitting, because they were easier to kill... 'skill and the exercise of it present no advantages. When he goes to shoot, he tries to kill as many birds as possible'.¹¹¹ In short, utilitarian hunting by African natives perpetuated stereotypical images of indiscriminate savagery in contrast to the 'civilised' and regulated sport of the European gentleman 'shot'.¹¹²

A belief in the undisciplined and idle native meant that he was dependent on the imperial hunter since indigenous peoples, so the argument went, were unable to master the environment and its dangerous animals.¹¹³ Even the obvious physical

prowess of indigenous hunters were sometimes overlooked because they lay outside the context of 'civilised' masculinity. ¹¹⁴ Captain Chauncey Stigand, for example, contemptuously dismissed natives' athletic prowess and their ability to withstand jungle heat because these activities had no direct moral purpose. ¹¹⁵

Flawed African manhood was contrasted with the European version which had mastered the physical environment and its inherent dangers - an achievement based on scientific rationality, moral superiority and innate intelligence. Natives' apparent fear of wild beasts had long been seized upon by European shots eager to promote their role as guardians of the vulnerable. Early Victorian hunter Captain Richard Arkwright was 'amused when a rogue elephant ran amok amongst the kaffirs, and I watched them running up trees to hide. I eventually shot the beast, much to the delight of the kaffirs, and left them to the fat, abounding in their glory'. ¹¹⁶

This paternalism was to have a long life. It was not until the early twentieth century that the African received recognition for his skill with the gun and a belief in his maturity took longer to materialise. ¹¹⁷ Arguably, it was the essential mental baggage for most big game hunters.

Like Chapman and Pease, fellow Shikarian Robert Lyons Scott, also used his industrial income as Chairman of Scott's Shipbuilding on Clydesdale to pursue his passions of big-game hunting and arms collections. 'For all his financial' clout, however, "'R.L." was of modest bearing', a sign of a 'true' hunter! ¹¹⁸ On joining the Club in 1908, Scott's disposable income was such that he could hunt in as diverse countries as Canada and British East Africa from 1908-9 and 1911-12, Norway 1913, Sudan 1920-4, India, 1927-8, Czechoslovakia, 1929-30, Trinidad, 1930, Mexico, 1935 and Nigeria, 1938. ¹¹⁹

Robert Scott was a celebrated collector of arms and armour and was a member of the prestigious “Rivets” club and Meyrick Society, associations for armour connoisseurs and specialist books. An expert and accomplished fencing exponent - Scott captained the Scottish fencing team against the U.S.A. in 1930 - and, in true Shikarian style, had a ‘considerable practical knowledge’ of hunting, arms and military matters.¹²⁰

In addition, despite the restrictions of World War One, Scott was able to shoot and fish for big game in every Continent of the World between 1914 and 1916. Indeed, such was his dedication to hunting, that Scott single-handedly furnished Greenock’s natural history museum with trophies between the 1890s and his death in 1939.¹²¹ In short, the lifestyles of Chapman, Pease, and Scott suggest that a healthy aversion to urban culture was *de rigeur* for the Shikarian!

Interestingly, Robert Lyons Scott and Abel Chapman, remained unmarried. They appeared “married” to their sport. Moreover, they were all heavily influenced by their respective fathers who all shot game in all corners of the globe. Robert's father, John, was a devoted shot and a Honorary Colonel of the Dunbarton Royal Garrison. Robert maintained the military connection through a schooling at Wellington College but decided against an army career, preferring to develop the family’s shipbuilding business.¹²²

Other Shikarians were also obliged to their fathers for encouraging a passion for shooting. C.V.A. Peel dedicated his sporting book, Somaliland, 1900 to his father, Charles Peel, who he proudly described as ‘a crackshot in the true sportsmanlike method of walking up birds with the aid of dogs, a clever rifle-shot,

and a superb fly-fisherman' while Club Secretary, Frank Wallace, passed on his love of hunting to son Hamish who in time also assumed the post of Club Secretary. ¹²³

This emphatically male-only Club was made up of an eclectic assortment of Members of Parliament, explorers, naturalists, authors and royalty, all bound by the fraternal bond of the 'campfire' which 'cemented friendships and revived memories of golden-days'. ¹²⁴ The nostalgic masculinity associated with "camp fire" life was an integral part of Club camaraderie and had long been linked to hunting. One Victorian sportsman summed up the importance of 'camp-fire' relationships, remarking that "camp-fire" associations 'introduced a high moral element into sport; he who is ever seeking advantage over his associates is soon shunted out of the social ring and bidden to go away and fish by himself in the pool where he thinks he has discovered enough to give him a big string. But the true sportsman enjoys the success of his companion as much as his own and praises his friend's achievements a great deal more than he does his own. Selfishness is the very bane of camp life whilst sympathy lends an additional charm. The secret of real happiness in the hunting field is a mutual working for common enjoyment. Sportsmen must cultivate cordial feelings, geniality and a high sense of honour. This training will develop an open, generous and manly character which will stick to the sportsman through life'. ¹²⁵ It was a doctrine adhered to by Samuel White Baker who praised his hunting peers as a 'united freemasonry of true friends' who found a common bond around the hunting "camp-fire". ¹²⁶

The Club perpetuated the idea of fraternal 'brotherhood' by providing a forum in which hunters could discuss their exploits in the field and evocatively 'relive' their finest moments with the gun. ¹²⁷ 'Looking back' to 'better days' was part of a highly-valued nostalgic masculinity exemplified by Frank Wallace who

wistfully recalled the 'passing of the old order' which 'gave way to the new...the years that have gone have carried with them much of the romance and of the glory which clothed the early hunters of big-game'.¹²⁸ His published narrative, 'To a Stag's Head' contrasted the halcyon and ordered days of his youth spent in the countryside with urban London in the early twentieth century:

'Your Horns are black with London grime,
And Grey with dust your russet hair;
The passer-by, from time to time
Is caught by your unmeaning stare.
You're "Just a head" -and nothing more!
No lettered tags records the date
When some old sportsman, long ago,
Upon the hill decreed your fate.
Well! Blackened in this gloomy den
Your glories fade - but not for me!
The monarch of a distant glen
I see you as you used to be:
When all the world was young and fair,
And youth and I went hand in hand,
When life - or so it seems to me -
Was easier to understand.
Contentment, leisure, ease have gone,
Loved ones, with whom we used to share
Our simpler pleasures - laughter -sport,
When life ran on without a care.
We cannot tell the purpose planned,
Nor yet the end which it fulfils,
But, like the Psalmist, long ago
We lift our eyes into the hills.'¹²⁹

Henry Seton-Karr's articles for sporting magazines were aimed at the 'fraternity' of hunting men, and were, he suggested, 'well-received by brother sportsmen... writing them was pleasant work, since we all like to fight our battles over again', a view shared by Claude de Crespigny who wrote many 'nostalgic' hunting articles for Baily's Magazine.¹³⁰

Unsurprisingly, Club members made a significant contribution to hunting genre including C.W.L. Bulpett's A Picnic in Africa, 1908; H. Anderson Bryden, Great and Small Game of Africa, 1899; Animals of Africa, 1900; Nature and Sport in Africa, 1897; C. V. A. Peel, Somaliland, 1901; J.G. Millais, Newfoundland and its Untrodden Ways, 1907; Major C.S. Cumberland, Sport on the Pamir Steppes in Chinese Turkestan and the Himalayas, 1895 and D.D. Lyell, Hunting Trips in Northern Rhodesia, 1910.

Contributions to The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Sport in 1911 by members emphasised the level of hunting expertise within the Club.¹³¹ It would be incorrect, however, to suggest that the Club was a mere 'dining club' for hunters to re-tell stories and formulate future hunting books. Club meetings, according to Frank Wallace, also enabled members to share their collective experiences through a wider range of intellectual and cultural subjects of interest to the country gentleman.¹³²

In a very real sense, Club membership extended the camaraderie of school life into adulthood. Exploits in the field could be relived and retold, a means of reinforcing chosen gender roles, clear gender identities and the security of superior separateness, since female experience in big-game hunting had not received sanction through any recognised association.¹³³ The Club enabled the Shikarian to recreate his most emotional experiences, share them with others of like inclination, affirm an unambiguous masculinity, define a superior distinctive membership and maintain a secure distance from inferior femininity. Thus, one Shikarian re-called 'the solemn joy on first stepping on to the heather..wondering if the "women" -ungallant youth and yet how wise! - would be allowed to participate in the day's sport.'¹³⁴

One manifestation of Club camaraderie was the creation of enduring male-friendships which fitted well into contemporary notions of male-bonding. ¹³⁵ Abel Chapman had a 'close, constant and faithful' friendship with Walter Buck and his son, Bertie, of Jerez, Spain, which lasted 'without break or wrong-thought' between March 1872 and April 1917. ¹³⁶ With similar devotion, Alfred E. Pease and Edmund G.Loder took their friendship forged at Eton into the Club and 'it amused' both men to meet up with each other in some imperial outpost while Frank Wallace remembered his close friend, John G.Millais, as a man who 'never grew old...carrying a hungry curiosity of the mind and spirit of eternal youth. Life to him was a great adventure -he was a great inspiration to the young'. ¹³⁷ Male-bonding through hunting, in Henry Seton-Karr's opinion, produced friendships unequalled in any other social interaction. ¹³⁸

Respectful affection between Club members was a consequence of a shared set of values and attributes of physically competent men who combined an understanding of wildlife and the hunting environment with technical skill, marksmanship, emotional self-control and personal courage. They were self-isolated and self-designated icons. Within this pantheon of period hunters, Sir Edmund Loder and his six brothers represented the ideal of Victorian manhood, distinguishable by their ardour, vitality and attainment in shooting and outdoor pursuits. ¹³⁹ Edmund's father, Sir Robert Loder, passed on his passion for the gun to his sons. An expert rider-to hounds and exponent of the sporting gun, Robert was seen as a 'good example' of the Victorian country gentleman, emotionally undemonstrative, a good husband, father, administrator, 'exactng good conduct and regular habits from those

over whom he was placed'.¹⁴⁰ Edmund's travels in search of prize trophies was characteristically Shikarian and global in dimension, acquiring 'records' for the Philippine, Mariane, Moluccan, Japanese, Siberian Roe, Pere David's Deer, and North American and South American Red Deer.¹⁴¹

With its frontier heritage and exciting game, the American continent was popular not only with Loder but other Club members too. Henry Seton-Karr and Abel Chapman waxed lyrical about the 'glamour of the far west' which was 'always in our minds...the roving instinct of the Anglo Saxon race to search for sport, exploration or gold...to enjoy pleasure and freedom that accompany the promptings of all healthy, natural instincts.'¹⁴² Club interest in North America found full expression in The Big Game of Asia and North America, (1915) written by members P.B. Vander Byl, Lt-Colonel R.L. Kennion, Frank Wallace and F.G. Barclay.

Frederick Selous also had a passion for hunting the 'untamed' North American wilderness. There, he eschewed the inferior 'sport' of 'ambushing Caribou' on their migrations, a demeaning, utilitarian practice which was 'suited only to natives'.¹⁴³ Instead, he invoked the pioneering qualities of the Shikarian by sailing a specially made canoe to explore inner Newfoundland, a wilderness where 'no British or native white sportsman had ever shot before'.¹⁴⁴ After hunting successfully in this new region, he moved on to hunt the Macmillan River in the Canadian Yukon, a location which 'was absolutely unknown to white men up to 1902'.¹⁴⁵ As a result of his pioneering adventures in North America, the more 'ardent and energetic' of his Club colleagues, including John G. Millais and Major Hesketh Prichard, subsequently hunted the Yukon.¹⁴⁶

The British hunter's fascination with America's hunting grounds had a long heritage. British sportsmen were converging on North America from about the 1850s when a mass of sporting literature, aimed at inducing appropriately manly hunters to the Americas, made the prospect more exciting.¹⁴⁷ In 1861, Grantley Berkeley, in his English Sportsman in the Western Praries, advised that only adventurous and hardy sportsmen should visit their 'brother sportsmen in America', while Parker Gilmore's Experiences of a Sportsman in North America, 1869 was written explicitly to 'encourage British sportsmen to America, provided they were of the right stamp, and didn't mind roughing it in search of sport'.¹⁴⁸ One such suitable type was Maurice Egerton's grandfather, Major Egerton, who shot a large Moose head when quartered at Nova Scotia in the 1850s which was later mounted at Egerton's family home at Tatton in Cheshire.¹⁴⁹ For his part, Grantley Berkeley travelled from Liverpool to the States in 1859 returning in the following year to reveal to the 'rich and rising, adventurous and hardy sportsmen' the limitless hunting opportunities available to suitable English sportsmen.¹⁵⁰

In short, hunting big game in the New World was considered particularly 'unsuitable for the featherbed sportsman or the shirker of hard work...provided you have the constitution, make a try, and on your return, you will recall with pleasure the hardships and misadventures you have gone through, for without an odd contretemps, we should become a very unimaginative, unambitious, namby-pamby lot, unfit for wear and tear, bustle and excitement, that all must endure before their course is run'.¹⁵¹ The essential masculinity required for American sport was outlined in "Captain Flack's" Hunters Experiences in the Southern States of America 1866,

which stated that hunting there required a special type of physical and mental endurance which 'enabled the hunter to face bodily dangers and difficulties so discouraging to men of weaker mould'.¹⁵²

The interest in American hunting opportunities shown by British sportsmen during the mid nineteenth century strengthened the myths associated with the virile stereotype of the frontiersman. That Britain had ample sportsmen ready to take up the challenge of sport in the States was cited as evidence of the moral and physical superiority of the 'established over the newer civilisations'.¹⁵³ This physical superiority, according to some modern historians, was accompanied by the development of new and more compassionate attitude towards wildlife in Britain led by the urban middle-class of the mid nineteenth century.¹⁵⁴ Consequently, it has been suggested that the more savage aspects of fox-hunting were ameliorated by a change in emphasis from killing to the chase performance of the dogs.¹⁵⁵ In fact, changes in the function of foxhunting were accompanied by a gradual dissatisfaction with sporting opportunities in England as industrial and urban encroachment and 'plutocratic' game shooting threatened to 'desex' the more traditional aspects of shooting and hunting with dogs.¹⁵⁶ Celebrated rider-to-hounds, John Fairfax-Blakeborough, for example, appealed for a return for early morning starts when fox-hunting as a bulwark for the decadent excesses of a 'a luxurious age which was more concerned about their beds than the sound of the hounds. Fewer are interested in hound work and the science of the sport. The true hunter knows well the rules and etiquette of venery and would never break them' while Claude De

Crespigny was appalled at the democratisation of the shooting and hunting field which now included 'all sorts of tinkers and tailors sent down by rail' ¹⁵⁷

Strong protest at this state of affairs was aired. 'True' sportsmen condemned the unfair use of tame or "bagged" rather than wild foxes, a practice associated in some aristocratic quarters with the *nouveaux riche* and their new agricultural practices. ¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, driven-game shooting, was stigmatised by some as 'un-British, humiliating, effeminate and selfish'. ¹⁵⁹ The sixty per cent increase in the number of gamekeepers between 1860 and 1900 was cited as evidence of the artificial nature of shooting as well as the influence of the plutocrat in the countryside. ¹⁶⁰ Advocates of more demanding sport noted that shooting in England had become 'manufactured' and, although the 'battue' tested marksmanship, it failed to provide real satisfaction in comparison to the hunting of truly wild beasts and birds. ¹⁶¹ The sorry state of untesting sport was succinctly put by one champion of the country gentleman. In his opinion, English covert-shooting had become 'over-civilised and effeminate..it required a copious breakfast at nine o'clock, motored transport to the coverts at ten o'clock, tedious waiting between drives, resting on shooting sticks, watched by the ladies...I hope before long that some true sportsman will devise a little variety and infuse this decadent sport with virility'. ¹⁶²

According to one observer, the emasculation of field sports was part of a general social malaise which included a deterioration in the 'rural manners' of 'the lower orders' towards the authority represented by the country gentleman. ¹⁶³ The erosion of deferential attitudes towards the rural aristocracy was welcomed in some academic quarters. ¹⁶⁴

Fortunately, according to according to Baily's Magazine, there were still many proponents of England's 'old aristocracy', including the 'best' men from the ranks of commerce and industry, who upheld the manly virtues associated with physically challenging field sports.¹⁶⁵ In agreement, The Field reiterated that the 'preservation of self-respect,' based on the social and recreational mores of the country gentleman, represented a bulwark to 'plutocratic' degeneracy with its immoral slaughter of birds in the coverts.¹⁶⁶

The Shikarian was the gatekeeper of these moral values. Effeminacy, therefore, was his incubus. In short, the Shikar Club was an institutional manifestation of the values associated with the 'real' sportsman, unafraid of 'working' for his sport. The Club transcended the mediocracy of "bourgeois" field sports, strongly associated with emasculated battue shooting, by upholding the traditions of 'true' masculine shooting in which merit was derived from strenuous effort and careful respect for game and habitat. Condemning the casual decadence of the 'bourgeois' hunter, Dennis Lyell insisted that the true hunter could only 'buy *his* experience with hard knocks and many failures'.¹⁶⁷

For the Club purist, hunting dangerous or rare game in its 'primeval and ancestral grounds, as yet unannexed and unappropriated in any way by man', was invested with an especial masculinity which distanced the experience from domestic sport.¹⁶⁸ For Abel Chapman, the attraction of rural Spain was its isolated splendour, a region 'abandoned to Nature...nature in its wildest primeval garb, untouched by man, untamed and glorious in pristine savagery'.¹⁶⁹ 'To find true wild pagan sport, such as stirs the blood and brings to the top the hardest and manliest instincts in

human nature', according to another protagonist, 'one must go to the hills of Northern India or the wildernesses of tropical Africa' far from the demeaning influence of the plutocrat.¹⁷⁰ In these wild, untrammelled places, the sportsman could easily leave 'great distances between himself and the next hunter in contrast to the confined and restricted sporting manors of England.'¹⁷¹

To successfully kill wild game in the correct style required both practical talents and ideological commitment. Consequently, a hierarchy of competence emerged among the pantheon of big game hunters.¹⁷² Of course, reputations were built on acts of "heroic" hunting. Thus, Dennis Lyell extolled the peerless virtues of Chauncey Stigand who narrowly escaped death from rhinos, lion and elephants during numerous safaris and who once even punched a rogue lion who had him in an apparent death grip while another admiring 'shot' saw Stigand thrown twelve foot in the air by a charging rhino after which the hunter congratulated himself that no damage had been done until his men told him about his gored chest which laid him low for about two months!¹⁷³

Hunting hierarchies were partly constructed from proven expertise in killing dangerous game with certain calibres of rifle. Victorian 'shot', Samuel White Baker, was widely respected for his condemnation of the breech-loading rifle which made the muzzle-loading gun obsolete and stacked the odds in favour of the hunter.¹⁷⁴ Major P.H.G.Cotton-Powell and Ewart Scott Grogan both preferred the double .303 rifle to the conventional 4-bore for large game such as rhinoceros and elephant, while Denis Lyell won respect for using only the .256 Mannlicher for elephant

shooting. These Shikarians employed such smaller-calibre rifles so that the quarry could only be killed quickly by using appropriate fieldcraft. ¹⁷⁵

Any failure in rifle skills was a serious blight on the hunter's enjoyment.

Shooting big-game in Norway, for example, Abel Chapman lost his 'level head and fired too quick...both eyes open...fatal...an ignominious miss-disgrace. Oh Abel, is nerve and eye beginning to fail? If so farewell to the rifle! But may God forbid!' ¹⁷⁶

Shikarian "virtue" however, went beyond the mere subscription to technological and ballistic expertise. It was essential that hunting encompassed the 'civilised' values expected of the 'gentleman' which were necessary for social, political and moral leadership. In their own eyes, big game hunters represented the moral superiority of a male, chivalric tradition which comprised values crucial for leadership. The Club member could not become so familiar with the 'wild' as to lose touch with social refinements. In January, 1908, Maurice Egerton sailed on the S.S. Princess Royal to Seattle, then the midnight express to Portland, from where he moved on to San Francisco. Travelling was punctuated by socialising, with letters of introduction and trips to the theatre, before reaching San Diego and Tampico in search of Tarpon and Alligator Gar. ¹⁷⁷ Similarly, Club chairman, Lord Lonsdale combined shooting at Malakand with the cultural refinements of India and China when visiting the Sub continent at the turn of the century. ¹⁷⁸ In short, it would be erroneous to label the period big game hunter as a 'hearty' frontiersman devoid of refinement or subtlety.

The Club was not a wholly homogenous association, but a striking symmetry existed between its members. They all possessed a clear concept of the nature of "true" masculinity. Maurice Egerton's formative years were strongly influenced by

stereotypical male figures who instilled the moral and physical values of manliness.

His father, Alan, was a keen shooting mentor who stood by his son as they fought the Matabele in 1896; both men were influenced by the books of imperialist-hunter Richard Burton who visited Tatton on a number of occasions. ¹⁷⁹ Educated at Eton, Sandhurst and College of Agriculture, Cheltenham, Burton fitted easily into Maurice's conception of 'true' masculinity being a 'a crackshot, a fine boxer, afraid of nothing that either walked, flew or swam'. ¹⁸⁰ a philosophy captured in this extract from his biography:

"Wanted: Men.
Not systems fit and wise,
Not faiths with rigid eyes,
Not wealth in mountain piles,
Not power with gracious smiles,
Not even the potent pen;
Wanted, Men.

"Wanted: Deeds.
Not words of winning note,
Not thoughts from life remote,
Not fond religious airs,
Not sweetly languid prayers,
Not love of scent and creeds;
Wanted: Deeds.

"Men and Deeds.
Men that can dare and do;
Not longing for the new,
Not pratings of the old:
Good life and action bold -
These the occasion needs,
Men and Deeds." ¹⁸¹

Although Burton died before the Shikar Club began, in true Shikarian style he regarded 'every region to be a strong man's home'. ¹⁸²

Maurice Egerton regarded his meticulously planned overseas hunting trips as evidence of his moral and cultural superiority. Northern hunting trips to Canada and Nova Scotia were invariably physically demanding and required early starts often in freezing temperatures and inclement weather. Egerton's preoccupation with early starts was an essential part of the country gentleman's hunting culture and had long been seen as a bulwark against moral decadence or physical inactivity characterised by the 'lie-a-bed-community' despised by Egerton and his ilk.¹⁸³ Ewart Scott Grogan, Egerton's Club colleague and eventual business partner in his East African farming ventures, would 'walk about the plain between 4am and 6am' to ascertain the location of lions roaring before sunrise.¹⁸⁴

Egerton's careful scientific observation of game and the hunting environment by means of barometers and telescopes reflected the seriousness of big-game hunting and distanced it from the leisurely frivolity of the popular battue or fox-hunting in Britain. Like other period hunters, Egerton employed local men as hunting guides who were given the tasks of preparing meat and skins from killed game. This demonstrated his superior economic position and 'class masculinity'. Hunting in the 'correct' manner was therefore differentiated from the demeaning utilitarian 'butchering' of game. Indeed, the economic superiority of the travelling upper class British sportsman had long been associated with his class masculinity. One Victorian hunter, for example, explained that 'in Sweden, the Englishman kills the bear for sport, the natives kill it for reward; in Asia, the only sportsman that encounters the royal tiger is the Englishman: the native shekerrie shoots the tiger for profit. In Africa and America too, it is the Englishman alone who shoots for sport - the natives do so from necessity'.¹⁸⁵

It was a notion taken up by Abel Chapman who differentiated between native Norwegian hunters and English 'sportsmen'. The 'cow' elk, he noted with some disdain, could be legally shot by native hunters, whilst English hunters 'confine themselves exclusively to the bigger bulls and spare all cows and young beasts'.¹⁸⁶ Indeed, Chapman advocated a game law system in Norway to exclude utilitarian 'meat hunters' from killing deer, which would, he asserted, better left for sporting purposes.¹⁸⁷ Thus, after killing deer in the correct sporting style, meat could be given to needy natives. Such ethnocentric largesse, according to Chapman, was a 'pleasant part of funding an absolutely unsophisticated area'.¹⁸⁸ Chapman's contempt for those who poached his precious game, was, he admitted with typical candour, was a 'by-product of British sport and its conditions'.¹⁸⁹

It was a passion for African hunting, however, which attracted many Shikarians. Some, including Egerton, combined farms and plantations at Njora in Kenya, with copious amounts of hunting. Between July 1921 and October 1939, for example, he killed over six-hundred head of game on his Kenyan estates.¹⁹⁰

Like Egerton, Club colleagues, Ewart Scott Grogan, Lord Hugh Delamere and Lord Hindlip also developed farming and hunting interests in Kenya at this time.¹⁹¹ Farming and hunting went hand in hand. For his part, Grogan had immersed himself into field sports from an early age and declared that his ambitions were to 'to see Tanganyika' and slay a lion, rhinoceros and a elephant'¹⁹² The 'defining moment' in his life, therefore, came when he shot his first lion, a beast which merited special status within Club mythology.¹⁹³ Alfred Pease even wrote a book devoted to lion hunting declaring that it was the most fascinating of all African sports since 'few things are more interesting than following a wounded lion through cover. Such a

small thing will hide him and his attack will be like lightning. Extreme caution must be combined with the requisite dash'.¹⁹⁴

Lord Delamere, Egerton's neighbour at Vale Royal in Cheshire, also enjoyed lion-hunting but compromised the Club's strict code of ethics by using live donkeys as bait for lion-shooting at night; acquiring over £14000 worth of elephant ivory in one year from Kenya was a further indiscretion against the Club's sporting 'code'.¹⁹⁵

Delamere left England to develop a system of quasi-fuedal farming and big-game hunting in Kenya. With typical dash, he led similar-minded English aristocrats to previously undeveloped parts of East Africa from the North, via Zanzibar and the Arab slave routes.¹⁹⁶ Farming in Kenya fitted easily into Delamere's passion for hunting with dogs and he duly established the Masara Pack, a 'proper hunt, complete with English fox-hounds, redcoats, huntsman's caps'.¹⁹⁷ He was far from a symbol of Shikar purity!

Delamere's arbitrary approach to hunting big-game, however, was at odds with the Club's sporting heritage of 'fair-play. More generally, the ethical shortcomings of big game hunters were increasingly questioned after 1918.¹⁹⁸ Pressures on game habitat generally meant that hunters were forced to take greater responsibility for wildlife management.¹⁹⁹ Consequently, the Shikar Club increasingly sought the patronage of politically influential hunter-naturalists, such as Robert Coryndon, Alfred Sharpe and Alfred Butler, to endorse the Club's conservation credentials. By 1926, a number of distinguished members belonging to the S.P.F.E. had joined the Shikar Club, including Lord Elphinstone and Major Wigram of the Kashmir Game Preservation Department.²⁰⁰

During the 1920s, the Club, anxious to publicise its role in the developing conservation movement, had condemned public films showing hunting from motor cars and the filming of wounded and dying game animals which, it suggested, stigmatised the 'true' sportsman.²⁰¹ The Club complained that such practices were 'utterly opposed to all ethics of good sportsmanship, and are liable to give uninitiated members of the public an entirely erroneous view of how real sportsmen behave on shooting expeditions'.²⁰² In contrast, the Club endorsed Major Radclyffe-Dugmore's film, 'The Wonderland of Big-Game' presented shooting in a skilful and artistic way emphasising 'fair play' towards game and ecological awareness. The 'true test of the hunter' therefore, 'lay in his love of forest, mountain and desert; in acquired knowledge of the habits of animals; in the strenuous pursuit of a wary and dangerous quarry; in the instinct for a well-devised approach to a fair shooting distance; and in the patient retrieve of a wounded animal'.²⁰³

However, despite these gestures to conservation, many observers remained sceptical about the Club. In February 1925, for example, Lonsdale looked to formalise ties with the S.P.F.E, to widen the Club's sphere of influence in conservation politics. This prospect was greeted with alarm by many members of the Preservation Society. This, together with Lonsdale's ultimate failure to incorporate the Club into the Society, cast doubt on the intentions of those who ostensibly embraced conservation whilst at the same time representing themselves as guardians of the masculine tradition through hunting.²⁰⁴

Unquestionably, Shikarians still extolled the virtues of imperial hunting at this time. Hubert C. Maydon's Big Game Shooting in Africa of 1932, made up of contributions from various members, was prefaced by a "game" map of British rule in

Africa alongside an elephant with target 'marks' of where to shoot for maximum effect - a graphic illustration of the British hunters' racial domination of Africa and the 'objectification' of its game!²⁰⁵ In the same decade, The Times commented on the International Game Exhibition at Berlin and insisted that 'the British empire has a greater variety of game than any other commonwealth; the pursuit of game is a valuable national asset - the Foreign Office has given its blessing to the British side of the Berlin Exhibition...a good trophy means so much to a man. Why should Captain H.C. Brocklehurst travel at personal risk to Central China to shoot the record Giant Panda? Or Major Bayley Worthington return to China to shoot a Thian Shan Ibex? Whether it be in Clubs, messes or private houses, wherever English sportsmen make their homes, trophies furnish the walls. Sportsmen keep their trophies to recall happy days of hardship and successful adventure'.²⁰⁶

According to one eminent historian, 'imperialism was a habit of mind, a dominant idea in the era of European world supremacy, which had widespread intellectual, cultural and technical expressions'.²⁰⁷ Despite the lack of formal record, membership of the Shikar Club perpetuated this habit, through ritual and hunting, and was thus one manifestation of metropolitan domination achieved by the English elite male in a period of high imperialism.

Of course, it was more. The Club, was also a symbol of 'public patriarchy' which extolled the virtues of the 'strong' as cultural leaders. Members, Dennis Lyell, for example, asserted that civilisation, with its 'false policy of nurturing the diseased and unfit,' was upsetting the balance of nature and threatening British virility, while Hans Anderson Bryden contended that hunting was the antidote to the

degeneracy of the times and which allowed the celebration of great men, warriors as well as sportsmen.²⁰⁸

Re-emphasis of the morality of big game hunting in a period of change for mainstream masculinity, however, was clearly a defensive measure - arguably, this form of upper-class assertion was falling out of favour. The establishment of the S.P.F.E. in 1903 was recognition of this trend which will be discussed in chapter eight.

- 1 'The Defence of Field sports,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.43, August 1885,
pp.318-326; 2 Ibid., and 'Clubs and Sport', The Field, Vol.102, July 1903,
pp.1-2
- 3 The battue was a German word for the shooting of driven game as distinct
from walking up game. As will become clear, many 'traditionalists' balked
at the notion of shooting 'tame game'.
- 4 H.A. Levenson, 'An Old Shekarry', 'The Algerian Sporting Expedition', The
Field, Vol.8, November 1857, p.353
- 5 C. Stigand, The Game of British East Africa, London, 1909, introduction
- 6 N. Woodyatt in J. Ross, H. Gunn, The Red Deer and Empire Big Game,
London, 1925, p.284
- 7 M. Stewart, Round the World with Rod and Rifle, London, 1924, pp.7-8
- 8 'The Preservation of Big Game', Capt. C. Stigand, The Field, Vol.109,
February 1907, p.204
- 9 T.F. Dale, 'On some Abuses in Foxhunting,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.86,
December 1906, pp.440-4
- 10 Stigand, 'Preservation', The Field, p.204
- 11 F.C. Selous, Recent Hunting Trips, London, 1907, p.8. Frederick C. Selous,
1859-1917.
- 12 'The Shikar Club', The Field, Vol.111, June 1908, p.1006
- 13 'The Shikar Club', The Field, Vol.122, June 1923, p.900
- 14 I am indebted to Hamish Wallace of Little Wirley Hall, Pelsall, Staffordshire,
current Secretary of the Shikar Club. His father, Frank Wallace, was Club
Secretary during the 1920s and 30s, and a highly respected hunter-naturalist

and sporting author. Hamish also knew the Club's first President, Lord Lonsdale, 1857-1944

- 15 'The Shikar Club', in L. Dawson, The Authorised Life of Lonsdale, London, 1946, pp.205-6
- 16 Ibid., and, 'The Shikar Club', The Field, Vol.122, June 1923, pp14-15
- 17 MS., A. Chapman, 'On the Ethics of Sport', Houxy Records and Results, H139, p.10, Hancock Museum, Newcastle University
- 18 MS., Egerton Diaries, DET/3229/60/2, Chester Record Office; MS. 'Fauna Houxtiensis', 1898-1923,, ASC3S2, Private document, unpublished from the Chapman collection, p.26
- 19 A. Chapman, On Safari, London, 1908, p.4. See also H.F. Varian, Some African Milestones, Wheatley, 1953, p.150; R. Pocock, F.R.S., 'The Quagga, Its Extermination', Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the (Wild) Fauna of the Empire. (J.S.P.F.E.), July 1922, pp.26-37
- 20 M. Daly, Big Game Hunting and Adventure, 1897-1936, London, 1937, pp.1, 73, 92
- 21 S.W. Baker, Rifle and Hound in Ceylon, London, 1883, pp.xiv-xv Samuel White Baker, 1821-97
- 22 S. Baker, Wild Beasts and Their Ways, 2 Vols, Vol.1, 1890, p.viii, and preface
- 23 F.G. Aflalo, 'Cruelty to Animals', Fortnightly Review, Vol.81, June 1907, pp.155-66
- 24 MS., Egerton Hunting Diaries, DET/3229/123, Chester Record Office.

- 25 MS., Chapman, Houxy Records and Results, H 130-8, pp.3-5, Hancock Museum, Newcastle University
- 26 MS., Egerton Hunting Diaries, DET/3229/60/2, Chester Record Office
- 27 H.G. Swayne, Seventeen Trips Through Somaliland, London, 1895, p.162
- 28 H. Seton-Karr, 'Reminiscences of the Rockies', Badminton Magazine, Vol.8, 1897, pp.256-9; H. Seton-Karr, My Sporting Holidays, London, 1904, p.145
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Hugh Cecil Lowther, 1857-1944, son of Henry Lowther of Penrith. Educated at Eton. Who's Who in Cumberland and Westmorland, London, 1937, pp.147-48. Hugh Cecil Lowther was an extraordinary sportsman, an occasional big-game shot and Master of the Cottesmore and Quorn Hounds. See also, Whos Who, Oxford , 1997, p.10
- 32 'The Shikar Club', The Field, Vol.113, June 1909, p.970; Dawson, Lonsdale, pp.58, 262-63
- 33 MS., Lonsdale Papers, D. Lons, L6/1, D. Lons, 9/3, Carlisle Record Office; See also, D. Sutherland, The Yellow Earl, London, 1965, p.170; J.O. Thompson, 'Lonsdale,' J.O. Thompson, Dr. Salter of Tolleshunt D'Arcy, London, 1933, preface. Note also the giant polar bear shot by Lonsdale which remains in the public domain at Kendal Museum, Cumbria.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Dawson, Lonsdale, p.48 and p.193. Lady Lonsale, 1867-1941

- 36 'A Record of Clean Sport', in The Field, Vol.140, October 1922, p.648, reviewing Major-General N. Woodyatt, My Sporting Memories, London, 1922
- 37 Lonsdale, The Field, Vol.122, June 1923, p.900
- 38 F.C. Selous, Travel and Adventure in South East Africa, London, 1893, p.91
- 39 'The Shikar Club,' The Field, Vol.147, June 1926, p.952, and see, Dawson, Lonsdale, pp.205-6
- 40 J.G. Millais, Wanderings and Memories, London, 1919, p.167, J.G. Millais, 1865-1931; See also, H. Gunn and J. Ross, eds., The Book of the Red Deer and Empire Big-Game, London, 1925, pp.137-8. For a wider view see J. Mackenzie, 'The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter,' in Manliness and Morality Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940, ed. J.A. Mangan and J. Walvin, Manchester, 1987, p.191.
- 41 The Times, August 1910, p.11; MS., Houxy Records and Results, H139, p.8; See also, A. Chapman, Memories of Fourscore Years Less Two, 1851-1929, London, 1930, p.163
- 42 For a wider view of the masculine ethos of hunting and its links to anthropology see, Ortega Y Gasset, Jose, Meditations on Hunting, London, 1943
- 43 M.S. Diary, Hunting in Norway, 1897, AS/C3/S2, NEWHM, H9, H130/13. See also, A. Chapman, Wild Norway, London, 1897, pp.1-5, 8-10, 26-7
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 MS., 'African Big-Game', in Houxy Records and Results, p.2
- 46 Ibid., p.8

- 47 Thompson, Dr. Salter of Tolleshunt, preface
- 48 J. Strutt, Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, as Bearing upon their National Character London, 1876, preface, pp.329-19
- 49 Seton-Karr, Holidays, pp.5-6, and see, H. Salt, 'The Sportsman at Bay,' The International Journal of Ethics, Vol.16, Philadelphia, 1906, p.491
- 50 'The Defence of Field Sports,' Baily's Magazine, pp.318-326; See also, H. Salt, Seventy Years Among the Savages, London, 1921, p.11
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 I. Colquhoun, 'The Future of Deerstalking,' in Ross and Gunn, The Book of the Red Deer, p.111; Seton-karr, Sporting Holidays, pp. 44, 68, 91-2; Iain Colquhoun, Bart., D.S.O., Lord-Lieutenant of Dumbartonshire. Major, Scots Guards, served in European War. Owner of Scottish a deer-forest and authority on the sport.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Sir Claude Champion De Crespigny, 1847-1927. Archives, Essex County Record Office, Chelmsford, references T/P 146-7, Catalogue; Essex Portraits, Vol.8, in Essex Review, Vol.13, 1904, pp.241-2, and see, Essex Review, Vol.44, 1935, p.192; and, Who's Who in Essex, Worcester, 1935, p.58, Essex Leaders. Social and Political Exeter, and J. Grant, ed., Essex: Historical Biographical and Personal, 1913 held at Essex Record Office.
- 56 C.C. de Crespigny, Forty Years of a Sportsman's Life, Edinburgh, 1910, pp.274-5, 300-2. For a similar view, see J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, 'Early Morning Hunting', The Spectator, Vol.127, October 1921, pp.421-3

- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Colonel C. Hartopp, Sport in England, London, 1894, pp.2-5
- 60 De Crespigny, Forty Years, pp.238-44
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 De Crespigny, Forty years, p.234; HA Bryden, Gun and Camera in South Africa, London, 1893, p.197 and 'The Extermination of Game in South Africa', in Fortnightly Review, NS, 56, Dec 1894, pp.538-547
- 63 De Crespigny, Forty years, pp.238-241
- 64 Essex Review, pp.241-242
- 65 De Crespigny, Forty years, pp.274-275
- 66 Essex Review, pp.274-275
- 67 A.E. Pease, Half a Century of Sport, London, 1932, p.100.
- 68 De Crespigny, Forty years, pp.182-183
- 69 Notes, from Hamish Wallace, Club Secretary. See also J. Morris, Heaven's Command, London, 1973, p.86; Charles Edward Radclyffe 1864-1915, served with the Rifle Brigade from the mid 1880s, and was wounded in the Burmese War, 1885-7, and the South African Campaign, for which he received the D.S.O. P.B. Vanderbyl 1867-1930, of Wappenham Nouse, Towcester, Northampton. See The Field, Vol.142, November 1923, p.717. Vanderbyl eventually married at the age of 60.
- 70 R. Hyam, Britain's Imperial Century, 1850-1914, London, 1976, pp.50-1
- 71 MS., Lonsdale Papers, D. Lons, 9/3

- 72 C. Lowe, Our Greatest Living Soldiers, London, 1900, pp.12, 71, 175
- 73 De Crespigny, Essex Review, Vol.13, pp.241-2
- 74 Frederick Selous The Times, March 1899, p.9; see also, J.A. Hobson, The War in South Africa. Its Causes and Effects, London, 1900, pp.14, 20, 21, 44, 115
- 75 J.G. Millais, Life of Frederick Courtney Selous, London, 1919, pp.235-50
- 76 British Sports and Sportsmen. Big-Game Hunting and Angling, Limited Edition, No.316, edited by 'The Sportsman', Edinburgh Library, 1914, pp.424-5 . Charles Allsop, 1877- 1955.
- 77 Ibid.
- 78 R.Ward, Records of Big Game and Measurement of Horn, London, 1896, preface
- 79 The Times, November 1937, p.15
- 80 Ibid., pp.1, 10-20, 34, 43
- 81 Ibid., p.38
- 82 MS., Egerton Hunting Diaries, DET 3229/78, DET 3229/123; MS., Notebook, O/57A, O/57C, Takuarm, 1912; DET 3229/60/2
- 83 Ibid., DET 3229/78
- 84 Ibid.
- 85 Egerton Hunting Diaries, DET 3229/78; Chapman, Records, H139, p.3
- 86 Chapman, Norwegian Pocket Book, AS-C-S2, 1892, Records, H 130-8, and NEW-H130 11, 1894, and Records, No.3, MS., pp.27-8
- 87 Ibid, DET/3229/60/

- 88 Letters, from Lord Egerton, January 1925, DET/3229/107, N-R, Chester Records Office
- 89 Professor Ray Lankester , The History of the Collections contained in the Natural History Department of the British Museum, 2 Vols, Vol.2, London, 1906, p.25
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Thanks are extended to Les Jessop of the Hancock Museum for comments about Chapman's contribution to natural history.
- 92 Abel Chapman, 'Catalogue of My Collections', p.3, Houxy Records and Results, MS. H139, held at the Hancock Museum, Newcastle University 'African Big-Game', Records, pp.27-28
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Isaacs was the Commissioner of Eldan Ravine, South Africa in the early 1900s
- 95 See The Times, October 1901, p.4, and Chapman, On Safari, p.288.
- 96 The Times, November 1937, p.15
- 97 Chapman, M.S., Diary, 1905, pp.7-8, held at the Hancock Museum, Newcastle University.
- 98 Alfred Edward Pease of Guisborough, Pinchinthorpe, North Yorkshire 2nd. Bart., 1857-1939. For an wider view see, M. Weiner, English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980, Cambridge, 1981, chapters 2 and 3, and Thorsten Veblen, Theory of the Leisure Class, New York, 1899, p.2.
- 99 A.E. Pease, The Diaries of A.E Pease, London, 1907, pp.29-31; 'Alfred Edward Pease', Baily's Magazine, Vol.101, March 1914, pp.161-163

- 100 Ibid.
- 101 Ibid.
- 102 MS., Letters, A.E. Pease to Oldfield Thomas, DF232/6, p.342, Natural History Museum.
- 103 A.E. Pease, The Book of the Lion, London, 1913, pp.14-15
- 104 Ibid.
- 105 'Travel and Sport in Africa', The Spectator, Vol.59, 1903, p.536
- 106 D.P. Blaine, An Encyclopaedia of Rural Sport, (4th edition) 1875, chapter 2, 'The Progress of Field Sports in Africa', p.45
- 107 J.A. Hobson, Imperialism, Michigan and London, 1902, reprinted 1972 pp.223-4 and see, F. Russell, The Hunting Animal, London, 1984, p.28, and M. Cartmill, A View to a Death in the Morning, Harvard, 1993, pp.136-7
- 108 Chapman, On Safari, pp.284-5
- 109 E. Said, Culture and Imperialism, London, 1993, p.296; for a general treatment see, S.H. Alatas, The Myth of the Lazy Native, London, 1977
- 110 J.A. Mangan, ed., The Cultural Bond, Sport, Empire Society, London, 1986, pp.15-23
- 111 'The West Indian as a Sportsman,' The Field, Vol.103, May 1904, p.86
- 112 Blaine, Encyclopaedia of Rural Sport, p.45
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 C.H. Stigand, Hunting the Elephant in Africa, New York, 1913, p.210, pp.535-536
- 115 Ibid.

- 116 MS., R.W. Arkwright, Diary, Four Years Campaigning in South Africa, 1843-47, p.89, T/B, 577, Essex Record Office. See also Stigand, Elephant in Africa, p.205; C.W.L. Bulpett, A Picnic Party in Wildest Africa, London, 1907, pp.23-32
- 117 'The African Native as Sportsmen', Baily's Magazine, Vol.112, September 1919, pp.115-20
- 118 Letter to the author from Johnston F. Robb, of South St., Greenock, dated 6th March 1909. I am grateful to Valerie Boa, Bsc, A.M.A., Curator, Mclean Museum, Greenock and Johnstone Robb, Greenock, an ex-employee of Scotts.
- 119 As noted earlier, many members of the Club had had or maintained an interest in military affairs. For his part, Scott's shipbuilding firm constructed cruisers, destroyers and submarines for the Admiralty between 1915 and 1935-1939. "Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Shipbuilding: Scott and Company". I am grateful to Inverclyde Council for providing miscellaneous notes on R.L. Scott
- 120 'Arms and Armour from the Scott collection', Scottish Art Review, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museums Association, Vol.6, no.1, 1956, p.2, quoted in R. Woosnam-Savage, former Assistant Keeper, Arms and Armour, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries. 'R.L.Scott,1871-1939, a Biographical Note'. Thanks are extended to Robert Woosnam-Savage for permission to quote from his article.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Ibid.

- 123 C.V.A. Peel, Somaliland, London, 1900, preface
- 124 'The Shikar Club', The Field, Vol.147, June 1926, p.952
- 125 'Hunting Reminiscence', Baily's Magazine, Vol.55, March 1891, pp196-7
- 126 Baker, The Rifle and Hound, p.xi/xii
- 127 This theme is discussed fully in H.F. Wallace, Hunting Winds, London, 1949
- 128 H.F. Wallace, Stalks Abroad, London, 1908, p.168
- 129 Wallace, Hunting Winds, p.351
- 130 Seton-Karr, Holidays, preface; 'Memories of Claude de Crespigny' in Baily's Magazine, Vol.65, April 1896, pp.301-4
- 131 Earl of Sussex and Berkshire, eds., The Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Sport, London, 1911
- 132 Wallace, Hunting Winds, p.21
- 133 See J. Nauright and T.L. Chandler, eds., Making Men, Rugby and Masculine Identity London, 1995, for a wider discussion of male identity in sport.
- 134 Wallace, Hunting Winds, p.328
- 135 For a wider view see, J. Richards, in Mangan and Walvin, Manliness, chapter 3
- 136 MS., Abel Chapman, Records and Results, p.8
- 137 Wallace, Hunting Winds, p.21; J.N.P. Watson, Three Generations in Sport and Art, London, 1988, pp.45-67
- 138 Seton-Karr, Holidays, p.97
- 139 Edmund Loder 1849-1920, educated at Eton and Cambridge, 1849-72. See A.E. Pease, Edmund Loder, London, 1923

- 140 Pease, Loder, pp.54-5
- 141 Ward, Records, pp.1-59
- 142 MS., Chapman, Houxy Records and Results, H130-15; Seton-Karr, Sporting Holidays, p.147. See also, J. Reiger, American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation Norman, Oklahoma, 1987, pp.5, 7, 122-123
- 143 Selous, Recent Hunting Trips, p.13
- 144 Ibid., pp.14-16
- 145 Ibid.
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 See Reiger, American Sportsmen, p.122
- 148 Grantley Berkeley, The English Sportsman in the Western Prairies, London, 1861, p.2; Parker Gilmore, (Pseud. Ubique), Parker Gilmore's Experiences of a Sportsman in North America, London, 1869, preface. Grantley Berkeley, 1800-81, described as an 'aristocrat in his own opinion but unable to convince the world to agree with him', in C. Kirby, The English Country Gentleman, London, 1937, p.42. See also Baily's Magazine, Vol.11, June 1865, pp.10-19, August 1865, pp.118-24, and Baily's Magazine, Vol.35, April 1881, pp.71-3
- 149 MS., Egerton Diaries, DET/107, A-D, Chester Record Office
- 150 Berkeley, English Sportsman, pp.2-3
- 151 Gilmore, Experiences, pp.2-3
- 152 Captain Flack, Hunters Experiences in the Southern States of America, London, 1866, p.1
- 153 'The Englishman Abroad,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.63, January 1895, p.10

- 154 See N. Elias and E. Dunning, The Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process, Oxford, 1986, p.160; K. Tester, Animals and Society, London, 1991, p.102; K. Thomas, Man and the Natural World, Harmondsworth, 1984, pp.15, 303
- 155 Ibid.
- 156 See 'Englishmen's Sport in the Future', Baily's Magazine, Vol.85, June 1906, p.347, 'The Decadence of Sport,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.83, June 1905, pp.198-202, 'The Future of Wildlife in England,' The Field, Vol.113, May 1909, p.895
- 157 De Crespigny, Forty Years, pp.300-2
- 158 Ibid. and Borderer, 'An Old Sportsman', Baily's Magazine Vol.86, September 1906, pp.200-3
- 159 See The Field, Vol.20, August 1862, p.101, and The Times, August 1862, p.8. Surtees commented on driven-game shooting, as the 'old womanly sport of battuing', see A. Steel, Jorrocks's England, London, 1932, p.167
- 160 See T.H.S. Escott, Society in London, Edinburgh, 1886, p.22, and F.M.L. Thompson, 'Landowners and the Rural Community', in G. Mingay, ed., The Victorian Countryside, 2 Vols., Vol.2 London, 1981, pp.457-475
- 161 Felix, 'Sport in England,' Baily's Magazine, Vol.90, August 1908, pp.417-420
- 162 N. Lytton, The English Country Gentleman, London, 1925, pp.86-8
- 163 The Field, Vol.39, May 1872, p.1, The Field, Vol.40, December 1872, pp.58, 605;

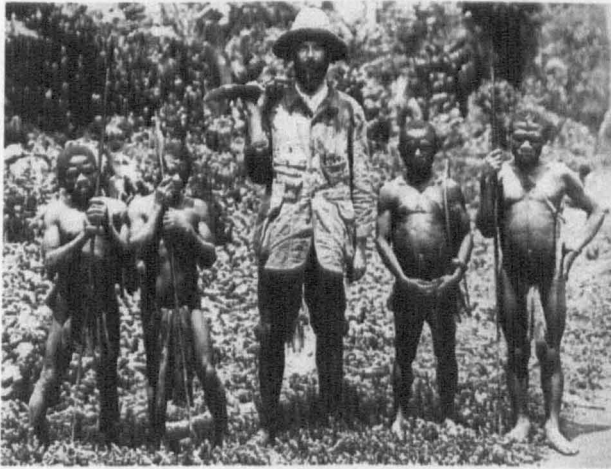
- 164 M. Arnold, 'Democracy', Mixed Essays, Irish Essays and Others, London, 1880, p.6
- 165 Borderer, Baily's Magazine, Vol.86, 1906, pp.200-3
- 166 The Field, Vol.39, May 1872, p.1; The Field, Vol.40, December 1872, pp.58, 605
- 167 D. Lyell in H.C. Maydon, ed., Big Game Shooting in Africa, Edinburgh, 1932, pp.71-2
- 168 W. Bromley-Davenport quoted in H.H. Prichard, Hunting Camps, London, 1910, pp.3-4; Selous, Travel and Adventure, p.91; Capt. C.H. Stigand, D.D. Lyell, Central African Game and its Sport, London, 1906, p.4
- 169 A. Chapman, Wild Spain, London, 1893, p.1
- 170 Selous, Travel and Adventure, p.91
- 171 Stigand and Lyle, Central African Game, pp.4-6
- 172 R.S. Baden-Powell, Pig sticking or Hoghunting, London, 1924, pp.29-30
- 173 Stigand and Lyell, Central African Game, 1906, pp.142-3; Stewart, Round the World, pp.102-3 63; and see D.D. Lyell, The African Elephant and its Hunters, London, 1924, p.140; Dennis Lyell, 1871-1945, of Eastwood, Broughty Ferry, Forfarshire, Scotland.
- 174 Baker, Rifle and Hound, preface, and Wild Beasts, quoted in D. Middleton, Baker of the Nile, London, 1940, p.35. For a wider treatment of period guns, see, R. Riling, Guns and Shooting. A Selected Chronological Bibliography, New York, 1951.
- 175 A. Sharpe and E. Scot Grogan, From the Cape to Cairo. The First Traverse of Africa from South to North, London, 1900, pp.339-340

- 176 M.S. Diary, Hunting in Norway, 1897, AS/C3/S2, NEWHM, H9, H130/13, pp.10-12
- 177 MS., Egerton Diaries, DET/ 3229/ 60/2; Dawson, Lonsdale, p.182
- 178 MS., Egerton Diaries, DET/3229/60/2
- 179 MS., African Adventure, notes at Tatton, n.d., p.3
- 180 C.W. Monkton, Experiences of a New Guinea President Magistrate, London, nd. p.111; I. Burton, The Life of Captain Richard Burton, Edinburgh, 1893, p.17
- 181 Ibid., Burton
- 182 Ibid., Burton
- 183 Blaine, Encyclopaedia of Rural Sport, p.155; Arkwright, Diary, p.13; Lord Lennox, Merrie England, Its Sports and Pastimes, London, 1857, pp.123-4
- 184 Sharpe and Grogan, Cape to Cairo, p.342
- 185 Earl of Wilton, Sports and Pursuits of the English, London, 1868, pp.213-4
- 186 Chapman, Wild Norway, pp.11-12
- 187 Ibid.
- 188 Ibid., p.44
- 189 Ibid., p.24
- 190 Egerton, Notes, pp.19-20; Big-game Book, DET, 3229/123
- 191 See Hindlip in British Sports and Sportsmen, Big-Game Hunting and Angling, No.316, pp.424-5 ; for a general survey of Delamere in Kenya see, E. Huxley, White Man's Country, Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya, 2 Vols, London, 1935, pp.257-8

- 192 Sharpe and Grogan, Cape to Cairo, p.xv, and p.12
- 193 See D. Lyell in, Maydon, ed., Big Game Shooting, pp. 71-6
- 194 Sharpe and Grogan, Cape to Cairo, pp.30-32, 339-342. See A.E. Pease, The Book of the Lion, London, 1930, pp.123-5
- 195 'Night Shooting', Badminton Magazine, Vol.2, 1896, pp.597-609 and R. Oliver, Sir Harry Johnson and the Scramble For Africa, London, 1957, p.295
- 196 Huxley, White Man's Country, chapter 3
- 197 Huxley, White Man's Country, pp.257-8
- 198 'The Shikar Club', The Field, Vol.147, June 1926, p.952
- 199 See chapter 8
- 200 'The Shikar Club,' The Field, Vol.147, June 1926, p.952
- 201 'The Shikar Club,' The Field, Vol.142, August 1923, p.275
- 202 Ibid.
- 203 'The Shikar Club,' The Field, Vol.147, June 1926
- 204 Minutes of Meetings, S.P.F.E., February 1925, pp.16-17, held at Flora and Fauna Society, Cambridge
- 205 Maydon, Big Game Shooting, preface
- 206 "Die Jagd", The Times, 3rd November 1937, p.13
- 207 J. Mackenzie, The Empire of Nature, Manchester, 1988, p.ix
- 208 D. Lyell, Memories of an African Hunter, London, 1923, p.19; H.A. Bryden, Nature and Sport in South Africa, London, 1897, p.281

Chapter Eight:

Masculinity Redefined?: The Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire, c.1903-1950s



Despite the continuing destruction of wildlife for sport at the end of the nineteenth century, certain sportsmen and other observers evinced a degree of self-satisfaction at an ameliorative change in attitudes towards hunted species which was presented as part of a new sensitivity to animals based on an apparent shift in upper and middle class sensibilities. The Times, for example, confidently remarked that '*no more remarkable moral change has taken place during this century than that of the feelings of thoughtful men and women towards animals. Many of the adventurous spirits which now visit Africa are not exempt from the influence of change. The best of them are in their own way, unrecognised members of the R.S.P.C.A. Certainly, they contrast favourably with their predecessors. Often, they are naturalists with keen and sympathetic eyes for the habits of all living things. They rarely shoot more than is needed for food or specimens and some try to make their native followers understand that shooting for shooting's sake is not to be admired...the sportsman has done more for the preservation of birds than for their extinction; the enlightened traveller acts on the principle of the "honourable soldier," that indiscriminate slaughter is not fair or worthy of him.*'¹ Adding to this sense of progress, others, intoxicated by the 'climate of legislative possibilities', argued that the future protection of wildlife was ensured.²

The appearance of an International Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, Birds and Fish in Africa at the Foreign Office in London in May 1900 confirmed that the notion of "game-preservation" had indeed gained currency at this time.³ Predictably, in an era of rampant imperialism and exuberant jingoism, it was argued in some quarters that Britain should take the initiative in imperial game protection as she sent out most of the 'mighty hunters, whose exploits are imitated

and set up as examples to other countries of what may be fairly done by true sportsmen'.⁴ However, the move towards wildlife preservation had subtly changed the moral imperatives long associated with hunting. In other words, the period hunter's masculinity was at a watershed: his previously sacrosanct and unambiguous identity was now the subject of objective and subjective scrutiny.

One manifestation of this apparent amendment in attitudes towards imperial wildlife was the establishment of the Society for the Preservation of the (Wild) Fauna of the Empire (S.P.F.E.) in December, 1903.⁵ Six months earlier, hunter-naturalist and catalyst for the group, Edward North Buxton, had lectured to the Society of Arts on the 'The Preservation of African Big Game'.⁶ Those present, including future members of the S.P.F.E. Sir John Kirk, Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston, Sir Clement Hill, Sir Henry Seton-Karr and Frederick Courtney Selous, heard that the future of imperial game depended on metropolitan efforts to introduce preservation as a bulwark to overzealous European shots and the utilitarian slaughter of game by indigenous peoples.⁷

On December 11, 1903, the same hunters met with naturalists, Professor Ray Lankester, Phillip Sclater and Oldfield Thomas and politicians Sir Clement Hill and Lord Hopetoun at the Natural History Museum, to add a tangible form to this supposition. There, Edward North Buxton stressed the importance of an imperial institution for the protection of colonial game *and other* wildlife.⁸ In time, Buxton was to be instrumental in the development of the International Committee for Elephant Preservation, started in 1911, and to figure prominently in various wildlife reforms and agricultural and horticultural schemes in South East England.⁹

The emergence of the S.P.F.E., marshalled for the protection of wildlife during a period of transition for mainstream masculinity, merits scrutiny because of its cultural influence which extended far beyond the confines of its success as an imperial pressure group. Between 1903 and about 1950, this Society not only reflected, reinforced and celebrated the male preoccupation with, and expertise in hunting, but adapted to the changing administrative imperatives of British colonialism whilst upholding the imperial tradition associated with expansionism and the 'gun at the shoulder'.

The origins of the S.P.F.E. emanated from a nostalgia for Britain's imperial past together with the urgent need to develop new initiatives in order to preserve big game in Britain's colonial territories. The moral imperatives of masculinity, long associated with the sporting 'code', were the association's clarion call. 'Fair play' was a case in point. Henry Seton-Karr succinctly used the idea of 'fair play' as a moral bulwark to those opposed to hunting, asserting that 'those who are specially interested, from knowledge and experience, in this question have been called penitent butchers; we are wrongly and ignorantly, thought to be men who, having in earlier days taken their fill of big-game, now being smitten with remorse, and having reached a less strenuous term of life, think to condone our earlier bloodthirstiness. As a matter of fact, nothing can be more misleading as to our real feelings and intentions, no greater perversion of the real truth can be presented than such a statement. Your true sportsman is always a real lover of nature. He kills, it is true, but only in sweet reasonableness - but mainly for trophies. I am confident that British sportsmen, as a class, have done nothing in any wild country to reduce or wipe out any kind of wild big game. Their so-called depredations - and the term is a misnomer - have been

more than compensated for by the natural reproduction and increase of the wild game'.¹⁰

One of the Society's first practical tasks, therefore, was to assess the numbers of imperial game. Initially, the Society agreed to collate and disseminate information on official reports on game regulation and reserves and to assess and reflect on the number of animals killed for sport in the empire.¹¹ Consequently, the Society assumed the guardianship of the tradition of big-game hunting, which it considered a national 'heritage of the empire'.¹² Naturally, threats to Britain's 'empire of sport' were to be treated with due gravity.¹³ By way of example, the 'despicable' abrogation of the Sobat game reserve by the Sudanese authorities in 1903 alerted metropolitan hunters to the administrative inadequacies of prime hunting locations undertaken by 'inferior' nations.¹⁴

Unsurprisingly, Edward North Buxton, couched his new conservation programme in terms of a 'precious inheritance of the Empire...great game was to be jealously guarded... something which can easily be lost but cannot be replaced'; it was a doctrine shared by fellow hunter-naturalist, Frank Vaughan Kirby, who asserted that 'imperial hunting-country and its big game had a past- a past that can never be recalled. That fact alone will act as an inducement to sportsmen of the present day, in their own interests and that of science, to shoot fairly and with judgement and to be satisfied with enough'.¹⁵ The significance of big game as a finite resource was not lost on Buxton's Society colleague, Lord Curzon, who stated laconically that Britain owned 'the greatest Empire in the Universe; we are continually using language which implies that we are the trustees for posterity of that Empire, but we are also the trustees for posterity of the natural contents of that Empire.'¹⁶

Interestingly, period Humanitarians opposed to hunting also perceived imperial game as an heirloom of empire and sought to stave off its dwindling numbers by appealing to the 'superior' mentality and understanding of British imperial hunters in their role as political leaders. ¹⁷

In short, it would be the hunter-naturalist's ideology which would determine the fate of imperial wildlife. Lord Curzon, for example, a man who 'yielded to no one in his love of hunting', was adamant this 'heritage' of empire should be managed by hunter-naturalists steeped in the tradition of the metropolitan sporting 'code'. ¹⁸ As senior administrator of the Indian and Burmese colonies, he detested the progressive diminution in game on the Sub continent which, he suggested, was a consequence of factors outside the control of the imperial sportsman, including the shooting of females and immature animals by unethical European sportsmen and the depredations of native hunters. ¹⁹ What was required, he suggested, was an educational rationale which explained the importance of game preservation as understood by rational, European sportsmen. ²⁰

These morally elevated objectives, were, so the argument went, under threat from utilitarian hunting by natives. Indeed, the problem of indiscriminate hunting by African natives enraged Society officials, a problem discussed at the Society's formative stage by Frederick C. Selous and Henry Seton-Karr; the solution, in their eyes, was more game ordinances and greater protection through 'game wardens'. ²¹ It was a remedy supported by Sir Alfred Sharpe, in his capacity as Governor of Nyasaland, who advised that African natives should be bound by European-led hunting laws to check their damaging depredations in British Central Africa. ²² This 'unfortunate tendency', he lamented, emanated from restrictions on European hunters

which left the native free to slaughter all he wishes without let or hindrance'.²³ To ensure tighter control of game management, Sharpe advocated more punitive measures such as the imposition of a native gun tax and the punishment by District Magistrates of all natives shooting without licences.²⁴

Unregulated killing of game by natives represented an ongoing challenge to officials and the Society. As late as the 1920s, James Stevenson-Hamilton was insisting that African natives should not have the right to sell hides or have licences for guns or game.²⁵ In both India and Africa, the situation was made worse by the apparent failure of native officials to recognise the urgency of dwindling game resources.²⁶ According to one British observer, it was a fact, 'though quite unknown amongst Indians in Assam, that the preservation of a local fauna is regarded by civilised and cultured minds in other parts of the world as amongst the signs of a civilised and cultured people, not so entirely given up to the prosecution of strictly utilitarian schemes as to exclude everything that is only interesting or idealistic, and it is a fact that the more virile peoples in the world regard shooting, hunting and the observation of wild animals in their natural haunts as among the sports and recreations that help to keep their young men healthy and virile'.²⁷

This confident British chauvinism lingered on into the inter war period when the Society still clung tenaciously to the belief that the destiny of game and other forms of wildlife lay in the hands of the British hunter-naturalist community. Mixing pragmatism and idealism, the Society produced two pamphlets in February 1929, concerned with the 'Protection of Wild Animals in Great Britain', and 'Vanishing Wildlife'; they were designed to bring about 'animal sanctuaries' similar to those in the colonies - as observed by the Society's Captain Keith Caldwell, 'the wildlife of

today is not wholly ours to dispose of as we please. It has been given to us in Trust.

We must account for it to those who come after us'.²⁸

The recognition of game as a finite resource was woven into the Society's ideology. Indeed, Society members were emphatic subscribers to the British big-game hunting tradition, a complex heritage of idealism, pragmatism and moral imperatives. It was a tradition, however, which was fraught with contradictions which were increasingly exposed as the plight of imperial game became subject to international scrutiny in the early twentieth century.

Deconstructing the damaging image of the indiscriminate "big game hunter" was essential if the Society was to win the hearts and minds of the public and government. The hunting excesses of so-called 'sporting adventurers' from an earlier period, such as William Cotton Oswell, William Cornwallis-Harris and Rould Gordon Cuming, was called into question in the first decade of the twentieth century. Their unrestrained approach to hunting was one aspect of a much-admired, if brutal, period manliness. Indeed, uncensored hunting during the Mid Victorian period was linked to attitudes concerning the 'cult of adventure'.²⁹ According to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, confrontations between man and wild beasts alleviated the lack of 'real adventure' in an emasculated modern Europe which provided few opportunities for the man of strong arm and daring courage'.³⁰ As an antidote to this enervation, one 'shot' asserted that 'no man had any right to call himself a manly hunter' until he had killed the unlikely quartet of stag, seal, eagle and a swan'.³¹

Unreflective 'offensives' against game in the name of sport were condemned by the S.P.F.E. which explicitly blamed earlier hunters of 'wasteful slaughter'.³² The Society's noble aspirations were contrasted with the 'cataloguing records of

slaughter' popular with mid Victorian 'sportsmen'.³³ One remorseful member denounced the 'incredible waste' in wildlife which had taken place since the 1850s as a *moral* 'decadence' which threatened the existence of 'useful, rare, beautiful and defenceless game' while another referred to the same period as 'years of barbarism' which witnessed the eradication of the American Bison, Norwegian Reindeer and vast numbers of South African faunas in the name of sport.³⁴ In short, the conservationist impulses of the S.P.F.E. were viewed as part of a higher morality which sustained the imperialist's 'search for order' in a period of cultural change.

Although the Society was the first institution to draw attention to the moral responsibilities of the 'true' hunter, individuals had previously questioned the merit of excessive game killing. In 1840, Delabre Blaine, in his Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, had stressed the moral superiority of the hunter-naturalist over the mere, 'unselective' "game killer" and, by the 1860s and 70s, more 'selective' sportsmen were decrying the 'Extermination of Large Game' and condemning 'vulgar game-killers, mere bird-stuffers without even the pretence of a necessity for the acquisition of knowledge by a murderous onslaught on all by which that knowledge could be acquired'.³⁵

The unrestrained hunter, who 'knew nothing except hunting', was of course, anathema to the Society. His type was derided by one member as mere 'zoologists who knew life only from museum specimens who were not competent to make additions to scientific truth, nor yet to deal with and describe nature in its wilder and more imposing forms, animate and inanimate. Nowadays, however, we are tending to develop much higher types of all these and also a type which includes them all.'³⁶ Hunter-author, Frederick George Aflalo, went further and asked whether there was

any merit at all in collecting 'trophies' as evidence of successful hunting in an era of dwindling wildlife.³⁷ Put bluntly, according to member Abel Chapman, the indiscriminate hunter was, by the early twentieth century, an *anachronism*.³⁸

The amelioration in attitudes towards quarry species demanded by the society manifested itself in a greater concern towards game and the rules which governed its shooting. Those unable to kill game effectively and quickly were now publicly admonished by watchful 'shots' while 'long-range shooting' which increased the risk of injury to the quarry, was explicitly condemned by Dennis Lyell and by The Field in a self-explanatory article, 'Humanity in Sport'.³⁹

Despite this enlightened introspection, the continuing attraction of big game hunting meant that, according to concerned Society members, the main hunted species within British colonial territories, were still dwindling at an alarming rate.⁴⁰

Even Edward North Buxton, perhaps whimsically, admitted that the British upper classes were 'unable to visit foreign places without killing something!'⁴¹

Self-respect as well as self-indulgence, however, prevailed and Buxton, reflecting the spirit of his association, soon made it clear that he had only been responsible for 'the death of less than eighty four-footed animals' during his long sporting career!⁴²

The Society's ideal was uncomplicated but reality more problematic. The Griqualand Game Protection Association, a new association affiliated to the S.P.F.E., reported that in 1904, some twelve thousand nine hundred beasts were shot in the name of sport by European hunters, a figure which rose to twenty nine thousand in 1905, and had increased to forty thousand in 1906; member, Alfred Edward Pease complained that over one thousand lions were killed by so-called sportsmen between 1910 and 1911 in British East Africa alone.⁴³ A central figure in the Society's

hierarchy, Major James Stevenson-Hamilton, contemptuously described this form of indiscriminate hunting in Africa as mere 'organised extermination'.⁴⁴

The ongoing destruction of large numbers of game in the name of 'sport' compromised the objectives of the S.P.F.E. which laid the blame for this parlous state of affairs squarely at the door of 'immoral and irresponsible 'shots', particularly those 'educated young men, commercial hunters, tripper-sportsmen and the nouveaux riche'.⁴⁵ These 'decadent, dilettante and "town-bred guns"' not only corrupted 'British sporting values' but undermined the hard-won reputation of the 'noble' British hunter by amassing 'great piles of worthless, immature heads'.⁴⁶ In other words, the 'country gentleman' with his civilised sporting 'code' and impeccable upper class moral credentials, was above reproach when it came to hunting.

Disenchanted with irresponsible 'guns', the Society had a world view that required them to assume the leading role in educating others about the necessity of game preservation. Accordingly, hunting which was motivated by commercial gain or mere amusement failed the sporting ideal. 'Shots' who were ignorant of the 'sporting code' were castigated as 'dilettantes', unwilling to embrace the changing imperatives of hunting and natural history.⁴⁷

Affirming the changing climate of opinion, Edward North Buxton contended that 'it is important that people at home should realise the urgency of this question, and I should be glad if I succeeded in stimulating the wholesome public opinion which undoubtedly exists on the subject. That this feeling is not universal and that education is still needed in true sportsmanship, reckless shooting by individuals and the disappearance of the game make it only too manifest. Past experience in America

and South Africa shows how rapidly the teeming millions born of the soil may be shot out. Writers of half a century ago describe on the veldt in South Africa a paradise of varied life, which is now irretrievably lost, through the carelessness and wastefulness of white men. Some species have absolutely disappeared never to be seen again on the face of the earth'.⁴⁸

It was essential, therefore that the Society 'educated' the public and government. It achieved this by blending idealism with 'practical' approaches to wildlife preservation.⁴⁹ To do this effectively, it was important to gain the hearts and minds of senior officials at the Foreign Office. Initially, the Society reported 'satisfactory results' in this regard in its first twenty years.⁵⁰ Later, the introduction of measures to stop the illicit trading in ivory in South Africa by customs checks at all major ports for game trophies was evidence of the Society's influence at the Foreign Office.⁵¹ A similar impact was made at the Colonial Office where the imposition of a tax on all game exports from overseas territories was heralded as a triumph for the S.P.F.E.'s propaganda and 'educational' initiatives.⁵²

Education and propaganda were important in other areas. Threatened species, such as the Sudanese White Rhino, were singled-out by James Stevenson-Hamilton, who undertook a series of lecture tours, supplemented by published material within the Society's Journal, to publicise its plight.⁵³

Practical conservation policies engaged the attentions of H.M. Special Commissioner to Uganda, Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston, a preservationist distinguishable from many of his colleagues by his suburban and distinctly middle-class upbringing and grammar school education.⁵⁴ Johnston was a confident and dynamic conservationist who advised his more illustrious peers within the

Society, including Sir John Kirk and Sir Alfred Sharpe, on conservation issues in imperial Africa. ⁵⁵ As Special Commissioner to the Uganda Protectorate, Johnston worked towards greater protection for imperial wildlife in all the colonies. ⁵⁶ In October 1912, Johnston reported with renewed optimism that ‘an increasing interest is being taken in the promulgation of measures for the preservation throughout the empire of nature, fauna and flora’. ⁵⁷ In keeping with his progressive attitudes towards animal welfare, Johnston promoted those hunters who had shown responsibility and compassion in their hunting “careers”. Sir Alfred Sharpe, for example, was rewarded with the post of Deputy Commissioner of Nyasaland since had earlier supported the development of protected animal reserves in Nyasaland. ⁵⁸

In keeping with the Society’s preservationist rationale, Johnston abhorred “traveller-sportsmen” who overshot one area before quickly moving on to another location and even accused them of ‘blackmailing (imperial) officials by the letters they carry, exhorting from such officials all sorts of concessions and assistance’s which otherwise would not have been rendered’. ⁵⁹ Those less sympathetic to the plight of big game contended that placing moral restrictions on hunting was an affront to the British ‘sporting spirit’. Thus, ‘Globetrotter’ asserted that it was ‘good for the manhood of our race that enterprising young Englishmen who have the means should travel and explore in difficult countries’ while another observed that ‘wholesome English manhood’ should not be denied the opportunity to see the Empire first hand, particularly since it cost many English lives to secure it’. ⁶⁰ Official antipathy towards casual sportsmen, according to ‘Globetrotter’, emanated from the higher protectorate’s increasing enmity towards ‘travellers’ outside the *sacred ring* combined with a sensitiveness to criticism of their sporting rights

monopoly.⁶¹ For his part, Johnston established game reserves in the British Central African Protectorate and Uganda which meant that shooting in these areas was restricted to local officials.⁶² Ironically, Johnston disliked the concentration of preservation directives into the hands of the 'country squires' since, he suggested, they were only interested in wildlife which was of sporting value to them.⁶³

Despite Johnston's scepticism of the 'country gentleman's' sporting proclivities, members of the traditional landed elite were conspicuous in the wider battle against decadent and unsporting hunting practices and were widely represented within the Society. Ultimately, Johnston was forced to concede that, despite the occupation by science of new fields of research, there was a national reluctance on the part of men outside the upper middle classes to augment this knowledge through hunting, anthropology, zoology and botany.⁶⁴

It was a view shared by colleague, Rowland Ward who, in 1892, published Horn Measurements and Weights of the Great Game of the World, specifically for 'gentlemen sportsmen and scientific men,' the 'first of its kind.'⁶⁵ By the mid-1890s, Ward confidently asserted that 'now more than ever, the true sportsman among the great game seeks to be a naturalist, and to subserve the interests of science, as well as to secure his own gratification.'⁶⁶

In attempting to explain the origins of imperial conservation, the intellectual antecedents of the upper middle classes and aristocracy should not be overlooked. As noted by one observer, 'it is a matter of disagreement whether the climate of hegemony in nineteenth century England should be characterised broadly as "bourgeois" or "aristocratic" - the cultural dominance of the landed elite remained

important throughout the century, easily defeating the modest challenges of a progressive bourgeoisie' ⁶⁷

The Society's first Vice-Presidents, Earl Minto, Lord Curzon, Edward Grey Viscount Milner and Lord Cromer utilised their aristocratic, administrative and political experiences to effect a more sensitive appreciation of wildlife by widening the understanding of the 'hunter-naturalist's' approach to "Nature". ⁶⁸ Lord Cromer, the Duke of Bedford, Sir Edmund G. Loder and Charles Rothschild, all executive members of the Zoological Society as well as the S.P.F.E., added their paternal influence, while Lord Edward Grey was highly regarded as a naturalist and sportsman' and the personification of a widely respected 'amateur' ideal. ⁶⁹ In this way, the organisation had a peculiarly patrician conception of the need to manage the 'people's' natural resources - "for their own good"!

For his part, Lord Curzon's executive membership was part of a long lineage of aristocratic interest in hunting and natural history first manifested in the Elphinstone dynasty in the Bengal region of India in the 1820s. ⁷⁰ By 1900, Curzon was already involved in bird-legislation in India and was known to have had a real 'devotion' to the subject of wildlife preservation. ⁷¹ His aristocratic colleague within the S.P.F.E., the Earl of Minto, was similarly eulogised as a 'brother naturalist and sportsman'. ⁷²

Unsurprisingly, given the aristocratic composition of its executive membership, the Society balked at the excesses of a 'a utilitarian age which valued commercialism above sentimentalism'. ⁷³ Of course, the 'noble' hunter had long embodied a chivalric, higher morality. By way of example, Samuel White Baker had been eulogised as an 'Englishman to whom love of country was a cherished

birthright, and national advancement a desirable ambition. Cheap sneers at patriotism, so characteristic of a Commercial and Utilitarian Age, cannot touch Baker'. ⁷⁴

The Society was not so ingenuous, however, as to disregard the importance of funding necessary to implement its ideology. Aristocratic noblesse oblige, therefore, was altered to fit a democratic, capitalist culture. Much to the Society's chagrin, it was pointed out that the economics of 'white' development in Africa - such as the rise of railway net receipts from £2,639 in 1904 to £76,450 in 1907 - compared unfavourably with investment in imperial wildlife conservation. ⁷⁵ Intense canvassing of various Secretaries of State for the colonies resulted in expenditure on game preservation in British East Africa, described as an 'urgent imperial need', rising from £300 per annum in 1903 to £2,500 in 1907. By now, all forms of wildlife were legitimate 'imperial objects' which merited funding as much as other 'imperial reasons'. ⁷⁶

In the interests of financial support, it was essential that the Society sent Deputations to government at every opportunity. Deputations, it was stressed, were not convened in the 'interests of sportsmen, but for the preservation of species at large... as sportsmen, naturalists or imperialists'. ⁷⁷ Such apparent altruism was exemplified by demands for the raising of the weight of elephant tusk to a minimum of 40lbs. before it could be sold. ⁷⁸ Efforts to create supervised game reserves and laws against the sale of skins and hides was further evidence of the hunter-naturalists' this unselfish approach. ⁷⁹ Pressure-group tactics developed by the Society's Deputations were deemed particularly important to tackle the messy state of international conservation politics. ⁸⁰

The Society, however, was never a mere repository for concerned 'amateur' idealists but incorporated a broad range of middle and upper-middle class hunter-naturalists, zoologists and soldiers bound by the plight of imperial game.⁸¹ That said, an interest in game preservation offered useful political opportunities exemplified by the political power, reputation and influence of Alfred Sharpe, Robert Thorn Coryndon and Harry Johnston, who all owed much to their hunting proclivities within the 'imperial enterprise'.⁸² Paradoxically, preservation within the 'imperial enterprise' did not equate to a cessation of hunting. In later life, Alfred Sharpe rekindled his own 'search for imperial adventure' by hunting all types of big game in Nyasaland, while Robert Coryndon even killed the last two white Rhino to have existed in Mashonaland in 1893 despite being closely involved in the preservation of the few remaining herds of elephants in Uganda.⁸³

In short, hunting and 'preservation' were not mutually exclusive! In a very real sense, members both celebrated and institutionalised the upper class doctrine of 'fair play' towards wildlife while extolling the virtues of hunting per se. Accordingly, membership of the Society generated mutual and fraternal respect manifest in a moral commitment to game species and the moral imperatives of hunting.⁸⁴ Indeed, Edward North Buxton referred to the 'unwritten code of honour in the field which, if followed, makes the struggle of wits and strength, of skill and endurance a fair one' while Sir Alfred E. Pease stressed that 'true' hunting was an honourable contest characterised by fair competition for control over *wild* game only; 'noble' sport was that which tested the hunter's skill, instinct, endurance, sight, hearing and observation.⁸⁵

For the aficionado, 'fair' hunting underpinned the moral values associated with a virile imperial power. Hunting, therefore, was still strongly recommended to all energetic 'young Britons possessed of a love of science, natural history and sport' by Society member and Conservator of Indian Forests, Edward P. Stebbing.⁸⁶ In the same way, Sir Frederick Lugard confidently espoused that idea that the majority of English gentleman had an inherent and passionate conception of 'fair-play' in hunting.⁸⁷

The notion of an 'English' conception of 'fair play' was not, of course, a new phenomenon. Some years before the Society came into being, hunter-naturalist Stanley White Baker had opined that 'the love of sport was inherent in most Englishmen, and whether in the chase, or with rod and gun, they far excel all other nations. In fact, the definition of this cannot be understood by many foreigners...he hunts for the pot; and by Englishmen alone is the glorious feeling shared of true and manly sport. The character of the nation is beautifully displayed *in all our rules for hunting, shooting fishing and fighting*: a feeling of fair-play pervades every amusement. Who would shoot a hare in form...net a trout... hit a man when down? A Frenchman would do all these things, and might be no bad fellow... after all, it would be *his way* of doing it. His notion would be to make use of an advantage when opportunity offered. He would think it folly to give the hare a chance of running when he could shoot her sitting; he would make an excellent dish of all the trout he could snare; and as to hitting his man when down, he would think it madness to allow his to get up again until he had put him *hors de combat* by jumping on him. Their notions of sporting and our then, widely differ; they take every advantage, while we

give every advantage; they delight in the certainty of killing while our pleasure consists in the chance of the animal escaping'.⁸⁸

In other words, the ethnocentric sporting 'code' had absolved the "selective" game killers of moral criticism. Members who owned large collections were quick to point out that they were obtained in the 'proper' manner expected of the 'true' sportsman. Abel Chapman's big game collection was not achieved, he stressed, without due effort and commitment; musing over this substantial collection, Chapman asked rhetorically whether the 'Big-Game of Africa are so easy to get? The memory of a thousand failures and bitter despair negates that solution'.⁸⁹

Nevertheless, Chapman exhibited an commendable equanimity on "blank days". Indeed, his 'finest ever hunting day' resulted in no game but he still enjoyed 'these glorious wilds under the most favourable conditions...I am happy and satisfied with my glorious fortnight'.⁹⁰ He concluded that the many trophies which adorned his country house were the results of a contest borne of a 'long series of strenuous endeavour, where we could have no certain fore-knowledge of the prospects of success or failure'.⁹¹ In short, for the Society purist, hunting was a *redemptive* rather than a "killing" experience.

Consequently, hunting and killing game without due effort compromised the Society's ethical 'code' of sportsmanship. The unsporting use of the motor-car was an issue which distinguished the responsible sportsman from the inferior 'dilettante'. According to the former, 'a man who cannot endure the hardships of the "trek" is no fit man to be allowed to pit his rifle against the instincts of wild creatures'.⁹² Unsurprisingly, the Society urged the Colonial Office to ban the use of motor-cars in the pursuit of game in East Africa colonies.⁹³

It is an enduring paradox of the sporting 'code', however, that self-indulgence can triumph over ethics. Abel Chapman indefensibly shot over five thousand wildfowl in Southern Spain at the Lucio Grande in one week, arguing that such excess was a simple response to the massive numbers of birds he found there.⁹⁴ Chapman's obsession with hunting the rare and highly-prized Central African 'Forest-Hog' - on the basis that no white hunter had ever acquired one - was another anomaly of the hunter's 'code'.⁹⁵ With refreshing candour, Chapman conceded that the hunter-naturalists' 'bloodthirstiness' sometimes worked against his more noble ambitions.⁹⁶

The Society, however, was more than an association of erring idealists. It was also a 'scientific' organisation which gathered information on game species as 'animals' per se, not merely as "objects" for sport.⁹⁷ The description of the Society by the Earl of Crewe in 1909 as a 'scientific' one fitted well into this transitional role for the hunter.⁹⁸ As noted by another member, 'half a century ago, it looked as if we would develop hunters who knew nothing whatever of anything except hunting, zoologists who knew life only from museum specimens, and outdoor lovers of nature who were not competent to make additions to scientific truth, nor yet to deal with and describe nature in its wilder and more imposing forms, animate and inanimate. Nowadays, however, we are tending to develop much higher types of all these; and also a type which includes them all'.⁹⁹

Amidst the self-congratulatory rhetoric of the Society, however, some reiterated that the masculine orthodoxy of the hunter would not be lost. This rationale was taken up by Henry Seton-Karr who asserted that the 'brothers of the sporting rifle would continue to kill wild fauna, and in so doing they will learn to

study and to appreciate the wild life and natural beauty of mountain, field and forest, which in turn will develop useful and manly qualities of mind and body'. ¹⁰⁰

Some members, therefore, became self-designated scientific authorities armed with the hunter's and scientist's tools! Indeed, Abel Chapman considered himself to be a scientist 'in search of facts with binoculars and express rifle', objects which, he argued, made a significant contribution to the 'grandiose programme of South Kensington' -the cataloguing and classification of imperial game. ¹⁰¹

There was logic to Chapman's boasts. Along with fellow hunter-naturalist and imperial administrator, Frederick Jackson, both men confidently published 'the first' study of African game birds written explicitly for the layman, in a 'popular style... suitable for travellers, colonists and the bird -loving public, to all of whom the purely scientific works on this subject are incomprehensible' while Major E. E Austen, DSO, Deputy Keeper, Entomological Department, British Museum (Natural History) advised the organisation and published authoritative material on such issues as the impact of the tsetse fly on African game. ¹⁰²

Professor Ray Lankester of the Natural History Museum reinforced the Society's reputation as a bona fide, scientific group. ¹⁰³ The inter-relationship between 'science' and hunting was made clear by Lankester's request, in August 1900, for specimens of fauna and flora from soldiers guarding the line of communication in South Africa. ¹⁰⁴ Captain Leathes of the 3rd Yorkshire Regiment duly responded by asking whether any 'benefits' might accrue for any consignments of 'well-preserved skins, fit to 'set-up' in on arrival in England'. ¹⁰⁵ Hunting, militarism and science were apparently not inseparable!

Lankester's colleague and S.P.F.E. member, C.E. Fagan, also worked to integrate hunting and conservation through his work as Secretary to the Natural History Museum, treasurer to the International Ornithological Congress, and the Society for the Promotion of Nature Reserves.¹⁰⁶ In 1910, he organised the British section of the International Sports Exhibition in Vienna, and subsequently represented Britain at the International Committee for the Protection of Nature in 1913 in London.¹⁰⁷

In short, according to one “selective” hunter-naturalist, the ‘true’ hunter-scientist recognised that ‘the pursuit of wild sport was a school for the training of the mind and body wherein the manly attributes of strength, pluck, perseverance and endurance are acquired. Such sportsmen have at least added to our knowledge of wild countries, provided food for minds and material for the pens of many stay-at-home scientists, and have done equally as much as they in making us acquainted with the habits of wild game’.¹⁰⁸ The ‘hunter’ and ‘scientist’ were not mutually exclusive! Despite his status as a protector of wildlife, for example, Harry H. Johnston shot a previously unrecorded Five-horned giraffe at the Semliki River at Mt.Elgon in Uganda, a highly-prized trophy which created much excitement within ‘scientific’ circles at the N.H.M.¹⁰⁹

What all this amounted to was that male-dominated hunting and natural history was presented, through the Society, to the public as “serious knowledge”. Thus, rational ‘knowing’ was promulgated through the likes of Abel Chapman's book, Wild Spain which purported to be a ‘unique’ survey of Spanish fauna never previously undertaken by the hunter-naturalist while Major Cuthbert Christy and Harry Hamilton Johnston radically improved the data on the Central African gorilla

which was thought to occupied Gaboon and Cameroons until a specimen was shot in the Northern Congo in 1904. ¹¹⁰

The classification of new game species by Society members ensured that their expertise was validated and accepted as universal. In October 1901, future executive Society member, Clement Hill wrote from the Foreign Office to Professor Ray Lankester at the NHM proclaiming the discovery of a new species of antelope in the Uganda Protectorate. ¹¹¹ Hill produced an extract from a letter to the F.O. by a Major Forbes of the Uganda Rifles written on 13th August 1901, stating that, 'the Wanderobbs brought in a few days ago an entirely new species of antelope, an animal that lives in the Primeval forest, a truly beautiful beast- the female has no horns. This is evidently the mythical beast of the Wanderobbs. They have for many years told white men of a forest animal striped like a zebra with horns. This is only the second of the species that has ever been killed by men, proof of the extraordinary cunning and shyness of the beast. I suppose it will be known as 'Isaacii !'-not a very sporting name, rather synagoguish! Yet Isaac is a sportsman for all that'. ¹¹²

Engaging the attention of academics fitted functionally into the changing demands of British imperial rule as new administrative imperatives required greater emphases on cooperation and integration with indigenous cultures. As Britain's imperial role became more uncertain and subject to greater scrutiny, the Society felt confident enough to castigate the army for its profligate consumption of Treasury funds for punitive expeditions against African peoples, monies, they suggested, which could have been used to 'broaden scientific, imperial knowledge'. ¹¹³

It should be noted that another sea-change was under way - a shift in the concept of 'game' to that of 'wildlife' and a move from the notion of 'preservation'

to that of 'conservation'.¹¹⁴ These conceptual issues were germane to the problems posed by former "imperial sportsgrounds", developments which preoccupied the Society in the years after 1918.¹¹⁵ The fate of the Burmese *Rhinoceros Sondaicus* illustrated the low priority given to animal 'conservation' rather than 'preservation', in the aftermath of the Great War. This parlous situation was only assuaged by persistent and drawn-out coercion by the Society which induced the Burmese Government to introduce sanctuaries for the Rhinoceros.¹¹⁶ The creation of the Chamranragor Sanctuary at Mysore in India was one manifestation of similar pressure from concerned Society officials.¹¹⁷

Given its increasing influence within the new 'conservation' movement, the Society extended its influence during the 1920s to consider the plight of game in countries as diverse as Russia and Mexico and even approached the League of Nations to effect greater protection for the African elephant.¹¹⁸ The growing diversity of the Society's work now included interest in the operation of the game laws in any part of the empire and information on endangered species including the diseases which attack wild fauna, the relations of insect life to wild fauna and data on the tsetse fly and big game.¹¹⁹

To help it carry out its widening remit, it was believed that 'men on the spot' were best placed to promote continuity of action. With its own game wardens in Kenya, the Society enforced the 'absolute' 'conservation' of the giraffe and dik-dik during the mid 1920s and maintained close contact with its wardens in Uganda and Tanganyika to effect similar controls over other threatened species.¹²⁰

To maintain continuity, it was essential that the Society exerted political influence over national governments where game existed. Consequently, the

emergence of the S.P.F.E. in the far East, in particular, was necessary if a number of threatened species were to survive. Hunter-naturalist, T.R. Hubback was duly employed by the Society to lobby the new Malaysian Government's Wildlife Commission which examined wildlife policies in the country between 1928 and 1932.¹²¹ The ambivalence of the preservationist-hunter, however, was exposed by Hubback's two hunting trips to Alaska during the 1920s in search of 'adventure and big game'.¹²² Again, 'conservation' was wedded to hunting!

By the late 1920s, Hubback still found time to report that the Malay government was reluctant to provide financial support for game preservation which resulted in a request for the appointment of a game-warden to oversee British initiatives organised through the S.P.F.E.¹²³ Reiterating the hunter-naturalists responsibility for game "management", Hubback claimed that 'the preservation of wildlife is a duty which should not be undertaken solely by the state'.¹²⁴

To promote its political message, the Society organised a number of informal 'conferences' with ex-Governors of Provinces in India.¹²⁵ The appearance of the S.P.F.E at the 1935 United Provinces Game Preservation Society Wildlife Conference at Delhi emphasised the importance of the group's international standing in Eastern wildlife policy, a necessary development given the destabilised political climate.¹²⁶

One manifestation of this change in outlook was the need for greater international co-operation on game preservation between former imperial powers and their colonies.¹²⁷ One example of this was a Deputation from the S.P.F.E. made up of Peter Chalmers Mitchell, Secretary Zoological Society of London, Sir Sidney Harmer, Director of Natural History Departments, British Museum, Edward G B

Meade-Waldo, Member of the Council of Zoological Society of London and Captain Peter B Vanderbyl, Robert Page and Clive W. Hobley; this group consulted with the High Commissioner of the Union of South Africa over the proposed destruction of wild game by throwing open certain Game Reserves in Zululand as a means of overcoming the disease carried by the tsetse-fly. ¹²⁸

The Society's working relationship with governments in North Africa was enhanced by Arthur L. Butler, 'Superintendent' of the Game Department Sudan from 1917 until 1921. Working from the Kedah House in the Ghizeh Zoological Gardens in Egypt, Butler laid the groundwork for new game Preservation Ordinances as well as sending and receiving specimens and information from British museums. ¹²⁹

Being the first 'Superintendent' of the Sudan Wild Animal Department at Khartoum, Butler was able to hunt any specimens from the region required by the Natural History Museum - Butler was both 'conservationist' and 'hunter'! ¹³⁰ Indeed, his efficacious approach to conservation brought about a new list of completely protected species such as the wild ass, zebra, ostrich, shoe-bill and hornbill and secretary bird and placed 'bag-limits' on pelicans, flamingos, storks and herons. ¹³¹

Society colleague, Abel Chapman, was busy at this time championing of the protection of the white rhinoceros in the Sudan while berating overzealous French collectors who were still killing certain rare animals for museum purposes. ¹³² Consequently, Chapman complained to the Foreign and Colonial Offices and the Sudanese Game Warden about French expeditions which were still killing the endangered *White Rhino* and *Grant's Eland*. ¹³³

Chapman's condemnation of foreign hunters was not limited to French hunters. He also remained sceptical of German 'naturalists' and hunters who were part of an 'alien intrusion' of 'British Science'.¹³⁴ He eventually resigned his membership of the British Ornithologists' Union in disgust at the Germanic influence within the association, a form of 'truckling to the Hun' which Chapman regarded as 'repulsive and humiliating'.¹³⁵

The S.P.F.E were understandably cautious about German hunters in Africa, particularly in the former colony of Tanganyika, which was lost to Britain in 1919.¹³⁶ However, given the need to reduce internecine problems between imperial powers to secure wildlife preservation, German involvement was welcomed by Harry H. Johnston who supported German efforts towards preservation which he viewed as 'sincere and effective'.¹³⁷ In at least one other regard, Anglo-German relations found common ground: the numerous exhibition of sporting trophies in the inter-war by both Germany and Britain were, for some, potent symbols of their respective, virile imperialistic heritage and aspirations.¹³⁸

It is worth noting that the changing imperatives of imperial wildlife management during the inter-war period were accompanied by wider, societal changes in the way hunting fitted into definitions of national identity and masculinity. Thus, the group's orientation towards international co-operation reflected a new spirit of 'national consciousness', which, according to The Spectator, had made the crude imperialism of earlier times seem childish and out of date'.¹³⁹ Accordingly, the 'old-spirit of patriotism and flag-waving has given place to a new spirit in which we recognise that we have much to learn and gain from other countries...together with a *new* understanding of what it means to be English'.¹⁴⁰

A clear parallel, then, can be drawn between the decline of imperialism and the culture of the big game hunter. Indeed, the inter-war period has been depicted as a transitional period when 'Englishness' was re-fashioned into a newly 'youthful and feminine' nation whose popular culture depended less on imperialism and jingoism and more introverted domesticity.¹⁴¹

One manifestation of this transition was a redefinition of "adventure" to mean the challenge of the "physical" and the "outdoors" without recourse to the killing of animals. Consequently, there was, according to some sources, a move away from the 'adventurous' masculinity on which hunting depended. The anthropomorphic stories in the Boys Own Annual of 1938 depicted this 'softening' transition depicted in such titles such as 'An Elephant Round Up and the Kruger National Park', 'In Nature's Realm', and the 'Hare and the Rabbit'.¹⁴²

Similarly, The Spectator also discerned a 'slump in adventure' which inhibited the search for exotic forms adventure among young men.¹⁴³ Traditionally, it declared, young men had relied heavily on Kipling or Brooke, but now adventure in the 'grand old manner is obsolete... the spirit of 'restlessness, formerly a prerequisite of good citizenship, had diminished now that geographical discovery and territorial annexation had discontinued'.¹⁴⁴

It was a shift reflected in the Society's hierarchy and, in 1924, Peter Chalmers-Mitchell, an uncompromising conservationist, replaced Edward North Buxton as Chairman of the S.P.F.E.; his insistence that more imperial game be placed on the protected list and should not be shot for sporting purposes marked a sea-change in attitudes within some sections of the Society.¹⁴⁵

The purpose of hunting was the subject of a public debate at the Museums Association in London on 24th July, 1924 when S.P.F.E. Secretary, C.W Hobley, expressed ways in which hunting had evolved to incorporate the changing moral imperatives of wildlife management in the twentieth century. ¹⁴⁶ Agreeing that 'the destruction of creatures of a lower type by those of a higher mental development' was in accordance with general evolutionary principles, Hobley argued that contemporary hunting had shaken off its evolutionary 'necessity' and that a 'love of wild life has sprung up in civilised man, and although sport conducted on a reasonable and fair basis is not condemned, the right of a species to exist in areas which may be set aside for the purpose is fully conceded. The feeling is growing that it is more meritorious to photograph and observe living game than to slaughter it, and I can foresee the approach of a time when the killing of wild game, except for scientific purposes, will be considered an uncivilised act: but that is not yet'. ¹⁴⁷ Hobley's elegant appraisal of hunting was important because it questioned the application of Darwinism as a basis for sport hunting. The urge to hunt, however, was strong, and, despite his strong conservationist principles, Hobley was known to have shot a 'record' Hartebeest. ¹⁴⁸

Later, Stephen H. Prater, the Society's senior naturalist, optimistically declared that 'a gradual change' had developed in attitudes towards imperial game and, encouraged by a rise in education through the work of the Society, new standards of responsibility had presented a bulwark to the 'wanton destruction of wild life'. ¹⁴⁹ This amelioration, he continued, was part of the 'spirit of the age' which encouraged 'discovery and research' and fostered a 'widespread and intelligent recognition of the immense value to man of wildlife... While considerable data has

been accumulated by the study of dead specimens in museums, the “whence, how and where” of his existence which Man is seeking to discover cannot be discovered by these means alone. The study of the living creature under the natural conditions of its natural environment is equally important’.¹⁵⁰

The Society, then, was faced with the issue of how Britain’s imperial prestige could be displayed without emphasising the ‘stuffed’ animal trophy.¹⁵¹ Some members pointed out that a general lack of interest in field sports and the growth of ‘competitive games’ had undermined the moral values traditionally associated with big game hunting.¹⁵² The mores associated with the imperial ideal, so the argument went, were less compatible with gaudy, outdated ‘trophies’ and more reliant on the educational potential of museums and zoos; thus, ‘the anatomical relations of the various groups will not rouse the imagination of a child or young adult, but the utilisation by lecturers of excellent nature films now being produced will rouse enthusiasm, and bring home to both young and old the precious character of the marvellous assemblages of wild life’.¹⁵³

It was a moral message trumpeted by Chairman, the Earl of Onslow, who claimed that ‘the more one sees of the workings of the Society, the more does the necessity become apparent of an organisation of this kind in all countries where there is game to be preserved. The whole world is becoming so speedily opened up to travellers, traders, tourists and settlers, and so much uncultivated land is coming under the plough that unless some more or less drastic measures are taken to preserve the distinctive fauna it must obviously disappear entirely’.¹⁵⁴

The erosion of big-game shooting as essential baggage for the “imperialist” became more evident as the sport became increasingly ‘unfashionable’ in some

quarters. ¹⁵⁵ Even 'shooting big game in the name of science' was questioned by the normally supportive Field sporting newspaper. ¹⁵⁶ The collecting or shooting of unusual or rare game was now anathema to the responsible sportsman-naturalist. The notion of gorillas, for example, as a "object" fit for hunting was now viewed with scepticism. ¹⁵⁷ It was view shared by Harry H. Johnston who had argued that scientific literature on imperial sport must not encourage the adventurous 'sportsman' from acquiring rarer game such as the gorilla, bongo or white rhino. ¹⁵⁸

The automatic assumption that big game hunting was a 'manly' recreation was now under threat. Erstwhile 'shot', Lord Cranworth, while admitting that hunting entailed hardships, unpleasant food, fever, shortage of water and hostile wild natives, now argued that the 'mischievous propensities of imperfectly known wild beasts' had been considerably exaggerated. ¹⁵⁹

Cranworth's assertion was given greater credence by the passing of a generation of iconic hunters. Between 1919-1928, a pantheon of best 'guns' passed away, including Edward North Buxton, Abel Chapman, Lord Walsingham, Heatley Noble, Sir Edmund Loder, Earl Grey, R H Rimmington-Wilson, Major C H Shard and Capt. W.G. Ambrose ¹⁶⁰ The cessation of Baily's Magazine in 1926 compounded the sense of transition and illustrated how far the image of the "great white hunter", had lost currency.

The inability of the S.P.F.E. to attract Dr. W.T. Calman, the Keeper of Zoology at the Natural History Museum, was a blow to those who sought greater assimilation with other agencies. In February 1931, Colonel Robert W. Hingston wrote on behalf of the Society to Dr. Calman asking him to join forces with the group. ¹⁶¹ The author reminded Dr. Calman that the British Museum was 'widely

represented' within the group and felt 'sure that you must be in sympathy with its aims... we are at the moment making a push to put things on a sound basis in Africa, and have submitted to H.M. Government a scheme of ten large National Parks for the East and Central African Crown Colonies. It would put the wildlife in Africa on a fairly sound footing. Of course, we are anxious to have behind these efforts as large a body of leading scientific opinion as possible...your name and prestige would greatly strengthen the cause'.¹⁶² A hesitant Dr. Calman replied 'I have much interest in and much sympathy with the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire and I am constantly making reports to the Trustees on matters with which it deals'.¹⁶³ That Dr. Calman declined the offer to join the Society, however, confirmed that he was unwilling to fully support the Society while it remained, in part, in the hands of the hunting elite.

Arguably, Dr. Calman's reluctance may have reflected the fact that hunting still took place within the colonies and that British efforts towards game conservation had not gone far enough. To be sure, exalted cultural stereotypes associated with hunting still lingered on in some quarters. Hunting 'records' and imperial hunting adventures, such as J.A. Hunter's 'Adventure in Africa', and J. Corbett, 'Adventure in India' were still in evidence, while heated debates about how to measure shot tigers rekindled former imperial glories!¹⁶⁴ In short, some still clung tenaciously to a belief in the imperial sportsman and the values he represented. Despite the moves to discredit hunting 'trophies' as legitimate spoils of empire, exhibitions such as the Empire Exhibition of 1924 and the numerous international trophy exhibitions of the inter-war years perpetuated their symbolic and cultural importance.¹⁶⁵

Moreover, there were 'naturalists' within the Society who refused to distance themselves from the hunter-naturalist ideal. According to Dr. Fraser Darling, one of the Society's principal naturalists in the 1930s, 'it was a gross exaggeration' to blame the sportsman for the disappearance of certain types of wild game - rather, he is one of the most potent factors towards preservation. This does not mean that I do not deplore it, but I do feel that sportsmen and those people naturally opposed to such pursuits have a common ground for co-operation'.¹⁶⁶ It was a magnanimous view shared by S.P.F.E. President, the Earl of Onslow who asserted that the Society would never interfere with 'reasonable and legitimate sport - we regard legitimate sport as in the interests of game because no sportsman would be foolish enough to contemplate the destruction or extinction of big game. The great enemy of proper sportsmen is the poacher...we need educated public opinion and legislation in each country. The objects of this Society are to educate public opinion and to bring forward the need for the preservation of animals'.¹⁶⁷ In short, he later suggested, it was the 'true' hunter-naturalist who remained the 'greatest asset to game preservation'.¹⁶⁸

How were hunter-naturalists to reconcile the strong motivation to hunt with the increasingly vociferous demands of the 'conservationist'? One answer lay in replacing the gun with the camera. Indeed, the shooting of game with the camera rather than the gun was one important aspect of the amelioration in attitudes towards imperial wildlife in the early twentieth century.¹⁶⁹ It was a transition actively encouraged within the Society. The transformation of Edward North Buxton from hunter to wildlife photographer perfectly encapsulated this more enlightened and pragmatic aspect of conservation. By substituting his gun for the camera, Buxton

was applauded for becoming the 'first person of repute having the courage to stand before a snobbish public and proclaim that the best sport for a man of cultured mind is the snap-shooting with a camera, rather than the pumping of lead into elephants, rhinoceroses, antelopes, zebras and many other harmless, beautiful or rare beasts and birds'.¹⁷⁰

Buxton's ameliorative efforts with the camera clearly influenced other Society members and many of his colleagues also relinquished the gun in favour of photography.¹⁷¹ Interestingly, Buxton's renown as a hunter was not compromised by his growing preference for the camera over the gun and he retained his status as a 'sportsman' with the 'ceaseless energy of a strong man' until the end of his life.¹⁷² Some members expressed concern over the enervating influence of 'hunting' with the 'bloodless' camera. Dennis Lyell, for example, asserted that the camera might usurp the essential authenticity of the hunt.¹⁷³ In time, however, he too gradually conceived the hunting experience in terms of the 'Protection of Big Game' rather than its extermination.¹⁷⁴

Grasping the importance of the camera for conservation, the Society sent Andrew Vernay and Colonel John Faunthorpe to photograph specimens of game animals from the Plains of India in May, 1923 for the New York Natural History Museum.¹⁷⁵ It was an initiative which caught the public's imagination and some years later, Colonel James Stevenson-Hamilton discerned an 'astonishing change in public sentiment towards wild life during recent years. Today we see everywhere the camera replacing the rifle more and more, and a good photograph is regarded as a finer trophy than a pair of horns'.¹⁷⁶

The movement to photograph rather than kill game emerged from developments in the United States, where standards of sportsmanship acquired within clubs such as the 'Boone and Crockett' dictated greater emphasis on the conservation ethic.¹⁷⁷ It was a rationale which was to have a profound effect on the life of hunter turned conservationist, Major Arthur Radclyffe-Dugmore. After a conventional upper-middle class childhood - described by as 'a very strict and valuable education in the use of firearms from my father' - Radclyffe- Dugmore set about hunting imperial wildlife with relish.¹⁷⁸

As a child and young man, he regarded shooting as *the marker* of manhood which separated 'real' men from 'effeminate' men: indeed, those who did not shoot were considered 'very inferior...they were, in fact, *unmanly*'.¹⁷⁹ For the intrepid wildlife-photographer, so the argument went, camera-hunting was a more appropriate 'right of passage' than mere shooting which, according to a repentant Radclyffe-Dugmore, was no more than a 'a boy's sport'.¹⁸⁰

In his youth, Radclyffe-Dugmore shot game in Northern Africa, Algeria and Morocco where he consolidated his passion for guns and the 'kill' However, a gradual deepening interest in ornithology had a marked effect on his approach to natural history and field sports. Moreover, the 'emasculat[i]on' of hunting through transport, better access roads and super-efficient rifles turned Radclyffe-Dugmore against shooting game. Consequently, he turned to wildlife protection and the 'more challenging and dangerous "sport" of camera-hunting'.¹⁸¹

By his early twenties, Radclyffe-Dugmore abhorred shooting for sport, even for scientific purposes, preferring instead to photograph "Natures subjects", particularly birds and big game.¹⁸² "Stalking" game with a camera, he asserted,

required greater skill than conventional game shooting since no protection was afforded by the rifle; moreover, the photographer usually had to get closer to his subject to obtain a good 'shot'.¹⁸³ Rather than alienate the conventional 'sportsman', Radclyffe-Dugmore looked to win him over by reference to this 'clean and wholesome' sport without a 'close-season' which had the vicarious advantage of bringing pleasure to others unable to travel to exotic locations.¹⁸⁴ 'The excitement and interest of the bloodless hunting of wild creatures with the camera', he enthused, 'takes the place of firearm with the result that I derive pleasure undreamed of by those who shoot. Not only pleasure but the thrills of the chase are intensified greatly and in addition there is delight to be had from watching animals and birds in their natural state living their lives in the country which is their birthright. For camera-hunting means endless watching and this results in seeing much that is missed when shooting'.¹⁸⁵

Although there was logic in this argument, some hunters condemned the flash-photography of big game because it created anxiety in quarry species which subsequently made them more 'difficult to stalk'.¹⁸⁶

Radclyffe-Dugmore was a self-styled 'man's man' without the 'gun' whose exploits converted 'many other' former hunters.¹⁸⁷ As early as the first decade of the twentieth century, photographic images were popular with hunter-naturalists such as James McNeil who 'shot' with both camera and gun.¹⁸⁸ His photograph of a charging bull elephant was considered to be the finest 'close-up' of a dangerous animal in a wild environment.¹⁸⁹

S.P.F.E. member, Arthur Blayney Perceval also photographed and shot game in equal measure, hunting African plain's game with gun and camera in Kenya

between 1901 and 1939.¹⁹⁰ In his early years as a junior Warden, he fulfilled the expected criteria of a British hunter-naturalist being 'young, active and keen, a fearless rider, inured to hardships, a complete stranger to all ideas of comfort a good sportsman and naturalist'.¹⁹¹

Paradoxically, he was drawn to conservation through the "killing" of wildlife, an ambiguity made clear by his confession that he shot over two hundred lions in this way during his time as a Warden in Kenya; he even chased lions on horseback before shooting them - a practice which contravened the sportsmans' 'code'!¹⁹²

The monotony of destroying wildlife, however, turned Blayney-Perceval against hunting with the gun. 'Live animals', he insisted, 'were far more interesting than dead ones.'¹⁹³ 'If interested in animals and their habits,' he suggested, 'the camera may afford you more satisfaction than the rifle and photography will make greater demands on your stalking abilities.'¹⁹⁴

Others went further. Colonel Sir John L. Sleeman strongly advocated the substitution of camera for the gun and articulated his satisfaction at changing from hunter to photographer in his book, From Rifle to Camera: the Reformation of a Big-Game Hunter (1947).¹⁹⁵

The support of widely-published S.P.F.E. member, Harry Hamilton Johnston, was a useful addition to photography advocates. Johnston encouraged photography, art and natural history instead of hunting in preparing the young for the demands of imperial life. Even 'Eton boys', he lectured, 'must be taught not to hunt hares (which should be bred for food and humanely killed) or defenceless fallow deer, but to pursue both the camera and the notebook. Then when he grows up to be a soldier or administrator, a representative of Britain beyond the seas, he will not thirst to destroy

all the big-game and game birds within his reach, nor stand by un-protesting when backward races are being driven to desperation, or uneatable egrets, terns and trogons are shot wholesale for the decoration of women's heads'. ¹⁹⁶

In short, hunting with the camera or gun, was part of a wider "search for order". Masculine identity was now maintained by "challenging" game by the use of the camera. Whatever medium was employed, the period hunter-naturalist exerted a considerable influence on the direction of conservation. It was the 'morality' of the hunter which effected the beginnings of big game conservation which resulted in practical legislation.

Of course, throughout this 'transition' in masculinity, the hunter-naturalist remained self-controlled- and in control! According to one member, 'human progress was now linked to an increasing appreciation of beauty in Nature... the preservation of the world's fauna and flora should be an article of primal importance...in parish, national, imperial and international councils - as part of true religion, of intellectual stimulus and desire for knowledge'. ¹⁹⁷ Certainly, the men of the society saw themselves as 'visionary men within a virile British empire' who had effected 'ordered progress' towards wildlife conservation whilst upholding the moral imperatives associated with hunting. ¹⁹⁸ Through their efforts, the sporting 'code' was realised in institutional and legislative form. To be sure, his and his sort represented the genesis of sportsmanship - and sustainable conservation.

- 1 'Game Preservation', The Times, 3rd March 1899, p.9
- 2 W. Hodgson, 'The Degradation of British sports,' National Review, Vol.17,
August 1891, pp.790-1; T.F. Dale, 'On some Abuses in Fox hunting,' Baily's
Magazine, Vol.86, December 1906, pp.440-4; The Field, Vol.107, 1906,
p.418
- 3 Convention for the Preservation of Wild animals, Birds and Fish in Africa,
London, 19th May 1900, Cd 101. 1vi, 825. For a wider view of preservation
in Africa and India at this time see, 'The Preservation of African Game', The
Field, Vol.91, February 1898, p.92; 'The Preservation of Big Game,' The
Field, Vol.95, April 1900, pp.549-550; 'Game Preservation in India', The
Times, January 1902, p.4;
- 4 'Game Preservation', The Times, 3rd March 1899, p.9
- 5 R. Fitter, P. Scott, The Penitent Butchers, London, 1978, pp. 5-9. The
S.P.F.E. changed its name to the Flora and Fauna International, based at
Cambridge, England. Its Journal is now called Oryx - The International
Journal of Conservation. The proposal for a Journal was made during the
inaugural meeting of the society in December 1903 at the Natural History
Museum, London. This is recorded in the first Volume of the Journal, 1904,
pp.1-10. The Journal was published in six parts from 1904-1913. Publication
recommenced in 1921 with the title of ' Society for the Preservation of the
Fauna of the Empire Journal', New Series. These issues were restarted at
number 1. In 1926, the title was remodified again to the 'Journal of the
Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire - New Series, until
1950 when the Journal was renamed Oryx. In 1950, the Society changed its

name to the Fauna Preservation Society. I am grateful to Sarah Parker at the Society for her kind assistance with information on the Journals.

6 'The Preservation of African Big Game', The Field, Vol.101, May 1903, p.787

7 Ibid.

8 Fitter and Scott, Penitent Butchers, pp.5-9

9 Edward North Buxton, 1846-1924; ed. Trinity College, Cambridge. High Sheriff Essex, 1888, Deputy Lieutenant, Essex, Chairman Essex local Education Committee, chairman of Essex County Council, chairman of the London School Board. See E.N. Buxton, Essex Review, Vol.13, 1904, pp.4-9.

10 Sir Henry Seton-Karr 'The Preservation of Big Game', J.S.P.F.E., Vol.3, 1905, pp.26-27

11 The Field, Vol.107, March 1906, p.418

12 J.S.P.F.E. Vol.3, 1905, p.10. The proposed enlarging of the Natural History Museum in London as reported in The Times suggested that the imperial ideal with reference to natural history was still very much extant. The extensions, according to the newspaper, should be in accordance with the values associated with British hunter - naturalists, 'as befitted a great empire'. The Times, 19th May 1911, p.9. It was a theme taken up in other quarters. The Saturday Review, for example, referring to the 'Dying Fauna of an Empire', spoke of big game preservation as a deeply interesting and important *national* matter'. 'The Dying Fauna of an Empire', The Saturday Review, Vol.52, 1906, pp.635-6.

- 13 E.N. Buxton, quoted in Sir J.L. Sleeman, From Rifle to Camera: The Reformation of a Big-Game Hunter, London, 1947, p.188
- 14 Fitter and Scott, Penitent Butchers, p.8
- 15 Buxton, in Sleeman, Rifle to Camera, pp.26-27; F.V. Kirby, In Haunts of Wild Game, London and Edinburgh, 1896, pp.viii-ix
- 16 Lord Curzon to Lord Elgin, Deputation from S.P.F.E., J.S.P.F.E., Vol.6, 1906, p.375
- 17 Zeeneb Charlton, 'Heirlooms of Empire', Nineteenth Century, Vol.73, April 1913, p.99, and Zeeneb Charlton, 'Animals in Relation to Empire', _ Nineteenth Century, Vol.73, September 1912, pp.12-18; F. Dixie, 'The Horrors of Sport', Westminster Review, Vol.137, 1892, pp.48-54
- 18 Lord Curzon, 'Game Preservation in India and Burma', The Times, 4th January 1902, p.4
- 19 Ibid., and The Field, Vol.99, March 1902, p.370
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 'The Preservation of African Big Game', The Field, Vol.101, May 1903, p.787
- 22 Alfred Sharpe, Letter to S.P.F.E., 14th October 1904, J.S.P.F.E., Vol.7, 1904, p.19
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 'The Preservation of Indian Game', J.S.P.F.E., New Series, Vol.11, 1930, pp.50-1; J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.27, 1936, p.36; J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.2, 1923, p.19

- 26 A. Greenberger, The British Image in India, London, 1969, pp.13, 25, 34, 44, 48, 127, and, 'The Sporting Propensities of the Assamese', The Field, Vol.93, February 1899, p.157. See also, C.H. Donald, 'A Plea for Indian Game Protection', The Field, Vol.142, September 1923, p.407
- 27 A.J.W. Milroy, Deputy-Conservator of Forests, Assam, The Field, Vol.143, February 1924, pp.250-251
- 28 Fauna Society, Minute Book, 11th February 1929, pp.2-3; K. Caldwell, 'Game Preservation, its Aims and Objects', Lecture to Kenya and Uganda Natural History Society, 14th March 1921, J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.1, 1921, p.45
- 29 C. Tongue (Pseud. Cecil Cecil) 1800-84, Records of the Chase and Memories of Celebrated Sportsmen, London, 1854, pp.10-23; J. Greenwood's Wild Sports of the World, A Boy's Book of Natural History and Adventure, London, 1862, preface; B. Silliman, A Visit to Europe in 1851, New York, 1854, 2 Vols., Vol.2, pp.445-6
- 30 'Roualeyn Gordon Cummings', Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol.68, August, 1850, pp.231-6
- 31 Colonel W. Campbell, My Indian Journal, Edinburgh, 1862, p.3. See also, Sir W. Cornwallis-Harris, Wild Sports of South Africa, London, 1852, p.195
- 32 T.S. Roosevelt, in C.H. Stigand, Hunting the Elephant in Africa, New York, 1913, preface. For the views of Roosevelt on the hunter-naturalist, see, ed. H. Hagedorn, T. Roosevelt, The Works of Theodore Roosevelt, The National Edition, 20 Vols., Vol.12, New York, 1926, p.369
- 33 Ibid.

- 34 H.A. Bryden, Nature and Sport in South Africa, London, 1897, preface, pp.281-2; H.A. Bryden, 'The Extermination of Great Game in South Africa', Fortnightly Review, N.S., Vol. 56, September 1894, pp.538-548. See also, H.F. Wallace, Stalks Abroad, London, 1908, p.50; H. Maxwell, 'Obligation to Wild Animals', Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol.166, August 1899, p.224; A. Chapman, On Safari: Big Game Hunting in British East Africa, London, 1908, p.295. Interestingly, Chapman was lavishly praised by Baily's Magazine as a 'nature-student first and a hunter next'. See Baily's Magazine, Vol. 91, March 1909, pp.242-3
- 35 D. Blaine, An Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports, London, 1840, pp.157-164; 'The Extermination of Large Game', The Field, Vol. 49, April 1877, p.423; The Earl of Wilton, Sports and Pursuits of the English, London, 1868, p.224
- 36 T. Roosevelt, 'Hunter-Naturalist in Europe and Africa', The Outlook, 16th September 1911, p.111. Roosevelt was an Honorary member of the Society - despite his well-documented and prolific hunting proclivities!
- 37 F.G. Aflalo, 'The Sportsman', Fortnightly Review, N.S., March 1907, Vol.81, pp.155-60
- 38 A. Chapman, Memories of Fourscore Years Less Two, London, 1930, pp.143-4
- 39 Dennis Lyell expressed disgust at South African 'sportsmen' firing at game at distances which were likely to result in wounding rather than a clean kill. See D. Lyell, 'Long Shots at Game,' The Field, Vol.147, June 1926, p.893. 'Humanity in Sport', The Field, Vol.93, April 1899, p.543

- 40 C.G. Schillings, With Flashlight and Rifle, London, 1904, preface; C.
Kearton, Wildlife Across the World, London, 1913, chapter 1
- 41 E.N. Buxton, Short Stalks, London, 1893, preface
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 The Field, Vol.109, January 1907, p.14; 'Return of Game Killed in the East
African Protectorate, 1911-12', quoted in A.E. Pease, The Book of the Lion,
London, 1913, p.286
- 44 J. Hamilton-Stevenson, The Field, Vol.137, May 1921, p.572. The Society
expressed its concern about the over-hunting of African game in a series of
Command Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild
Animals in Africa, Cd 4472, 1909, lix, 635; Cd 5136, 1910, lxvi, 253; Cd
1911, lii, 521; Cd 6671, 1913, xiv, 759
- 45 The Saturday Review, Vol.52, November 1906, pp.32-40
- 46 C.H. Stigand, The Game of British East Africa, London, 1909, preface
- 47 F.G. Afflalo, Sketch of the Natural History of the British Isles, Edinburgh,
1897, p.13
- 48 E.N. Buxton, quoted in Sleeman, From Rifle to Camera, p.188
- 49 A. Johnston, The Life and Letters of Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston, London,
1929, p.295
- 50 Editorial Note, J.S.P.F.E., Vol.9, 1909, p.9
- 51 MS., Minutes of Meeting, at the Zoological Society Offices, 2nd November
1923, pp.2-3, held at Fauna and Flora Society
- 52 MS., Minutes of Meeting, at the Zoological Society Offices, 25th April 1924,
pp.8-10, held at Fauna and Flora Society

- 53 MS., Notebook, Minutes of Meeting , at the Zoological Society Offices, 22nd November 1923., pp.1-2 held at Fauna and Flora Society. See also, J. Stevenson-Hamilton, Animal Life in Africa, London, 1912, preface
- 54 See Johnston, Life and Letters, pp.25-38
- 55 Ibid, pp.12-15, 126-127. Kirk assisted David Livingstone in his expedition of 1858 as British Consul to the Congo. See 'Livingston and Africa', The Field, Vol.121, March 1913, p.491
- 56 'Fauna of the Empire', The Times, 4th October 1912, p.5, 'Protection of Birds', The Times, 29th April 1913, p.5, and 16th May, p.9; 'The Plumage Hunters', The Times, 18th November 1913, p.6
- 57 'Fauna of the Empire', The Times, 4th October 1912, p.5
- 58 Johnston, Life and Letters, p.126
- 59 H.H. Johnston, 'African Travellers,' The Times, 28th May 1901, p.11
- 60 "Globetrotter", The Times, 21st May 1901, p.8 and 28th May 1901, p.11
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Report by Sir Harry Johnston on the Trade and General Condition of the British Central African Protectorate, Cd.8254, 1895-6, appendix 1, pp.18-20; H.H. Johnston, Cd., 3189, November 1899. See also, H.H. Johnston, Britain Across the Sea: A History and Description of the British Empire in Africa, n.d., pp.205-7
- 63 'The Preservation of Indian Fauna', The Times, 27th August 1912, p.5. See also Sir. H.H. Johnston, Views and Reviews, 1912, London, pp.284-314
- 64 H.H. Johnston, The River Congo, London, 1884, preface, and 'Scientific Exploration of Africa', The Times, 11th April 1902, p.6

- 65 R. Ward, Horn Measurement and Weights of the Great Game of the World, London, 1892, preface
- 66 R. Ward, Preserving Trophies, London, 1894, preface
- 67 S. Denith, Sport and Cultural forms in Nineteenth Century England, London, 1998, pp.5-7
- 68 See, The Journals of the S.P.F.E. 1903-13, Fauna & Flora International: Its History in Southern Africa, Pamphlet held at Fauna and Flora Society, Cambridge. Lord Grey, Natural History - The Pleasure and Purpose of Observation, London, 1929, preface; Evelyn Baring, 1841-1917
- 69 'The Zoological Society', The Field, Vol.113, May 1909, p.734; The Field, Vol.141, September 1933, p.702.
- 70 Earl of Ronaldshay, The Life of Lord Curzon, 2 Vols., Vol.1, London, 1928, pp.58-63; P. Mason, Men Who Ruled India, 2 Vols., Vol.1, London, 1953, pp.163, 222, 240, 247, 287; Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bengal, 1819-1827
- 71 Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation From The Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire, received by Lord Crewe, Cd 4472, February 1909, p.21, and see, 'The Protection of Birds in India,' The Field, Vol.97, March 1901, p.268
- 72 E.P. Stebbing, The Diary of a Sportsman-Naturalist in India, London, 1920, preface. Edward Percy Stebbing, 1870-1960, of Romden Castle, Kent. M.A., FLS, FZS, FRGS, educated St. Paul's School, Royal Indian Engineering College, Coopers Hill.

- 73 Society Deputation to Lord Elgin, led by Henry Seton-Karr and Edward North Buxton, in 1906, J.S.P.F.E., Vol.5, 1906-7, pp.26-32
- 74 T. Douglas Muray and A Silva White, Sir S. Baker, A Memoir, London, 1895, pp.385-7
- 75 'Editorial Note', J.S.P.F.E., Vol.7, 1906-7, p.9
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Lord Curzon, Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire to Lord Elgin, June 1906, No.225, p.375 in J.S.P.F.E., Vol.5, 1905, pp.5-7.
- 78 Curzon, Proceedings, *ibid.*
- 79 'Big-game Preservation', The Field, Vol.113, February 1909, p.224
- 80 Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the S.P.F.E. received by the Earl of Crewe K.G. at the Colonial Office, 26th February 1909, in J.S.P.F.E., Vol.9, 1909, pp.11-18; Dennis Lyell, Peter VanderByl and Rowland Ward, Deputation to the Secretary of State in 1924, Report of the Deputation to H.M. Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, from S.P.F.E., April, 1925, J.S.P.F.E., NS, Vol.4 part 5, 1925, pp.20-7; Report of a Deputation from S.P.F.E., received by the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, May 1925, J.S.P.F.E., NS, Vol.4 part 5, pp.29-35. See also, D. Lyell, 'The Future Status of African Big-Game', J.S.P.F.E., NS, Vol.8, 1929, pp15-22
- 81 Johnston, 'Fauna of the Empire', The Times, 4th October 1912, p.5
- 82 J. Mackenzie, Empire of Nature, Manchester, 1988, p.38
- 83 H.F. Hole, Old Rhodesian Days, London, 1928, p.83; J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.3, March 1921, pp.27-30; The Field, Vol.137, December 1921, p.741

- 84 See for example, T. Roosevelt's description of Frederick Courtney Selous in T.D. Roosevelt, 'A Hunter-Naturalist in Europe', in The Works of Theodore Roosevelt, Vol.12, 1926, p.355
- 85 E.N. Buxton, quoted in Sleeman, From Rifle to Camera, p.188. See also, Buxton, Short Stalks, preface and Pease, The Book of the Lion, pp.70-1
- 86 Stebbing, The Diary of a Sportsman, preface
- 87 F. Dealtry Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, Edinburgh, 2nd Edition, 1922, p.132. Lugard also wrote, Fauna of East Africa, London, 1886
- 88 S. Baker, The Rifle and Hound in Ceylon, London, 1874, 5th Edition, pp.14-15; Wild Beasts and Their Ways: Reminiscences of Europe, Asia, Africa and America, 2 Vols, Vol.1, London, 1890, p.viii, and preface
- 89 MS., Chapman, 'African Big-Game in Houxy Record and Results, H139, p.27; see also, Chapman, On Safari, pp.296-7.
- 90 Ibid., 'African Big Game'
- 91 Ibid.
- 92 'Motor Cars and Big-Game', The Field, Vol.148, 26th July 1926, p.145
- 93 Minutes from Meetings, at the Zoological Society, 22nd March 1922, p.32. Then, as today, the use of motor transport to hunt down game was an emotive issue. See 'Big-game and Motor Cars, The Field, Vol.141, 1923, p.88; Frank Wallace, 'Big-Game and the Motor-Car,' The Field, Vol.142, July 1923, p.106, and August 1923 p.269; 'Motor-Cars and Big-Game', The Field, Vol.148, July 1926, p. 70.
- 94 A. Chapman, Birdlife in the Borders, London, 1889, p.130.

- 95 MS. Letter, Chapman to O. Thomas, Natural History Museum, DF 232/14,
Vol.2, p.44.
- 96 A. Chapman, Retrospect, Reminiscences of a Hunter-Naturalist in Three
Continents 1851-1928, London, 1928, pp.214-217
- 97 See for example, J.S.P.F.E., 1906, pp.9-15 and Minutes of Proceedings at a
Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the
Empire, Received by the Earl of Crewe, Cd.447, 26th February 1909, p.21
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Roosevelt, 'A Hunter-Naturalist in Europe', in Works of Theodore Roosevelt.
Vol.12, p.369.
- 100 Henry Seton-Karr, My Sporting Holidays, London, 1904, p.367; F.E.
Younghusband, Among the Celestials - a Narrative of Travel in Manchuria
Through the Himalayas to India, London, 1898, preface, pp.41-2 .
- 101 Chapman, Memories of Four Score, p.247
- 102 Chapman, On Safari, op.cit, preface and pp.303-20; E. Austen, 'The Tsetse
Fly', The Field, Vol.111, September 1909, p.12; See also, 'Game and the
Tsetse Fly', The Field, Vol.139, February 1922, pp.275-6. H. Frank Wallace,
among others, made a significant contribution to period hunter-naturalist
sporting literature including his British Deer Heads, London, 1914
- 103 See R. Lankester, Guide to the Great Game Animals in the Department of
Zoology, British Museum, London, 1907
- 104 'A Scientist's Suggestion', The Cape Daily Telegraph, 19th August 1900, p.1
- 105 MS., Letters, NHM, Leathes to O. Thomas, DF 232/6, Vol.2, p.255
- 106 C.E. Fagan, 1855-1921

- 107 The Field, Vol.137, February 1921, p.175
- 108 Quoted in D. Holman, Inside Safari Hunting, London, 1969, p.35
- 109 The Times, 20th June 1901, p.10, and The Times, 18th June 1901, p.8
- 110 A. Chapman and W. Buck, preface, Wild Spain, Records of Sport with Rifle, Rod and Gun, Natural History and Explorations, London, 1893, preface; H.H. Johnston in Dr. C. Christy, Big-Game and Pygmies: Experience of a Naturalist in Central African Rainforests in Quest of the Okapi, London, 1924, p.xxv
- 111 MS., Letters, C. Hill to Professor R. Lankester, NHM, DF 232/8, Vol.1, 13th August 1901 p.191
- 112 MS., Letters, from Major Forbes to Professor R. Lankester, DF 232/8, Vol.1, 13th August 1901, p.192. Sir Clement Hill, K.C.B., was in charge of the African Protectorates Department at the Foreign Office, and a member of the S.P.F.E. Interestingly, Major Forbes insisted that 'the hunt' was the only way of procuring the beast, and asked if the Foreign Office would deter natives from hunting the animal.
- 113 The Times, 20th June 1901, p.10, and The Times, 18th June 1901, p.8
- 114 Mackenzie, Empire, p.286
- 115 Editorial, J.S.P.F.E., N.s., Vol.8, 1928, pp.10-11, and Vol.10, 1930, pp.24-40
- 116 Minutes of Meeting, S.P.F.E., J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.1, 25th November 1921, p.23

- 117 'Reports', J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.28, 1936, pp.36-43; 'What of India',
J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.58, 1948, pp.41-2; Oryx, (New Journal of S.P.F.E.)
Vol.1, 1950-2, pp.224-7, Vol.2, 1953-4, pp.144-6
- 118 Minutes of Meeting, J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.1, 10th April 1921, pp.20-25
- 119 'Subjects for Publication', J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.5, December 1925, pp.68-75
- 120 'Preservation', J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.5, December 1925, pp.13-17
- 121 Minutes of General Meeting, 26th April 1921, in J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.2,
1921, pp.20-1; J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.11, 1930, p.57; Report of Executive
Committee to General Meeting, 31st October 1932, pp.8-9
- 122 T.R. Hubback, To Far Western Alaska For Big Game: Being an Account of
Two Journeys to Alaska in Search of Adventure, London, 1929, preface
- 123 J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.9, 1929, p.11; 'Game Preservation in India,' J.S.P.F.E.
N.S., Vol.19, 1931, pp.23-35.; 'Conservation of Malayan Fauna,' J.S.P.F.E.,
N.S., Vol.6, 1926, pp.35-43; Minutes of General Meeting, 26th April, 1921,
p.5; Letter from the Burma government regarding the *Rhinoceros Sondaicus*,
Minutes of Meeting, 22nd June 1921
- 124 Letter, from Hubback to S.P.F.E., quoted in J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.3, 1923,
pp.16-17 and Vol.4, 1924, pp.60-3; J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.9, 1929, p.76
- 125 Report of Executive Committee to General Meeting of the S.P.F.E.,
J.S.P.F.E., Vol.12, 31st October 1932, pp.8- 9
- 126 J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.24, 1935, p.9, and Vol.25, 1935, pp.23-33
- 127 See address given to the Society on 10th December 1928, by Baron Cartier
de Marchienne, J.S.P.F.E., Vol.8, 1929, p.15-23, and See J.S.P.F.E., Vol.13,
1931, p.11; Vol.17, 1932, pp.8, 27-48; Vol.18, 1933, pp.32-45; Vol.21,

- 1934, pp.5-9; Vol.34, 1938, pp.25-7; Vol.37, 1939, p.9. See also,
 'Preservation of Indian Fauna', The Times, 27th August 1912, p.5.
- 128 Report of a Deputation from the Society for the Protection of the Fauna of
 the Empire Received by the High Commissioner for Union of South Africa,
 26th May 1925, held at Fauna and Flora Society.
- 129 MS., Letter to Oldfield Thomas, DF232-7/40, 22nd February 1901, pp.40-1.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 Ibid, and see 'Game Preservation in the Sudan', The Field, Vol.112, July
 1908, p.27
- 132 Minute Book, S.P.F.E., 3rd December, 1926, pp.3-5. See also, A. Chapman,
 'The White Rhinoceros of the Sudan,' J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.2, July 1922,
 pp.44-5
- 133 Chapman, Memories of Fourscore Years, pp.39, 153-5
- 134 Chapman, Borders, pp.448-9
- 135 Ibid.
- 136 J.S.P.F.E., Vol.3, 1907, pp.76-7, and J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.1, 1921, p.116;
 Vol.7, 1927, pp.51-52.
- 137 'Fauna of the Empire', The Times, 4th October 1912, p.5
- 138 Since 1894, exhibitions of stags heads were held at Berlin as an imperial
 competition, often adjudicated by the Kaiser, between the respective best
 shots from Germany and Britain. See The Field, Vol.111, May 1908, p.441
- 139 'Mr. Churchill's England', The Spectator, Vol.150, 28th April 1933, pp.595-6
- 140 Ibid.

- 141 J. Taylor, A Dream of England: Landscape Photography and the Tourist's Imagination, Manchester, 1994, p.124
- 142 See 'Boys Own Annual', Vol.61, 1938-9, pp.116, 129-30, 259-62. An earlier edition of the Boys Own annual in 1923-4, contained only one reference to 'fieldsports' and that was 'Fly Fishing for Trout', under the somewhat euphemistic title of "Outdoor Sports". See 'Boys Own Annual', Vol 46, 1923-4, pp.755-756. For a more general view of changes in the definition of "adventure", see D. Matless, Landscape and Englishness, London, 1998, chapter 2
- 143 'Slump in adventure', The Spectator, Vol.150, 14th April 1933, p.531
- 144 Ibid.
- 145 J.S.P.F.E., NS, Vol.4, December 1925, pp.5-13
- 146 'The Protection of Wild Life', Paper read before a meeting of the Museums Association, London, 24th July 1924, by C.W. Hobley, CMG, CMZS
- 147 Ibid.
- 148 Ward, Records of Big Game, p.70
- 149 S H Prater, 'The Wild Animals of the India Empire', J.S.P.F.E., N.S., August 1934, Vol.22, pp.18-19
- 150 Ibid.
- 151 Minutes of Meeting, S.P.F.E., 25th April 1924, pp.1-4
- 152 Ibid., and Hobley, 'The Protection of Wild Life', Museums Association, 1924, pp.27-8.
- 153 Ibid.

- 154 The Earl of Onslow, 1876-1945, educated Eton and New College, Oxford.
Lieutenant W.W.1, made Civil Lord of the Admiralty, 1921. See The Earl of
Onslow 'The Preservation of African Fauna', Journal of The Royal African
Society, Vol.37, 10th July 1938, pp.380-386
- 155 D. Middleton, Baker of the Nile, London, 1948, p.32
- 156 The Field, Vol.142, 4th October 1923, p.489
- 157 The Field, Vol.143, 19th June 1924, p.878
- 158 Johnston, introduction, in Christy, Experience of a Naturalist, p.xxxii
- 159 Lord Cranworth, Profit and Sport in British East Africa, London, 1919, p.320
- 160 'Best game Shots', Bailys Magazine, Vol.80, 1903, pp.198-208; See also, R.
N. Rose, The Field, London, 1953, chapters 2-3. Lord Walsingham -
1849-1924. Heatley Noble - 1843-1922. Edmund Loder - 1849-1920. Earl
Grey - 1850-1923. R.H. Rimmington-Wilson - 1841-1927. Major C.J.
Shard - 1858-1925. Capt. W.G. Ambrose - 1846-1926
- 161 MS., Letters, Colonel Hingston to Dr. W.T. Calman, Natural History
Museum, DF 200/92, 2/31, 6th February 1931, no page number
- 162 Ibid.
- 163 Ibid. Nevertheless, by 1935, Calman had apparently had a change of heart
and wrote to C.W. Hobley, acting Chairman of the Society, 'we are always
glad to give any help we can to your Society. May I suggest that our Library
obtain a complete set of your publications'. MS., Letter, Dr. W.T. Calman to
C.W. Hobley, DF 200/92, 28, 10th May 1935, no page number

- 164 'Records and Preservation of Trophies', The Field, Vol.141, May 1923, p.759; L. Thomas, Great True Adventures, London, 1955, pp.43-63, 128-142
- 165 The Field, Vol.143, April 1924, p.548
- 166 Frazer Darling, Lecture at the British Sporting Exhibition, London, 26th January 1938, J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.30, 1938, pp.10-17.
- 167 The Earl of Onslow, 'The Preservation of African Fauna,' Journal of The Royal African Society, Vol.37, 10th July 1938, pp.380-386
- 168 Ibid.
- 169 A. Radclyffe-Dugmore, 'The Wonderland of Big-Game,' The Field, Vol.142, August 1923, p.275; E.H. Peacock, 'Rifle or Camera?', The Field, Vol.162, July 1933, pp.153-4
- 170 H.H. Johnston, in Edward North Buxton, Two African Trips, London, 1902, preface
- 171 Radclyffe-Dugmore, in Sleeman, From Rifle to Camera, preface
- 172 'Edward North Buxton', J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.3, 1924, p.23
- 173 D. Lyell, 'Protection of Big-game', The Field, Vol.142, July 1923, p.70
- 174 Ibid.
- 175 'An Indian Big-Game Film,' The Field, Vol.142, November 1923, p.667
- 176 Address at Rotary Club Luncheon, Pretoria, 17th November 1938, in J.S.P.F.E., N.S., Vol.18, 1938, p.10
- 177 C. Stein, 'The Boone and Crockett Club', Baily's Magazine, Vol.70, July 1898, pp.351-7

- 178 A. Radclyffe-Dugmore, 1870-1955, Camera Adventures in African Wilds,
London, 1910, preface
- 179 Ibid.
- 180 Who Was Who, 1951-1960, London, 1964, p.10 ; Sleeman, Rifle to Camera,
preface; Radclyffe-Dugmore, Camera Adventures, preface
- 181 Ibid., Radclyffe-Dugmore, Camera Adventures, preface. For an example of
Radclyffe-Dugmore's conservationist efforts, see The Romance of the
Beaver, Being the History of the Beaver in the Western Hemisphere, London,
1914, chapters 3 and 4
- 182 Ibid.
- 183 Ibid.
- 184 Ibid.
- 185 Radclyffe-Dugmore, 'Wonderland', The Field, Vol.142, August 1923, p.275
- 186 Radclyffe-Dugmore, Camera Adventures, p.xvii. See also, The Times,
Compilation of 'Photographs of Big Game Hunting', n.d.
- 187 Radclyffe-Dugmore, Camera Adventures, p.xvii
- 188 MS., James McNeil Notes, held at Glasgow Museum. I am grateful to
Richard Sutcliffe, Curator at Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery for this
information.
- 189 Ibid.
- 190 Frederick Jackson, His Majesty's Commissioner, Nairobi, June 1906,
regarding the constitution of a Game Rangers Department, Kenya, Enclosure
1, (220) to the Earl of Elgin, 1906, in P. Smile, A Game Ranger's Notebook,

London and Glasgow, 1961, preface; A.B. Perceval, Game Ranger on Safari,

London, 1928, preface, p.56

191 Perceval, Game Ranger on Safari, preface, p.56

192 Ibid.

193 Ibid.

194 Perceval, Game Ranger's Notebook, p353

195 Sleeman, Rifle to Camera, preface, p.195

196 Sir H.H. Johnston, 'The Protection of Fauna and Flora, A Common Sense
View,' Nineteenth Century, Vol.574, September 1913, p.587

197 Johnston, Views and Reviews, pp.290, 314

198 Chapman, Retrospect, p.280

Epilogue:

Hunting, Morality and
Imperialism

‘Studying the relationship between the West and its dominated cultural ‘others’ is not just a way of understanding an unequal relationship between unequal interlocutors, but also a point of entry into studying the formation and meaning of Western cultural practices themselves... The persistent disparity in power between the west and non-West must be taken into account if we are accurately to understand the cultural forms of ethnographic and historical discourse’.¹ The evidence presented here suggests that a survey of hunting during the age of High Imperialism can a contribution to this historical discourse. Given the cultural significance of hunting, a case is made for the wider importance of sports history as a meaningful element of “history”.

Here, emphasis has been given to the cultural values associated with the ‘country gentleman’. John Mackenzie, has asserted that the preferred recreation of the ‘country gentleman’ - his hunting sports - are disappearing as the values associated with imperialism have gone out of fashion.² Similarly, according to Jeffrey Richards, the ideology of the ‘country gentleman’ is now defunct and his *behaviour* the object of derision - he is, in short, a subject fit for historians.³

Thus, within the cultural context of field sports, the concept of the gentleman has been an influential idea associated with both formal and informal socialisation in British and imperial society. The ideal has contributed to the definition *inter alia* of masculinity and femininity and it has shaped gender relations. Indeed, the very possession of “leisure time” defined the period, country gentleman. For the ‘several thousand people who have nothing to do during seven days in the week’, hunting was, according to one sardonic observer, a matter of significance: after all, the British have usually able to persuade themselves of the serious *moral purpose* behind their

enjoyable pursuits. ⁴ As observed by one Late Victorian proponent, 'a fox, although useless in its self, was a thousand pounds worth of health courage, manliness and good-fellowship, things of the highest value to the country'. ⁵

In short, hunting was an important aspect of male socialization for the significant minority which shaped Britain's imperial destiny - and "British" national identity.

The moral significance of hunting was underpinned by its "biological potentials". Simply, the killing of other life forms was one example of the way in which "biological potentials" were 'exaggerated' to promote imperial success. ⁶ Moreover, prowess with the gun or in the hunting field demonstrated and confirmed access to those cultural activities which conferred unquestionable manhood since the unequivocal definition of manhood was closely connected to these activities. Unsurprisingly, successful hunters were, according to the period cognoscenti, the apotheosis of "ideal manhood". ⁷ This high caste mark was dependent on the the participant successfully testing himself in a difficult environment and 'mastering' his 'prey' - a visible marker of 'competent masculinity'.

Here, hunting has been presented as an integral part of the cultural ascendancy of white, socially and economically powerful men - an indicator of social and gender prestige. This recreation was an emotional *preparation* - for personal assertion in life, for success in imperial spheres and complemented the notion that men did not inherit manhood through biological composition - manhood through hunting had to *earned* and validated by *other men*. ⁸

The period hunter, therefore, was a self-designated icon who had a particular world view defined by attitude, motivation and affiliation. His hunting obsession reflected a natural, redemptive and 'elemental' desire of the 'predatory hunter'. This

concept, according to Lee and DeVore, formed a central tenet of a 'hunting hypothesis', an idea germane to the issues considered here. ⁹ It was necessary, of course, for the hunter to 'discard comfort and ease when hunting...one relapsed into elemental man', a view shared by another 'shot' who contended that hunting was simply 'part of the strong instincts of self-survival'. ¹⁰

It was an 'instinct' which impelled even 'conservationists' to shoot wildlife in the name of sport. Sir Peter Scott, after shooting his first stag at Inverewe in the Scottish Highlands, commented that he was only an 'uninhibited hunter answering quite simply, the urge to kill'. ¹¹ This 'yearning' found ample opportunity for full expression with the added attraction of testing man's 'fitness for survival' within a period of changing gender definitions. Major A.I.R. Glasfurd, for example, disenchanted with his onerous administrative military duties in the 1890s admitted that he was 'most alive' when hunting dangerous game alone, a sport which gave purpose and meaning to his subaltern's existence: 'I was a man, ere these dull bonds of servitude began; And, wild in woods, a happy savage ran.' ¹² Glasfurd's peer, Captain John Madden espoused the virtues of the 'hunting instinct, which had descended from primeval times as part of man's savage nature. We see this hunting propensity illustrated every day in "sporting tastes" which are part of man's nature and which neither time, education, business or family life have been able to eradicate in any class of the community. Nor should this instinct be regarded as degrading by the moralist - the world's greatest men have been amongst the keenest sportsmen...the youth who is insensible to the joys of the chase or to the attractions of the field or stream is seldom one destined to play a great part in the world's history'. ¹³

Although the period hunter's masculinity was 'hegemonic', it is over simplistic to suggest that it was also 'one-dimensional'. By the early twentieth century, the image of the big-game hunter could no longer be easily categorised as one who contested wild game in a "fight to the death" since the principal protagonists were evolving preservationists who regarded the interests of game as paramount! In short, the often jaundiced notion of the 'great white hunter', should not necessarily be viewed in isolation from other facets of the hunting experience. As made explicitly clear by Hamish Wallace, the current Honorary Secretary of the Shikar Club, its members are 'conservationists as well as hunters'.¹⁴ By locating masculinity in different contexts during the course of changing imperial demands and expectations, it has been suggested here that masculinity was an adaptable and flexible range of behaviours linked to the changing social, material and cultural conditions of life.¹⁵

In other words, the 'masculinity' of the 'predatory hunter' can also be viewed in terms of redemption, aesthetics and even 'preservation'. Modern 'conservation', therefore, owed little to anthropomorphic impulses and more to the 'moral' code of ethical sportsmen and their allegiance to a 'sporting code'. Certainly, the morality of field sports and big game hunting were never subsumed within sentimentality but remained a pragmatic response to changing circumstances. The superiority of the imperial ideal, however, was never lost sight of. In 1909, The Times, confidently declared that the increase in men's power and knowledge was evidence of his innate superiority over animals - 'to be used by men for whatever purpose, a view in contrast to the "disillusions" who promulgates the notion of man's insignificance' and dismisses his achievements.¹⁶ In this view, the hunter, as part of the 'advanced stage of civilisation', challenged nature in a 'struggle for survival' in which he

reconstructed the 'hunter-gatherer' idea. The imperialist's hunting prowess was then promulgated as evidence of his 'fitness to rule'.

It was a notion encouraged by hunter-proselytisers concerned at human unhappiness based on a 'misguided and progressive severance of all roots that bind men to the soil'.¹⁷ 'If every angler or "shot" taught one boy to hunt, according to one devotee, he would help him return to nature, requiring quicker senses and physical endurance - the young sportsman, in this view, 'must re-enter an arena in which life depends on liveliness of sense and fitness to survive'.¹⁸

This doctrine was contested by period Humanitarians such as Henry Salt and the Humanitarian League which challenged the assumption that the violent appropriation of wildlife in the name of sport enhanced Britain's 'manhood'. Moreover, they dismissed the notion of the 'hunter-warrior' and his values as being part of the natural order of the 'survival of the fittest'. The selective use of Darwinian theory and terminology by the hunting community, however, undermined the Humanitarian cause as it was an 'effective way to lend a veneer of scientific credibility to what before could have been dismissed as mere supposition- and an effective way to castigate churchmen and humanitarians who were progressively losing support in an increasingly science-conscious Victorian society'.¹⁹

Humanitarian strategies were clearly undermined by attractions of hunting for the social and economic elite. For reformists, the manliness associated with hunting was linked explicitly to the upper classes who had the time and money to develop skills with gun and hound. Consequently, hunting enabled 'well-heeled' men to mobilise a range of resources in a greater range of material domains. Membership of Edwardian hunting societies such as the Shikar Club signified an advanced degree of

manhood based on both achievement in the field and the political, social and economic power of and corresponding confidence of advantaged men. Then, as today, the economic and social elite who made up the Shikar Club were not bounded by hegemonic work codes or subservient to the laws of the market place or handicapped by limited resources. In its own eyes, it achieved the dignity of a privileged manhood and personal worth through the challenge of the natural world.

The affluent Victorian hunter-naturalist was able to display the results of his labour to the wider public through museums - a 'spectacle' of masculinity!²⁰ He therefore, 'valued his trophies by the labour expended, the difficulties overcome, and the dangers faced in obtaining them. They are men who recognise in the pursuit of wild sport a school for the training of the mind and body wherein the manly attributes of strength, pluck, perseverance and endurance are acquired. These men are always prepared to stake their own lives against those of the beasts they encounter. Such sportsmen have at least added to our knowledge of wild countries, provided food for minds and material for the pens of many stay-at-home scientists, and have done equally as much as they in making us acquainted with the habits of wild game.'²¹

In modern society, many collections have been left stranded and reinvented as a common inheritance of changing global ecosystems in contrast from politically divided, imperial world from which they emerged - an obsolete world deserving of scholarly attention from 'mainstream' and sports historians alike!

- 1 E.W. Said, Culture and Imperialism, London, 1994, p.230
- 2 J. Mackenzie, Empire of Nature, Manchester, 1997, pp.308-9; See also, R. Hummell, 'The International Journal of the History of Sport', Vol.20, London, September 2003, pp.197-9
- 3 J. Richards, 'The English Gentleman', The Listener, 6th May 1982, p.6
- 4 G.S. Sandilands, Atalanta or the Future of Sport, London, 1928, p.9; P. Mason, The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal, London, 1982, p.83
- 5 R. Jeffries, 'The Defence of Sport', National Review, Vol.1, 1883, pp.930-1
- 6 D. Gilmore, Manhood in the Making, London and New Haven, 1990, p.23
- 7 See H. Faulkner, Elephant Haunts. Being a Sportmans narrative of the Search for Dr. Livingston, London, 1868, pp.27-28
- 8 B. Bull, Safari, a Chronicle of Adventure, London, 1988, p.127; H. Brod and M. Kaufman, Theorizing Masculinities, London, 1994, pp.265-6; M. Weber, Economy and Society an outline of Interpretative Sociology, 2 Vols., Vol.2, London, 1978, p.1144
- 9 Lee and I. Vore, eds., Man the Hunter, Chicago, 1968, p.319. See also, M. Cartmill, A View to a Death in the Morning. Hunting and Nature Through History, Cambridge, MA., 1993, p.xi
- 10 A. Chapman, Retrospect. Reminiscences of a Hunter-Naturalist in Three Continents, 1851-1928, London and Edinburgh, 1928, p.266; H.A. Bryden, Nature and Sport in South Africa, London, 1897, p.282
- 11 E. Huxley, Peter Scott, Painter and Naturalist, London, 1993, p.41

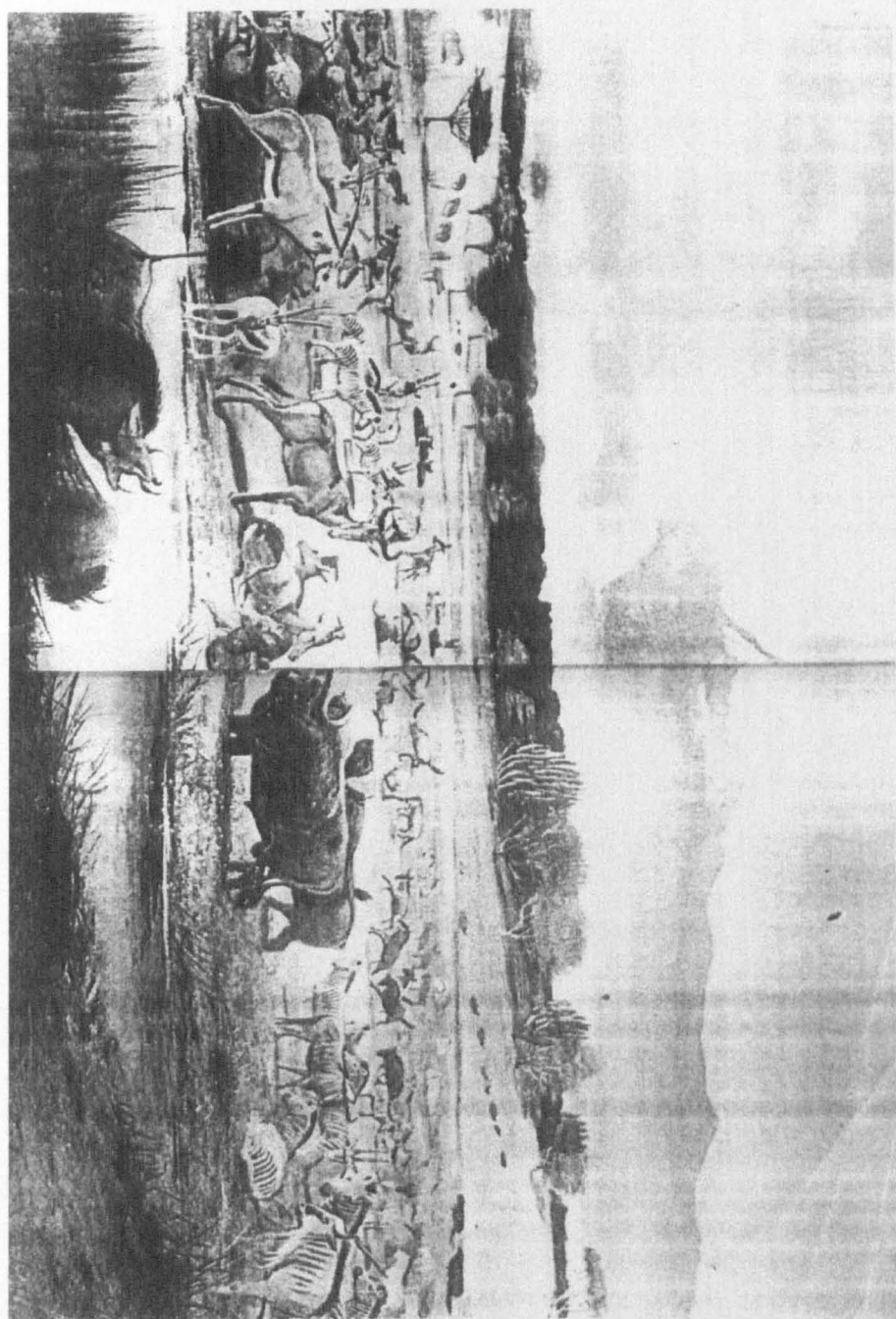
- 12 British Sports and Sportsmen. Big-Game Hunting and Angling, Limited
Edition, No.316, edited by 'The Sportsman', Edinburgh Library, 1914, p.417
- 13 J. Madden, The Wilderness and its Tenants, 3 Vols., Vol.2, London, 1897,
pp.8-9
- 14 Letter to author from Hamish Wallace, Honorary Secretary of the Shikar
Club, 5th February 2001
- 15 See Brod and Kaufman, Theorizing Masculinities, pp.119-20; A. Brittan,
Masculinity and Power, Oxford, 1989, p.4
- 16 The Times, 'Men and Animals', 15th June 1909, p.9
- 17 E.H. Partridge, Journey Home, London, 1946, pp.9-11
- 18 Ibid., pp.9-11, 89
- 19 C.H. Lyons, To Wash an Aethiop White: British Ideas about Black African
Educability, 1530-1960, New York, 1975, p.89
- 20 I am grateful to Professor Alsn Tomlinson, University of Brighton, for
discussing the notion of 'spectacle' in leisure studies
- 21 F. Vaughan Kirby, quoted in D. Holman, Inside Safari Hunting, London,
1969, preface



KENYA

Plates 75-76

RENTAL'S BUCKHORN, TANA RIVER. ONLY FOUND IN THE ONE DISTRICT OF E. AFRICA AND, FROM HIS INACCESSIBILITY, ONE OF THE GREATEST RARITIES.
w. IRONGI, ARIDDALE HILLS. A VERY RARE AND ELUSIVE FOREST-DWELLING BEAST, FOUND IN A NARROW BELT ACROSS AFRICA FROM KENYA, THROUGH THE CONGO TO NIGERIA LAND. (BOTH MODELLED IN THE HOWLAND WARD STUDIOS.)



T = Tenants Hall. M/C = Manchester Museum. T.A = Through away
 DATE 7/22 SEX 3 LATIN NAME

| Date | Museum | No. | English Name | Sex | Latin Name |
|---------------|-------------|-------|----------------------|---------|--|
| July 27. 1921 | | 1 | Grant's Zebra. | Male. | <i>Equus quagga g. nti</i> |
| Aug. 6. | | 2 | Hybrid Hartbeest. | ? | <i>Alcelaphus cokei naku</i> |
| Aug. 8. | T | 5 | Hybrid Hartbeest. | Male. | <i>Alcelaphus cokei naku</i> (R.W. 12/6/36) |
| Aug. 10 | T | 6 | Common Jackal. | | |
| Aug. 10 | | 7 | Steinbok. | Male. | <i>Raphicerus campestris</i> |
| Aug. 12. | T | 9 | Klipspringer. | Male. | <i>Oreotragus</i> |
| Aug. 23. | T | 14 | Leopard. | Female. | <i>Felis pardus.</i> |
| Sept 7. | T | 22 | Chantler's Reedbuck. | Male | <i>Redunca fulvorufula ch. leri</i> |
| 8 | T | 23 | Waterbuck (Defassa) | Male. | <i>Kobus defassa.</i> |
| Oct. 1. | T | 33 | Bushbuck. | Male. | <i>Tragelaphus scriptus massicus</i> |
| Oct. 7. | M/C | 38 | Bushbuck. | Male. | <i>Tragelaphus scriptus massicus</i> |
| Nov. 22 | | 49 | Buffalo. | Male. | <i>Syncerus caffer</i> |
| 22 | N-B-I. Mus. | 49-A. | Rhino | Male. | <i>Rhinoceros bicornis</i> |
| Feb. 22. 1922 | T | 54 | Oryx | Female. | <i>Oryx beisa annekei</i> |
| 24 | T | 57 | Buffalo. | Male. | <i>Syncerus caffer.</i> |
| 28. | T | 58 | Gerenuk. | Male. | <i>Lithocranius walli</i> |
| Mar. 1. | T | 59 | Oryx. | Male. | <i>Oryx beisa annekei</i> |
| 5. | T | 61 | Slvs. Backed Jackal. | ? | <i>Canis mesomelas.</i> |
| 8 | M/C | 63 | Gerenuk | Male | <i>Lithocranius walli</i> |
| 9 | | 64 | Gerenuk. | Male | <i>Lithocranius waller</i> |
| 16. | T | 67 | Dik-Dik. | Male? | |
| 23 | T | 69 | Eland. | Male. | <i>Taurotragus oryx pattersoni</i> |

LOCALITY & MUSEUM

| Locality | Length R. L. | Circumference R. L. | T to Tip | Height | Remarks |
|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|----------|--------|----------------|
| Kinangkop. | | | | | Not taken. |
| Kinangkop. | | | | | |
| Kinangkopi | 18 | 18 | 12 1/4 | | |
| Kinangkop | | | | | |
| Kinangkop. | 4 1/2 | 4 3/4 | | | |
| Kinangkop | 3 1/8 | 3 1/8 | | | |
| Kipi-Piri. | | | | | |
| Kipi-Piri. | 5 3/8 | 5 1/2 | | | |
| Kipi-Piri. | 26 1/4 | 26 1/4 | | | |
| Kipi-Pass. | 16 1/4 | 15 7/8 | | | |
| Kipi-Pass. | 15 7/8 | 16 | | | |
| Mt Kenya. | | | | | MIC. |
| Mt Kenya. | | | | | AT KALAW. |
| Mt Kenya. | | | | | N-B-I. Museum. |
| N. Kenya. | 30 1/8 | 29 7/8 | | | |
| N. Kenya. | | | | | |
| N. Kenya. | 14 1/16 | 13 5/8 | | | |
| N. Kenya. | 30 5/8 | 31. | | | |
| N. Guaso Nyiro | 13 | 13 1/2 | 6 | | |
| N Guaso Nyiro | 13 1/4 | 13 | 4 3/8 | | |
| N. Kenya. | | | | | |
| N. Kenya. | | | | | |

SPAN
INSIDE OUTSIDE
40 43

SPAN
INSIDE OUTSIDE
41 46

Enter on page 50

Correspondence between Manchester Museum and Lord Egerton

15/1/1905- museum thanking Egerton for loan of O dalli

17/1/1905- to curator from Egerton- Rowland Ward instructed to mount Kenya Bushbuck

12/1/1908- to museum from Egerton asking if museum would like to borrow Ovis dalli specimen

17/1/1909- to museum from Egerton- thanking for museum borrowing mountain sheep until home is enlarged

8/2/1909- to Egerton from Director- thanks for loan of Ovis dalli

20/9/1920- to curator from CG Cowan (Egerton's agent)- case of sheep sent from British Columbia to museum

13/1/1921- to William Tattersall from Egerton- asking if sheep heads have arrived

20/5/1921- to W Tattersall from Tatton Park Estate office- arranging delivery of sheep

24/5/1921 to Egerton from Keeper- thanking for loan of Ovis stonoi

1/9/1922- to Egerton from Keeper- thanking for Mouflon, cormorants & sheep heads on loan

9/9/1922- to TA Coward from Egerton - sending Sardinian Mouflon and 2 cormorants from Rostheme (drowned in nets)

26/7/1923- to TA Coward from Egerton- thanking for reprint on phytoplankton of Rostheme Mere

28/1/1925- to Egerton from Keeper- thanking for Bush-buck specimen- id in question

13/4/1925- to Keeper From Egerton- receipt of Bush-buck

28/4/1925- to Egerton from Keeper- id verified as Tragelaphus Heywoodi by Coward

4/5/1925- to Egerton from Keeper- thanking for loan of heads

31/5/1925- to Keeper from Egerton- Ovis dalli, Rangifer osborni, Moose arrived at museum

10/9/1925- to Keeper from British Museum (JG Dollmand)- note to accompany Rousettus leachi fruit bats coll. By Lord Egerton on Mount Elgon (British East Africa)

19/6/1931- to curator from Egerton- asking for scientific names of list of mammals

4/7/1931- to Egerton from Keeper- latin names of British races of mammals provided for Egerton

18/12/1945- to Sayce from Egerton- info on buzzard trapped on Tatton

19/6/1950- to Sayce from Egerton- given order to R Ward to set up male red lechwe

in case (for museum)

20/6/1950- to Egerton from Paul [Sayce?]- thanks for lechwe donation

Specimens from Lord Egerton (from Mammal Accession book)

Entries below are >accession no. >date accessioned >identification >and comments
'A.45 [23/6/1921] Ovis stonoi (Bighorn Sheep) (on loan) Lord Egerton'

'A.953 [17/9/1922] Mouflon Ovis musimo Sardinia Sept 00 Lord Egerton'

'A.971 23/1/[1925] Bushbuck Kenya Colony Lord Egerton'

A.972-A.974- 15/5/1925 Ovis canadensis, Rngifer tarandrus osborni Alces americana- from Yukon and N Brit Columbia (moose) on loan from Lord Egerton

A.978 11/9/1925- 6 Roussetus fruit bats from Mt Elgon Kenya, Lord Egerton

A.986-A.988 20/12/1926 Jumping Hare, Mongoose, Cama Fox [sic.] Kenya Colony

A.990-A.991 14/11/1927 Lithocranus walleri (mtd), Redunca redunca cottoni (Egerton's no. 31) (mtd) Kenya Colony

A.1017-A.1018 17/1/1930 Gazella dama ruficollis male and female Darfur, Sudan

A.1048 23/11/1932 Ourebia pitmani Ruxton Kagera R, Tangar (on loan)

A.1084-A.1085 9/7/1936 male and female Hunting Dog Lycaon pictus Njoro Kenya (diary nos. 482.42, 482.43)

A.1086 9/7/1936 Rhyncotragus cavendishi L Elmenteita Kenya diary no. 288.48

A.1093-A.1098 19/1/1937 Tragelaphus angasi male, female, juv, Zululand; Damaliscus pygargus Bredasdorp, Cape; Damaliscus albifrons, Orange Free State; Damaliscus korrugum Tiang Sudan Egerton diary nos. 426.84,85,92,37,78

A.1111-A.1117 28/9/1937 Neotragus moschatus male and female, Zanzibar; Galago crassicaudatus Zanzibar; Colobus kirkii Kirk's Colobus, male, female and juvenile, Zanzibar, 1935 (nos. 472/3240,20,10,22,18,17

A.1122-A.1123 Klipspringer L Elmenteita 1937; Colobus caudatus, Kenya

A.1128 10/5/1936 Procavia brucei prittwitzi Musoma, Vict. Nyasa 27/1/1935

A.1220-A.1223 5/2/1941 Galago senegalensis moholi, Canis mesomelas male, female, Hyrax capensis

Note also collection of heads from RH Heath- A.895-A.943- include panther, gau, nilgai, bear skull, deer heads; also A.1103-A.1109, more of the same- sent as the ceilings too low in new bungalow.

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources and Minutes of Meetings

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| Bedord County Record Office | Letter, James Yorke to Countess de Grey, 25th August 1802 | L/30/11/332/2 |
| Carlisle Record Office | Lonsdale Papers | D.Lons/L9/2, 53, 62 |
| | Lonsdale Papers | D.Lons/L6/1 |
| | Lonsdale Papers | D.Lons/L9/3 |
| | Lonsdale Papers Lonsdale Papers Lonsdale Papers | D.Lons/L27 D.Lons/L5/4 D.Lons/L9/4 |
| Chester County Records | Egerton Hunting Diaries | DET/3229/60/2 |
| | Egerton Papers | DET/3229/123 |
| | Letters | DET/3229/107 |
| | Notes from Rostherne Boys School Log | 1863-1912 |
| | Notes | DET/3229/60 |
| | Hunting Diaries Notebook | DET/3229/78 0/57A, 0/57C |
| Essex Records Office | R. W. Arkwright, Four Years Campaign in South Africa, 1843-7 | T/B 577 |
| Eton College | Letter from Edmund Warre | SCH-SP, ECH, 1-3 |
| | Letter from Dr. Warre | SCH, 1-5 Vol.2 |
| | Letter E. Lyttleton to J. La Ferriere | SCH, 1-5 Vol.3 |
| Fauna and Flora International, Cambridge | Minute Book | 11th February, 1929 |
| | Minute Book | 2nd November, 1923 |
| | Minute Book | 25th April, 1924 |
| | Minute Book | 22nd November, 1923 |
| | Minute Book | 26th April, 1921 |
| | Minute Book Minute Book | 22nd June, 1921 3rd December, |

| | | |
|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| Hancock Museum, Newcastle | Abel Chapman Hunting Diaries | 1926 |
| | Fauna Houxtiensis, 1898-1923 | ASC3S2 |
| | Houxy Records and Results | H139 |
| | Diary, Hunting in Norway, 1897 | AS/C3/S2 NEWHM, H9, H130/13 |
| | Houxy Records and Results | H130/15 |
| Magdalene College, Cambridge | Norwegian Pocket Book | AS/C/S2 |
| | Records | H130/8 |
| | Records | H130/11 |
| | Archives | C/SAD/I |
| | Archives | GII7/6 |
| National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh | 'A Retrospect' | 1,965 |
| | The Beagle Club | G117/6,G72, 73, 74 |
| | Archives | C/LN/27 |
| | Gilbert John Elliot, The Minto Papers, | 12533 |
| | Technical Letters | |
| Natural History Museum | Minto Papers, Diary | 12,487 |
| | Minto Papers | 12543, 12503-10 |
| | Letter from A.E. Pease to Oldfield Thomas, 20th June 1896 | DF232/1 |
| | Letters | DF232/10/239 |
| | Letters from A. Chapman to Oldfield Thomas | DF232/14 |
| | Letters | DF 232/6 |
| | Letters | DF232/14/45 |
| | Letter to Oldfield Thomas, | DF232/20 |
| | Letters on Mammalia from T.S. Palmer, United States Department of Agriculture to Oldfield Thomas, 1886-96 | Vol.2, N-Z, No.163 |
| | Letters from E.N. Buxton to Oldfield Thomas | DF232/5 |
| | Letters | DF232/17 |
| | Letter - Chapman to Oldfield Thomas | DF232/14 |
| | Letter - C. Hill to Professor R Lankester | DF232/8 |
| Northampton Record Office | Lady Sophie Scott, Hunting Diaries, 1894-1936 | YZ 8773-7 |
| | William Scarth-Dixon, The Hunting | ZA 7791 |

| | | |
|-------------|---|----------|
| | Diaries of Charles King, 1800-1818 | |
| | Diaries of William Wilson, 1833-1876 | ZA 3801 |
| | The Fitzwilliam Hunt, Diaries of V.H. | ZB 772 |
| | Sykes, c.1900 | |
| | Lord Euston, The Grafton Hunt | G 3947-6 |
| Quex Park, | Powell-Cotton Collections - Newspaper articles | PCQ66 |
| | Powell-Cotton Collections - Newspaper articles | PCQ61 |
| | Powell-Cotton Collections - Newspaper articles | PCQ62 |
| | Letters - Powell-Cotton to Ward | PCQ4 |
| | Letters - Ward to Powell-Cotton | PCQ6 |
| | Letters - Ward to Powell-Cotton | PCQ26/4 |
| | Letters - Ward to Powell-Cotton | PCQ26/7 |
| | Letters - Ward to Powell-Cotton | PCQ1/11 |
| | Letter - Director of Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh to Rowland Ward | PCQ6/7 |
| | Letters - Ward to Powell-Cotton | PCQ3 |
| Tatton Park | Personal Jottings | 1,939 |
| | African Adventure Notes | n.d. |

Official Papers and Reports

Clarendon Commission, Report of Her Majesty's Commissioner, Appointed to Enquire into the Reserves and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools and the Studies Pursued Therein with an Appendix and Evidence, 1864

Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, 19th May 1900, Cd. 101, 1vi, 825; Cd. 5136, 1910, 1xvi, 253; Cd.5775, 1911, 1ii, 521; Cd. 6671, 1913, Xiv, 759

Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, Birds and Fish in Africa, London 19th May, 1900

Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa, Cd.4472 1909, 1ix, 635; Cd 5136, 1910, 1xvi, 253; Cd 1911, 1ii, 521; Cd 6671, 1913, xiv, 759

Harrow Association Record, Harrow School. 1907-1912

Humanitarian League, Memorial Promoted by the Humanitarian League Sports Department, 27th January, 1900

League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports, Annual Report, 1933

Lt. Colonel Douglas Hamilton, Report on the High Ranges of the Annamullay Mountains, Madras, 1866

Minutes of the Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire, received by Lord Crewe, Cd.4472, 1909 1vi

Popular Guide to Mr. C.V.A. Peel's Exhibition of Big Game Trophies and Museum of Natural History and Anthropology, 1906, GA. Oxon, 80810, (16), held at The Bodleian Library, Oxford

Proceedings of the Zoological Society, 1864

Report of Proceedings, Museums Association first General Meeting, Liverpool

Report by Sir Harry Johnston on the Trade and General Condition of the British Central African Protectorate, Cd.8254, 1895-6

Report of a Deputation from the Society for the Protection of the Fauna of the Empire Received by the High Commissioner for Union of South Africa, 26th May, 1925. Held at Flora and Fauna International

Salt, H. The Humane Review, London, January, 1906

Wilfred Blunt's Egyptian Farden - Foxhunting in Cairo, 1901. Cd.796, Cambridge: The Stationary Office, 2001

Primary Published Sources

| | | |
|--------------------|---|--------------|
| Alderson, E.A. | Pink and Scarlet, or Hunting as a School for Soldiering | London, 1913 |
| Austin, H.H. | Among Swamps and Giants in Equatorial Africa | London, 1994 |
| Baden-Powell, R.S. | The Matabele Campaign | London, 1897 |
| Baden-Powell, R.S. | Scouting for Boys | London, 1908 |
| Baden-Powell, R.S. | Pig sticking or Hog Hunting | London, 1889 |
| Baden-Powell, R.S. | Indian Memories, Recollections of Soldiering and Sport | London, 1915 |
| Baden-Powell, R.S. | Sketches in Mafeking and East Africa | London, 1907 |
| Baker, S.W. | Wild Beasts and their Ways: Reminiscences of Europe, Asia, Africa and America | London, 1890 |
| Baker, S.W. | The Rifle and the Hound in Ceylon | London, 1874 |
| Beckford, P. | Thoughts on Hunting n a Series of Familiar Letter to a Friend, 1740-1811 | Sarum, 1781 |
| Berkeley, G. | The English Sportsman in the Western Prairies | London, 1861 |

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| Best, J. | Indian Shikar Notes for Novices | Allahabad, 1931 |
| Best, J. | Excursions in Albania, A Description of the Wild Boar, Deer and Woodcock Shooting | London, 1842 |
| Bethell, L.A. | 'Blackwoods', Tales from the Outpost X, Shikar | Bombay, 1935 |
| Bindley, C. | Sporting Facts and Fancies | London, 1853 |
| Boyd, J. | Hunting Sketches | London, 1934 |
| Braddon, E. | Thirty Years of Shikar | Edinburgh, 1893 |
| Brinckman, A. | Rifle in Cashmere | London, 1862 |
| Bryden, H.A. | Nature and Sport in South Africa | London, 1897 |
| Bryden, H.A. | Kloof and Karoo: Sport, Legend and Natural History in Cape Colony | London, 1889 |
| Bryden, H.A. | Gun and Camera in South Africa | London, 1983 |
| Bulpett, C.W.L. | A Picnic Party in Wildest Africa | London, 1907 |
| Buxton, E.N. | Short Stalks | London, 1892 |
| Buxton, E.N. | Two African Trips | London, 1902 |
| Campbell, W. | My Indian Journal | Edinburgh, 1862 |
| Chapman, A. | Wild Norway | London, 1897 |
| Chapman, A. | The Borders and Beyond | London & Edinburgh, 1924 |
| Chapman, A. | Retrospect: Reminiscences and Impressions of a Hunter-Naturalist | London & Edinburgh, 1928 |
| Chapman, A. | Memories of Fourscore Years Less Two, 1851-1929 | London, 1930 |
| Chapman, A. | On Safari: Big Game Hunting in British East Africa | London, 1908 |
| Chapman, A. | Birdlife in the Borders | London, 1889 |
| Chapman, A. and Buck, W. | Wild Spain, Records of Sport with Rifle, Rod and Gun, Natural History and Explorations | London, 1893 |
| Christy, Dr. C. | Big-Game and Pygmies: Experience of a Naturalist in Central African Rainforests in Quest of the Okapi | London, 1924 |
| Colquhoun, J. | Moor and Loch | London & Edinburgh, 1878 |
| Cook, E. | Observations on Fox Hunting | London, 1826 |
| Cornwallis-Harris, W. | Wild Sports of South Africa | London, 1852 |
| Cornwallis-Harris, W. | Portraits of the Game and Wild Animals of South Africa | London, 1840 |
| Cranworth, Lord | Profit and Sport in British East Africa | London, 1919 |
| Cumming, R.G. | Five Years of a Hunter's Life | London, 1850 |
| Cumming, C.F.G. | Two Happy Years in Ceylon | Edinburgh, 1892 |
| Daly, M. | Big Game Hunting and Adventure, 1897-1936 | London, 1937 |
| De-Crespigny, Sir | Forty Years of a Sportsman's Life | London, 1910 |

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|--------------------|
| C. | | |
| Dickerson, P. et.al | The Eton College Hunt: Three Prize Essays | London, 1904 |
| Donovan, C.H. | With Wilson in Matabeleland, or Sport and War in Zambesi | London, 1894 |
| Eardley-Wilmot, Sir J.E. | Reminiscences of the Late Thomas Assheton Smith Esq., or the Pursuits of an English Country Gentleman | London, 1860 |
| Elliot, J. | Fieldsports in India | London, 1973 |
| Elmhirst, E.P. | Foxhound, Forest and Prairie | London, 1892 |
| Fairfax | Sporting Days and Sporting Stories | London, 1925 |
| Blakeborough, J. | | |
| Faulkner, H. | Elephant Haunts, Being a Sportsman's Narrative of the Search for Dr. Livingston | London, 1868 |
| Flack, Capt. | Hunters Experiences in the Southern States of America | London, 1866 |
| Forsyth, J. | The Highlands of Central India: Notes on their Forests and Wild Tribes, Natural History and Sports | London, 1871 |
| Fraser, H. | Amid the High Hills | London, 1923 |
| Gibson, C. | Highland Deerstalker | Coupar Angus, 1958 |
| Gilmore, P. | Experiences of a Sportsman in North America | London, 1869 |
| Gilmore, P. | Accessible Field Sports | London, 1871 |
| Glasfurd, A.I.R. | Musings of an Old Shikari | London, 1928 |
| Glasfurd, A.I.R. | Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle | London, 1905 |
| Gouldsbury, C.E. | Tigerland: Reminiscences of Forty Years Sport and Adventure in Bengal | London, 1913 |
| Gouldsbury, C.E. | An African Year: A District Officer in Northern Rhodesia | London, 1912 |
| Greville, V. | The Greville Memoirs | London, 1899 |
| Greville, V. | The Gentlewoman's Book of Sports | London, 1892 |
| Greville, V. | The Gentlewoman in Society | London, 1892 |
| Grogan, E.S. & Sharpe, A. | From the Cape to Cairo, The First Traverse of Africa from South to North | London, 1900 |
| Handley, M. | Roughing it in Southern India | London, 1911 |
| Hartopp, C. | Sport in England | London, 1894 |
| Harvey, M.I. | Hunting on Foot with some Yorkshire Packs | Monkton, 1913 |
| Hieover, H. | Sporting Facts and Fancies | London, 1853 |
| Hole, H.F. | Old Rhodesian Days | London, 1928 |
| Hubback, T.R. | To Far Western Alaska for Big Game: Being An Account of Two Journeys to Alaska in Search of Adventure | London, 1929 |
| Humanitarian | Savage Sport at Eton | London, 1909 |

| | | |
|--|---|-------------------------------|
| League Publications | | |
| Johnson, D. | Sketches of Fieldsports as Followed by Native Indians | London, 1827 |
| Kempson, F.C. | The Trinity Foot Beagles | London, 1912 |
| Kingsley, Mrs. C. | Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of his Life | London, 1879 and 1884 |
| Kinloch, A.A.A. | Large Game Shooting in Tibet, Himalayas and Central India | Calcutta, 1885 |
| Kirby, F.V. | In Haunts of Wild Game | London and Edinburgh, 1896 |
| Loder-Symonds, F.C. And Crowdy, E.P. | The History of the Old Berks Hunt, 1760-1905 | London, 1905 |
| Lyell, D.D. and Maydon, H.C. eds. | Big Game Shooting in Africa | Edinburgh, 1932 |
| Lyell, D.D. | The African Elephant and its Hunters | London, 1924 |
| Lyell, D.D. | Memories of an African Hunter | London, 1923 |
| Lynn-Allen, E.H. | Leaves from a Game-Book | London, 1946 |
| Macintyre, D. | Hindu-Koh: Wanderings and Wild Sport on and Beyond the Himalayas | Edinburgh, 1889 |
| Maxwell, W.H. | The Field Book, or Sports and Pastimes of the British Islands | London, 1833 |
| Maydon, H.C. | Big Game Shooting in Africa | London, 1932 |
| Maydon, H.C. | Simen - Its Heights and Abysses | London, 1925 |
| Menzies, A.C. | Women in the Hunting Field | London, 1913 |
| Millais, J.G. | The Natural History of British Game Birds | London, 1909 |
| Millais, J.G. | The Life of Frederick C. Selous | London, 1918 |
| Millais, J.G. | Wanderings and Memories | London, 1919 |
| Neumann, A. | Elephant Hunting in East Equatorial Africa | London, 1898 |
| Nevill, Lady D. | My Own Times | London, 1912 |
| Newall, J.T. | Hog-hunting in the East and Other Sports | London, 1867 |
| Newall, D.J.F. | Highlands of India, Fieldsports and Travel In India | London, 1887 |
| Newall, J.T. | Scottish Moors and Indian Jungles | London, 1889 |
| Newbolt, Sir H. | The Book of Good Hunting | London, 1922 |
| Otho-Paget, J. et.al. | Horses, Guns and Dogs | London, 1903 |
| Palliser de Costobadie, F. | Annals of the Billesdon Hunt, 1856-1913 | London & Leicester, 1914 |
| Pease, A.E. | Hunting Reminiscences | London, 1898 |
| Pease, A.E. | The Book of the Lion | London, 1913 |
| Pease, A.E. | Half a Century of Sport | London, 1932 |
| Peel. C.V.A. | Somaliland | London, 1900 |
| Perceval, A.B. | Game Ranger on Safari | London, 1928 |
| Pollok, F.T. | Sport in British Burma, Assam and the | London, 1879 |

| | | |
|--|---|----------------------------|
| Powell-Cotton, P.H. | Cassyah and Jyntiah Hills In Unknown Africa | London, 1904 |
| Prichard, H.H. | Hunting Camps in Wood and Wilderness | London, 1910 |
| Prichard, H.H. | Sniping in France | London & New York, 1920 |
| Rice, W. | Tiger Shooting in India | London, 1857 |
| Roosevelt, T. and Grinnell, G.B. eds. | Hunting in Many Lands | New York, 1893 |
| Rundall, L. | The Ibex of Sha-ping and Other Himalayan Studies | London, 1915 |
| Russell, W.H. | My Diary in India | London, 1860 |
| Savoury, I. | Sportswoman in India | London, 1900 |
| Schillings, C.G. | With Flashlight and Rifle | London, 1904 |
| Selous, F.C. | Travel and Adventure in South East Africa | London, 1893 |
| Selous, F.C. | Recent Hunting Trips in British North America | London, 1907 |
| Serrell, F.A. | With Hounds and Terrier in the Field | Edinburgh, 1904 |
| Seton-Karr, Sir H. | My Sporting Holidays | London, 1904 |
| Shakespear, H. | The Wild Sports of India | London, 1862 |
| Simson, F.B. | Letters on Sport in Eastern Bengal | London, 1886 |
| Slaughter, F.E. ed | The Sportswoman's Library | London, 1898 |
| Stebbing, E.P. | The Diary of a Sportsman Naturalist in India | London, 1920 |
| Stevenson-Hamilto n, J. | Animal Life in Africa | London, 1912 |
| Stewart, M. | Round the World with Rod and Rifle | London, 1924 |
| Stigand, C.H. | Hunting the Elephant in Africa | New York, 1913 |
| Stigand, C.H. | The Game of British East Africa | London, 1909 |
| Stigand, C.H. And Lyell, D.D. | Central African Game and its Sport | London, 1906 |
| Suffold, Lord | The Encyclopaedia of Sport | London, 1911 |
| Swayne, F. | A Woman's Pleasure Trip in Somaliland | Bristol, 1907 |
| Swayne, H.G. | Seventeen Trips Through Somaliland and a Visit to Abyssinia. A Record of Big Game Hunting | London, 1900 |
| Sykes, C. | Service and Sport on the Tropical Nile | London, 1903 |
| Tawk, A.S. | Hunting Recollections | Essex, 1911 |
| Thompson, E.P. | The Notebook of the Naturalist | London, 1845 |
| Wallace, H.F. | Hunting Winds | London, 1949 |
| Wallace, H.F. | Stalks Abroad | London, 1098 |
| Wallace, H.F. | British Deer Heads | London, 1914 |
| Ward, R. | The Sportsman's Handbook to Practical Collecting and Preserving Trophies and Specimens | London, 1894 |

| | | |
|--------------------|--|--------------------------|
| Ward, R. | A Naturalist's Life Study in the Art of Taxidermy | London, 1913 |
| Ward, R. | Records of Big Game and Measurement of Horn | London, 1896 |
| Ward, R. | Horn Measurement and Weights of the Great Game of the World | London, 1892 |
| Wardrop, A.E. | Modern Pig sticking | London, 1914 |
| Webber, C.W. | Hunter-Naturalist, The Romance of Sporting | London & Edinburgh, 1852 |
| Webster, V.B. | The Sport of the Past and the Future | Ludlow, 1929 |
| White-Baker, S. | True Tales for my Grandsons | London 1883 |
| Wilson, J. | The Rod and the Gun | London, 1840 |
| Younghusband, F.E. | Among the Celestials - A Narrative of Travel in Manchuria Through the Himalayas to India | London, 1898 |

Secondary Sources

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| Adams, C.J. | The Sexual Politics of Meat, A Feminist Critical Theory | New York, 1990 |
| Aflalo, F.G. | Sketch of the Natural History of the British Isles | Edinburgh, 1897 |
| Aflalo, F.G. | The Sports of the World | London, 1902 |
| Alatas, S.H. | The Myth of the Lazy Native | London, 1977 |
| Allen, C. ed. | Plain Tales from the Raj | Oxford, 1975 |
| Allen, D. | The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History | London, 1976 |
| Altick, R. | The Shows of London | London, 1978 |
| Anderson, J.K. | Hunting in the Ancient World | San Francisco, 1985 |
| Anderson, D. And Grove, R. eds. | Conservation in Africa | Cambridge, 1987 |
| Apperley, C.J. | The Life of a Sportsman | London, 1842 |
| Arbuthnot, A. | Memories of Rugby and India | London, 1910 |
| Arnold, M. Ed. | Culture and Anarchy | Cambridge, 1960 |
| J.Dover-Wilson | | |
| Arnold, T. | Miscellaneous Works | London, 1845 |
| Arnold, M. | Mixed Essays, Irish Essays and Others | London, 1880 |
| Astley, Sir J.D. | Fifty Years of My Life | London, 1894 |
| Atkins, F. ed. | The Young Man | London, 1898 |
| Avery, G. | Nineteenth Century Children, Heroes and Heroines in English Children's Stories, 1780-1900 | London, 1965 |
| Avery, G. | Childhood's Pattern, A Study of the Heroes and Heroines of Children's Fiction, 1770-1950 | London, 1975 |
| Baden-Powell, R.S. | Aids to Scouting for N.C.O.s and Men | London, 1899 |
| Baden-Powell, R.S. | Sport in War | Toronto, 1900 |

- Ballantyne, R.M. The Gorilla Hunters, A Tale of the Wilds of Africa London, 1861
- Bamford, T.W. Thomas Arnold London, 1960
- Barker-Benfield, G. The Horrors of the Half-Known Life New York, 1977
- Barthes, R. Mythologies Paris, 1957
- Baumgart, W. Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion, 1880-1914 Oxford, 1982
- Benedict, R. Patterns of Culture Boston, 1959
- Blaine, D.P. An Encyclopaedia of Rural Sports London, 1840
- Bond, B. The Victorian Army and the Staff College, 1854-1914 London, 1972
- Bradley, A.G. Exmoor Memories London, 1926
- Bradley, A.C. A History of Marlborough College London, 1893
- Brander, M. The Last Victorian Hero Edinburgh, 1982
- Brantlinger, P. Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism London, 1988
- Briggs, A. Victorian People Harmondsworth, 1965
- Bristow, R.C. Memories of the British Raj: A Soldier in India London, 1974
- Britan, A. Masculinity and Power Oxford, 1989
- Brod, H. And Kaufman, M. eds. Theorizing Masculinities London, 1994
- Brod, H. The Making of Masculinities, The New Men's Studies London, 1987
- Buchan, J. Francis and Riversdale Grenfell: A Memoir London, 1924
- Buchan, J. Lord Minto, A Memoir London, 1924
- Buckland, F.T. Curiosities of Natural History London, 1893
- Bull, B. On Safari, A Chronicle of Adventure London, 1988
- Burkett, W. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth Berkley, California, 1983
- Burton, I. The Life of Captain Richard Burton London, 1893
- Buxton, F. Men I Have Known London, 1871
- Campbell, B.G. Humankind Emerging Boston, 1979
- Camplin, J. The Rise of the Plutocrat London, 1979
- Canetti, E. Crowds and Power New York, 1978
- Cannadine, D. The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy London & New Haven, 1990
- Cannadine, D. et.al. The First Modern Society: Essays in Honour of Lawrence Stone Cambridge, 1989
- Card, T. Eton Reviewed: A History from 1860 to the Present Day Berkshire, 1994
- Carleton, J.W. The Young Sportsman's Manual London, 1867
- Carr, R. English Fox-hunting: A History London, 1976
- Cartmill, M. A View to a Death in the Morning, Harvard, 1993

- Hunting and Nature Through History
- Chalmers, P. The History of Hunting London, 1936
- Chandos, J. Boys Together London, 1984
- Chitty, S. The Beast and the Monk, A Life of Charles Kingsley London, 1974
- Coles, C. Game and the English Landscape: The Influence of the Chase on Sporting Art and Scenery London, 1980
- Colloms, B. Charles Kingsley, The Lion of Eversley New York, 1975
- Connell, R.W. Gender and Power, Society, The Person and Sexual Politics Cambridge, 1987
- Connell, R.W. Masculinities Cambridge, 1995
- Cook, T. Character and Sportsmanship London, 1927
- Cook, E.T. The Life of John Ruskin London, 1911
- Cornwall, A. and Lindisfarnes, N. eds. Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies London, 1994
- Coventry, F. The History of Pompey the Little Cambridge, 1978
- Creswicke, L. South Africa and the Transvaal Wars London, 1902
- Croome, A.C. Fifty Years of Sport at Oxford, Cambridge and the Great Public Schools and Universities London, 1913
- Crossley, A.C. The Eton College Hunt London, 1921
- Cumming, E.D. ed. My Life and Times London, 1927
- Dale, T.F. History of the Belvoir Hunt Westminster, 1899
- Davis, E.W.L. A Memoir of the Rev. John Russell and his Out of Door Life London, 1883
- Dawkins, R. Artemis Orthia London, 1929
- De-Windt, H. My Restless Life London, 1909
- Denith, S. Sport and Cultural Forms in Nineteenth Century England London, 1998
- Dollman, J.G. Catalogue of Selous Collection of Big Game in the British Museum of Natural History London, 1921
- Doyle, J.A. Essays on Various Subjects London, 1911
- Dunning, E. & Elias, N. Quest for Excitement, Sport and Leisure in the Civilising Process Oxford, 1986
- Dunning, E. And Sheard, K. Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players Oxford, 1979
- Edwards, L. Famous Fox-hunters London, 1938
- Ehrenreich, B. Blood Rites New York, 1997
- Emery, F. The Red Soldier: Letters from the Zulu War, 1879 London, 1977
- Everett, W. On the Cam: Lectures on the University of Cambridge London, 1866
- Fairholme, E. And A Century of Work for Animals: The London, 1924

- Pain, W. History of the R.S.P.C.A., 1824-1924
Field, H.J. Towards a Programme of Imperial Life: the British Empire at the Turn of the Century Oxford, 1983
- Findlay, J.J. Arnold of Rugby Cambridge, 1897
Fitter, R. and Scott, P. The Penitent Butchers London, 1978
- Fletcher, C.R.L. Edmund Warre London, 1922
Frost, C. A History of British Taxidermy Sudbury, 1987
Gathorne-Hardy, J. The Public School Phenomenon London, 1977
Gautier, L. Chivalry London, 1965
Gerrard, J. Country House Life, Family and Servants, 1815-1914 Oxford, 1994
- Gibson, J.W. Warrior Dreams: Paramilitary Culture in Post-Vietnam America New York, 1994
- Gilmore, D. Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity New Haven & London, 1990
- Gladstone, H. Record Bags London, 1922
Goodall, D. Huntsmen of a Golden Age, Stephen Goodall, 1757-1823, William Goodall, 1817-1859 London, 1956
- Goodhart, P. And Chataway, C. War Without Weapons London, 1968
- Gordon, J.D. Work and Play in India and Kashmir London, 1893
Green, M. Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire London, 1980
Greenberger, A. The British Image in India London, 1969
Greener, W.W. Sharp Shooting for Sport and War London, 1903
Greenwood, J. Wild Sports of the World, A Boy's Book of Natural History and Adventure London, 1862
- Grey, Lord Natural History - The Pleasure and Purpose of Observation London, 1929
- Grierson, J. Records of Scottish Volunteer Force, 1859-1908 Edinburgh, 1909
- Gruneau, R. Class, Sports and Social Development Amherst, 1983
Gunning, H. Reminiscences of the University Town and County of Cambridge from the Year 1780 Cambridge, 1854
- Guttman, A. Women's Sports London, 1992
Hagedorn, H. and Roosevelt, T. The Works of Theodore Roosevelt New York, 1926
- Haig, A. The Victorian Clergy London, 1984
Hall, A.M. Feminism and Sporting Bodies Champaign, Illinois, 1996
- Hall, R. Lovers on the Nile London, 1980
Hankey, D. A Student in Arms London, 1917
Harrer, H. Seven Years in Tibet Germany, 1953
Harrison, B. Peaceable Kingdom Oxford, 1982

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| Hawke, Lord | Recollections and Reminiscences | London, 1924 |
| Hawkesworth, J. | The Adventurer | London, 1753 |
| Hearn, J. | Men in the Public Eye | London, 1992 |
| Hendrick, G. | Henry Salt, Humanitarian Reformer and Man of Letters | Illinois, 1977 |
| Higginson, A.H. | British and American Sporting Authors | London, 1951 |
| Himmelfarb, G. | Victorian Minds | London, 1968 |
| Hobsbawm, E.J. | The Age of Empire, 1875-1914 | London, 1987 |
| Hobson, J.A. | Imperialism: A Study | London, 1968 |
| Hobson, J.A. | The War in South Africa, It's Causes and Effects | London, 1900 |
| Holman, D. | Inside Safari Hunting | London, 1969 |
| Holt, R. | Sport and the British | Oxford, 1989 |
| Holt, R. and Mangan, J.A. eds. | European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport | London, 1996 |
| Hopkins, H. | The Long Affray: The Poaching Wars, 1760-1914 | London, 1985 |
| Horrocks, R. | Masculinity in Crisis, Myths, Fantasies and Realities | London and New York, 1994 |
| Hummel, R. | Hunting an Fishing for Sport | Ohio, 1994 |
| Humphry, Mrs. | Manners for Men | London, 1897 |
| Huxley, G. | Victorian Duke, The Life of Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, First Duke of Westminster | London, 1967 |
| Huxley, E. | White Man's Country, Lord Delamere and the Making of Kenya | London, 1935 |
| Huxley, E. | Peter Scott, Painter and Naturalist | London, 1993 |
| Hyam, R. | Britain's Imperial Century | London, 1976 |
| Hyam, R. | Godliness, Hunting and Quite Good Learning: A History of Magdalene College | Cambridge, 1992 |
| Itzkowitz, D. | Peculiar Privilege: A Social History of English Fox-hunting, 1753-1885 | Hossocks, 1977 |
| Jackson, D. | Unmasking Masculinity | London, 1990 |
| James, C.L.R. | Beyond a Boundary | London, 1969 |
| Johnston, A. | The Life and Letters of Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston | London, 1929 |
| Johnston, H.H. | Britain Across the Sea: A History and Description of the British Empire in Africa | London, n.d. |
| Johnston, H.H. | The River Congo | London, 1884 |
| Jones, E.L. And Mingay, G. eds. | Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution | London, 1967 |
| Kean, H. | The Socialist and Feminist Educational Experience, 1900-30 | London, 1990 |
| Kean, H. | Animal rights | London, 1998 |
| Kingsley, C. | Glaucus or the Wonders of the Shore | London and New |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Kipling, R. | Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides | York, 1896 Leipsig, 1926 |
| Kirby, C. | The English Country Gentleman | London, 1937 |
| Kitson-Clark, G. | The Making of Victorian England | London, 1962 |
| Lankester, R. And Thomas, O. | The British Museum Collections | London, 1906 |
| Lankester, R. | The History of the Collections contained in the Natural History Departments of the British Museum | London, 1904 |
| Lankester, R. | Guide to the Great Game Animals in the Department of Zoology at the British Museum | London, 1907 |
| Lappin, B.W. | A Distant Project | London, 1964 |
| Lee, R. And Vore, I. eds. | Man the Hunter | Chicago, 1968 |
| Lennox, B. | Merrie England, It's Sports and Pastimes | London, 1857 |
| Lewis, J. | Labour and Love | Oxford, 1986 |
| Lewis, J.D. | Sketches of Cantabs | London, 1849 |
| Lindlay, Sir F. | Lord Lovat, a Biography | London, 1935 |
| Lindsay-Gordon, A. | Sporting Verse | London, 1927 |
| Lockwood, E. | The Early Days of Marlborough College | London, 1893 |
| Londonderry, Marchioness of | Henry Chaplin: A Memoir | London, 1926 |
| Longrigg, R. | The History of Fox-hunting | London, 1975 |
| Longrigg, R. | The English Squire and his Sport | London, 1977 |
| Lowe, C. | Out Greatest Living Soldiers | London, 1900 |
| Lowerson, J. | Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870-1914 | Manchester, 1993 |
| Lowther, H.C. | From Pillar to Post | London, 1911 |
| Lugard, F.D. | The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa | Edinburgh, 1922 |
| Lugard, F.D. | Fauna of East Africa | Edinburgh, 1886 |
| Lydekker, R. | The Game Animals of Africa | London, 1913 |
| Lyons, C.H. | To Wash an Aethiop White: British Ideas about Black African Educability, 1530-1960 | New York, 19765 |
| Lytleton, E. | Memories and Hopes | London, 1925 |
| Lytton, N. | The English Country Gentleman | London, 1925 |
| Mack, E.C. | Public Schools and British Opinion Since 1860 | New York, 1941 |
| Mackenzie, J.M. | Empire of Nature | Manchester, 1988 |
| Mackenzie, J.M. | Imperialism and Popular Culture | Manchester, 1986 |
| Mackenzie, J. | The Children of the Souls | London, 1986 |
| Mackenzie, J. | Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950 | Manchester, 1992 |

- Mackillop, J. et.al. Letters to Young Sportsmen London, 1920
Mackinnon, W.A. On the Rise, Progress and Present State of Public Opinion, In Great Britain and Other Parts of the World London, 1828
- Maconochie, E. Life in the Indian Civil Service London, 1926
Madden, J. Wilderness and its Tenants London, 1897
Maguire, J. & The Sports Process Champaign, Illinois, 1993
Pearlon, R. eds.
Mangan, J.A. Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of the Educational Ideology Cambridge, 1981
- Mangan, J.A. The Games Ethic and Imperialism, Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal Harmondsworth, 1986
Mangan, J.A. ed. Benefits Bestowed: Education and British Imperialism. Manchester, 1988
- Mangan, J.A. and Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940 Manchester, 1987
Walvin, J. eds.
- Mangan, J.A. ed. The Cultural Bond, Sport, Empire and Society London, 1986
- Margoliouth, H.M. Wordsworth and Coleridge, 1795-1834 Oxford, 1953
Martin, B. The Great Shoots Newton Abbot, 1987
- Mason, P. The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal London, 1982
- Matless, D. Landscape and Englishness London, 1998
Maxwell, G. The House of Elrig London, 1965
Mazower, M. Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century London, 1998
- Merivale, A.W. Family Memorials Exeter, 1884
Messner, M. & Sport, Men and the Gender Order: Champaign, Illinois, 1990
Sabo, D. Critical Feminist Perspectives
Middleton, D. Baker of the Nile London, 1940
Millar, G. ed. Horsemen: Memoirs of Captain J.H. Marshall London, 1970
- Mingay, G. ed. The Victorian Countryside London, 1985
Monkton, C.W. Experiences of a New Guinea President Magistrate London, nd.
- Morris, D. Manwatching: A Field Guide to Human Behaviour London, 1978
- Moss, A.W. Valiant Crusade London, 1961
Munsche, P.B. Gentlemen and Poachers: The English Game Laws, 1671-1831 Cambridge, 1981
- Murray, G. A Man's Life London, 1934
Nauright, J. and Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity London, 1996
Chandler, T.L. eds.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|------------------|
| Newbolt, Sir H. | Poems Old and New | London, 1919 |
| Newsome, D. | Godliness and Good Learning | London, 1961 |
| Newsome, D. | On the Edge of Paradise, A.C. Benson, the Diarist | London, 1980 |
| Offer, A. | Property and Politics in Victorian and Edwardian England | Cambridge, 1981 |
| Oliver, R. | Sir Harry Johnson and the Scramble for Africa | London, 1957 |
| Ortega Y Gasset, J. | Meditations on Hunting | London, 1943 |
| Osbaldestone, G. | Squire Osbaldestone: His Autobiography | London, 1927 |
| Oswald, J. | The Cry of Nature: or an appeal to mercy and justice, on behalf of persecuted animals | London, 1791 |
| Oswell, W.E. | William Cotton Oswell | London, 1900 |
| Paget, G. and Irvine, L | The Flying Parson and Dick Christian | Leicester, 1934 |
| Paget, S. | The Case against Anti-Vivisection | London, 1904 |
| Parkin, G.W. | Edward Thring, His Life, Diaries and Letters | London, 1898 |
| Parry, E.G. | Annals of an Eton House | London, 1907 |
| Partridge, E.H. | Journey Home | London, 1946 |
| Patton, P. and Poole, R. eds. | War and Masculinity | Sydney, 1985 |
| Pease, A.E. | The Diaries of A.E. Pease | London, 1907 |
| Perkin, H. | Origins of Modern English Society | London, 1972 |
| Pleck, J. And Sawyers, J. eds. | Men and Masculinity | London, 1974 |
| Rawlinson, H.G. | India, A Short Cultural History | London, 1943 |
| Rawnsley, W.F. | Highways and Byways in Lincolnshire | London, 1914 |
| Reiger, J.F. | American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation | Oregon, 2001 |
| Ribblesdale, T.L. | The Queen's Hounds and Stag Hunting Recollections | London, 1897 |
| Richards, J.B. | Seven Years at Eton | London, 1883 |
| Richards, J. | Imperialism and Juvenile Literature | Manchester, 1989 |
| Riling, R. | Guns and Shooting, A Selected Chronological Bibliography | New York, 1951 |
| Ritvo, H. | The Animal Estate | Harvard, 1987 |
| Rojeck, C. ed. | Leisure for Leisure: Critical Essays | New York, 1990 |
| Ronaldshay, Earl of | The Life of Lord Curzon | London, 1928 |
| Roper, M. & Tosh, J. | Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800 | London, 1991 |
| Rose, R.N. | The Field, 1853-1953 | London, 1953 |
| Ross, J. and Gunn, H | The Book of the Red Deer and Empire Big Game | London, 1925 |
| Ruskin, J. | A Joy Forever | Orpington, 1857 |

| | | |
|--|--|--------------------------|
| Russell, F. | The Hunting Animal | London, 1984 |
| Rutherford, A. ed. | Kipling's Mind and Art | Edinburgh, 1964 |
| Ryder, R. | The Duty of Mercy | London, 1992 |
| Ryder, R. | Animal Revolution | Oxford, 1989 |
| Said, E. | Culture and Imperialism | London, 1993 |
| Salt, H. | The Company I have Kept | London, 1930 |
| Salt, H. | Animal's Rights Considered in Relation to Social Progress | London, 1892 |
| Salt, H. | Killing for Sport | London, 1914 |
| Salt, H. | Seventy Years Among Savages | London, 1921 |
| Salt, H. | Memories of Bygone Eton | London, 1928 |
| Salt, H. | Humanitarianism, Its General Principals and Progress | London, 1891 |
| Samuel, R. | Patriotism | London, 1989 |
| Sandilands, G.S. | Atalanta, or the Future of Sport | London, 1928 |
| Sassoon, S. | Memoirs of a Fox Hunting Man | London, 1928 |
| Savory, I. | Sportswomen in India | London, 1900 |
| Schumpeter, J. | Imperialism and Social Classes | Oxford, 1951 |
| Scott, J.A. And Hobbs, M.E. | Great Farmers | London, 1937 |
| Seidler, V. | Rediscovering Masculinity: Reason, Language and Sexuality | London, 1989 |
| Shahar, S. | The Fourth Estate | London, 1983 |
| Shaw, G.B. | Prefaces | London, 1965 |
| Shrimpton, C. | The Landed Society of Essex in the Late Eighteenth Century | London, 1977 |
| Silliman, B. | A Visit to Europe in 1851 | New York, 1854 |
| Silva-White, A. and Douglas-Murray, T. | Sir Samuel White Baker, A Memoir | London, 1895 |
| Simon, B. And Bradley, I. | The Victorian Public School | Dublin, 1975 |
| Sleeman, J.L. | From Rifle to Camera: The Reformation of a Big-Game Hunter | London, 1947 |
| Smiles, P. | A Game Ranger's Notebook | London and Glasgow, 1961 |
| Spiers, E.M. | Army and Society, 1815-1914 | London, 1980 |
| Stanley, A.P. | The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold | London, 1844 |
| Stearn, W.T. | The Natural History Museum at South Kensington | London, 1981 |
| Stearns, P. | Be a Man! Males in Modern Society | New York, 1990 |
| Steel, A. | Jorrock's England | London, 1932 |
| Stephens, W.R.W. | E.A. Freeman, His Life and Letters | London, 1895 |
| Stevenson-Hamilton, J. | South African Eden | London, 1937 |
| Strutt, J. | The Sports and Pastimes of the People | London, 1801 |

- of England as Bearing upon their
National Character
- Styles, J. The Animal Creation, its Claims on our Humanity Stated and Enforced London, 1839
- Surtees, R.S. Analysis of the Hunting Field London, 1846
- Sutherland, D. The Yellow Earl, The Life of Hugh Cecil Lowther, 5th Earl of Lonsdale, 1857-1944 London, 1965
- Tancred, G. Annals of a Border Club Edinburgh, 1903
- Tancred, G. Rulewater and its People Edinburgh, 1907
- Taylor, S. The Mighty Nimrod, The Life of F.C. Selous, African Hunter and Adventurer, 1851-1917 London, 1989
- Taylor, J. A Dream of England: Landscape Photography and the Tourist's Imagination Manchester, 1994
- Tester, K. Animals and Society London, 1991
- Thomas, R. The Politics of Hunting Aldershot, 1983
- Thomas, K. Man and the Natural World Harmondsworth, 1984
- Thomas, L. Great True Adventures London, 1955
- Thompson, E.P. The Making of the English Working Class London, 1968
- Thompson, F.M.L. English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century Toronto, 1963
- Thompson, F.M.L. The Rise of Respectable Society, 1830-1900 London, 1988
- Thompson, J.O. Dr. Salter of Tolleshunt D'Arcy London, 1933
- Thorold-Rogers, J.E. ed. Speeches on Policy of Public Policy by John Bright London, 1880
- Tollemache, L.A. Old and Odd Memories London, 1908
- Tree, I. The Bird Man London, 1991
- Trollope, A. Hunting Sketches London, 1865
- Trollope, A. British Sports and Pastimes London, 1868
- Turner, E.S. All Heaven in a Rage London, 1992
- Turner, J. Animals, Pain and Humanity in the Victorian Mind: Reckoning with the Beast New York, 1980
- Varian, H.F. Some African Milestones Wheatley, 1953
- Vermeule, E.T. Greece in the Bronze Age Chicago, 1964
- Wahrman, D. Imagining the Middle Class, The Political Representation of Class in Britain, C.1789-1840 Cambridge, 1995
- Walter, D. Walker's Manly Exercises London, 1860
- Watkin-Pitchford, DJ. Tide's Ending London, 1950
- Watson, A.E.T. ed. English Sport London, 1903

| | | |
|---------------------------|--|--------------------|
| Watson, A.E.T. | King Edward VII As a Sportsman | London, 1911 |
| Weber, M. | Economy and Society: an Outline of Interpretative Sociology | London, 1978 |
| Webster, F.A.M. | Splendid Stories for Boys | London, 1932 |
| Weiner, M. | English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980 | Cambridge, 1981 |
| Whannel, G. | Media Sports Stars, Masculinities and Moralities | London, 2002 |
| Whitridge, A. | Dr. Arnold of Rugby | London, 1928 |
| Wilberforce, W. | A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, in the Higher and Middle Classes, Contrasted with Real Christianity | London. 1811 |
| Wilkinson, R. | The Prefects: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition | London, 1964 |
| Wilkinson, R. ed. | Governing Elites | New York, 1969 |
| Willey, B. | The Eighteenth Century Background | London, 1940 |
| Wilson, J. | Siegfried Sassoon | London, 1998 |
| Wilton, Earl of | Sports and Pursuits of the English People | London, 1868 |
| Windsor, E. Duke of | A King's Story, the Memoirs of the Duke of Windsor | New York, 1947 |
| Wingfield-Stratford, E.C. | The Victorian Sunset | London, 1932 |
| Wingfield-Stratford, E.C. | Before the Lamps Went Out | London, 1945 |
| Wingfield-Stratford, E. | The Making of a Hero | London, 1942 |
| Winks, R.W. | British Imperialism: God, Gold and Glory | New York, 1963 |
| Winsten, S. | Salt and his Circle | London, 1951 |
| Woodruff, P. | The Men Who Ruled India | London, 1953 |
| Wright, T. | A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England During the Middle Ages | London, 1862 |
| Wymer, N. | Dr. Arnold of Rugby | London, 1953 |
| Yorke, V. | The Church's Supreme Disgrace | Bognor Regis, 1980 |
| Young, D. | Origins of the Sacred: The Ecstasies of Love and War | New York, 1991 |
| Younghusband, G.J. | The Queen's Commission | London, 1891 |

Newspapers

The Daily Telegraph
The Daily News
The Echo
The Field
The Oxford Times
The Oxfordshire Weekly News
The Spectator
The Times

Periodicals and Journals

All The Year Round
American Historical Review
Ancestor
Anglo Saxon Review
Animals Friend
Ashmolean
B.A.S.C. Magazine
Badminton Magazine
Baily's Magazine
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine
Boy's Own Paper: of Pure and Entertaining Reading
Boys Own Annual
Boys Journal
Boys of our Empire, a Magazine for British Boys all over the World
British Journal of Sociology
British Sports and Sportsmen, Big Game Hunting and Angling
Catalogue; Essex Portraits
Cornhill Magazine
Cruel Sports, The Journal of the League Against Cruel Sports
Encounter
Essex Review
Essex; Historical Biographical and Personal
Eton Chronicle
European Sports History Review
Flight
Fortieth Anniversary Magazine
Fortnightly Review
Greater Britain
Hansard
Historical Review
History of Collections
Hoghunters Annual
Humanitarian

International Journal of the History of Sport
 International Journal of Ethics
 Journal of British Studies
 Journal of Near Eastern Studies
 Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies
 Journal of Contemporary History
 Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society
 Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire
 Leisure Studies Centre Review
 Macmillans Magazine
 Magazine of Natural History
 Magdalene College (Cambridge) Magazine
 Meteor Rugby School Magazine
 Mosaic
 Museum and English Journal of Education
 National Review
 Natural History Journal
 Natural History Review
 Nature
 Nineteenth Century
 Oriental Fieldsports Magazine
 Oxford Magazine
 Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
 Quarterly Journal of Biological Science
 Review of Reviews
 Sam Beeton's Boys Own Magazine
 Saturday Review
 Scottish Art Review
 Shooting Times
 Spectator
 Sporting Magazine
 The Westminster Review
 The Outlook
 Theory Culture and Society
 Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
 Transactions of the Natural History Society Of Northumberland, Durham and
 Newcastle
 Victoria County History of Economic History Review
 Young England

Theses

| | | |
|-------------|--|-----------------------------|
| Dunae, P.A. | British Juvenile Literature in an Age of Empire, 1870-1914 | Manchester University, 1975 |
| Honey, J.R. | The Victorian Public School, 1828-1902 | Oxford, 1969 |
| Mutimer, B. | Thomas Arnold and Organised Games | University of Alberta, 1971 |

Lectures, Papers and Miscellaneous

| | | |
|---------------|---|--------------------|
| Colquhoun, J. | Lecture on Ferrae Nature, Edinburgh | 1873 |
| Greenwood, G. | Sport, Paper to the Animal Proteciton Congress, Caxton Hall, London | July, 1909 |
| Hobley, C.W. | 'The Protection of Wild Life', paper read before a meeting of the Museums Association, London | 24th July 1924 |
| Keyser, P. | The author's experiences with Peter Keyser, Professional Hunter | July, 2003 |
| Richards, J. | 'The English Gentleman', The Listener | 6th May, 1982 |
| Scott, Sir J. | The author's informal conversations with Sir Johnny Scott, Bonchester Birdge, Roxburghshire | Autumn, 2001 |
| Wallace, H. | Letter to author from Hamish Wallace, Honorary Secretary of The Shikar Club | 5th February, 2001 |
| | Who's Who, Oxford | 1993 |
| | Who's Who in Cumberland and Westmorland, limited edition, number 111 | 1937 |