University of Bristol

Department of Historical Studies

Best undergraduate dissertations of 2024

Freddie Osborne-Fardon

Night-Time Imperialism? Hunting, Exploring, and Power in Nocturnal Africa, 1850-1899

University of BRISTOL

The Department of Historical Studies at the University of Bristol is committed to the advancement of historical knowledge and understanding, and to research of the highest order. Our undergraduates are part of that endeavour.

Since 2009, the Department has published the best of the annual dissertations produced by our final year undergraduates in recognition of the excellent research work being undertaken by our students.

This was one of the best of this year's final year undergraduate dissertations.

Please note: this dissertation is published in the state it was submitted for examination. Thus the author has not been able to correct errors and/or departures from departmental guidelines for the presentation of dissertations (e.g. in the formatting of its footnotes and bibliography).

Night-Time Imperialism? Hunting, Exploring, and Power in Nocturnal Africa, 1850-1899

Contents

List of Illustrations

Acknowledgements

My immense gratitude is due to Drs Kate Skinner, Andy Flack, and Alice Would at the University of Bristol. Dr Skinner, my excellent supervisor, has been unfailing in her enthusiasm for my project as it has ebbed and flowed (for better and for worse). Dr Would introduced me to animal history, and it was through her that I discovered the fascinating Victorian adventure narratives upon which this dissertation is based. I first came to the history of darkness through Dr Flack's 'Dark Pasts' module, which captivated me from the very beginning. I thank all three warmly and sincerely for their advice and opinions on this dissertation, and for the time that they (and the rest of the Bristol History Department) have devoted to me throughout my degree.

Introduction

> Every evening I watched the daylight dying, and bade an anxious farewell to the sun as it sunk down behind the landscape.[1]
>
> Walter Montagu Kerr

> The cock became very dear to me from his cheery crow, announcing the near approach of the welcome dawn and the end of the tedious, oppressive night.[2]
>
> Arthur H. Neumann

Amidst the 'monotonous stillness of the night' on some untold date *circa* 1880 there sat perched, by the banks of the Orange River, South Africa, a restless Scotsman named Parker Gillmore.[3] Although little about his early life exists, we can ascertain that he arrived in 1875 at the Cape Colony and travelled thence into the African hinterlands in search of big-game. Previously an army officer, Gillmore would spend his later years publishing accounts of his travails. He became venerated for his skill with rifle and pen alike: *The Graphic* noted he was 'known as a mighty sportsman'; 'Few travellers', wrote the *Morning Post,* could relate 'so vividly' such 'stirring' and 'impressive' anecdotes as Gillmore.[4] His books were commercially successful and, at his death in 1900, he left his wife Elizabeth a large six-story terraced property in Brighton.[5] Ostensibly, then, Parker Gillmore was a hunter of considerable prowess. At least, that is, during the daytime. Back by the Orange River, daylight long having faded, we find a different narrative. Blinded by an 'inky blackness', our man relates with trepidation how the night 'again placed her impenetrable seal of obscurity upon the landscape'.[6] This part of Africa, Gillmore tells us, is lion country. And, unsurprisingly, the fear of that lurking venerable beast and his own visual impairment combined

---

[1] Walter Montagu Kerr, *The Far Interior: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure,* 2 vols (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1886), I, p. 231.
[2] Arthur H. Neumann, *Elephant-Hunting in East Equatorial Africa* (London: Rowland Ward, 1898), p. 333.
[3] Parker Gillmore, *Days and Nights in the Desert* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1888), pp. 50-6.
[4] 'At Home and Abroad', *The Graphic*, 23 Sept 1893, p. 395; 'The Hunters Arcadia', *Morning Post*, 2 Sept. 1887, p. 6.
[5] Kenneth P. Czech, *An Annotated Bibliography Of African Big Game Hunting Books 1785-1950* (Minnesota: Land's Edge, 1997), pp. 63-4; District Probate Registry, London, 'National Probate Calendar: Index of Wills and Administrations, 1900', p. 224.
[6] Gillmore, *Days*, p. 56.

to tickle his very core. This anecdote speaks to the Scotsman's African experience more broadly. Whilst, by day, the reader grows accustomed to Gillmore's self-portrayal as an awesome, seemingly invincible Nimrod-esque character, by night we frequently witness his descent into fear, impotency, and self-doubt.[7]

Born biologically unsuited to its low-light conditions, the darkness has always hindered human activity during the night.[8] And, indeed, for mid-to-late-Victorian visitors to Africa like Gillmore this was no different. Henry Bailey, who adventured around the Congo in the decade after Parker, spoke for them all in surmising of the night: 'it was perfectly dark, so I could see nothing'.[9] For Bailey, Gillmore and their peers, such blindness had drastic implications on their claims to power in Africa. This presents an interesting premise which, heretofore unexplored, demands investigation.

Although this project takes the literal darkness, its roots lie elsewhere. It begun by recognising that Africa has long figured as a place of especial darkness in the Western imagination. Medieval explorers from the shores of the Mediterranean like Ibn Khaldun dared not to venture into the continent's sub-Saharan reaches – the land of 'the mist and the darkness'.[10] Such gloomy connotations were then historicised by leading nineteenth-century figures. Hegel, for instance, in his major *Philosophy of History* (1837), saw 'Africa proper, as far as history goes back' as perennially 'enveloped in the dark mantle of the Night'. The trope entered common parlance after its use in Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent* (1878) and, most famously, in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899).[11] And, despite the conclusion of formal, territorial rule (*colonialism*) over six decades ago, this same mode of cultural 'Othering' (a form of *imperialism*) still plagues contemporary portrayals of Africa in European and American media.[12] (More on those two conceptual terms later.)

These, though, are the findings of literary scholars. Naturally inclined towards the romantic, their studies have been rather parochial, taking the idea of the darkness as just that: an

---

[7] *Ibid*., 50-6.
[8] Andrew Flack, 'Dark Trails: Animal Histories Beyond the Light of Day', *Environmental History*, 27.2 (2022), 215-241 (p. 227-9).
[9] Henry Bailey, *Travel and Adventures in the Congo Free State* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1894), p. 72.
[10] Adam Hothschild *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa,* rev edn (London: Pan, 2012), pp. 16-17.
[11] G. W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Dover, 1956), p. 91; Henry M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent,* rev. edn (London: Sampson Low, 1890); Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
[12] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978) pp. 201-328. See, *inter alia:* Okaka Opio Dokotum, *Hollywood and Africa: Recycling the 'Dark Continent' Myth, 1908-2020* (Makhanda: NISC, 2020).

idea; something literary, figurative, metaphorical.[13] This dissertation seeks to cut a new path, working *alongside* these existing scholarly foundations rather than building directly *upon* them. The nascent field of night studies has, in the *circa* fifteen years since its inception, begun to take seriously the literal, material darkness of the night-time as a useful and highly profitable category of analysis.[14] This development stemmed from anthropologists' and cultural geographers' responses to Bille and Sørensen's intriguing 2007 paper suggesting the 'Agency of Light'.[15] Then, in their wake, came scientists, particularly ecologists, demanding a 'science of the night'.[16] Historians had occasionally centred the night in studies of early modern and industrial England since the 1980s, discovering, for instance, humans' pre-industrial preference to sleep 'bi-phasically'.[17] But, only since calls for an interdisciplinary field called 'nyctology' at this decade's turn has the darkness become a more coherent and accepted, if still somewhat leftfield, area of historical study.[18]

Indeed, the night, which, in line with this foregoing scholarship, I take as both a temporal and a spatial environment, is a valuable and important area of historical enquiry. The period between sunset and dawn has constituted around half of all human experience on Earth. And, although most people tend to spend their nights asleep, a minority of (often marginalised) groups have utilised its essential darkness for a variety of important, often subversive, purposes. As Tim Edensor writes: the darkness has, historically, 'been continuously subject to contestations over power'.[19] The (literal) African darkness has been applied to Africa once before, by Sara B. Pritchard.[20] But her article dwells not upon its intriguing social dimensions. Identifying this potentially fruitful lacuna, I herein present the notion of 'night-time imperialism', seeking to query

---

[13] Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism: 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp. 173-97; V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), pp. 35, 59.
[14] Christopher C. M. Kyba *et al.,* 'Night Matters: Why the Interdisciplinary Field of 'Night Studies' is Needed', *MSJ*, 3 (2020), 1-6.
[15] Mikkel Bille and Tim Flohr Sørenson, 'An Anthropology of Luminosity: The Agency of Light', *Journal of Material Culture*, 12.3 (2007), 263-284; Jacques Galinier *et al.*, 'Anthropology of the Night', *Current Anthropology*, 51.6 (2010), 819-847; Tim Edensor, 'Introduction to Geographies of Darkness', *Cultural Geographies*, 22.4 (2015), 559-565.
[16] Michele Acuto, 'We Need A Science of the Night', *Nature*, 576 (2019), 339.
[17] Robert Ekirch, *At Day's Close: A History of Nighttime* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), pp. 311-23; Wolfgang Schivelbush, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
[18] Kyba *et al.,* 'Night Matters'. 2022 marked the inaugural year of Andrew Flack's unit named 'Dark Pasts: Modern Histories of the Night in Britain and North America' at the University of Bristol – the first of its kind globally.
[19] Edensor, 'Geographies', p. 560. See here, *inter alia:* Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 70, 75-85, 131.
[20] Sara B. Pritchard, 'The Trouble with Darkness: NASA's Suomi Satellite Images of Earth at Night', *Environmental History*, 22 (2017), 312-330.

how the darkness of night-time affected the 'normal' (diurnal) relations of British imperial power (and resistance) in Africa during the later nineteenth century.[21]

Before expanding on this thematic focus, I must outline my source base and methodology. My main corpus of primary material consists of twenty narratives written by British travellers to Africa's eastern, central, and southern reaches and published between 1850-1899.[22] Although not comprehensive, this corpus is substantial enough to be representative of these source types more broadly. Scholarship on both hunting and exploring has heretofore been rather divided. It is vital to recognise this difference. Both hunting and exploring are fundamentally concerned, I argue, with the accrual of power – specifically that of the imperial variety. But, whilst explorers seek to obtain this power in the form of knowledge through the acts of observation and 'discovery', dependent on navigation; hunters locate its obtainment in inflicting animal death.[23]

Despite this basic difference, though, similarities in form, audience, and authorship are sufficient enough that I may profitably analyse both explorers' and hunters' accounts together. These similarities are as follows. Firstly, the narratives all take the form of a picaresque novel: all are around 400 pages in length and relate the authors' eventual successes in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles.[24] (One of these obstacles, as I suggest, being the darkness). Although these works were always, for practical reasons, written upon their authors' return to Britain, all were compiled from diaries and letters written during their visits to Africa and, in absence of those materials, from memory.[25] Secondly, these sources were published in (or intended for consumption in) the United Kingdom. They tended to sell well and were read by a wide cross-section of the British reading public. To this attests their frequent serialisation in publications ranging from the radical *Fortnightly Review* to the liberal *Daily News* and the conservative *Times,* as well as in the more specialised *The Field* (for hunters); and, for explorers, by the Royal Geographical Society in more scientific form.[26]

---

[21] This binary, although problematic in 'nyctology', underlies our authors' modes of thought. See: Christopher Gibson and Ben Gallan, 'Beyond the Binary of Day and Night', *Environment and Planning A*, 43.11 (2011), 2509-2515.
[22] See: Appendix A.
[23] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992); John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).
[24] Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 527-8.
[25] See: Appendix B.
[26] Angela Thompsell, *Hunting Africa: British Sport, African Knowledge and the Nature of Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 38-9; Dane Kennedy, 'British Exploration in the Nineteenth Century: A Historiographical Survey', *History Compass*, 5.6 (2007), 1879-1900 (pp. 1885-90).

Thirdly, to take the authors themselves, it is imperative to acknowledge that, despite their tendency to describe themselves as either 'hunters' *or* 'explorers', the latter invariably hunted for subsistence; just as the former prolifically observed and collected environmental knowledge.[27] Indeed, the occupational categories of 'explorer' and 'hunter' were rather more fluid than those of other contemporary British visitors to Africa such as the missionary or colonial administrator.[28] For this reason the subsequent chapters are not based around these occupational categories but, rather, structured thematically around the activities of 'exploring' and 'hunting' more broadly. Within each chapter, I cannot avoid using the collective terms 'explorers' and 'hunters'. But, I must note, given that these categories are so capacious, either might easily include any presently-analysed author, regardless of whether they identify as *primarily* one or the other.

Hunters and explorers came from a variety of backgrounds. Due to the lofty economic barrier to visiting Africa, they belonged to wealthy or otherwise esteemed families. Frederick Selous's father, for instance, was Chairman of the London Stock Exchange; and J. G. Millais was the son of Sir John Everett, a founder of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Many of our authors (Gibbons, Willoughby, and Neumann, *inter alia*) were military men. (Indeed, it is worth pointing out that *all* were men.[29]) And the rest came from a variety of occupational backgrounds: engineering, medicine, farming, journalism, geology, and the arts.[30]

Our authors were always aware that their adventures, and the narratives which related them, were embroiled in the currents of Empire. There is a key chronological nuance to note here. Having increased in popularity since the late-eighteenth century, by the 1880s, as Richard Reid writes, 'the golden age of African exploration was largely over' as almost all lakes, waterfalls, and mountains had by then been 'discovered'.[31] Neatly overlapping this ascended the British cult of hunting in Africa. Although relatively widespread since the mid-century, hunters assumed the mantle of imperial frontier-expansion from the mid-1870s.[32] Such chronological nuance in fact bolsters the broader point here, though. Although the quantity of imperial agents in Africa only proliferated in the final decade of our century, the imperialistic fervour of those who visited Africa was intense right through 1850-1899. As Dane Kennedy remarks, exploring undoubtedly served

---

[27] MacKenzie, *Empire* (p. 131).
[28] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. v).
[29] The only significant female character to appear in our sources is Florence Baker, Sir Samuel's wife, who accompanied him to East Africa. Female explorers and hunters did exist and write books (e.g. Sheldon, Kingsley), but they were either unsuitable or unavailable for inclusion here. See Thompsell, *Hunting* (pp. 101-33).
[30] See: Appendix A.
[31] Richard Reid, *A History of Modern Africa,* 3rd edn. (Hoboken: Wiley, 2019), p. 132.
[32] Thompsell, *Hunting* (p. 17).

as an 'advance guard for imperial expansion' until its late-century decline when, as Harriet Ritvo writes, the hunter came to be labelled as both 'the ideal and the definitive type of empire builder'.[33]

This transition – from British adventurers prioritising *seeing* the African environment to them physically *controlling* it – mirrors the late-century shift to what contemporaries called the 'New Imperialism' (what we now know as 'colonialism'). As mentioned, this term and its parent, 'imperialism', require definition. To this end I synthesise the work of Robert J. C. Young and Ania Loomba. Broadly, colonialism constitutes the conquest of territory for its utility *per se* – for settlement or resource extraction, for instance. This formal territorial occupation constitutes the enactment of imperialism which, itself, figures as a totalising ideology to guide states (or, rather, empires) towards global political hegemony.[34] In Africa, our period hosted a transition from 'just' imperialism to its colonial enactment. Mid-nineteenth-century British interests on the continent were, besides outliers such as South Africa, mainly ideological, aimed at 'civilising' African people through the doctrine of Christianity. Only following the mandate for 'Effective Occupation' which concluded the Berlin Conference (1884-5) did there ensue the Scramble for Africa, whereby the continent was aggressively conquered and partitioned between the seven major European empires with astonishing rapidity. Unfortunately, I have little space to remark below on the subtle impact of this shift upon the tone of our authors' experiences of the darkness; perhaps I shall do so elsewhere.

As well as outlining the sources themselves, I must outline the methodological approach I have employed in analysing them. Two key points pertain. Firstly, on textuality. It is critical to acknowledge that all our authors conjure an image of the 'self' in their narratives, traceable to various discursive contexts.[35] Their self-representations are contrived, as noted, with imperial interests in mind; but, as well as this, our authors also sought professional advancement, public celebrity, and personal profit.[36] To these ends, for instance, they all tended to represent themselves as heroic, actively seeking fear in order to overcome it; and, while explorers preferred to demonstrate themselves as intrepid, trailblazing and fearlessly adventurous; hunters were more concerned with their masculinity, dominance and fearlessness of death.[37] And, conversely, they

---

[33] Kennedy, 'Exploration' (p. 1890); Ritvo, *Animal Estate* (p. 254).
[34] Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 15-35; Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), pp. 7-22.
[35] Michel Foucault, *In Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, trans. Donald Bouchard (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), p 124.
[36] Dane Kennedy, *The Last Blank Spaces: Exploring Africa and Australia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 4.
[37] Daniel Haines, 'Heroic Fear: Emotions, Masculinity, and Dangerous Nature in British Colonial Adventure Narratives', *Environmental Humanities*, 16.1 (2024), 162-182 (p. 164); Thompsell, *Hunting* (pp. 21-2); Johannes Fabian,

sought to represent Africa as a backward, benighted land inhabited by blissfully ignorant, 'uncivilised' people (or, 'noble savages'), biologically and culturally 'closer to nature'.[38]

Taking these representations of the 'self' – or, 'discourses' – to constitute these sources in their entirety, forerunning New Historicist analysts have taken them, in Robert J. C. Young's phrasing, 'as *texts* rather than as documents providing evidence' (my emphasis).[39] Denying our sources any material utility, they hold that texts may only be interpreted (or, 'de-coded') through the prism of other sources.[40] I acknowledge and, to some extent, adhere to this mode of analysis. Taking my twenty narratives together provides a matrix of vignettes through which I can see beyond our authors' representations of the 'self' to decipher how they were affected by the darkness. However, although aware that their narratives are contrived with personal and imperial interests in mind, I am less sceptical than the postmodernists of our sources' material merits. I agree with Roy Bridges that it *is* possible to 'get behind' the authors' discourses.[41] And, to this end, my analysis has been bolstered by a solid understanding of the broader historical currents of the period and by supplementary primary source material from newspapers.[42] Through such an approach I can triangulate some sort of representation of underlying (and perhaps even objective) historical reality.

I also take methodological cues from historians of the senses and the emotions (or, together, of 'experience').[43] Such an approach to the present source base achieved infamy under the pen of Johannes Fabian, whose discovery that German explorers were frequently 'out of their minds' has been immensely influential.[44] My nocturnal focus leaves me well-suited to extend Fabian's arguments. As I began by establishing, vision – the 'organ of knowledge' since Enlightenment – is naturally impaired by the darkness. Because of this, as Andrew Flack and Dolly Jørgensen have noted, the wide range of emotions experienced at night-time are among the most

---

Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), p. 5.

[38] William K. Storey, 'Big Cats and Imperialism: Lion and Tiger Hunting in Kenya and Northern India, 1898-1930', *Journal of World History*, 2.2 (1991), 135-173 (p. 159).

[39] Young, *Postcolonialism* (p. 390). See, for instance, Brantlinger, *Darkness*.

[40] Graham Allen, *Intertextuality,* 3rd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2000).

[41] Roy Bridges, 'Explorers' Texts and the Problem of Reactions by Non-Literate Peoples', *Travel Writing,* 2.1 (1998), 65-84 (pp. 73-6).

[42] African histories consulted: Richard Reid, *Africa;* Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa Since 1800*, rev edn (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1994), *inter alia*. British histories consulted: James Vernon, *Modern Britain: 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), *inter alia*. Methodologically I follow Adrian Wisnicki, *Fieldwork of Empire, 1840-1900: Intercultural Dynamics in the Production of British Expeditionary Literature* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 12-7.

[43] Rob Boddice and Mark Smith, *Emotion, Sense, Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 1-17.

[44] Fabian, *Minds* (p. 3).

primal and volatile that humans are capable of.[45] Along these lines, a prominent analytical motif in this dissertation demonstrates how the nocturnal inefficacy of vision consistently agitated our authors emotionally by subverting the 'normal' (diurnal) relations of (imperial) power. This line of argument prompts engagement with a long-established tenet of travel writing scholarship which, in the vein of Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes,* holds that the eye was the organ of imperial expansion. Pratt suggests that, in the very act of looking, the imperial 'seeing-man', whose imperial eyes 'look passively out […] desires, objectifies, and possesses' – in other words *colonises* – the observed.[46] To this point I shall return lastly.

Finally, before embarking on my analysis, I briefly review the existing literature on imperial power in Africa. My point of departure here is Edward Said, whose landmark *Orientalism* applied Foucauldian discourse analysis to Franco-British constructions of the 'Orient', highlighting the discursive (or cultural) mode of imperialism.[47] This essay is much indebted to Said's work, albeit with one key alteration. Despite his indebtedness to Foucault, *Orientalism* ignores the French philosopher's insistence that tied inextricably to power is resistance.[48] Such criticism also goes for Pratt who, like Said, upholds colonial binaries in her sole concern with the 'coloniser'. Remedial to this, I herein take the broader 'phenomenology' of imperial expansion which makes room for both Gayatri Spivak's attention to the subaltern and Bruno La Tour's non-privileging of any one material thing over another.[49] Such a social and spatial broadening leaves this dissertation best-placed to follow Frederick Cooper's suggestion that historians should 'confront the power behind European expansion without assuming it was all-determining'.[50]

These historical, historiographical, and methodological underpinnings established, I may now proceed to my analysis. Both of the following chapters on exploring and hunting are structured similarly. I begin by providing a short literature review for the histories of both activities to demonstrate how our authors understood their relationality to African people and environments during the daytime (the *status quo*). Next, I demonstrate how these relations of power were contested, and often inverted, by the darkness of night-time. In both I seek to examine how our

---

[45] Andrew Flack and Dolly Jørgensen, 'Feelings for Nature: Emotions in Environmental History' in *The Routledge History of Emotions in the Modern World*, ed. by Katie Barclay, Peter N. Stearns (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), pp. 235-251 (pp. 241-2). See also: Nina J. Morris, 'Night Walking: Darkness and Sensory Perception in a Night-time Landscape Installation', *Cultural Geographies* 18.3 (2011), 315–42.
[46] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (pp. 7, 75-6).
[47] Said, *Orientalism*.
[48] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 4 vols, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, Pantheon, 1978), I, pp. 95-6.
[49] Jessica Dubow, "From A View *On* The World To A Point of View *In* It': Rethinking Sight, Space and the Colonial Subject', *Interventions*, 2.1 (2000), 87-102 (p. 93).
[50] Frederick Cooper, 'Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History', *American Historical Review*, 99.5 (1994), 1516-1545 (p. 1517).

authors' and their supposed 'subjects' reacted to these subversions. Chapter One, on explorers, is more concerned to examine how these subversions were often advantageous to explorers and their African auxiliaries alike. Chapter Two seeks to unpick the embarrassment experienced by hunters at their inability to shoot by darkness. I conclude by reflecting upon 'night-time imperialism', suggesting, as I have hinted, that this notion might, in fact, most accurately be considered in the negative.

CHAPTER ONE

(Not) Exploring: Knowledge and Navigation

Figure 1: William Charles Baldwin, 'Deserted and Alone by Fire'[51]

> Alone in the desert, with […] not a soul that I knew of within reach […] I was utterly helpless. The night I passed was horrible […] I do not wish my worst enemy to spend such a one.[52]
>
> William Charles Baldwin

Since its inception, the primary tenet of exploring has been the collection and categorisation of geographical knowledge over supposedly uncharted environments. For Victorian explorers of Africa it was no different. From the late-eighteenth century, the Royal Geographical Society and its forebears including the African Association monopolised exploration of the continent,

[51] William Charles Baldwin, *African Hunting and Adventure from Natal to the Zambezi, 1852-1860* (London: Richard Bentley, 1863), p. 251.
[52] *Ibid.*

relentlessly funding, organising, and publicising expeditions in the name of scientific progress. The cult of exploration established a *modus operandi:* to see, to observe was to know; and to know was to objectify and, therefore, to possess.[53] Until the later twentieth century, historians tended to exalt these 'outstanding men' who, they say, 'discovered' Africa's 'vast unnamed blank spaces'.[54] In so doing, they have argued, explorers solved geographical mysteries which had puzzled Europeans since Herodotus, garnering both personal and national (or, rather, imperial) glory.[55]

There are, of course, numerous holes in this narrative. Only over the last three or so decades have such so-called 'Hidden Histories of Exploration' been drawn out by postcolonial revisionists. They have centred three key issues.[56] Firstly, and most basally, contrary to explorers' boldest claims, they never did 'discover' such topographical marvels as the Victoria Falls or Lake Albert. Rather, these had been known and used by African people for many millennia.[57] Secondly, therefore, Africa's unmapped areas were not (could not logically have been) empty. In fact, as Dane Kennedy has revealed, the myth of the 'blank continent' was only fabricated at the turn of the nineteenth century in aid of European exploratory ambitions upon the realisation, as Simon Ryan suggests, that cartographers' erasure of local African knowledge prepared areas 'for the subsequent emplacement of a new order'.[58]

Thirdly, recent postcolonialist scholarship has most arduously excavated how explorers' claims to individual and national glory systematically and strategically effaced their reliance upon this local African knowledge. These scholars have demonstrated how explorers leaned (sometimes literally) to an enormous extent on their 'auxiliaries' – porters, guides, and interpreters.[59] Their knowledge was indispensable to Britons' access to necessities like food and water; their ability to navigate; and even their survival. Without them, not only would explorers' cartographical prospects have been jeopardised; so too would their lives.[60] Indeed, to quote Dane Kennedy, 'Far from demonstrating the great power of the British Empire, explorers in fact discovered its limits'.[61] Along these lines, we must cease to understand 'exploration' as something wholly British.

---

[53] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (p. 7); Kennedy, 'Exploration' (pp. 1885-90).
[54] E. J. Glave, *In Savage Africa: Or, Six Years of Adventure in Congo-Land* (New York: Russell & Son, 1893), p. 16.
[55] Christopher Hibbert, *Africa Explored: Europeans on the Dark Continent* (London: Penguin, 1982), p. 2.
[56] Felix Driver and Lowri Jones, 'Hidden Histories of Exploration', *Royal Geographical Society,* 2009 < https://www.rgs.org/our-collections/stories-from-our-collections/online-exhibitions/hidden-histories-of-exploration> [accessed 2 May 2024]; Kennedy *Spaces* (pp. 12, 107).
[57] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (pp. 201-8).
[58] Kennedy, *Spaces* (pp. 9-22); Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 104.
[59] See: *inter alia:* Adrian S. Wisnicki, 'Charting the Frontier: Indigenous Geography, Arab-Nyamwezi Caravans, and the East Africa Expedition of 1856-59', *Victorian Studies*, 51.1 (2008), 103-137 (p. 128).
[60] Kennedy, p. 163; Wisnicki, 2008, pp. 115, 124-9.
[61] Kennedy, *The Last Blank Spaces*, p. 5.

The present chapter works with each of these arguments and seeks, particularly, to extend the latter one. To begin, it demonstrates how the night-time constituted a key locus of British explorers' dependence upon the local knowledge of their (usually African) caravan members. Next, it analyses how this dependence constituted the contestation, subversion, and sometimes even inversion of the (diurnal) relations of (imperial) power which explorers and their auxiliaries alike considered 'normal'. It ends by recognising how these nocturnal subversions were recognised by, and often advantageous to, both groups. They permitted explorers to progress across the continent and ensured their survival, and provided opportunities for auxiliaries to profit from the otherwise innately exclusionary system of imperialism.

As I have established, Victorian visitors to Africa found it almost impossible to see in the darkness. Consequently, at night-time, explorers' ability to navigate by map or by topographical features – Britons' preferred modes of exploration – was severely compromised. Andrew A. Anderson speaks for all our authors in his avowal to 'never travel after dark' alone.[62] And, for those who heeded not Anderson's word, accidents were common and usually calamitous. Our authors frequently relate tales about other lone European travellers who, lost and alone at night, either fall into a deep wart-hog hole or other ditch, or drive down a ravine or off a cliff, costing them their lives or, at very least, a great deal of their cargo.[63]

There are exceptions here. Samuel Baker recalled being able to find his way to the Karuma Falls (present-day Uganda) on one leg of his journey by Canopus, the second-brightest star, which illuminated a map of East Africa given to him by John Hanning Speke.[64] Additionally, the so-called 'friendly moon', which explorers (and many Englishmen prior) knew as the 'guardian of the night', occasionally shone brightly enough for caravans to travel after sunset.[65] However, the tropical and subtropical climes of Central and eastern Africa as well as (to a lesser extent) the temperate southern one were often overcast at night. Accordingly, periods of bright moonlight were infrequent and, when they did occur, were usually too brief to permit lengthy journeys. Examples such as Baker's, then, are exceptions to the rule: generally, explorers' navigational abilities were rendered useless by the darkness of night-time.

---

[62] Andrew A. Anderson, *Twenty-Five Years in a Wagon: Sport and Travel in South Africa*, 2nd edn (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888), p. 36; See also: Samuel W. Baker*, The Albert N'yanza, 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1867)*, p. 29; F. Vaughan Kirby, ['Maqaqamba'], *Sport in East Central Africa* (London: Rowland Ward, 1899), p. 229.
[63] Anderson, *Twenty-Five Years* (pp. 95, 104); Baker, *Explorations* (p. 29); Kirby, *Sport* (p. 229).
[64] Baker, *Explorations* (pp. 28, 67, 78, 97-8).
[65] Kirby, *Sport* (p. 269); Gillmore, *Days* (p. 65). Early Modern Britons knew the moon as the 'parish lantern', see: Flack, 'Dark Trails' (p. 221).

Because of this, explorers came to depend on their African caravan members' local knowledge of the landscapes through which they roamed. It was commonplace for caravans to acquire crew members at frequent intervals along their travels, especially in East Africa and (less so) in the continent's southerly reaches, where well-established networks of trade caravans had existed well before the arrival of European explorers.[66] A commentator in *The Spectator* wrote of these parts: 'no sooner has the traveller gained the confidence […] of one set of men, than he has to change them for an entirely new set'.[67] As a result, in these areas explorers could often access the intimate geographical and environmental knowledge of the guides in their employment and so overcome the otherwise insurmountable barrier to nocturnal navigation. The importance of this fact to our authors extends twofold.

Firstly, it made transcontinental journeys possible by night-time. James Augustus Grant, for instance, was able to navigate the desert area around Korosko (present-day northern Sudan) thanks to a group of Sudanese sheiks who possessed 'extraordinary' and 'unfailing' knowledge of the landscape.[68] Grant relates, with approval, how these men knew their way through the dunes even in the pitch black, not requiring the navigational aid provided by hills, trees, or other topographic features.[69] And, similarly, Parker Gillmore, who travelled through South Africa, remarked that, other than himself, 'every one [in his caravan] knew the road since he was a boy', permitting nocturnal trekking across the *velds*. He appears to have come to prefer its efficiency, writing:

> If the traveller in Africa wishes to make a long and quick trek, let him do it at night.[70]

Indeed, Gillmore opted for night travelling with such frequency that he titled his 1888 volume 'Days *and Nights* in the Desert' (my emphasis).[71]

In both cases, as Grant and Gillmore realised, these nocturnal jaunts permitted that explorers might progress across the continent just as quickly as (or even quicker than) was possible during the day. This was immensely important. Explorers, as established, were aware that they operated at the vanguard of imperial expansion. Therefore, they understood their transcontinental advancement to reflect not only their own intrepidity, but also the progress of the Empire as a

---

[66] Oliver, *Africa* (pp. 90-102, 103-117).
[67] 'A Saunter Through Central Africa', *The Spectator*, 20 Nov 1886, pp. 18-19.
[68] James Augustus Grant, *A Walk Across Africa* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1864), pp. 438-9.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] Gillmore, *Days* (pp. 132, 145-6).
[71] *Ibid.*

whole. This is especially important because, as intellectual historians have long held, the ideal of progress was intrinsic to Victorian modes of thought.[72] These two points are illustrated *ad unguem* by Herbert Ward, who retorts:

> It seemed quite *ludicrous* that during the day we could follow the proper channel [on the Congo] without the least difficulty, but as soon as night came on we frequently got into some blind pool or back water, or ran into the bank (my emphasis).[73]

Indeed, in such areas as the Congo Basin, where trade caravan networks were less well-established, and therefore where caravaners' knowledge of their landscapes was generally less intimate, night treks were often disastrous.[74] For one instance, despite his renown amongst peers and modern historians alike, Stanley recounts how, having underestimated his distance from the Miandereh Islets on Lake Victoria, where he planned to bivouac, his entourage was forced to row through the intense darkness and ran into trouble.[75] His crew for this 1874-77 expedition across Central Africa had been recruited from East Africa (mostly from Zanzibar). Consequently, his companions did not possess such intimate knowledge of their surroundings as Grant's or Gillmore's and, unable to navigate the river with little accuracy, five of the caravan's canoes struck sharp rocks on the riverbed and sunk, taking their cargo with them. [76] In all, as well as the boats themselves, they lost five guns, a whole case of ammunition, and more than a half-tonne of grain.[77]

Enabling progress, though, was not the only way that African caravan members' local knowledge was important. Less directly, but more vitally, explorers frequently depended upon their African companions for their survival at night-time. A most indicative instance here comes from Henry Bailey. An (unsuccessful) hunt for an especially large-tusked elephant together with Ward and a Mr Ingram, commander of the Lukungu outpost (present-day eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo) having overrun, the trio find themselves seven miles from their encampment. Darkness long having set in, and this being lion country, Bailey recounts the trio's reliance upon their African companions in ensuring their safe return to camp:

---

[72] Jerome Hamilton Buckley, *The Triumph of Time* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 34-52.
[73] Herbert Ward, *Five Years with the Congo Cannibals* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1890), p. 245. See, on this darkness-*versus*-progress theme: Andrew Flack, 'Dark Degenerations: Life, Light, and Transformation Beneath the Earth, 1840-*circa* 1900', *Isis*, 113.2 (2022), 331-351.
[74] Oliver, *Africa* (p. 78-89).
[75] Harry Johnston, for instance, likened Stanley to Napoleon. See: H. H. Johnston, 'Stanley's Rear Guard and the Congo Scandals' *The Speaker,* 15 Nov. 1890, p. 540.
[76] Stanley, *Dark Continent* (pp. 166-7).
[77] *Ibid.*

> we were *obliged* to trust our guides for the path […] we procured a large bundle of grass used for thatching. This *the boys* made torches of by rolling them up tight, and holding them in such a manner as not to burn too quickly (my emphases).[78]

Indeed, even when the rain 'commenced to descend heavily', Bailey, impressed, remarks how the guides were able to keep the torches alight throughout the duration of their journey.[79] Only by virtue of their auxiliaries' knowledge of both the path home and how to make and use these torches, then, did the Britons make it back to camp, avoiding a night of definite discomfort and potential death. Such occasions as this were terribly common for our authors.[80] They plagued Sir John Willoughby so greatly that his caravan arranged a system whereby, upon darkness falling and the explorer being absent, those present at camp would fire shots at half-hour intervals to aid his (usually unsuccessful) journey campward.[81] Where our authors' caravan members held intimate knowledge of the landscape they gained power over our explorers, both in ensuring their survival and in facilitating their continuation of (imperial) progress by night-time. In such a manner, the night appears to have frequently constituted an African, rather than a British, locus of control.

Our authors and their auxiliaries alike recognised this change in power dynamics at night-time. African caravan members acknowledged it implicitly, through desertion, which presented a sizeable issue for many of our authors. Willoughby remarks that, of the 170 or so men in his employment upon embarking from Mombasa in December 1886, by the first fortnight around forty had abandoned him, almost always leaving under the veil of darkness.[82] This episode is broadly representative.[83] Britons often assumed their auxiliaries deserted because they were naturally indolent.[84] Recent scholarship has demonstrated that, instead, they tended to defect due to their employers' failure to observe long-established local codes and customs dictating workloads and compensation.[85] This I do not dispute. However, I suggest it also be recognised that, in choosing to escape their employers by dark, auxiliaries recognised the night-time as a locus in

---

[78] Bailey, *Adventures* (pp. 126-7).
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] See: *inter alia:* Willoughby, John C., *East Africa and Its Big Game* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1889), pp. 92-3; Roualeyn George Gordon-Cumming, *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa*, rev. edn (London: John Murray, 1855), p. 104.
[81] Willoughby, *Narrative* (p. 139).
[82] *Ibid.,* pp. 44, 49, 69, 78, 86.
[83] See, also: Baker, *Explorations* (p. 148).
[84] Willoughby, *Narrative* (p. 43).
[85] Steven J. Rockel, *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), pp. 86-7.

which, as suggested, explorers lost authority over their caravans. This bolsters a nascent tenet of nyctology which, the reader shall recall, posits the night-time as a common setting for self-emancipation – by indigenous South Americans from the Spanish *encomienda* system, for instance, or by enslaved Africans from plantations in the American south.[86]

Africans are not the only ones who acknowledged the subversion of imperial power relations by night-time, though. When explorers lose their way amidst the darkness and face the prospects of a night alone in the bush, with great frequency they report themselves entering states of great mental distress. An episode from William Charles Baldwin (depicted in Figures 1 and 2) represents this in its most extreme form. A game hunt somewhere between the Vaal River and Harrismith (just north-east of present-day Lesotho) having overrun, the adventurer finds himself isolated from his companions and lost. As twilight fades to night, he struggles to control Adrian, his horse, writing: '[I] tried lying [it] down again, and tore up a regular hole in the ground with my teeth, and was half choked with soil'.[87] Then, dressed only in a shirt and trousers, Baldwin becomes rather cold so, seeking warmth, he pulls his greyhound, Hopeful, into a tight embrace. Yet, to the Englishman's great surprise, the dog, apparently alarmed, attempts to struggle away. His patience spiralling, a sudden frenzy overcomes Baldwin entirely:

> I threw myself down […] held his black muzzle fast with my left hand, turned half over, and, having my right hand free, hammered into his ribs with my fist till I knocked every particle of breath out of his body, and half suffocated him at the same time by keeping his mouth shut. His struggles for some time were fearful: he foamed at

[86] Galinier *et al.*, 'Anthropology' (pp. 828-9).
[87] Baldwin, *Hunting* (p. 155).

> the mouth as if he were rabid. I was hardly sure if I had not killed him.[88]

Figure 2: William Charles Baldwin, 'A Cold Encampment'[89]

Rather curiously, Baldwin provides no explanation for this episode. Certainly, violence, especially unto animals, was part-and-parcel of the experience of British visitors to Africa in the nineteenth century.[90] And, indeed, as Johannes Fabian's landmark study has suggested, we cannot read accounts such as Baldwin's anticipating unwavering rationality. 'More often than not', he writes, explorers were "out of their minds' with extreme fatigue, fear, […] and [other] feelings'.[91] I agree with Fabian: Baldwin's madness was most likely roused by the deeply unfamiliar and environmentally taxing conditions often conducive to African explorers' entrance into a state of

[88] *Ibid.,* p. 155.
[89] *Ibid.,* (p. 157).
[90] Caroline Elkins, *Legacy of Violence: A History of the British Empire* (London: Penguin, 2022).
[91] Fabian, *Minds* (p. 3).

'ecstasis' outside of their usual, rational state of mind.[92] His study, however, is principally a critique of ethnography's claims to empiricism; Fabian ventures less to suggest the specific environmental conditions which caused such states of mania. Remedial to this, given the incidence with which the night-time plays host to such states of unease experienced by Baldwin and many others, I suggest the darkness as one of these factors.[93]

In exploring, then, the night-time was recognised, by our authors and their auxiliaries alike, as a locus of (imperial) power subversion as the former came to rely for their prospects for progress and survival by dark on the latter, who in turn harnessed the obscurity of dark to abscond. I move next to conduct a similar line of argument within the context of hunting.

---

[92] *Ibid.,* (pp. 3-8, 180-208).
[93] Bille and Sørensen, 'Light' (pp. 273-4). See, for similar manic episodes to Baldwin's: Joseph Thomson, *Through Masai Land,* 2nd ed. (London: Sampson Low, 1887), p. 232; Anderson, *Twenty-Five Years* (p. 251).

CHAPTER TWO

(Not) Hunting: Animal Death and Protection

Figure 3: Walter Montagu Kerr, 'A Night Surprise, Mkumbura River'[94]

> The gathering darkness urged me to retreat in case I might be no longer the hunter but the hunted.[95]
>
> Walter Montagu Kerr

Firmly at the centre of the Victorian cult of hunting has always been the notion of human mastery over nature. To track (or 'spoor'), to shoot and kill animals; to subdue, to control, to dominate them. These were the ultimate aspirations of Victorian hunters, and it was upon success in these

[94] Kerr, *Interior* (p. 308).
[95] *Ibid.,* (p. 269).

domains that our authors came to view themselves (and, by extension, their Empire) as domineers over what John MacKenzie has called, in his immensely fecund work, the 'Empire of Nature'.[96]

Insofar as studies (including MacKenzie's) have shown, British hunting expeditions in Africa were largely successful in these criteria. At least during the daytime, they ravaged Africa's animal populations – especially its 'big five' game species: the Cape Buffalo, elephant, leopard, rhinoceros and, most hallowed of them all, the lion. In an 1855 article, Roualeyn George Gordon-Cumming made claim to the deaths of more than 507 lions and 2002 hippopotami during his five-year sojourn in southern Africa.[97] These figures are somewhat overstated. Gordon-Cumming's reputation, and therefore his book sales and lecture attendance, rested upon them. They are not unrepresentative of British hunting success in Africa, though, instead constituting its upper bounds.[98] By day at least, even non-professionals who hunted only for what MacKenzie called a 'meat subsidy' were still prolific animal killers, most beasts being quite indefensible to a barrage of rifle fire from even the most amateurish of marksmen.[99] In fact, they decimated Africa's animal populations to such an extent that, by the *fin de siècle*, hunters began to take up the cause of conservation *en masse*. For instance, after making a fortune assisting with the elimination and exportation of more than forty-five tonnes of ivory between 1872-4, Frederick C. Selous, the best-known of all mid-to-late-Victorian hunters, joined the conservationist Society for the Protection of the Wild Fauna of the Empire in 1903.[100]

Only in the nineteenth century did the notion of protection become central to the British cult of hunting in Africa. Since antiquity, sport hunting had always been concerned with upward social exclusion, demarcating the killing of certain animals as an elite privilege.[101] And, indeed, even into the twentieth century hunting was still touted as a panacea to concerns around the deterioration of the English race.[102] But Britain's attempts to extend its tentacles of imperial influence across the globe also necessitated 'the imagination of a preferred mythical and vulnerable African peasant'.[103] And, despite its relatively late emergence, the doctrine of protection had become so central to the Victorian cult of hunting in Africa that, by the century's close, the sport

---

[96] MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*.
[97] 'Lion Hunting', *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 5 Sept. 1855, p. 8.
[98] William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, *Environment and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 58-75. For other hunters' 'Lists of Game Shot': Frederick Courtenay Selous, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (London: McMillan, 1881), pp. 493-97; Baldwin, *Hunting* (pp 443-44); Willoughby, *Narrative* (pp. 261, 291-4).
[99] MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature* (pp. 15, 89, 126).
[100] Harriet Ritvo, 'Animal Planet', *Environmental History*, 9.2 (2004), 204-220 (especially pp. 209-211).
[101] MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature* (pp. 8-21).
[102] Paul Readman, *The Land Question in Britain: 1750-1950* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), pp. 194-5.
[103] E. I. Steinhart, 'Hunters, Poachers, and Gamekeepers: Towards a Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya', *Journal of African History*, 30.2 (1989), 247-264 (p. 207).

came to represent more broadly 'the striving and victory of civilised man over the darker primeval and untamed forces' of pre-conquest Africa.[104]

This chapter seeks not to dismantle such claims to hunting's symbolic importance. Rather, it aligns itself with Angela Thompsell's recent postcolonial revisionist work, *Hunting Africa.* The most comprehensive study since MacKenzie's, Thompsell has ventured to dislodge common assumptions about British hunters' actual prowess in Africa. Drawing upon the work of Kennedy, Wisnicki, and others discussed in Chapter One, she argues for hunting as a site of 'intersectionality' and 'reciprocity', wherein (usually African) auxiliaries were instrumental to Britons' success in the field.[105] Extending this line of argument, the present chapter demonstrates how the darkness reduced hunters' capacity to achieve the triumphs to which Gordon-Cumming refers (and which, I do not dispute, generally *were* achieved during the day). It once more asserts how the night-time constituted a locus of subversion, albeit one wherein non-humans (and not just African auxiliaries) gained power over their diurnal oppressors. Such changes were devastating for our authors, threatening not only their self-perceived mastery over nature but sometimes even the legitimacy of their (and, by extension, their Empire's) presence on the continent.

As before, whatever environmental mastery Britons held in Africa under the day-time sun was largely vitiated by the coming of darkness. The gloom beyond twilight left it 'impossible', said Glave, 'to shoot with any accuracy during the dark'.[106] And to stalk prey by night was considered wholly 'absurd' by both amateur and professional hunters alike. Indeed, those who went hunting after sunset appear only to have done so only to exhibit their derring-do, as Gibbons illustrates:

> There was no moon, and the night was pitch dark […] I asked the boys if any of them were men enough to come out with me to the kraal.[107]

This rule was not absolute; hunting was sometimes possible by night. For example, despite it being 'extremely dark', Baker is happily surprised to secure an elephant which happens to stumble up to his dug-out one night near Obbo (present-day southern Ethiopia).[108] But, as for exploring, bagging

---

[104] MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature* (p. 47). See, also: Joseph Sramek, 'Face Him Like a Briton: Tiger Hunting, Imperialism, and British Masculinity in Colonial India, 1800-1875', *Victorian Studies*, 48.4 (2006), 659-80 (pp. 667-70).
[105] Thompsell, *Hunting Africa* (p. 71).
[106] Glave, *Africa* (p. 195); Bailey, *Adventures* (p. 73).
[107] A. St. H. Gibbons, *Exploration and Hunting in Central Africa, 1895-96* (London: Metheun & Co, 1898), p. 308. See: Haines, 'Heroic Fear' (p. 164).
[108] Baker, *Explorations* (pp. 6-8).

game by night was a significantly more difficult, more serendipitous undertaking, and the general point still stands: hunters' prowess was almost entirely ruined by the darkness.

This often led to embarrassment for hunters. Gordon-Cumming, for instance, recounts a mortifying episode in which, having vehemently stalked and shot a pair of quagga-shaped beasts, he discovers, to his chagrin, that they had in fact been horses the entire time.[109] And, in the same vein, Joseph Thomson remembers how, having crawling along the forest floor after a large rhinoceros-shaped mass and taking aim:

> My excitement was rapidly rising over the dangers and anticipated triumph, when suddenly a loud "Hee! Haw! Hee! Haw!" broke with extraordinary effect from my supposed rhinoceros.[110]

Rather better-natured than most of our authors, the young Thomson takes the mockery from his caravan which follows with relative levity. But he, like Gordon-Cumming, still finds this episode of so-labelled 'asinine ridicule' a deeply humiliating one.[111]

Such embarrassment is attributable, in the main, to these episodes constituting a denial of our authors' principal desire: mastery over the environment. An anecdote from F. Vaughan Kirby illustrates this point. Just north of the Shire-Zambezi confluence (present-day southern Mozambique), Kirby is prevented by the gloom of the 'pitch-dark' night from aiming with any accuracy at a lion which had been lurking around his encampment for the past few days. He fails to shoot it, despite it being at one point just a foot away from his face, provoking enormous agitation. In a fit of rage, Kirby orders his caravan to march onwards from the area the very next morning.[112] It is true, the hunter had been awake for three days and nights attempting to kill the beast, and his failure would have been especially crushing given its tantalising proximity to him.[113] But, above all, Kirby determines the root of his disappointment at 'not securing his hide' for taxidermy. The lion he had been after, he explains, was archetypal, the *beau ideal* specimen: a fully-grown male. Its skin would have become the crowning skin in any hunter's collection.[114]

Taxidermy had long been an intrinsic part of the cult of hunting; to hunters, amateur and professional alike, the end – the dead animal's utilisation – has always been all-important.[115] The

---

[109] Gordon-Cumming, *Life* (pp. 79-81). See, similarly: Gillmore, *Arcadia* (pp. 157-60).
[110] Thomson, *Land* (p. 73).
[111] *Ibid.*
[112] Kirby, *Sport* (p. 90).
[113] *Ibid.,* (pp. 89-90).
[114] *Ibid.,* (pp. 90-91); Donna Haraway, 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936', *Social Text,* 11 (1984), 20-64 (p. 37).
[115] MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature* (pp. 10-11).

most renowned hunters of the Victorian period opened their private collections for public adulation. Gordon-Cumming's at 232 Piccadilly Square as well as his stand at the Great Exhibition (1851) played a prominent role in catapulting the sport to 'popular fascination'. And Selous's collection at his home in Wargrave, Berkshire, was similarly regarded in the latter part of the period.[116] Taxidermy creatures have always been cultural objects more than actual animals; so-labelled 'cyborgs' by Donna Haraway, their naturality is contrived, their deadness disguised, through design. In such a way, the taxidermy specimen provides for the hunter, by dint of their power over that one animal, a symbol of their power over nature as a whole.[117] In failing to shoot that lion, then, Kirby was prevented, by the darkness of the night-time, from satisfying his longing to be able to relive a moment in which his pre-eminence over the natural world would have been crystallised.[118]

We can dig further than this, though. Our authors' nocturnal embarrassment in hunting was bitterly exacerbated by two further factors. Agonizingly, in inversion of the 'normal' (diurnal) non-human relations of (imperial) power, by night the hunter appears very often to have become the hunted, provoking great fear. The gravest threat in this regard was posed by what Thomson wittily labelled 'his brutish majesty' most active by dark – the lion – feared universally by our authors.[119] Neumann, for instance, was normally loquacious of his callousness, boasting in his preface how, since his youth, he had consistently garnered the nickname of 'cruel boy'.[120] Nights, however, he found 'fitful and uneasy', being frequently plagued by nightmares of lion attacks or, worse, the real thing.[121] And even Gordon-Cumming, who reckoned his prowess so far as to label himself, conclusively and definitively, '*The* Lion Hunter' (my italics), invariably stalked that 'ever most active, daring, and presuming' of beasts by the light of day whilst dreading terribly its wrath at night. Lions, reasoned the Scotsman, are 'perfectly invisible in the dark', save for:

---

[116] 'Lion Hunting', *Lloyds;* 'Mr F. C. Selous At Home', *Cheltenham Chronicle,* Mar 17 1894; Thompsell, *Hunting* (p. 12).
[117] Haraway, 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy'.
[118] Rachel Poliquin, *The Breathless Zoo: Taxidermy and the Cultures of Longing* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2012), pp. 7-8.
[119] Thomson, *Land* (p. 40). See, *inter alia:* J. G. Millais, *A Breath from the Veldt,* 2nd edn (London: Henry Sotheran, 1895), pp. 259-60; Anderson, *Twenty-Five Years* (pp. 38, 104-7); William John Ansorge, *Under the African Sun* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899), p. 228; Baldwin, *Hunting* (p. 146); Parker Gillmore, *The Hunter's Arcadia* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1886), pp. 146-7.
[120] Neumann, *Elephant-Hunting* (p. viii).
[121] Neumann, *Elephant-Hunting* (pp. 409-10). On dreams and imperial power, see: Achille Mbembe, 'Domaines de la Nuit et Autorité Onirique dans les Maquis du Sud-Cameroun (1955-1958)', *Journal of African History*, 32.1 (1991), 89-121.

> One thing conspicuous about them [their eyes] which, on a dark night, glow like two balls of fire'.[122]

Indeed, Neumann, Gordon-Cumming, and every other of our authors were quite justifiably scared of that 'King of Beasts'. Especially in the southern and eastern reaches of the continent, man-eating lions abounded. The most famous example here was a duo known as the 'Man-Eaters of Tsavo', whose nocturnal prowls petrified workers on the Kenya-Uganda Railway. From March-December of 1898, newspapers widely attributed the pair upwards of 135 casualties.[123] These figures were an exaggeration; recent scientific examinations of the lions' skulls have revised this figure down to between 29-35.[124] But, they are nonetheless indicative of the terror evoked by those beasts nightly.

Particularly, to recall my history of experience focus, hunters' fear stemmed largely from the intense discomfort at having to rely upon their non-ocular senses due to the obscurity of night. Reflecting on his twenty-five years travelling the South African interior, from which he remarks a considerable degree of confidence in his convictions, Anderson remarks:

> How sensitive the hearing becomes to sounds of every kind, and the different calls or notes of birds or beasts, if danger is near! [125]

Both Gillmore and Selous write, in awe, of the capacity for a leonine roar to make the earth tremble: 'I know of nothing', writes Selous, 'on a dark night more calculated to make a man feel nervous'.[126] And, as well as the growl of a lion, 'the heavy tramp and crash in the bush of a herd of elephants' also, remarked William Charles Baldwin, meant 'the most light-hearted fellow in the world […] must have occasional fits of despondency'.[127] Fear was provoked by the olfactory senses, too. William John Ansorge, for instance, noted how the odour of crocodiles seemed especially 'sickening' when 'only the uncertain glimmer of the water in the starlight' illuminated the night.[128] What our authors' tended to see, then, as weak, submissive prey by daytime, transformed, as their vision faded and other less reliable senses took the lead, to seem predatory and deeply terrifying at

---

[122] Gordon-Cumming, *Life* (pp. 198-9). See: Jack Dillon, 'Scoping in on Lions: An Investigation of the Role of the Lion and the Hunter in African Hunting Narratives, 1802-1930' (unpublished undergraduate thesis, University of Bristol, 2010).
[123] 'The Lions That Stopped the Railway', *The Spectator*, 3 March 1900, p. 11.
[124] Julian Peterhans and Thomas Gnoske, 'The Science of Man-Eating Lions', *East African Natural History,* 90.1 (2001), 1-40 (pp. 30-5).
[125] Anderson, *Twenty-Five Years* (pp. 32, 114-5, 302).
[126] Selous, *Wanderings* (p. 155); Gillmore, *Days* (pp. 52-3).
[127] Baldwin, *Hunting* (p. 388).
[128] Ansorge, *African Sun* (p. 255); Flack and Jorgensen, 'Feelings' (pp. 241-7).

night. In such a manner, however unknowingly, by night-time non-humans appear to have subverted British claims to imperial domination.[129]

As well as this, hunters' great embarrassment can be explained by their relative inferiority in hunting to their (usually African) auxiliaries by night. Gillmore, for instance, admits with great reluctance how, in a battue with a dozen Bechuanas near the Kalahari Desert, he managed to take just two of the total seventeen jumping hares killed by the group. Indeed, given the Africans' use of the knobkerrie, a form of wooden club far inferior, thought Gillmore, to his breech-loading rifle, he remarks how this episode 'place[d] my prowess in a very doubtful position'.[130] Additionally, it was our authors' African auxiliaries who possessed the skills necessary to procure and construct the defensive sharp-spiked fencing laced with thorns (Swahili: *boma;* Afrikaans: *skerm*) placed nightly around the caravan's encampment.[131] And, in their sleeping arrangements, our authors tended to surround their tents with an additional (human) wall of protection. As Willoughby describes:

> The men had to choose the spots for their own messes, consisting usually of six or seven persons, and these little camping grounds always formed a complete circle around us.[132]

In these ways we see how, in another inversion of the 'normal' (diurnal) power dynamics claimed by our authors, it appears more to have been *Africans* who protected their British employers from the manifold bestial dangers of the night than *vice versa*.

In the realm of hunting, then, our British authors' power over the 'Empire of Nature' appears to have been subducted beneath that of both the very animals they sought to kill and the Africans they employed to that end, variously provoking great fear and embarrassment. My analysis hereby concluded, I move lastly to evaluate my findings.

---

[129] Sandra Swart, 'Writing Animals into African History', *Critical African Studies*, 8.2 (2016), 95-108 (p. 96-105).
[130] Gillmore *Arcadia* (p. 268). See, for similar episodes, *inter alia:* Thomson, *Land* (pp. 213-6); Kirby, *Sport* (pp. 42-3).
[131] Kerr, *Interior* (p. 191); Thomson, *Land* (p. 75).
[132] Willoughby, *Narrative* (p. 42). See also: Kerr, *Interior* (p. 191).

Conclusions

This dissertation has suggested that the relations of imperial power were deeply impacted by the darkness of night. I earlier noted Mary Louise Pratt's core thesis: that, in observing, the imperial 'seeing-man […] desires, objectifies, and possesses'; and that, therefore, the eye is the organ of the expansion of empire.[133] Using the lens of the darkness, I have herein provided a novel perspective on this claim. At the close of day, as the African landscape turned an inky black, so dissipated our authors' ability to see. As a result, vision being our most basal sense, between sunset and dawn Britons' prospects of survival and imperial progress came to depend upon the intimate local knowledge of their (usually African) auxiliaries. Similarly, non-human actors (lions, for instance), amidst the obscurity of night, caused the hunter often to become the hunted. Under the darkness, then, British control over knowing, navigating, animal death and protection was relinquished to these two groups to a degree that historians of exploring and hunting have rarely shown in their (primarily diurnal) studies of imperial power in Africa. In essence, the night in later-nineteenth-century Africa often constituted a veritable locus of subversion wherein the 'normal' relations of imperial power (those predominating during the daytime) were frequently contested and often inverted.

Along these lines I surmise twofold. Firstly, I have worked to *dis*prove the *inverse* of Pratt's thesis rather than demonstrate it *per se*. But, regardless, I agree with her argument in *Imperial Eyes:* the eye, given our authors' loss of (imperial) power upon its inefficacy, must logically have been the organ of imperial expansion. Secondly, I therefore argue, this dissertation's central notion – that of 'night-time imperialism' – might best be considered in the negative: the night was *not* conducive to British imperialism; it appears, instead, to have been inimical to it.

I end by recommending how my findings fit within existing literatures. Firstly, and most closely, it extends the arguments of historians and cultural geographers who have insisted that the night has often constituted a time and a place in which marginalised groups have harnessed the darkness for subversive purposes. Secondly, zooming out slightly, it has extended the postcolonial injunctions of Kennedy and Thompsell, among others, who have demonstrated the role of the subjects of imperialism in assisting as well as resisting Empire. Lastly, on a much broader level, I have sought to demonstrate, as proponents of the interdisciplinary field of 'nyctology' have keenly suggested, that the night is something of great value, interest, and import. For a discipline so

---

[133] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (pp. 7, 75-6).

concerned with time, it is surprising how little attention historians have paid to that half of it occurring beyond the light of day. I began by invoking Parker Gillmore's evocation of the 'impenetrable seal of obscurity' wrought by darkness upon the night.[134] I shall end by humbly imploring others to interrogate, to puncture, to seek beyond it, as I have here.

[134] Gillmore, *Days*, p. 56.

Appendices

Appendix A: Author Information

Portrait*	Narrative Title	Originally Published	Author (Years Lived)	Mini-Biography	Place, Date of Expedition
	*Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa*	1850	Roualeyn George Gordon-Cumming ['The Lion Hunter'] (1820-1866)	Scottish hunter. Perhaps *the* critical figure in popularising Africa as a British hunting destination.[135]	South Africa, 1843-1848
	*African Hunting and Adventure from Natal to the Zambezi, 1852-1860*	1863	William Charles Baldwin (1826-1903)	English hunter and ivory trader. Previously a farmer in Scotland and then clerk to a Liverpool shipping firm.[136]	South-eastern Africa, 1852-1860

[135] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. 43); H. M. Stephens, 'Cumming-, Roualeyn George Gordon-' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6899?rskey=Gvrf4R&result=3> [accessed 3 May 2024].
[136] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. 12); 'Baldwin, Mr William Charles' *S2A3 Biographical Database of Southern African Science* <https://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=137> [accessed 3 May 2024].

	*A Walk Across Africa*	1864	James Augustus Grant (1827-1892)	Scottish explorer. Achieved the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel before visiting Africa, serving throughout the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. The namesake of Grant's Gazelle.[137]	Eastern Africa, 1860-63
	*The Albert N'yanza, Great Basin of the Nile*	1867	Sir Samuel W. Baker (1821-1893)	English explorer and amateur hunter. The only presently-analysed author to travel with his wife, Florence. Both, at different points, nearly lost their lives to illness.[138]	East Africa, 1861-65
	*Through the Dark Continent*	1878	Henry M. Stanley (1841-1904)	British-American explorer and journalist. Later employed by King Leopold II in establishing the Congo Free State (1885-1908).[139]	Central Africa, 1874-77

[137] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. 66); Roy Bridges, 'Grant, James Augustus', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11266?rskey=BAjTWx&result=1> [accessed 3 May 2024].
[138] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. 10).
[139] Felix Driver, 'Sir Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire', *Past & Present*, 133 (1991), 134-66.

	*A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa*	1881	Frederick Courtenay Selous (1851-1917)	British hunter and ivory trader and then prominent conservationist. Son of Chairman of the London Stock Exchange. Assisted the British occupation of Mashonaland while employed by Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company in the early-1890s.[140]	South Africa, 1871-1880
N/A	*The Hunter's Arcadia*	1886	(John) Parker Gillmore (1835-1900)	Scottish officer, hunter, and traveller.[141]	Modern-day Botswana, from 1875
	*The Far Interior: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure*	1886	Walter Montagu Kerr (1852-88)	English explorer and engineer. Before arriving in Africa worked as Acting Chief Engingeer for the Spring Valley Waterworks company, California, and then at the New York Stock Exchange.[142]	South, Central, and East Africa, 1883-5

[140] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. 145); R. I. Pocock, 'Selous, Frederick Courtenay', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36013> [accessed 3 May 2024].
[141] Czech, *Bibliography* (pp. 63-4).
[142] *Ibid.,* (p. 88). 'Portrait of Walter Montagu Kerr', *Cambridge ArchiveSearch* <https://archivesearch.lib.cam.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/912> [accessed 3 May 2024].

	*Through Masai Land*	1887	Joseph Thomson (1858-95)	Scottish explorer and geologist. Appointed as geologist and naturalist to the Royal Geographical Society's expedition to lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika aged 20. Within two months, that expedition's leader (Alexander Keith Johnston) having died, he assumed leadership of it.[143]	East Africa, 1882-83
N/A	*Days and Nights in the Desert*	1888	(John) Parker Gillmore (1835-1900)	(see above)	South-eastern Africa, from 1875
N/A	*Twenty-five Years in a Wagon: Sport and Travel in South Africa*	1887	Andrew A. Anderson (*c.* 1845-1896)	Scottish hunter and explorer. Fought in the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879.[144]	Southern Africa, 1863-1888

[143] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. 164). Robert I. Rotberg, 'Thomson, Joseph', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27318?rskey=CKtcfp&result=8> [accessed 3 May 2024].
[144] *Ibid.,* (p. 4); 'Andrew A. Anderson', *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG162945> [accessed 4 May 2024].

	*East Africa and Its Big Game*	1889	Sir John C. Willoughby, 5th Baronet of Baldon House (1859-1918)	English officer and amateur hunter. Second in command at the Jameson Raid (1895-6). Owner of extensive lands in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. Justice of the Peace for the latter county.[145]	East Africa, 1886
	*Five Years With the Congo Cannibals* (1890)	1890	Herbert Ward (1863-1919)	English explorer, artist, and sculptor. Took part in Stanley's Emin Pasha Relief Exhibition (1887-9). Later became friends with Roger Casement who authored the 1904 Casement Report on human rights in the Congo Free State.[146]	Congo Basin, 1884-89
	*In Savage Africa: Or, Six Years of Adventure in Congo-Land*	1893	Edward James Glave (1863-1895)	English travel writer and explorer. Worked for the Congo Free State, leading stations at Lukolela, Bolobo, and Mbandaka. Seen by Stanley, who had no children of his own, as a foster son.[147]	Congo Basin, 1883-89

[145] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. 175)
[146] *Ibid.,* (p. 170); 'Herbert Ward', *Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History* <https://naturalhistory.si.edu/research/anthropology/news-and-highlights/herbert-ward> [accessed 3 May 2024].
[147] Tim Jeal, *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 435-6.

N/A	*Travel and Adventures in the Congo Free State* (1894)	1894	Henry Bailey ['Bula N'Zau'] (1848-1933)	English hunter and amateur painter.[148]	Congo Basin, 1884-88
	*A Breath from the Veldt*	1895	John Guille Millais (1865-1931)	British artist, gardener and travel writer. Son of Sir John Everett Millais, a founder of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.[149]	South Africa, 1894
	*Exploration and Hunting in Central Africa*	1898	Alfred St. Hill Gibbons (1858-1916)	English explorer and soldier. Employed by Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company to map the extent of Lozi influence in Barotseland.[150]	Upper Zambezi, 1895-96

[148] Czech, *Bibliography* (pp. 26-7); 'Explore: Henry Bailey', *Government Art Collection* <https://artcollection.culture.gov.uk/person/bailey-henry/> [accessed 3 May 2024].
[149] Czech, *Bibliography* (pp. 114-5); 'John Guille Millais', *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG38464> [accessed 3 May 2024].
[150] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. 62); 'Alfred Gibbons 1898', *Zambia's Traditional History* <https://traditionalzambia.home.blog/white-tribe/alfred-gibbons-1898/> [accessed 3 May 2024].

	*Elephant-Hunting in East Equatorial Africa*	1898	Arthur Henry Neumann (1850-1907)	English explorer, hunter, soldier and farmer. Son of Liverpool salt merchants. Neumann was a friend of Millais, who provided illustrations for this narrative. [151]	East Africa, 1890-1891
	*Under the African Sun*	1899	William John Ansorge (1850-1913)	English medical officer, naturalist and amateur hunter. At one point in 1895 Ansorge found himself in charge of the British colonial government in Uganda.[152]	Modern-day Uganda, Angola and Nigeria, 1894-99
	*Sport in East Central Africa*	1899	Frederick Vaughan Kirby ['Maqaqamba'] (?-?)	English hunter, traveller, and naturalist. Later superintendent of the National Zoological Gardens, Pretoria, then Conservator of Game for Zululand.[153]	Modern-day Mozambique, 1894-99

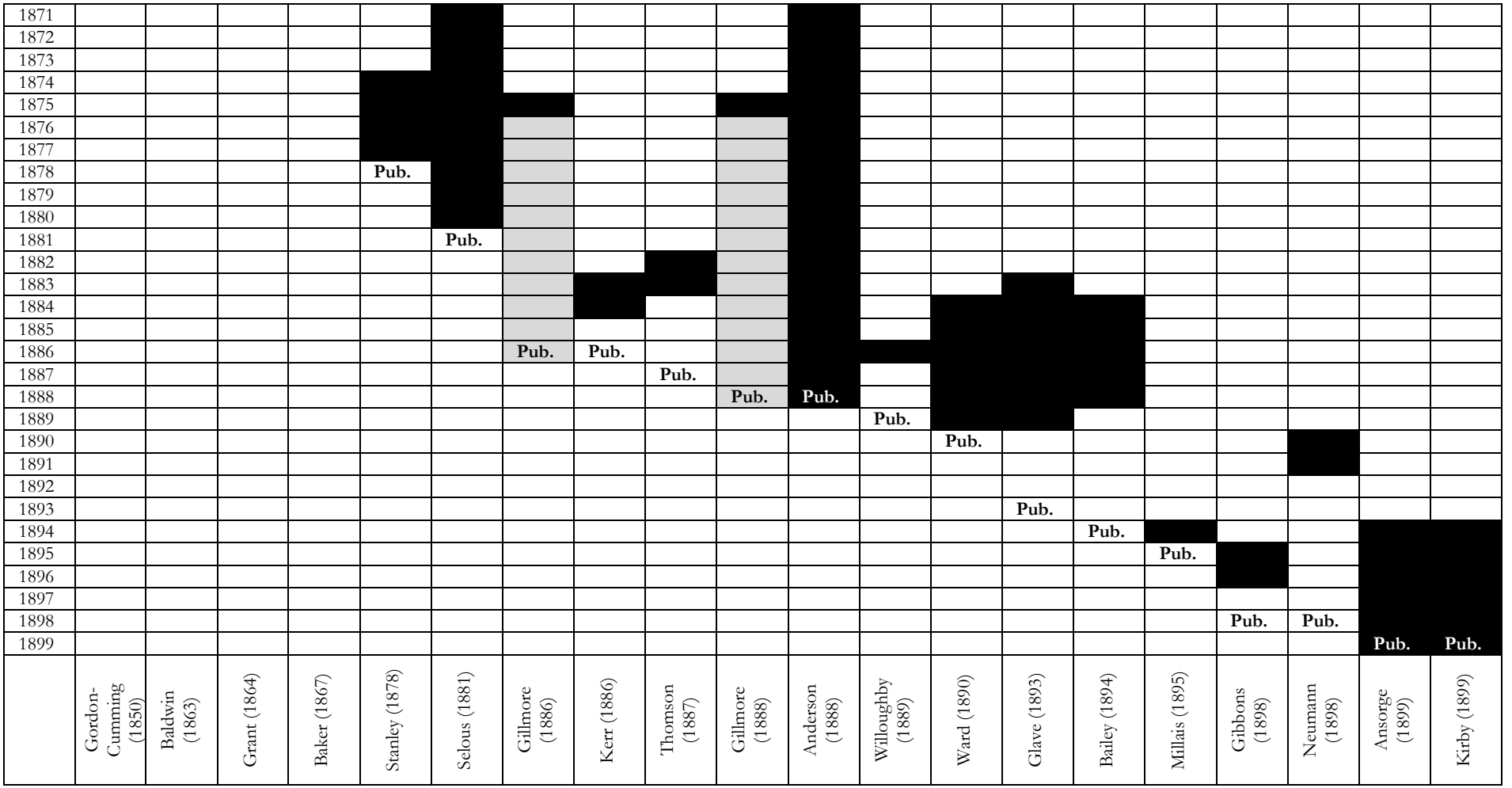
* All portraits copied from the narratives.

[151] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. 122).
[152] *Ibid.,* (p. 6); 'Ansorge, William John (Dr.)', *Europeans in East Africa Database* <https://www.europeansineastafrica.co.uk/_site/custom/database/default.asp?a=viewIndividual&pid=2&person=17340> [accessed 3 May 2024].
[153] Czech, *Bibliography* (p. 89); 'Kirby, Mr Frederick Vaughan' *S2A3 Biographical Database of Southern African Science* <https://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=1534> [accessed 3 May 2024].

Appendix B: Source Dates

KEY:
Black indicates years travelled (grey indicates unknowns).
'Pub.' indicates year originally published.

	Gordon-Cumming (1850)	Baldwin (1863)	Grant (1864)	Baker (1867)	Stanley (1878)	Selous (1881)	Gillmore (1886)	Kerr (1886)	Thomson (1887)	Gillmore (1888)	Anderson (1888)	Willoughby (1889)	Ward (1890)	Glave (1893)	Bailey (1894)	Millais (1895)	Gibbons (1898)	Neumann (1898)	Ansorge (1899)	Kirby (1899)
1843																				
1844																				
1845																				
1846																				
1847																				
1848																				
1849																				
1850	**Pub.**																			
1851																				
1852																				
1853																				
1854																				
1855																				
1856																				
1857																				
1858																				
1859																				
1860																				
1861																				
1862																				
1863		**Pub.**																		
1864			**Pub.**																	
1865																				
1866																				
1867				**Pub.**																
1868																				
1869																				
1870																				


1871
1872
1873
1874
1875
1876
1877
1878
1879
1880
1881
1882
1883
1884
1885
1886
1887
1888
1889
1890
1891
1892
1893
1894
1895
1896
1897
1898
1899
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Pub.
Gordon-Cumming (1850)
Baldwin (1863)
Grant (1864)
Baker (1867)
Stanley (1878)
Selous (1881)
Gillmore (1886)
Kerr (1886)
Thomson (1887)
Gillmore (1888)
Anderson (1888)
Willoughby (1889)
Ward (1890)
Glave (1893)
Bailey (1894)
Millais (1895)
Gibbons (1898)
Neumann (1898)
Ansorge (1899)
Kirby (1899)

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Administrative Documents

District Probate Registry, London, 'National Probate Calendar: Index of Wills and Administrations, 1900', p. 224

Hunting Accounts

Anderson, Andrew A., *Twenty-Five Years in a Wagon: Sport and Travel in South Africa*, 2nd edn (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888)

Ansorge, William John, *Under the African Sun* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899)

Bailey, Henry, *Travel and Adventures in the Congo Free State* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1894)

Baker, Samuel W., *The Albert N'yanza,* 2 vols (London: Macmillan, 1867)

Baldwin, William Charles, *African Hunting and Adventure from Natal to the Zambezi, 1852-1860* (London: Richard Bentley, 1863)

Gibbons, A. St. H., *Exploration and Hunting in Central Africa, 1895-96* (London: Metheun & Co, 1898)

Gillmore, Parker, *Days and Nights in the Desert* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1888)

—— *The Hunter's Arcadia* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1886)

Glave, E. J., *In Savage Africa: Or, Six Years of Adventure in Congo-Land* (New York: Russell & Son, 1893)

Gordon-Cumming, Roualeyn George, *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa*, rev. edn (London: John Murray, 1855)

Grant, James Augustus, *A Walk Across Africa* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1864)

Kerr, Walter Montagu, *The Far Interior: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1886)

Kirby, F. Vaughan ['Maqaqamba'], *Sport in East Central Africa* (London: Rowland Ward, 1899)

Millais, J. G., *A Breath from the Veldt,* 2nd edn (London: Henry Sotheran, 1895)

Neumann, Arthur H., *Elephant-Hunting in East Equatorial Africa* (London: Rowland Ward, 1898)

Selous, Frederick Courtenay, *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa* (London: McMillan, 1881)
Stanley, Henry M., *Through the Dark Continent,* rev. edn (London: Sampson Low, 1890)
Thomson, Joseph, *Through Masai Land,* 2nd ed. (London: Sampson Low, 1887)
Ward, Herbert, *Five Years with the Congo Cannibals* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1890)
Willoughby, John C., *East Africa and Its Big Game* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1889)

Newspapers

'A Saunter Through Central Africa', *The Spectator*, 20 Nov. 1886, pp. 18-19
'At Home and Abroad', *The Graphic*, 23 Sept. 1893, p. 395
'Lion Hunting', *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, 5 Sept. 1855, p. 8
'Mr F. C. Selous At Home', *The Cheltenham Chronicle*, 17 Mar. 1894, p. 8
'The Hunters Arcadia', *Morning Post*, 2 Sept. 1887, p. 6
'The Lions That Stopped the Railway', *The Spectator*, 3 March 1900, p. 11
'Twenty-Five Years In a Waggon', *Morning Post*, 4 Nov. 1887, p. 8.
Johnston, H. H., 'Stanley's Rear Guard and the Congo Scandals' *The Speaker,* 15 Nov. 1890, p. 540

Other Works

Conrad, Joseph, *Heart of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)
Hegel, G. W. F., *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Dover, 1956)

Secondary Sources

'Alfred Gibbons 1898', *Zambia's Traditional History* <https://traditionalzambia.home.blog/white-tribe/alfred-gibbons-1898/> [accessed 3 May 2024]

'Andrew A. Anderson', *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG162945> [accessed 4 May 2024]

'Ansorge, William John (Dr.)', *Europeans in East Africa Database* <https://www.europeansineastafrica.co.uk/_site/custom/database/default.asp?a=viewIndividual&pid=2&person=17340> [accessed 3 May 2024]

'Baldwin, Mr William Charles' *S2A3 Biographical Database of Southern African Science* <https://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=137>

'Explore: Henry Bailey', *Government Art Collection* <https://artcollection.culture.gov.uk/person/bailey-henry/> [accessed 3 May 2024]

'Herbert Ward', *Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History* <https://naturalhistory.si.edu/research/anthropology/news-and-highlights/herbert-ward> [accessed 3 May 2024]

'John Guille Millais', *The British Museum* <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG38464> [accessed 3 May 2024]

'Kirby, Mr Frederick Vaughan' *S2A3 Biographical Database of Southern African Science* <https://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=1534> [accessed 3 May 2024]

'Portrait of Walter Montagu Kerr', *Cambridge ArchiveSearch* <https://archivesearch.lib.cam.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/912> [accessed 3 May 2024]

Acuto, Michele, 'We Need A Science of the Night', *Nature*, 576 (2019), 339

Anderson, Frits, *The Dark Continent? Images of Africa in European Narratives about the Congo* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2015)

Armston-Sheret, Edward, 'Diversifying the Historical Geography of Exploration: Subaltern Body Work on British-Led Expeditions, *c.* 1850-1914', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 80 (2023), 58-68

Beinart, William 'Empire, Hunting, and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa', *Past & Present*, 128 (1990), 162-186

—— 'African History and Environmental History', *African Affairs*, 99.395 (2000), 269-302

Beinart, William, and Lotte Hughes, *Environment and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Bille, Mikkel and Tim Flohr Sørenson, 'An Anthropology of Luminosity: The Agency of Light', *Journal of Material Culture*, 12.3 (2007), 263-284

Boddice, Rob and Mark Smith, *Emotion, Sense, Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)

Brantlinger, Patrick, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism: 1830-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013)

Bridges, Roy, 'Explorers' Texts and the Problem of Reactions by Non-Literate Peoples', *Travel Writing,* 2.1 (1998), 65-84

—— 'Grant, James Augustus', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11266?rskey=BAjTWx&result=1> [accessed 3 May 2024]

Buckley, Jerome Hamilton, *The Triumph of Time* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966)

Classen, Constance, 'Introduction: The Transformation of Perception' in *A Cultural History of the Sense in the Age of Empire*, ed. by Constance Classen (London: Bloosmbury, 2014), pp. 11-24

Cooper, Frederick, 'Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History', *American Historical Review*, 99.5 (1994), 1516-1545

Cronon, William, 'The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature' in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995), pp. 69–90

Czech, Kenneth P., *An Annotated Bibliography Of African Big Game Hunting Books 1785-1950* (Minnesota: Land's Edge, 1997)

Dillon, Jack, 'Scoping in on Lions: An Investigation of the Role of the Lion and the Hunter in African Hunting Narratives, 1802-1930' (unpublished undergraduate thesis, University of Bristol, 2010)

Dokotum, Okaka Opio,x *Hollywood and Africa: Recycling the 'Dark Continent' Myth, 1908-2020* (Makhanda: NISC, 2020)

Driver, Felix 'Sir Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire', *Past & Present*, 133 (1991), 134-66

Driver, Felix and Lowri Jones, 'Hidden Histories of Exploration', *Royal Geographical Society,* 2009 < https://www.rgs.org/our-collections/stories-from-our-collections/online-exhibitions/hidden-histories-of-exploration> [accessed 2 May 2024]

Dubow, Jessica, "From A View *On* The World To A Point of View *In* It': Rethinking Sight, Space and the Colonial Subject', *Interventions*, 2.1 (2000), 87-102

Dunway, Finis, 'Hunting with the Camera: Nature Photography, Manliness, and Modern Memory, 1890-1930', *Journal of American Studies*, 34.2 (2000), 207-230

Edensor, Tim, 'Introduction to Geographies of Darkness', *Cultural Geographies*, 22.4 (2015), 559-565

—— *From Light to Dark: Daylight, Illumination, and Gloom* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2017)

Elkins, Caroline, *Legacy of Violence: A History of the British Empire* (London: Penguin, 2022)

Fabian, Johannes, *Out of Our Minds: Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000)

Fage, J. D. and William Tordoff, *A History of Africa*, 4th edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002)

Flack, Andrew and Dolly Jørgensen, 'Feelings for Nature: Emotions in Environmental History' in *The Routledge History of Emotions in the Modern World*, ed. by Katie Barclay, Peter N. Stearns (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), pp. 235-251

Flack, Andrew, 'Dark Degenerations: Life, Light, and Transformation Beneath the Earth, 1840-*circa* 1900', *Isis*, 113.2 (2022), 331-351

—— 'Dark Trails: Animal Histories Beyond the Light of Day', *Environmental History*, 27.2 (2022), 215-241

Foucault, Michel, *In Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, trans. Donald Bouchard (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977)

—— *The History of Sexuality*, 4 vols, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, Pantheon, 1978)

—— 'The Subject and Power', *Critical Inquiry*, 8.4 (1982), 777-795

Francis-Baker, Tiffany, *Dark Skies: A Journey Into the Wild Night* (London: Bloomsbury 2020)

Fudge, Erica, 'A Left-Handed Blow: Writing the History of Animals' in *Representing Animals: Theories of Contemporary Culture* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 2002)

Galinier, Jacques *et al.*, 'Anthropology of the Night', *Current Anthropology*, 51.6 (2010), 819-847

Gaston, Kevin J., 'Nighttime Ecology: The Nocturnal Problem Revisited', *The American Nautralist*, 193.4 (2019), 481-502

Gibson, Christopher and Ben Gallan, 'Beyond the Binary of Day and Night', *Environment and Planning A*, 43.11 (2011), 2509-2515

Haines, Daniel, 'Heroic Fear: Emotions, Masculinity, and Dangerous Nature in British Colonial Adventure Narratives', *Environmental Humanities*, 16.1 (2024), 162-182

Haraway, Donna, 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936', *Social Text,* 11 (1984), 20-64

Heydinger, J., 'Human-Lion Conflict and Reproduction', *African Studies Review,* 64.4 (2021), 909-37

Hothschild, Adam, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa,* rev edn (London: Pan, 2012)

Houlbrook, Matt, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005)

Iliffe, John, *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Jarosz, Lucy, 'Constructing the Dark Continent: Metaphor as Geographic Representation of Africa', *Geografiska Annaler Series B, Human Geography,* 74.2 (1992), 105-115

Jay, Martin, 'In the Realm of the Senses: An Introduction', *American Historical Review*, 116.2 (2011), 307-315

Jeal, Tim, *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007)

Kennedy, Dane, 'British Exploration in the Nineteenth Century: A Historiographical Survey', *History Compass*, 5.6 (2007), 1879-1900

—— *The Last Blank Spaces: Exploring Africa and Australia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013)

Koslofsky, Craig, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Kyba, Christopher C. M. *et al.*, 'Night Matters: Why the Interdisciplinary Field of 'Night Studies' is Needed', *MSJ*, 3 (2020), 1-6

Lamb, Jonathan, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001)

Lindsay, Claire, 'Beyond *Imperial Eyes*' in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, ed. by J. Edwards and R. Grauland (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 17-35

Loomba, Ania, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005)

Macheso, Wesley Paul, 'The Problem with the Traveller's Gaze: Images of the Dark Continent in Paul Theroux's *The Lower River*', *Journal of Humanities,* 25.2 (2017), 45-61

Mackenzie, John M., *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988)

Mahaffey, Dexter Peck, 'The Rhetoric of Africa: Historical Turns in Constructing a Continent, 1780-1890' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Louisville, 2013)

Martin, Peter R., "Kalli in the Ship': Inughuit Abduction and the Shaping of Arctic Knowledge', *History and Anthropology*, 34 (2023), 1-26

Marvin, Garry, 'Enlivened Through Memory: Hunters and Hunting Trophies' in *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie,* ed. by Samuel Alberti (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011), pp. 202-18

Mbembe, Achille, 'Domaines de la Nuit et Autorité Onirique dans les Maquis du Sud-Cameroun (1955-1958)', *Journal of African History*, 32.1 (1991), 89-121

McCaskie, T. C., 'Cultural Encounters: Britain and Africa in the Nineteenth Century', *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999) pp. 665-689

McKenzie, Precious, *The Right Sort of Woman: Victorian Travel Writers and the Fitness of an Empire* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012)

McLaughlan, Robbie, *Re-imagining the 'Dark Continent' in* Fin de Siècle *Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012)

Morris, Nina J., 'Night Walking: Darkness and Sensory Perception in a Night-time Landscape Installation', *Cultural Geographies* 18.3 (2011), 315–42

Moss, Eloise, *Night Raiders: Bulglary and the Making of Modern Urban Life in London, 1860-1968* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)

Mudimbe, V. Y., *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988)

Mukhherjee, Pablo, 'Nimrods: Hunting, Authority, Identity', *The Modern Language Review*, 100.4 (2005), 923-939

Nagel, Thomas, 'What Is It Like to Be a Bat?', *The Philosophical Review*, 4 (1974), 435-50

Nash, Linda, 'The Agency of Nature or the Nature of Agency?', *Environmental History*, 10.1 (2005), 67-69

Oliver, Roland and Anthony Atmore, *Africa Since 1800*, rev edn (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1994)

Park, Orlando, 'Nocturnalism: the Development of a Problem', *Ecological Monographs*, 10 (1940), 485-536

Peterhans, Julian and Thomas Gnoske, 'The Science of Man-Eating Lions' *East African Natural History,* 90.1 (2001), 1-40

Pocock, R. I., 'Selous, Frederick Courtenay', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36013> [accessed 3 May 2024]

Poliquin, Rachel, *The Breathless Zoo: Taxidermy and the Cultures of Longing* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2012)

Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992)

Pritchard, Sara B., 'The Trouble with Darkness: NASA's Suomi Satellite Images of Earth at Night', *Environmental History*, 22 (2017), 312-330

Readman, Paul, *The Land Question in Britain: 1750-1950* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010)

Reid, Richard, *A History of Modern Africa,* 3rd edn. (Hoboken: Wiley, 2019)

Rempel, Ruth, "No Better Than a Slave or Outcast': Skill, Identity, and Power Among the Porters of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, 1887-1890', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 43.2 (2010), 279-318

Ritvo, Harriet, 'Animal Planet', *Environmental History*, 9.2 (2004), 204-220

——— *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989)

Robert, Ekirch, *At Day's Close: A History of Nighttime* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006)

Robinson, Ronald and John Andrew Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1961)

Rockel, Steven J., *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006)

Rotberg, Robert I., 'Thomson, Joseph', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27318?rskey=CKtcfp&result=8> [accessed 3 May 2024]

Saha, Jonathan, *Colonizing Animals: Interspecies Empire in Myanmar* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021)

Said, Edward W., *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978)

Schivelbush, Wolfgang, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988)

Shaw, Marion, 'Tennyson's Dark Continent', *Victorian Poetry*, 32.2 (1994), 157-169

Simpson, Donald, *Dark Companions: The African Contribution to the European Exploration of East Africa* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1975)

Smith, M. van Wyk, 'The Origin of Some Victorian Images of Africa', *English in Africa*, 6.1 (1979), 12-32

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. by C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 271-313

Spurr, David, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993)

Steinhart, E. I., 'Hunters, Poachers, and Gamekeepers: Towards a Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya', *Journal of African History*, 30.2 (1989), 247-264

—— *Black Poachers, White Hunters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006)

Stephens, H. M., 'Cumming-, Roualeyn George Gordon-' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6899?rskey=Gvrf4R&result=3>

Storey, William K., 'Big Cats and Imperialism: Lion and Tiger Hunting in Kenya and Northern India, 1898-1930', *Journal of World History*, 2.2 (1991), 135-173

Swart, Sandra, 'Writing Animals into African History', *Critical African Studies*, 8.2 (2016), 95-108

Thompsell, Angela, *Hunting Africa: British Sport, African Knowledge and the Nature of Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

Vernon, James, *Modern Britain: 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Wisnicki, Adrian S., 'Charting the Frontier: Indigenous Geography, Arab-Nyamwezi Caravans, and the East Africa Expedition of 1856-59', *Victorian Studies*, 51.1 (2008), 103-137

Would, Alice C. P., 'Taxidermy Time: Fleshing Out the Animals of British Taxidermy in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1820-1914', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 2021)

Young, Robert J. C., *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001)