

**HUNTING AND POWER: CLASS, RACE AND
PRIVILEGE IN THE EASTERN CAPE AND
THE TRANSVAAL LOWVELD, c. 1880-1905**

by

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Declaration

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the identity of hunters, sportsmen and their associated communities in two diverse regions of southern Africa during the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries. It argues that this was a critical period during which new patterns of hunting and local tradition were created. In the eastern Cape districts of Albany, Fort Beaufort and Bathurst kudu and buffalo were hunted pursuant to permits granted in terms of the Game Act, 1886. An analysis of the identity of those to whom these permits were granted or refused provides insights into power, connection and influence amongst the English-speaking colonial elite of the region who sought to control the right to hunt “royal game”. It also reveals their interaction with civil servants who exercised the power to grant or withhold the privilege. Kudu were transferred from public to private ownership, through a process of “privatization” and “commodification” on enclosed private land, and there preserved for sporting purposes by the local rural gentry. The survival – and even growth – in numbers of kudu in the region was achieved in these private spaces. Buffalo, on the other hand, were hunted into local extinction notwithstanding their protection as “royal game”. In the north-eastern Transvaal Lowveld wild animals in public ownership were hunted by a wide variety of hunters with competing interests. The identity of the “lost” Lowveld hunters, previously hidden from history, including an important but overlooked component of elite recreational hunters from the eastern Cape, is explored as a window into the history of hunting in the region prior to the establishment of game reserves. Both the identity and networks of these hunters and sportsmen are considered in the context of enduring concerns about race, class, gender and the exercise of power.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis ondersoek die identiteit van die jagters, sportmanne en die gepaardgaande gemeenskappe in twee verskillende streke van Suider-Afrika gedurende die laaste twee dekades van die negentiende en die eerste dekade van die twintigste eeu. Dit voer aan dat hierdie 'n kritieke tydperk was waartydens nuwe patrone van jag en plaaslike tradisie geskep is. In die Oos-Kaapse distrikte van Albany, Fort Beaufort en Bathurst is die jag op koedoes en buffels toegelaat op grond van permitte toegestaan in terme van die Wild Wet, 1886. Die ontleding van die identiteit van diegene aan wie hierdie permitte toegestaan of geweier was, bied insae oor die uitoefening van mag, verhoudings en invloed onder die Engelssprekende koloniale elite van die streek, wat probeer het om beheer uit te oefen oor die jag van die "koninklike wild". Dit openbaar ook hul interaksie met staatsamptenare wat hulle magte gebruik het om permitte uit te ruik of te weerhou. Eienaarskap van koedoes was oorgedra vanaf openbare na privaat besit, deur 'n proses van "privatisering" en "kommodifikasie" op geslote private grond, met die verstandhouding dat dit vir sport – doeleindes deur die plaaslike landelike burger gebruik kon word. Die oorlewing – en selfs groei – in die getal koedoes in die streek is behaal in die private besit. Buffels, aan die ander kant, is tot plaaslike uitwissing gejag ondanks hul beskerming as "koninklike wild". In die Noord-Oos Transvaalse Laeveld is wilde diere in openbare besit gejag deur 'n wye verskeidenheid van jagters met mededingende belange. Die identiteit van die "verlore" Laeveld jagters, voorheen verborge in die geskiedenis, wat 'n belangrike maar oor die hoof verwaarloosde komponent van elite rekreasionele jagters van die Oos-Kaap insluit, word ondersoek as 'n venster op die geskiedenis van jag in die streek voor die totstandkoming van wildreservate. Beide die identiteit en netwerke van hierdie jagters en sportmanne word beskou in die konteks van blywende belangstelling met ras, klas, geslag en die uitoefening van mag.

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CHAPTER ONE

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study considers hunting communities and their shifting hunting practices during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, with a focus upon two diverse regions of the territory that now forms part of South Africa. The first region is made up of three districts of the then eastern Cape Colony, Albany, Bathurst and Fort Beaufort. The second is the north-eastern region of the former South African Republic, in the area otherwise known as the Transvaal Lowveld. The two regions were selected for the contrasts they offer and the period for its significance on the cusp between two iconic eras in the development of sports hunting and game conservation in southern Africa.

The prior era commenced in the mid 1830's at the same time as the penetration of the interior of southern Africa by Boer farmers known as the Great Trek and took place contemporaneously with commercial hunting for ivory. Imperial sportsmen, some on furlough from India or drawn to the Cape by service in the frontier wars of the eastern Cape Colony, engaged in sporting expeditions into the interior during which they shot vast numbers of animals. Indeed, the ivory from elephants was used to finance the venture and even sometimes to turn a profit. Paintings like that by Thomas Baines at mid-century showing elephant tusks and animal horns and skins stacked for sale on the Market Square in Grahamstown have become iconographic for the period.¹ The narratives of sportsmen of this period, such as William Cornwallis Harris² and Roualeyn Gordon Cumming,³ became bestsellers that went into numerous editions and remain in print to this day. Although admired at the time these narratives, together with accounts of Prince Alfred's visit to southern

¹ Jane Carruthers and Marion Arnold. *The Life and Work of Thomas Baines*. Cape Town: Fernwood Press, 1995, 120.

² Harris, William Cornwallis. *The Wild Sports of Southern Africa: being The Narrative of a Hunting Expedition from the Cape of Good Hope through the territories of the Chief Moselekatse to the Tropic of Capricorn*. London: Pelham Richardson, Cornhill, 1844. The account was first published in Bombay in 1838. Harris was an officer in the Indian army who arrived in South Africa during 1836 to hunt.

³ Cumming, Roualeyn Gordon. *Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa*. 2 volumes. London: John Murray, 1850. Cumming arrived in South Africa as an army officer to serve on the eastern Cape frontier during 1843. After resigning his commission he dedicated himself to hunting for the next five years.

Africa in 1860, followed by that of the Duke of Edinburgh in 1867,⁴ are now seen as reflective of quintessential imperialism and are quoted as examples of the worst kinds of hunting excess.⁵

The subsequent period, as this thesis will argue, was born of a reaction to excess and the almost complete extermination of the teeming herds of southern Africa's wild game over a period of only 50 years.⁶ The big game hunters such as Frederick Selous moved northwards to areas where wild animals were still available in large numbers, particularly those regions that today form part of Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and east African states such as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. As such, their activities fall outside the scope of this study.⁷

The nineteenth century was also one of rapid political and social change in southern Africa, with the establishment of settler states in Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and a changed landscape of settlement, control over the land, and the development of urban populations, all of which influenced access to hunting by southern Africa's inhabitants.

The introduction of new game laws by the rulers of various southern African states, seeking to limit the number of animals shot by a single hunter, were followed by calls for the State to set aside areas of public or state-owned land where game remained plentiful for the purpose of the establishment of "game" reserves where wild animals would be set aside and protected for the enjoyment of wealthy elite hunters.⁸ In due course, during the first half of the twentieth century, these state owned or public "game" reserves were transformed into "nature" reserves, their purpose being to afford the general public an opportunity to view animals in a wild state rather than just in urban zoos, and as a

⁴ Bisset, Major-General John Jarvis. *Sport and War: Or Recollections of Fighting and Hunting in South Africa from the years 1834 to 1867 with a narrative of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to the Cape*. London: John Murray, 1875.

⁵ MacKenzie, John M. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988, 94-100.

⁶ John MacKenzie in *The Empire of Nature*, 116, aptly states that: "Few regions of the world had richer and more profitable game resources than southern Africa. Even fewer witnessed such a dramatic decline in the space of half a century."

⁷ Selous, Frederick Courtney. *A Hunter's Wanderings in Africa: Being a narrative of nine years spent amongst the game of the far interior of South Africa*. London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1881.

⁸ For example the Game Law, 1886 in the Cape Colony. The provisions of the Cape administrations during the 19th Century relating to game are considered in van Sittert, Lance. "Bringing in the Wild: The Commodification of Wild Animals in the Cape Colony/Province c 1850-1950," *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), 278 and Couzens, E.D. "Only half a penguin a day: The early history of wildlife law in South Africa" in *The exemplary scholar: Essays in honour of John Milton*, edited by S.V.Hoctor and P.J.Schwikkard. Cape Town: Juta 2007, 207-235. The attempts at game legislation in the Transvaal are considered in detail in Carruthers, Jane. *Game Protection in the Transvaal 1846 to 1926*. Pretoria: The Government Printer, 1995. The game laws applicable to Zululand are discussed in McCracken, Donal P. *Saving the Zululand Wilderness: An early struggle for Nature Conservation*. Auckland Park: Jacana, 2008, 141-152.

way for urban dwellers to re-connect with the wild. The development of these “protected areas” ultimately involved the dispossession of indigenous people who lived within these demarcated areas and their exclusion from the natural resources, leading to a sense that these were “white man’s” creations imposed by the colonizers upon the indigenous inhabitants.

The period of transition between these two eras was one in which new sporting practices, and new breeds of sportsmen became evident. New practices included concepts that were hitherto foreign to southern Africa and originated in Europe, such as the reservation of game for elite sportsmen on public land and the exclusion of indigenous people, commercial hunters and the urban and rural poor from access to hunting. A second significant new phenomenon was the “privatization” in the hands of a rural elite of wild animals on land falling outside State ownership. This development established local conservation of game animals on private land and the associated social practices of hunting wild animals preserved on private land for the purpose, leading to the exclusion of all but the rural squires and middle class townsmen from access to hunting. The extensive private game parks and hunting preserves on private land in South Africa in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and the associated “hunting industries” that have since proliferated find their origins in these developments during the late nineteenth century.

In reviewing changing attitudes to hunting and the protection of wild animals and considering the varied historiography of hunting in southern Africa, care must be taken not to lose focus on the era to which the scholarship is devoted, or to be distracted by generalizations, as hunting practices and communities differed from region to region and were themselves in the process of rapid change. The conclusions to be drawn from the period of the prolific imperial hunters are very different to those relating to the late nineteenth century, or to the subsequent period during which “game” and later “nature” parks were established. Similarly, care must be taken to avoid conclusions regarding one geographical region to be superimposed upon another without question. By way of example, John MacKenzie’s study of hunting in southern Africa ends in the late nineteenth century, with the settlement of the land and the reduction of the game, in a chapter entitled “Hunting and Settlement in Southern Africa”. His main argument regarding the connection between hunting and imperialism, and the subsequent move to game preservation and conservation driven by the State, is almost entirely based upon experiences in east rather than southern Africa.

The aim of this literature review is to position this dissertation within current historiography relating to hunting and game conservation in southern Africa south of the Limpopo. It does not have

pretensions to an exhaustive account of the historiography of the subject in Africa as a whole or recounting the development of ideas relating to hunting and conservation over the past century.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Traditional View: Hagiography of the White Big Game Hunter

The works of the early hunters active in southern Africa, such as Harris and Cumming, stirred the imagination of an entire generation of sportsmen that followed in their footsteps, a successor such as William Cotton Oswell (1818-1893) stating in 1874 that reading Harris' book had induced him to go to Africa, and that he still considered the work to be the best account of African travels.⁹ In the first decade of the twentieth century this veneration of Cumming continued, Sidney Mendelssohn describing Cumming as having been in his element in South Africa, which was a "regular hunter's paradise" in the first half of the nineteenth century, and he is described as "having enjoyed an amount of sport almost unique even amongst the mighty hunters of Africa".¹⁰ This appreciation of the exploits of Cumming, notwithstanding his slaughter of game on a scale and according to practices not acceptable to modern sensibilities, is repeated by Kenneth Czech, writing in 1999, who describes the account as one of the "classics of African big game hunting and exploration" that is "a necessary title in the big game library."¹¹ The continuing popularity of these and twentieth century works is evident from the long list of publications on offer from publishers such as Rowland Ward in Johannesburg, glorifying white hunters and depicting them in seemingly endless images with the wild animals that they have "bagged".

These views continue to be perpetuated up until the present in both popular books as well as academic writing. An example of the continuing uncritical presentation of the period is Donal McCracken's account *Saving the Zululand Wilderness*,¹² a work that has been incisively criticized by Lance van Sittert for perpetuating the portrayal of Africans as "environmental despoilers" and

⁹ MacKenzie in *The Empire of Nature*, 101 and 118, referring to Oswell, Edward W. *William Cotton Oswell, Hunter and Explorer*, 2 vols. London: William Heinemann, 1900.

¹⁰ Mendelssohn, Sidney. *Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography*. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, 1910, vol. 1, 399.

¹¹ Czech, Kenneth P. *An Annotated Bibliography of African Big Game Hunting Books, 1785 to 1950*. St. Cloud, Minnesota: Land's Edge Press, 1999, 43.

¹² McCracken, *Saving the Zululand Wilderness*.

unquestioningly attributing the foundations of nature conservation in the region to a “heroic response” by a small group of “good white men”.¹³

Second Thoughts: the Game Preservation Movement

Before the end of the nineteenth century, and as a reaction to the almost complete extermination of all big game in the Cape Colony, there were calls for steps to be taken to preserve game for sporting purposes and limit the hunting of animals for commerce or subsistence. One of the imperial hunters who had hunted extensively in southern Africa, and later became one of the early advocates of game preservation, was Henry A. Bryden. Writing in 1893 he deplored the “frightful waste of animal life” that taken place since the days of Harris and Cumming, and predicted the total extermination of all big game between the Orange and Zambezi rivers unless steps were taken to limit hunting. His proposals included fencing off wilderness areas in which game could be allowed to increase.¹⁴

The Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, Birds and Fish in Africa, concluded during 1900, and other international agreements concluded during the early twentieth century have been described by Mark Cioc as being best understood as “international *hunting* treaties rather than *conservation* treaties”, the guiding force behind these initiatives being prominent hunters and ex-hunters (which he describes as “penitent butchers”) whose main concern was “the protection of specific hunting grounds and prized prey,” a concern only later developing for the protection of habitats, ecosystems and bioregions.¹⁵ In 1903 the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire was established, most of the members of which were hunters or former hunters, the first president being the prominent imperial hunter Edward North Buxton, and which acted as a pressure group for the establishment of game reserves.¹⁶

¹³ Van Sittert, Lance. “Book Reviews,” *South African Historical Journal*, 62:2 (2010), 410-414.

¹⁴ Bryden, Henry A. *Gun and Camera in Southern Africa*. London: Edward Stanford, 1893, 245. Bryden was also the author of *Kloof and Karroo: Sport, Legend and Natural History in the Cape Colony*. London: Green & Co, 1889; and *Nature and Sport in South Africa*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1897. Many of the chapters in the latter work were first published in popular periodicals of the time such as “Field”, “Saturday Review” and the like.

¹⁵ Cioc, Mark. *Hunting, Agriculture, and the Quest for International Wildlife Conservation during the Early Twentieth Century*. Paper read at the Yale Agricultural Studies Program, 3 October 2008. This paper was followed by *The Game of Conservation: International Treaties to Protect the World's Migratory Animals*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2009. The first chapter, entitled “Africa's Apartheid Parks” deals with early efforts at game protection. The shift from protecting game for sports hunting towards conservation biology is also considered by Jane Carruthers in “Influences on Wildlife Management and Conservation Biology on South Africa, c1900 to c1940,” *South African Historical Journal*, 58 (2007), 65-90.

¹⁶ David K. Prendergast, and William M. Adams. “Colonial wildlife conservation and the origins of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (1903-1914),” *Oryx*, 37 (2), (2003), 251-260.

The next development was to transform these game preserves into national parks, the primary purpose for which was no longer hunting but rather to create “preservation areas” in which animals were made available for viewing by (usually white) tourists, in areas described by Cioc as “mega-zoos”. In the creation of these spaces, African communities were removed on the ground that their presence detracted from the experience of pristine nature, thereby occasioning resentment and even resistance to what came to be seen to be “white man’s parks” dispossessing local communities and obscuring an African history of game preservation.¹⁷

Revisionist historians and the development of a school of environmental history

The recreation and re-interpretation of the dynamics of hunting and environmental history cannot be considered in isolation but in the context of changes in the interpretation of the South African past as a whole in the context of issues of both race and class.¹⁸ Saunders in his study of South African historiographical schools argued that the radical revisionists of the 1970’s emphasized issues of class as opposed to predominantly race as the tool to interpretation.¹⁹ During 1984 Stanley Trapido, one of the key revisionists, argued in *Poachers, Proletarians and Gentry in the Early Twentieth Century Transvaal* for what he described as “the political economy of hunting” that required to be interpreted against the background of class struggle.²⁰ From the late 1970’s historians began to add the issue of gender to the existing debate relating to the role of race and class, seeking to interrogate evidence for the unrecognized roles of women in writing that otherwise tended to emphasize the decisive agency of men.

Phia Steyn, tracing the development and trajectory of South African environmental historiography in the period up to 1999, attributes its genesis to the early 1980’s, growing out of the broad revisionist agenda of that period and the work of historians such as Roger Wagner, Stanley Trapido

¹⁷ Cioc, Mark. *Hunting, Agriculture, and the Quest for International Wildlife Conservation during the Early Twentieth Century*. Paper read at the Yale Agricultural Studies Program, 3 October 2008, 24.

¹⁸ Saunders, Christopher. *The Making of the South African Past, Major historians on race and class*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1988. Saunders at 191, after considering the careers and work of a number of the major historians of the South African past, reflects on the fact that the past will “continue to be ‘made’ in new ways, as new sources and theoretical concepts are employed, and as new perspectives on what has been are derived from the ever-changing present”.

¹⁹ Saunders, *The Making of the South African Past*.

²⁰ Trapido, Stanley. *Poachers, Proletarians and Gentry in the Early Twentieth Century Transvaal*. University of the Witwatersrand, African Studies Institute, No. 145, March 1984.

and William Beinart who had brought the environment to the centre of their narratives.²¹ Alan Cobley in turn identifies what he describes as “a growing diversity of themes in revisionist scholarship” in the late 1980’s that moved “beyond issues of political economy to address in addition, social and cultural questions such as the environment, gender relations, health, religion, ethnicity and identity.”²² Cobley points to the special issue of the *Journal of Southern African Studies* for 1989, entitled “The politics of conservation”, as a reflection of this development. The Introduction to this Special Issue was authored by William Beinart and includes an overview of then current scholarship relating to hunting and game reserves.²³

The diversity of themes relating to the environment which did not have as their focus issues of political economy has come in for a certain amount of criticism, as is apparent from the critical review by Lance van Sittert of William Beinart’s *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa*,²⁴ together with the earlier *Social History and African Environments*,²⁵ and Nancy Jacobs’s study of themes of local history of the Kuruman district under the title *Environment, Power, and Injustice*.²⁶ This review led to a published answer from Beinart²⁷ and in turn a reply from van Sittert.²⁸ Van Sittert contended that Beinart, Jacobs and other scholars, including Karen Brown, had made a shift away from political economy to the history of ideas, and that this reflected a detachment from social realities. He goes on to argue that Beinart excludes any consideration of blacks, women, Afrikaners or underclass whites in favor of concentrating upon what he describes as “a small clique of white, male, Anglo-Saxon, rural capitalists who espoused and practiced progressivism” and secondly ignores political economy for what he describes as a “smorgasbord” of environmental concerns that disregard context and which he considers to be of little consequence in South African History. In answer Beinart, in defending his work, registered his disagreement with van Sittert that environmental history or histories concerned with the environment should be collapsed into political economy, and justified the relevance of these studies on the basis that “a consideration of

²¹ Steyn, Phia. “The Greening of Our Past ? An Assessment of South African Environmental Historiography,” *New Contree*, 46, (Nov. 1999), 7-27.

²² Cobley, Alan. “Does Social History Have a Future ? The Ending of Apartheid and Recent Trends in South African Historiography,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27:3 (2001), 613-625.

²³ Beinart, William. “Introduction: The Politics of Conservation,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15: 2, Special Issue on the Politics of Conservation in Southern Africa. (Jan. 1989), 143-162.

²⁴ Van Sittert, Lance. “The Nature of Power: Cape Environmental History, The History of Ideas and Neoliberal Historiography,” *Journal of African History*, 45 (2004), 305-313.

²⁵ William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor, (editors). *Social History and African Environments*. Oxford: James Currey, 2003.

²⁶ Jacobs, Nancy J. *Environment, Power, and Injustice: A South African History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

²⁷ Beinart, William. “Academic Amnesia and the Poverty of Polemics,” *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), 127-134.

²⁸ Van Sittert, Lance. “Reply,” *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), 135-137.

environmental factors and causation may help to explain why South Africa was different both from African colonies and from most other settler states.” In the present dissertation the focus and arguments of both Beinart and van Sittert have been drawn on as complementary rather than exclusionary means of approach and interpretation.

In a supplement to a focus upon purely human agencies, more recent scholars of environmental history such as Sandra Swart have emphasized (in relation to horses) that just as women and their role as agents in social history were under-represented or ignored, so the “notion of agency” can be explored “in the context of multiple possible ways of writing horses into history” and in this way enrich the social history of southern Africa.²⁹

The New Histories of Nature Conservation

The work of Jane Carruthers, commencing during the early 1980’s, is recognized as re-focusing attention on the history of nature conservation in southern Africa and challenging and “correcting” established themes and myths of the role of Afrikaners and in particular Paul Kruger in nature conservation and the establishment of the Kruger National Park, which in turn has inspired a number of similar studies with a focus on national parks and their role.³⁰ These studies however tend to concentrate upon the history of public wildlife conservation at the hands of the State as opposed to private initiative on land not falling under State and political control, and deal with the politics of specific public parks such as the Kruger National Park,³¹ the game reserves of Zululand³² and the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in the Northern Cape.³³

²⁹ Swart, Sandra. “‘The World the Horses Made’: A South African Case Study of Writing Animals into Social History,” *IRSH* 55 (2010), 241-263. The development of South African historiography since 1965, and the challenge of inter and multi-disciplinary studies is reviewed in Carruthers, Jane: “The Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies,” *South African Historical Journal*, 62:2 (2010), 384-393.

³⁰ Steyn, Phia. “The Greening of Our Past ?,” 7-27.

³¹ Carruthers, Jane. *The Kruger National Park: A social and political history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995.

³² Brooks, Shirley J. *Changing Nature: A Critical Historical Geography of the Umfolozi and Hluhluwe Game Reserves, Zululand 1887-1947* (PhD diss.), Queen’s University, Kingston, April 2001. McCracken, *Saving the Zululand Wilderness*; Ellis, Beverly. “Game Conservation in Zululand 1824-1947, Changing Perspectives,” *Natalia* 23 and 24 (1993/1994), 27-44; Brooks, Shirley. “National Parks for Natal? Zululand’s Game Reserves and the Shaping of Conservation Management Policy in Natal 1920’s to 1940’s,” *Journal of Natal and Zulu History*, 22 (2004), 73-108; Brooks, Shirley. “Human Discourses, Animal Geographies: Imagining Umfolozi’s Rhinos,” *Current Writing* 18 (1), (2006), 6-27; Brooks, Shirley. “Images of ‘Wild Africa’: nature tourism and the re (creation) of Hluhluwe game reserve, 1930-1945,” *Journal of Historical Geography*, 31 (2005), 220-240; Shirley Brooks, Marja Spierenburg, Lot Van Brakel, Annemarie Kolk and Khethabakhe B. Lukhozi. “Creating a Commodified Wilderness: Tourism, Private Game Farming, and ‘Third Nature’ Landscapes in Kwazulu-Natal,” *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 102: 3 (2011), 260-274.

This re-assessment of the history of game protection and nature conservation in southern Africa commenced with Jane Carruthers' doctoral thesis completed in 1988 and published in 1995 as *Game Protection in the Transvaal 1846 to 1926*.³⁴ During the same year her social and political history of the Kruger National Park appeared, having its origins in her thesis, and interrogated major themes such as the close connection between nature conservation and national politics and the role of the State in the past and as a guide for the future. She argued for the role played in early game preservation by imperial sportsmen, the transfer of the project through affirmative action from their hands to that of Afrikaner scientists and bureaucrats, and considered the future of conservation in post apartheid South Africa. Carruthers also contributed a chapter to a history of the Kruger National Park.³⁵

The challenge by Carruthers to the received mythology of the Afrikaner state as to the central role of its hero Paul Kruger, and the question of the role of the "big man" and "ownership" of game conservation was made in in 1994 in *Dissecting the Myth: Paul Kruger and the Kruger National Park*,³⁶ the role of Kruger the founder and originator being defended by Hennie Grobler³⁷ and in turn responded to by Carruthers.³⁸ This search for the "big man", and the historical struggle between imperial sportsmen turned gamekeepers on the one hand and Afrikaner nationalists on the other, was further pursued by Carruthers in her biography of the first warden of the Kruger Park, James Stevenson-Hamilton.³⁹ The present study seeks to provide a more nuanced picture by discovering and interrogating the identity of those who are passed over in the search for the "big men" or who, as in the case of the English-speaking colonial sportsman from the eastern Cape, were ignored as unimportant and irrelevant in the myth-making of Afrikaner nationalists.

³³ Carruthers, Jane. "Past and Future Landscape Ideology, The Kalahari Gemsbok National Park," in *Social History and African Environments* edited by William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor. Oxford: James Currey, 2003, 255-266.

³⁴ Carruthers, Jane. *Game Protection in the Transvaal*.

³⁵ Jane Carruthers and U. De V. Pienaar. "Early years: The Sabie and Shingwedzi reserves and the Kruger National Park 1900-1946," in *A cameo from the past* edited by U. De V. Pienaar (and contributors), Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2012.

³⁶ Carruthers, Jane. "Dissecting the Myth: Paul Kruger and the Kruger National Park," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20: 2 (Jun. 1994), 263-283.

³⁷ Grobler, Hennie. "Dissecting the Kruger Myth with Blunt Instruments: A Rebuttal of Jane Carruthers's View," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22: 3 (Sept. 1996), 455-472.

³⁸ Carruthers, Jane. "Defending Kruger's Honour? A Reply to Professor Hennie Grobler," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22: 3 (Sep. 1996), 473-480.

³⁹ Carruthers, Jane. *Wildlife and Warfare, The Life of James Stevenson-Hamilton*. Pietermaritzburg: Natal University Press, 2001.

Shirley Brooks, in her doctoral thesis *Changing Nature: A Critical Historical Geography of the Umfolozi and Hluhluwe Game Reserves, Zululand 1887-1947*,⁴⁰ completed in 2001, traced what she described as the “human discourses about animals that contributed to the shaping of a space of nature” in the Zululand game reserves, which were established on Crown land, arguing that such spaces are “socially constructed”, and emphasizing the importance of the changing meaning of such spaces over time. In the case of Zululand, unlike the Transvaal Lowveld, the main object of the reserves was the “special containment” of wild animals because of concerns at the spread of nagana from wild animals to domestic livestock, these areas initially being viewed as “reserved space” where controlled sports hunting might be available to white English-speaking sports hunters from the settler community of Natal to the exclusion of Zulu hunters and Boer hunting parties.⁴¹

The changing political and social order in South Africa post 1994 has given rise to a consideration and review of changing perspectives to wildlife or nature conservation in the past,⁴² but also with an eye to interpreting the role and purpose of wildlife conservation for the future. This has seen the disengaging of wildlife conservation from the embedded perspective of Afrikaner nationalism and nationalist party politics and negotiating and justifying the concepts of wildlife conservation and National Parks to a new African audience in a changed political and social era.⁴³ These studies involve considerations of the politics of environmental history at a time that the State has new priorities such as poverty alleviation and land redistribution and questions are raised as to the benefit of wildlife to local communities.⁴⁴

This questioning about the role of game parks in post apartheid South Africa is a continuation of the debate as to the purpose of wildlife and the identity of those for whom it is preserved. Perhaps inevitably, the beneficiaries have always been perceived to be a class or race elite. Early perceptions that state owned game preserves were the domain of the wealthy and largely elite imperial sportsmen gave way to the concept of parks being available to the generally urban (and usually

⁴⁰ Brooks, Shirley J. *Changing Nature: A Critical Historical Geography of the Umfolozi and Hluhluwe Game Reserves, Zululand 1887-1947* (PhD diss.), Queen’s University, Kingston, April 2001.

⁴¹ Brooks, Shirley J. *Changing Nature*, 144 and 165-166.

⁴² An overview of past attitudes and perspectives appears in Carruthers, Jane. “Changing Perspectives on Wildlife in Southern Africa, c 1840-c1914,” *Society and Animals*, 13: 3, (2005), 183-200.

⁴³ Carruthers, Jane. “‘Police boys’ and poachers: Africans, wildlife protection and national parks, the Transvaal 1902-1950,” *Koedoe* 36/2 (1993), 11-22.

⁴⁴ Carruthers, Jane. “Tracking in Game Trails: Looking Afresh at the Politics of Environmental History in South Africa,” *Environmental History*. 11: 4 (Oct. 2006), 804-829.

white) public engaging in game viewing and photography as a recreation.⁴⁵ In the process Africans were dispossessed of their land and removed from the wilderness areas, a topic that has received recent attention and has influenced African perceptions of the concept of the National Park.⁴⁶ In the post apartheid state nature conservation and game viewing is considered to be a “white” activity, on the grounds that black Africans do not generally visit national parks for recreation whilst whites do, and such parks are now justified as being useful to Africans for the material benefits that they are expected to deliver to local communities.⁴⁷ A further area of study has been the concept of the transfrontier park and the need to remove fences that “control and divide” local communities from protected areas, creating the “symbol of a conservation ideology that focused solely on the wildlife inside the fence and far less on the well-being of the people outside the fence.”⁴⁸ As has been pointed out by William Adams and Jon Hutton, actions taken by the State initially to provide sports hunting for an elite and later to conserve biodiversity, particularly through the creation of protected areas, is inherently political and continues to be the case even in the present day when it involves areas that exclude indigenous people.⁴⁹

Despite this emphasis on the well established National Parks, there is little attention to the history of game and nature conservation in the Cape Colony and the failure, possibly because of its different patterns of land ownership and the early slaughter of its game, to make progress in establishing game reserves on public land during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, despite

⁴⁵ Bunn, David. “An Unnatural State, Tourism, Water & Wildlife Photography in the Early Kruger National Park,” in *Social History and African Environments* edited by William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor. Oxford: James Currey, 2003. Brooks, Shirley. “Images of ‘Wild Africa,’” Carruthers, Jane. “‘Police boys’ and poachers,” 11-22.

⁴⁶ Brooks, Shirley. “Images of ‘Wild Africa,’” Bunn, David. “An Unnatural State, Tourism, Water & Wildlife Photography in the Early Kruger National Park”, in *Social History and African Environments* edited by William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor. Oxford: James Currey, 2003.

⁴⁷ Carruthers, Jane. “Tracking in Game Trails,” 816.

⁴⁸ Marja Spierenburg, and Harry Wels. “Mapping and Fencing in Transfrontier Conservation in Southern Africa,” *Space and Culture*, 9 (2006), 294; Clapperton Mavhunga, and Marja Spierenburg. “Transfrontier Talk, Cordon Politics: The Early History of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park in Southern Africa, 1925-1940,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35:3 (2009), 715-735.

⁴⁹ William M. and Jon Hutton. “People, Parks and Poverty: Political Ecology and Biodiversity Conservation,” *Conservation and Society*, 5: 2 (2007), 147-183; Adams, William M. “Sportsman’s Shot, Poacher’s Pot: Hunting, Local People and the History of Conservation”, in *Recreational Hunting, Conservation and Rural Livelihoods: Science and Practice* edited by Barney Dickson, Jon Hutton and William M. Adams, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. A recent survey of attitudes held by local African communities to national parks, and patterns of visiting by these communities, appeared in Simelane, T.S., Kerley, G.I., and Knight, M.H., “Reflections on the relationships between communities and conservation areas in South Africa: the case of five South African national parks,” *Koedoe*. 49:2 (2006), 85-102.

legislation authorizing the establishment of such areas on public land.⁵⁰ Some of the clues to the role of private landowners in game preservation, in the absence of the establishment of public game reserves, can be discerned in regions such as the broader eastern Cape in the history of farms of the Fish and Koonap river valleys, situated between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort, on which big game such as kudu were preserved by private farmers from as early as the 1880's. Many of these farms are now no longer in private hands and form the nucleus of a public game reserve in the Eastern Cape, having been donated by the owners to the public by the descendants of the English-speaking families that owned the land for over 100 years.⁵¹

Scholars such as Shirley Brooks have given attention to a new kind of "commodified wilderness" in the South African countryside, being the growing phenomenon of the transformation of former agricultural land into private game farms in post apartheid South Africa, her study having particular reference to the Kwazulu-Natal midlands.⁵² A further area of study is the emergence of the 'community game farm' as a product of land reform processes, in which local African communities take ownership of the conservation project.⁵³

Patterns of the establishment of game lodges, private game reserves and hunting preserves for the elite are also evident in the Eastern Cape, as in many areas of South Africa, where farms have similarly been taken out of agricultural production altogether and been converted to exclusive private game reserves and recreational holiday destinations, offering an alternative to game viewing in the State controlled National Parks. By way of example, the well-known farm Heatherton Towers and neighboring land near Fort Brown, once the nucleus of the ostrich industry in the region, is now a private game reserve known as Kwandwe Private Game Reserve where the public can view all manner of game. The advertising for the farm describes the private game reserve as one of the African continent's southernmost game reserves, located along 30 kilometers of private owned frontage onto the Great Fish River, and surrounded by 45 000 acres of "exclusive, malaria free

⁵⁰ The Governor of the Cape was empowered to declare "game preserves" in the Cape Colony by Proclamation in terms of Section 4 of the Game Laws Amendment Act, No. 33 of 1899, the provisions of which were in force with effect from 20 October 1899.

⁵¹ Scotney, Pearl. *The Kent Family*. Faerie Glen: privately published, 1986.

⁵² Shirley Brooks, et al, "Creating a Commodified Wilderness," 260-274.

⁵³ Mnqobi Ngubane, and Shirley Brooks. "Land beneficiaries as game farmers: conservation, land reform and the invention of the 'community game farm' in KwaZulu-Natal," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 31:3 (2013), 399-420.

wilderness”.⁵⁴ The farm Bucklands, previously owned by the Kent family, is now the Bucklands Private Game Reserve, offering a lodge, accommodation and outdoor activities to the public.⁵⁵

The private game farm is not only a space for conservation but, unlike the National Parks, also a place for trophy hunting. Those supporting continued trophy hunting of game animals, including in Africa, argue that the activity provides for the inflow of foreign currency; creates jobs, and in many instances encourages conservation in that the animals are afforded a cash value from sports hunting. Wealthy trophy hunters are prepared to pay considerable sums of money (as much as \$ 30 000,00) for the opportunity to shoot an African lion or an elephant, and still compete to obtain entries in the records of big game trophies published by Rowland Ward Publications, the successor of the London firm of taxidermists that had achieved popularity in the heyday of sports hunting in the Victorian and Edwardian eras.⁵⁶ The concept of a hunting based conservation system in South Africa is promoted in publications such as the popularized book and video campaign supported by both wealthy exponents of recreational hunting and by David Mabundla, Chief Executive Officer of the South African National Parks, who raises the question whether conservation in South Africa has become “merely a business model to generate economic activity, with conservation as a by-product” or whether it is a conservation model that also provides “economic benefits for the stakeholders in the industry.”⁵⁷

Africanists and Social historians on Hunting Practices and Game conservation

In recent years more Africanist scholars and revisionist social historians have started providing a voice to African viewpoints relating to hunting practices and conservation. One of the themes has been the debate regarding pre-colonial conservation practices in southern Africa and how these

⁵⁴ Kwandwe Private Game Reserve. www.eyesonafrica.net/south-african-safari/kwandwe.htm

⁵⁵ Stewart, Terry: *The History Surrounding Bucklands*, at [www.http://bucklandsreserve.co.za](http://bucklandsreserve.co.za)

⁵⁶ Stuart, Chris and Mathilde. *Game Animals of the World*. Rivonia: African Sporting Gazette, 2011.

⁵⁷ Peter Flack, Shane Mahoney and David Mabundla. *The South African Conservation Success Story*. Houghton: Peter Flack Publications, 2011. Both the book and the accompanying DVD are distributed by Rowland Ward Publications.

came to be affected or obliterated by the practices of the colonizers, this being the subject of a study by James Murombedzi with specific reference to the experience in Zimbabwe.⁵⁸

Roben Mutwira contributed an article to the Special Issue of the *Journal of Southern African Studies* dedicated to the Politics of Conservation, providing an African view to wild life policy in the then Southern Rhodesia during the period 1890 to 1953.⁵⁹ In the accompanying introduction to the Special Issue, William Beinart comments that Mutwira's conclusion is that the post independence government of Zimbabwe should become more committed to game preservation, and in doing so "should draw on the legacy of African attitudes to game which were less aggressive than those of the settlers," characterizing this analysis as an attempt to insert game conservation into the African nationalist ideology.⁶⁰

During the first decade of the twentieth century African scholars such as Clapperton Mavhunga have added an African perspective to issues of hunting and game preservation/conservation in southern Africa. These studies include those charting the reasons why the southern African wildlife and tourism industry came to be in the hands of a white minority that considers itself the "custodian of wild animal's survival" and the legacy of the past which is looked at from the perspective of land dispossession and the effects upon communities removed from areas designated as game or wildlife parks.⁶¹ In a separate study he analyzes the effects of firearms diffusion and indigenous knowledge systems with regard to game animals in south-eastern Zimbabwe during the period 1870 to 1920.⁶²

Imperial Hunting and the matter of Masculinity

An influential but controversial study of hunting in Africa that has intrigued scholars is that of John Mackenzie in *The Empire of Hunting*,⁶³ in which he argues that sports hunting and subsequent wildlife conservation in Africa was driven by imperialism. It is against this argument that subsequent scholars measure studies of local hunting and wildlife conservation in Africa and other parts of the former British Empire, either finding further evidence that offers support, or finding

⁵⁸ Murombedzi, James C. *Pre-colonial and colonial practices in southern Africa and their legacy today*. Washington, DC: World Conservation Union, 2003.

⁵⁹ Mutwira, Roben. "Southern Rhodesian Wildlife Policy (1890-1953): A Question of Condoning Game Slaughter?" *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 15: 2, (Jan. 1989), 250-262.

⁶⁰ Beinart, William. "Introduction: The Politics of Conservation," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15: 2, Special Issue on the Politics of Conservation in Southern Africa. (Jan. 1989), 143-162 esp. at 150-151.

⁶¹ Clapperton Mavhunga, and Marja Spiereburg. "Transfrontier Talk," 715-735.

⁶² Mavhunga, Clapperton. "Firearms Diffusion, Exotic and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the Lowveld Frontier, South Eastern Zimbabwe 1870-1920," *Comparative Technology Transfer and Society*, 1: 2, (Aug. 2003), 201-231.

⁶³ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*.

exceptions through local or regional practices that do not conform to the notion of an all-embracing formula. James Warren, for example, argues for the “culturally constructed identity” of the “colonial sportsman” as a practitioner of the colonial rather than the imperial hunt, defining himself in opposition to both the indigenous and the imperial British hunter.⁶⁴

A further theme that has received attention from scholars, particularly Robert Morrell, who was the key in initiating masculinity studies in southern African historiography, is the concept and importance of masculinity in imperial and colonial societies.⁶⁵ This masculinity is described by Morrell as being a collective gender identity, constructed by society rather than being a natural attribute, constituted by factors such as class and race, and fluid and changeable. He uses the notion, developed by R.W. Connell, of the existence of a “hegemonic masculinity” that represents the dominant form of masculinity in a particular society.⁶⁶ The constructed imperial masculinity and the associated masculinities of the colonial settler societies were both defined by shifts in perceptions of class, race and gender. This identity was fostered in and by institutions such as the public schools in Britain (which were duplicated in elite private schools in southern Africa) where qualities of community, superiority, self-confidence, toughness and the love of sports and competition, religious faith, and a code of what it meant to be a man, formed the basis of preparation for life.⁶⁷ Morrell points to the fact that the process of the extension of imperial rule into the southern African subcontinent was led by British white men, many of whom had a public school upbringing. He also identifies the similar important role in the creation of colonial masculinity, social organization and class and power elites amongst men of British origin who attended schools established on the British model such as Hilton in Natal.⁶⁸ The same considerations apply to a school such as St Andrew’s College in Grahamstown. The published Registers of Old Andreans, listing the sporting, martial and professional achievements of every past scholar provide valuable evidence in support of Morrell’s argument that such schools played an important role in “constructing male dominance and hegemonic masculinity within the colonial order” of the time. One of the important expressions of this masculinity was hunting and participation in physically demanding big game hunting

⁶⁴ Warren, James H. “Contesting Colonial Masculinity/Constituting Imperial Authority: Ceylon in Mid-Nineteenth Century British Public Debate,” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 6:2 (Dec.2004), 39-62.

⁶⁵ Morrell, Robert. “Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24: 4, Special Issue on Masculinities in Southern Africa (Dec. 1998), 605-630; and Morrell, Robert. *From Boys to Gentlemen, Settler Masculinity in Colonial Natal, 1880-1920*. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2001.

⁶⁶ Connell, R.W. and Messerschmidt, James W. “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender & Society*, (2005):19, 829-859; Connell, R.W. *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005.

⁶⁷ Mangan, J.A. “‘The Grit of our Forefathers’: invented traditions, propaganda and imperialism,” in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, edited by John M. MacKenzie. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, 113-138.

⁶⁸ Morrell, Robert. *From Boys to Gentlemen*, 48-50.

expeditions. Masculinity and its role in defining the British big-game hunting tradition has been analyzed by Callum Mckenzie in his study of the elite Shikar club,⁶⁹ and found expression in many nineteenth century hunting accounts in statements by the authors as to the conduct that was considered to be “manly” or “sporting” in the field. Associated with the study of masculinity is the associated social history of the sexual relations between colonists and the colonized and the definition of boundaries of contact.⁷⁰ The environment was shaped by these masculinities as males sought to exercise control over the environment itself and also to exclude outsiders from access to the environment on the bases of race and class.

The development of a social history of the environment for the Cape Colony/Cape Province

Since Phia Steyn’s analysis of the development of environmental history in the period up to 1999, a considerable body of work has been published covering different themes within the discipline; many have a particular reference to the Cape Colony/Cape Province. More recently in 2012 Sandra Swart reviewed the studies relating to southern Africa in the field of what has come to be described as environmental history and makes brief reference to research currently being undertaken in the field.⁷¹

Lance van Sittert has contributed a series of articles to the genre on subjects relating to the nineteenth century Cape Colony, including studies relating to the extermination of wild carnivora in the Cape Colony during the period 1889-1910;⁷² the rural enclosure movement in the Cape Colony during 1865-1910;⁷³ hunting, dogs and rabies in Port Elizabeth, with a focus on the 1893 Port Elizabeth rabies epidemic;⁷⁴ and a consideration of Hunting in the Cape Colony and the effect of

⁶⁹ Mckenzie, Callum. “The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to the ‘Shikar Club’,” *The Sports Historian*, 20:1 (2000), 70-96. A study of aspects masculinities in colonial Ceylon is undertaken in Warren, James H. “Contesting Colonial Masculinity/Constituting Imperial Authority: Ceylon in Mid-Nineteenth Century British Public Debate,” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 6:2 (Dec.2004), 39-62.

⁷⁰ Stoler, Ann L. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

⁷¹ Swart, Sandra. “Environmental History in South Africa,” *Environment and History*, 18 (2012): 465-474.

⁷² Van Sittert, Lance. “‘Keeping the Enemy at Bay’: The Extermination of Wild Carnivora in the Cape Colony, 1889-1910,” *Environmental History*, 3: 3 (Jul. 1998), 333-356.

⁷³ Van Sittert, Lance. “The Rural Enclosure Movement in the Cape Colony, c 1865-1910,” *The Journal of African History*, 43:1 (2002), 95-118.

⁷⁴ Van Sittert, Lance. “Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemic,” *South African Historical Journal*, 48:1, 207-234.

privatization and “commodification” of game pursuant to the Game Law, 1886.⁷⁵ All these papers appear to emphasize the importance of class and political economy as the most important defining factor for the regulation and control of, or access to, wild animals for the purposes of hunting.

William Beinart contributed extensively to the field, dealing with environmental themes in the Cape Colony in articles covering issues relating to science and travel in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Cape⁷⁶ and the effects of empire and ecological change;⁷⁷ as editor with JoAnn McGregor of a collection of articles entitled *Social History and African Environments*⁷⁸ and in a series of eleven chapters relating to themes of environmental history in book-form in *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa*.⁷⁹ These chapters include studies entitled *The Night of the Jackal: Sheep, Pastures, and Predators, 1890-1930* and a study of farming practices on the Rubidge farm Wellwood in the Graaff-Reinet district entitled ‘*The Farmer as a Conservationist*’: *Sidney Rubidge at Wellwood, Graaff-Reinet, 1913-1952*.

The study of practices of local hunting communities in a particular district rather than as a general trend has been taken up by Chris Roche who analyzed a springbuck hunting community in the midland town of Graaff-Reinet⁸⁰ and the springbuck treks of the Karroo during the period 1865-1908⁸¹ and by Lance van Sittert who analyzed competing hunting interests amongst the inhabitants of the eastern Cape metropole of Port Elizabeth.⁸²

A further focus of study in the context of environmentalism, with regard to both the former British Empire and the Cape Colony, has been silviculture and the management and use of forests. Gregory Barton, in *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism* considered the influence of

⁷⁵ Van Sittert, Lance. “Bringing in the Wild: The Commodification of Wild Animals in the Cape Colony/Province c 1850-1950,” *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), 269-291. In this thesis “commodification” is referred to in inverted commas, and is referred to in the sense coined by van Sittert.

⁷⁶ Beinart, William. “Men, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24: 4, (Dec. 1998), 775-799,

⁷⁷ Beinart, William. “Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa,” *Past and Present*, 128 (Aug.1990), 162-186.

⁷⁸ William Beinart, and JoAnn McGregor, (editors). *Social History and African Environments*. Oxford: James Currey, 2003.

⁷⁹ Beinart, William. *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment 1770-1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

⁸⁰ Roche, Chris. “‘Fighting their battles o’er again’: the springbok Hunt in Graaff-Reinet,” 1860-1908. *Kronos*, 29, *Environmental History* (Nov. 2003), 66-108.

⁸¹ Roche, Chris. “‘The Fertile Brain and the Inventive Power of Man’: Anthropogenic Factors in the Cessation of Springbok Treks and the Disruption of the Karroo Ecosystem, 1865-1908,” *Africa*, 78 (2), 2008, 157-188.

⁸² Van Sittert, Lance. “Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemic,” *South African Historical Journal*, 48: 1. 207-234.

imperial foresters such as Joseph Storr Liston and D. Hutchins, who commenced their careers in India, in the shaping of forestry at the Cape on the Indian model.⁸³ The creation of game sanctuaries within forests at the Cape, and the interests of competing communities, has been considered in a number of studies by both Karen Brown⁸⁴ and Jacob Tropp.⁸⁵ Attitudes of Africans living in the Transkei to conservation issues have received attention from Farieda Khan,⁸⁶ who has also identified the alienation of Africans from the natural environment and the environmental movement as a consequence of deprivation of their ties to the land.⁸⁷

One of the scientific developments with social significance that took place both in the imperial metropole and in colonies throughout the Empire, including the Cape, was the establishment of museums. John Mackenzie in *Museums and empire* has analyzed the role of colonial museums, devoting chapters to two Cape museums established during the nineteenth century, the South African Museum in Cape Town and the Albany Museum in Grahamstown.⁸⁸ Shirley Brooks has undertaken an in-depth study of the role of the Natal Museum under its first director Dr. Warren who was appointed in 1903, its role in the collection of specimens which included acquisitions (including rare and endangered species) through hunting; the re-creation of nature through the preparation of wild animals of the region for public display; and in making recommendations regarding game preservation. Those attracted to nature study through association with museums included women.⁸⁹ Similar considerations applied to the Albany Museum in Grahamstown, where

⁸³ Barton, Gregory A. *Empire Forestry and the origins of Environmentalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

⁸⁴ Brown, Karen. "Cultural Constructions of the Wild: the Rhetoric and Practice of Wildlife Conservation in the Cape Colony at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *South African Historical Journal*, 47 (Nov. 2002), 75-95; "The Conservation and Utilization of the Natural World: Silviculture in the Cape Colony, c 1902-1910," *Environment and History*, 7: 4 (Nov. 2001), 427-447; "Agriculture in the natural world: progressivism, conservation and the state: the case of the Cape Colony in the late 19th and 20th centuries," *Kronos*, 29, *Environmental History* (Nov.2003), 109-138.

⁸⁵ Tropp, Jacob. "Dogs, Poison and the Meaning of Colonial Intervention in the Transkei, South Africa," *Journal of African History*, 43 (2002), 451-472; Tropp, Jacob. "Displaced People. Replaced Narratives: Forest Conflicts and historical perspectives in the Tsolo District, Transkei," *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 29:1 (Mar. 2003), 207-233; Tropp, Jacob. "The Python and the Crying Tree: Interpreting Tales of Environmental and Colonial Power in Transkei," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*. 36: 3 (2003), 511-532; Tropp, Jacob. "The contested nature of colonial landscapes: historical perspectives on livestock and environments in the Transkei," *Kronos*, 30 (Nov. 2004), 118-137; Tropp, Jacob. *Natures of Colonial Change: Environmental Relations in the making of the Transkei*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006;

⁸⁶ Khan, Farieda. "Rewriting South Africa's Conservation History-The Role of the Native Farmers Association," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20: 4 (Dec. 1994), 499-516.

⁸⁷ Khan, Farieda. "Environmentalism in South Africa: A Sociopolitical Perspective," *Macalester International*, 9 (2000): 156-181.

⁸⁸ Mackenzie, John M. *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.

⁸⁹ Brooks, *Changing Nature*, 232; Brooks, Shirley. "Encounters with the Colonial: Dr. Ernest Warren, science, and new representations of nature at the Natal Museum (1903 – 1913)," *Southern African Humanities*, 17 (2005), 1-31.

Dr Selmar Schönland served as director from 1889 to 1910, and which is considered in this dissertation in the context of being the museum of the eastern Cape Colony/Province.

In addition to the study of institutions such as museums, scholars have turned their attention to the careers of early natural scientists in southern Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and their relationship with the natural world. The study of the environment in the Cape Colony has also led to a consideration of individuals involved in scientific endeavor, including the role of women and issues of gender, and the connection between the Cape and the rest of the British Empire. Recent studies include that of William Beinart who has considered issues such as imperialism and conservation and the spread of “colonial science”.⁹⁰ Bob Brain has considered the career of Austin Roberts of the Transvaal Museum, and his development as a collector of specimens for museums and natural history study.⁹¹ Sandra Swart has considered the careers of the “popular scientists” such as Eugene Marais⁹² and William Beinart and Alan Cohen have focused on the achievements of Mary Elizabeth Barber in the eastern Cape and her connection to imperial naturalists such as Darwin and Hooker, thus expanding knowledge of the role of women in the enterprise of natural sciences in the Cape Colony.⁹³

Studies relating to specific agencies: the relationship between humans and animals

One aspect of the new genre of environmental history has been studies of the relationship between humans and specific animal species, both those perceived to be man’s friend or his enemy. An overview of these studies up to 2006 is provided by Carruthers.⁹⁴ Studies of this kind include those of Sandra Swart, Lance van Sittert, Jacob Tropp and Robert J. Gordon in relation to the historical and social relationship of humans with domestic dogs;⁹⁵ William Beinart and Lance van Sittert in

⁹⁰ Beinart, William. “Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24: 4, Special Issue on Masculinities in Southern Africa,” (Dec.1998), 775-799.

⁹¹ Brain, C.K. (Bob) *Austin Roberts: A lifelong devotion to South Africa’s birds and beasts*. Cape Town: Trustees of the John Voelcker Bird Book Fund, 1998.

⁹² Swart, Sandra. “The Ant of the White Soul, Popular Natural History, the Politics of Afrikaner Identity and the Entomological Writings of Eugene Marais,” in William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor, (editors). *Social History and African Environments*. Oxford: James Currey, 2003, 221-239.

⁹³ Beinart, William. “Men, Science, Travel and Nature”; Cohen, Alan. “Mary Elizabeth Barber, the Bowkers and South African Prehistory,” *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 54:170 (Dec. 1999), 120-127; Cohen, Alan. “Mary Elizabeth Barber: some early South African geologists and the discoveries of gold,” *South African Journal of Economic History*. 15: 1-2, (2000), 1-19; “Mary Elizabeth Barber: South Africa’s first lady natural historian,” *Archives of natural history*, 27:2, (2000), 187-208. Her son’s collection of African game trophies is the subject of Cohen, Alan. “The F.H.Barber collection of heads and horns,” *Archives of natural history*, 28: 3, (2001), 367-882.

⁹⁴ Carruthers, Jane. “Tracking in Game Trails,” 804-829.

⁹⁵ Lance van Sittert and Sandra Swart. *Canis Africanis: a dog history of Southern Africa*. Leiden: Brill, 2008; Tropp, Jacob. “Dogs, Poison and the Meaning of Colonial Intervention,” 451-472; Gordon, Robert J. “Fido, Dog Tales of

relation to settler attitudes to the jackal;⁹⁶ Nancy Jacobs in respect of donkeys;⁹⁷ Shirley Brooks and Jo–Ann McGregor respectively with regard to human attitudes towards Rhinos⁹⁸ and Crocodiles⁹⁹ and Sandra Swart in respect of the important relationship between humankind and horses.¹⁰⁰ Swart has explored the possibilities of animal sensitive histories and this thesis has sought to take the ecological specificity of various species of game seriously, both in considering the identity of hunters and hunting practices on a species specific basis and in including the movement and reactions of the game in response hunting, so as not to simply flatten the reference to the hunted as the animal “other”.

Studies on the effects of technology

In addition to the study of the agency of animals, consideration has also been given to the agency of technological advances introduced into southern Africa. That having perhaps the greatest effect upon the environment was the firearm with its power to kill with greater power and ease than any weapon available to pre-colonial African peoples. The effect of firearms on southern African history in general has been considered by William Storey¹⁰¹ and Clapperton Mavhunga has undertaken a study of the role of firearms technology with reference to the Lowveld region of Zimbabwe.¹⁰²

Colonialism in Namibia”, in *Social History and African Environments* edited by William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor (editors). Oxford: James Currey, 2003, 240-254.

⁹⁶ Van Sittert, Lance. “‘Keeping the Enemy at Bay’: The Extermination of Wild Carnivora in the Cape Colony, 1889-1910,” *Environmental History*, 3: 3 (Jul. 1998), 333-356; Beinart, William. “The Night of the Jackal: Sheep, Pastures, and Predators, 1890-1930,” in *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment 1770-1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

⁹⁷ Jacobs, Nancy. “The Great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre: Discourse on the Ass, Politics of Class and Grass,” *The American Historical Review*, 108 (2001), 485-507.

⁹⁸ Brooks, Shirley. “Human Discourses, Animal Geographies: Imagining Umfolozi’s White Rhinos,” *Current Writing*, 18(1), (2006), 6-27.

⁹⁹ McGregor, Jo–Ann. “Crocodile crimes: people versus wildlife and the politics of postcolonial conservation on Lake Kariba, Zimbabwe,” *Geoforum*, 36 (2005), 353-369.

¹⁰⁰ Swart, Sandra. “Riding high – horses, power and settler society, c 1654-1840,” *Kronos*, 29, Special Issue: *Environmental History* (Nov. 2003), 47-63; Swart, Sandra. “‘High Horses’ - Horses, Class and Socio-Economic Change in South Africa,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34: 1, (Mar. 2008), 193-213; Swart, Sandra. “‘The World the Horses Made’: A South African Case Study of Writing Animals into Social History,” *IRSH* 55 (2010), 241-263. Swart, Sandra. *Riding High: Horses, Humans and History in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010.

¹⁰¹ Storey, William K. *Guns, Race, and Power in Colonial South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Storey, William K. “Guns Race and Skill in Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa,” *Technology and Culture*, 45: 4 (Oct. 2004), 687-711.

¹⁰² Mavhunga, Clapperton. “Firearms Diffusion, Exotic and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the Lowveld Frontier, South Eastern Zimbabwe 1870-1920,” *Comparative Technology Transfer and Society*, 1: 2, (Aug. 2003), 201-231.

The social and environmental consequences for people and animals of technological developments such as fencing, barbed wire, and the enclosure of the land has been analyzed by scholars such as Lance van Sittert.¹⁰³ The effects upon the environment in southern Africa of technologies such as ox-wagons, the railways and later the motor car, all which successively afforded hunters and later tourists easy access to wilderness areas and wild animals would provide further areas of study.

Towards a social history of hunting and game preservation

To date scholars have focused on specific and often compartmentalized studies of hunting practices and game conservation in southern Africa, but little or no attempt has been made to provide a social history of hunting and game conservation in the former Cape Colony or southern Africa as a whole.¹⁰⁴ Even in relation to sporting practices within a local district, emphasis has not been on the entire community or communities having an interest in hunting, but rather upon the hunting interests of a specific group of people or the pursuit of a single species of animal such as the springbuck in a single region such as Graaff-Reinet.

Edward Steinhart has attempted, in the context of Kenya, to draw together in a single volume the diverse threads and reflect a broad sweep over time, from pre-colonial to post independence, reflecting the competing interest groups of Africans, settlers, imperial hunters and colonial officials and the associated conflict over control of the land and the animals to be found on it.¹⁰⁵ An attempt is made to identify and interrogate the identities of individuals representing the different interest groups. The limits of this project, which also emphasizes the difficulty of bringing together and synthesizing the broad range of participants, is highlighted in reviews that criticize the absence of descriptions of the contributions of Africans to big game safaris; the lack of biographies of the African experts who aided white hunters; and the failure to consider the experiences of African hunting communities during colonial times.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Van Sittert, Lance. "The Rural Enclosure Movement in the Cape Colony, c 1865-1910," *The Journal of African History*, 43: 1 (2002), 95-118.

¹⁰⁴ A popular account of Game Protection in South Africa is that by John A. Pringle, John Clark, and Creira Bond. *The Conservationists and the Killers: The Story of Game Protection and the Wildlife Society of Southern Africa*. Cape Town: T.V.Bulpin and Books for Africa, 1982.

¹⁰⁵ Steinhart, Edward I. *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya*. Oxford: James Currey, 2006. This study was preceded in 1989 by Steinhart, Edward I. "Hunters, Poachers and Gamekeepers: Towards a Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya," *The Journal of African History*, 30: 2 (1989), 247-264.

¹⁰⁶ Peterson, Derek R. "Wild Animals and Political Conflict in Colonial Kenya: Review of Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya by Edward I. Steinhart," *The Journal of African History*, 47: 2 (2006), 343-345.

The difficulty, for southern Africa as much as for Kenya, is to identify and interrogate individuals from the various interest groups who fall outside the category of the “big men” who are by their very nature the exceptions rather than representative of the experiences of society as a whole.

SOURCES AND METHODS

The research for this dissertation grew out of an early fascination with the possibilities offered by unpublished and unnoticed primary sources, including images, left by late nineteenth century hunters and travellers that provide a different account to that of the “big men” who either immortalized themselves through often self-serving accounts of their activities, or were immortalized through by the attention accorded to them. These “lost hunters”, whether imperial sportsmen, colonials engaging in recreation hunting, commercial hunters shooting for hides and skins, and African hunters pursuing traditional hunting patterns, might be said to represent the social experience of hunting in each region.

One such unknown hunter and traveller of the late nineteenth century, who left diaries and almost 500 photographic images preserved on glass half-plate negatives, was the colonial born and Grahamstown based medical doctor, John Baldwin Greathead (1854-1910). He was my maternal great grandfather. Despite the fact that his original diaries had been donated to the National Archives, Pretoria in 1955, together with a photograph albums containing a selection of contact prints, both remained largely undiscovered. The diaries, which cover the period 1884 to 1910, contain daily immediate accounts of recreational hunting expeditions, both in the eastern Cape Colony in the Albany, Bathurst and Fort Beaufort districts and further afield on what might be termed big game safaris in the territories then known as the Transvaal Lowveld (1893), Rhodesia and the Pungue Flats in Mozambique (1899); Khama’s Country and the Kalahari (1903); British East Africa (1904) and North Eastern Rhodesia and the Luangwa Valley (1910). The images had added value because they were contained in boxes containing detailed captions, including the place and date (to the day) of the images. This interest was sharpened by a sense of the past being linked tangibly to the present as, until the first decade of the twenty-first century, his large collection of hunting trophies remained intact where he had arranged them on the walls of his farm Van Wyksfontein near Norval’s Pont, from where he had set out on his last safari from which he did not return.¹⁰⁷ This curiosity eventually led to my producing an edited version of the diaries, illustrated

¹⁰⁷ Southey, Joan. *Footsteps in the Karroo: A story of farming life*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1990, 32-44.

with a selection of the images, published in 2005 as *The African Hunting and Travel Journals of J.B.S Greathead, 1884-1910*.¹⁰⁸

The editing of Greathead's diaries revealed the dearth of information for last two decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries relating to the individuals engaging in hunting practices and the communities from which they were drawn, as they existed in two of the southern African regions in which Greathead had been active. These two diverse regions are the eastern Cape districts of Albany, Bathurst and Fort Beaufort on the one hand and the Transvaal Lowveld on the other, both of which have remained important focuses for recreational hunting and game preservation/nature conservation in South Africa into the early twenty-first century.

The focus of this study was to identify and interrogate individuals and practices so as to create a comprehensive picture of the hunting communities, and the competing interests in obtaining access to game animals in these two regions, rather than being obliged to rely upon the activities of the well-known participants or resort to generalizations without a name, face or identity.

The unveiling of the identities and tracing the networks of the role-players in the eastern Cape was made possible through an in depth analysis of the records of the Department of Agriculture and its predecessor the Colonial Office, covering the period from approximately 1888 to 1905, presently held by the Cape Archives Repository at Roeland Street, Cape Town. These records, which exist for every magisterial district in the Cape Colony in which listed or royal game occurred, not only contain expressions of government policy relating to the control of access to game but also include written applications and motivations submitted by prospective hunters seeking permits in terms of Section 4 of the Game Law, 1886 to shoot listed or royal game. These listed animals included all the larger game animals such as elephant, buffalo, kudu and gemsbok. Through a process of identifying the identities of the applicants, the motivations offered and the marginal notes made on the applications by Departmental officials during the administrative process, a picture emerged of the policies of the Department and the identities, background, occupation, age, class and race of the individuals who were granted these permits as also those to whom permits were refused. It also became possible to discern the potential for the use (and misuse) of influence and connection in obtaining the grant of permits and the scope for cronyism and corruption. The correspondence of the local Civil Commissioners and members of the staff of Joseph Lister, Conservator of Forests in

¹⁰⁸ Gess, David W. *The African Hunting and Travel Journals of J.B.S. Greathead, 1884-1910*. Cape Town: Creda, 2005.

the Eastern Conservancy (stationed in King Williamstown) provide valuable insights into issues such as African hunting, poaching by both Africans and whites in Crown Forests, and early proposals for setting land aside for game reserves in the region.

These Departmental records not only provided insight into the identity of the hunters but also into the background and identity of the officials of the Cape Civil Service charged with administering the permit system. Their marginalia, identified by their initials and the date, provide clues to their personal views and opinions that are absent from official reports. During the course of this research one individual loomed large in the files, in the person of William John Jorten Warneford. A former imperial officer, serving until 1892 on the staff of the Department of Agriculture in Cape Town, he was transferred at his own request as Chief Clerk to the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for the Bathurst district and stationed in Port Alfred. From there, until his retirement in 1904, he kept up a constant stream of correspondence with the Department relating to hunting and game preservation, as well as persistently using personal influence to seek permits to shoot buffalo for himself and his friends. The picture that emerges offers insights into influence and connection in relation to local hunting and the workings of the Cape Civil Service.

Further primary evidence relating to hunting in the eastern Cape for “scientific purposes” and the collection and exchange of specimens for museum purposes was located in the archives of the Albany Museum in Grahamstown, in particular the correspondence of Dr Selmar Schönland, director of the museum from 1889 to 1910. Information relating to the Koonap Farmer’s Association was obtained from the Register of Members and the Minute Books of the Association held by the Cory Library at Rhodes University in Grahamstown.

The identity and connection between individuals involved in hunting in the eastern Cape region was explored through the use of published sources such as gazetteers of the time; the published Registers of boys attending St. Andrew’s College in Grahamstown (published in 1902, 1914 and 1959) which contain biographies of each pupil that attended the school since 1855; family histories of prominent local families involved in hunting such as the Barbers, Bowkers and Whites; and histories of local societies such as those of the freemasons which contain lists of members and office holders.

The identification and interrogation of individuals participating in hunting in the north-eastern Transvaal required another approach. Unlike the eastern Cape, in respect of which there are few

published accounts of hunting during the late nineteenth century, a number of published accounts do exist for the Lowveld, albeit that these accounts tend to focus on the same well known individuals or “big men” such as James Stevenson-Hamilton, Harry Wolhuter, Abel Erasmus and Henry T. Glynn of Sabie. In seeking to find the “lost hunters” it was necessary to attempt to find information concerning these other hunters, who included imperial sportsmen, colonial hunters on vacation and African hunters. One route was to scour the existing published accounts for references to other hunters, even if their possible identities in hunting tales were hidden from contemporary readers through the use of initials rather than names. Greathead’s detailed record of the Lowveld during the 1893 winter hunting season proved to be a valuable resource, as were the approximately 100 photographic images taken by him that year. An often entirely overlooked source is to be found in Ivan Mitford-Barberton’s histories of the Barber and Bowker families which reveal some detail about colonial recreational sportsmen such as the brothers Alec and Russell Bowker and Fred and Hal Barber.¹⁰⁹ A further approach, from a different angle, was to seek to identify the “lost hunters” through examining the Rowland Ward *Records of Big Game* published during the period, to identify the names of owners of record trophies from the region and then investigate the possible presence and activities of these individuals in the region. This proved to be a useful approach that could be used fruitfully in identifying “lost” elite imperial and colonial sportsmen in other region, although the source is by its nature limited to those trophy hunters who either made use of the services of this fashionable London firm as taxidermists or sent in records for the purposes of publication pursuant to the fierce competition within the hunting community to shoot the largest or most magnificent specimens of game animals.¹¹⁰

In addition to teasing information from these primary sources, a broad survey was conducted of contemporary publications in the search for the identity and narrative of hunters of all kinds and persuasions in both regions.

¹⁰⁹ Mitford-Barberton, Ivan. *The Barbers of the Peak: A History of the Barber, Atherstone and Bowker Families*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934 and Ivan and Raymond Mitford-Barberton. *The Bowkers of Tharfield*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952.

¹¹⁰ The first edition appeared in 1892 as Ward, Rowland. *Horn Measurements and Weights of the Great Game of the World: being a record for the use of sportsmen and naturalists*. London: Rowland Ward, 1892. This edition contained few records for Southern Africa other than those trophies secured by men such as F.C. Selous and W.C. Oswald. By the time of the publication of the third edition in 1899 (Ward, Rowland, *Records of Big Game*, London: Rowland Ward, 1899), a considerable number of additional records for Southern Africa had been added and this trend continued with the sixth edition published in 1910 (Ward, Rowland, *Records of Big Game*, London: Rowland Ward, 1910).

An important additional source of information relating to the historical incidence and status of mammals, including game animals, in the Cape Colony/Cape Province, brought together from written and oral sources, are the two volumes of information collected together by C.J. (Jack) Skead, the second editions of which were edited by Andre Boshoff, Graham Kerley and Peter Lloyd.¹¹¹

Photographic images

A further important resource in the search for identity was through Greathead's photographic images of hunters and hunting scenes taken in the north-eastern Transvaal during 1893 and in the eastern Cape over the period 1890 to 1906. Many of the shortcomings in considering images do not apply in this collection.¹¹² In the first place the photographs are not divorced from the photographer, in that his identity, occupation and life experiences – all of which would have subjectively affected the composition of the images – are known. Secondly, almost his entire photographic work, the bulk of which is made up of images taken on hunting trips, has survived. The total number of glass plates, exposed during the period 1888 to 1910, numbers just over 500. The survivals include the “duplicates” and the images that were packed separately as “rejects”, being considered unsuccessful for one or other reason. Lists of the descriptions of most of the images, in the hand of the photographer, mostly in the form of “captions”, have survived and almost every image can be dated to the exact day upon which it was captured. In addition, his diaries often make reference to the taking of the image, including on occasion the arrangements or the difficulties encountered in securing the desired picture.

The use of photographs has been recognized as an important source of evidence, particularly in the context of Africa and colonialism.¹¹³ Images require to be approached with the same caution that

¹¹¹ Skead, C.J. *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape*, edited by Andre Boshoff, Graham Kerley and Peter Lloyd, Port Elizabeth: Nelson Mandela University, 2007; and Skead, C.J. *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Northern and Western Cape*, edited by Andre Boshoff, Graham Kerley and Peter Lloyd, Port Elizabeth: Nelson Mandela University, 2011.

¹¹² The problem of the absence of context to assist in situating many available images, which affects the applicability and legitimacy of “visual history” has been identified by Patricia Hayes and Andrew Banks. “Introduction,” *Kronos*, 27, Visual History (Nov. 2001), 1-14 esp. at 7-8.

¹¹³ Ranger, Terence. “Colonialism, Consciousness and the Camera. Review Article,” *Past and Present*, 171 (May 2001), 203-215. Collections of South African images have been reproduced in a number of recent books, often without detailed commentary or analysis, such as Schoeman, Karel. *The Face of the Country: a South African family album, 1860-1910*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau, 1996; Mona de Beer and Brian Barker. *A Vision of the Past: South African Photographs 1843-1910*. Cape Town: Struik, 1992; Fabb, John. *The British Empire from photographs: Africa*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1987; Michael Stevenson and Michael Graham-Stewart. *Surviving the Lens: Photographic Studies of South and East African People, 1870-1920*. Cape Town: Fernwood Press, 2001.

must be taken in considering any other kind of historical document. Photographs are not objective representations of the scenes they depict any more than written narratives, and represent the subjectively selected (and often deliberately posed) composition that the photographer or the subject chose to capture. It has been correctly pointed out by Jennifer Tucker in this regard that:

many of the same questions must be asked of photographs as of any other type of historical source. Who took the photograph? To whom is the photograph addressed? To whom was it given? How was it circulated, and with what effects?¹¹⁴

Patricia Spyer in a review of *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the making of Namibian History*,¹¹⁵ the groundbreaking work edited by Wolfram Hartman, Jeremy Silvester and Patricia Hayes, refers to the methodological caution of George Stocking in *The Camera Eye as I Witness* in the approach to the analysis of photographs, that “with due regard to how it got there, what is on the surface of the photograph ought to constrain as well as to provoke interpretation”.¹¹⁶ She argues that in the analysis of images consideration must be given to the identification of the meaning or “unspoken” message that is to be discerned beneath the surface. Paul Landau, who also contributed a chapter to the same work, examines hunting photographs and suggests that consideration must be given to what such images do not show, and comments (with reference to the images taken by Hahn and Dickman in Namibia) that there are “few Africans framed or posed in the way white men are, because that would not be useful to the picture makers, suggesting that, like much outdoor colonial photography in Africa, their images register and naturalize white people’s claim to control African landscapes. Their hunting photos in particular assert the mastery of white men over the Namibian environment by displaying the results of white men killing part of that environment”, but adds that “Dickman also exceptionally photographed African Hunters and assistants”.¹¹⁷ In her introduction

In depth analyses have been undertaken in respect of photographs in the understanding of colonial Namibia, such as Wolfram Hartman, Jeremy Silvester and Patricia Hayes (editors). *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the making of Namibian History*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1998, and Wolfram Hartman. *Hues between black and white: Historical photography from colonial Namibia, 1860’s to 1915*. Windhoek: Out of Africa, 2004.

¹¹⁴ Jennifer Tucker in collaboration with Tina Compt. “Entwined Practices: Engagements with Photography in Historical Enquiry,” *History and Theory*, Theme Issue 48 (Dec. 2009), 1-8, Wesleyan University 2009.

¹¹⁵ Wolfram Hartman, Jeremy Silvester and Patricia Hayes, (editors). *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the making of Namibian History*, Cape Town: University of South Africa, 1998.

¹¹⁶ Spyer, Patricia. “Photography’s Framings and Unframings: A Review Article,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 43: 1 (Jan. 2001), 181-192, esp. at 189.

¹¹⁷ Landau, Paul. “Hunting with Gun and Camera: A Commentary,” in *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the making of Namibian History*, edited by Wolfram Hartman, Jeremy Silvester and Patricia Hayes. Cape Town: University of South Africa, 1998, 151-155. Paul Landau also contributed a chapter on the depiction of the San entitled “With Camera and Gun in Southern Africa: Inventing the Image of Bushmen, c 1880 to 1935,” to *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushman*, edited by Pippa Skotnes. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1996, 29-141.

to the same work, Patricia Hayes refers to the concept of the “colonial photographer”, in whose photographs the colonized were perceived more as “objects” than as “subjects”.

Greathead’s images, a selection of which are reproduced in this study, are of particular value as supporting evidence as to identities in that they include images not only of white hunters but also of Africans as “subjects” rather than “objects”, this message being confirmed by the inclusion of their names in the captions.

STRUCTURE AND CHAPTER LAYOUT

The first of the four chapters that follows identifies and interrogates the identity of individual participants engaging in hunting practices in pursuit of different species of game animals in the broader eastern Cape during the closing two decades of the nineteenth century and the opening decade of the twentieth.

The two chapters that follow focus on the identity of hunters of two royal game species occurring in the eastern Cape, namely the buffalo of the Albany and Bathurst districts and kudu in the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts, and examine issues of game on private and public land and the associated theme of “commodification” of wild animals; competition between urban and rural sportsmen; class and connection; the “right” to the game; and the exclusion of Africans and subsistence hunters from participation in hunting.

The fourth chapter considers the identity and activities of hunters in the Transvaal Lowveld, an area in which wild animals remained in public ownership and commercial hunting for hides and skins flourished alongside the competing interests of visiting imperial sportsmen, colonial sportsmen on vacation from other regions of southern Africa; local residents making a business of guiding visiting sportsmen on hunting excursions; and African hunters openly engaging in sport with traditional weapons or utilizing firearms in defiance of the law.

This dissertation thus endeavors, by interrogating human identities and practices during this period of transition, to make a contribution to the understanding of hunting and game conservation in South Africa and shine a further light into the complexity and shifting nuances of gender, race, class and power.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RIGHT TO HUNT: LOCAL HUNTING COMMUNITIES IN THE EASTERN CAPE COLONY DURING THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

The different areas and regions of the late nineteenth century Cape Colony were not homogenous either as to the landscape, the hunted or the hunters. The consequence was the development of diverse urban and rural local hunting communities and local hunting traditions, influenced by the species of animals that were hunted, the terrain and conditions of the hunt and the identity of the hunters. Each group of the hunted had its own hunters, with hunting methods suited to the purpose, and the more desirable the hunted the greater the competition amongst the hunters for the right to hunt.

Within the eastern Cape, by way of example, the spiral horned kudu of the Fish River bush; the retiring buffalo of the Kowie forests; the shy bushbuck of the thickets¹¹⁸ and the springbuck of the plains¹¹⁹ all had local hunting communities that pursued them, replacing their natural predators that had long since disappeared.¹²⁰ These symbiotic interactions between the hunted and their hunters differed in their turn from the pursuit of the gemsbok in the dry sands of the Kalahari of the northern Cape or social hunts by dwellers in the colonial metropole of Cape Town. The urban dwellers and the rural gentry and their friends organized themselves in different ways to respond to the challenges of obtaining access to game. It will be argued that it is accordingly impossible to speak in general terms of “hunting in the Cape Colony”, or of the “hunting traditions of the Cape Colony”.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Van Sittert, Lance. “Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemic,” *South African Historical Journal*, 48:1 (2003), 207-234.

¹¹⁹ Roche, Chris. “‘Fighting their battles o’er again’: the springbok Hunt in Graaff-Reinet, 1860-1908,” *Kronos*, 29, Environmental History (Nov. 2003), 86-108. Local springbok hunting in the Graaff-Reinet area is also considered by William Beinart in “The Farmer as a Conservationist: Sidney Rubidge at Wellwood, Graaff-Reinet, 1913-1952,” in *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock and the Environment 1770-1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, 304-331.

¹²⁰ Other hunting communities, such as the African hunters of the Transkei are considered in Tropp, Jacob. “Dogs, Poison and the Meaning of Colonial Intervention in the Transkei, South Africa,” *Journal of African History*, 43 (2002), 451-472

¹²¹ For studies on themes of hunting in the Cape Colony see: Mackenzie, John M. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988. Van Sittert, Lance. “Bringing in the Wild: The Commodification of Wild Animals in the Cape Colony/Province c 1850-1950,” *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), 269-291. Cape environmental history is reviewed in Jacobs, Nancy. “Latitudes and

This chapter will argue that, in considering what Karen Brown¹²² describes as the “rhetoric and practice of game conservation” in the eastern Cape a clear distinction requires to be drawn between the voluntary practices applied or allowed by private landowners on their own land and the practices with regard to the use, control and purpose of game on public or crown land.

This essay considers, through the identification and interrogation of the identity of individual participants, a selection of disparate communities of hunters of a variety of animals in the broader eastern Cape region during the closing two decades of the 19th Century and the opening decade of the 20th as a contribution to the development of a more nuanced social history of hunting in the region.¹²³

Hunting Communities in the eastern Cape

By the 1880’s the land of the eastern districts of the Cape Colony west of the Great Fish River was in private ownership, mostly by stock farmers, the state retaining ownership of Crown land in areas such as the Kowie Forest. To the east of the Great Fish River much of the land remained in communal ownership but the Crown, through the Conservator of Forests, Eastern Conservancy stationed in King Williamstown, controlled forested areas such as the Pirie and Amatola Forests. Any consideration of hunting in the Cape Colony must of necessity commence with an examination of the ownership and control over the land, and by extension the wild animals that occurred on that land.

Ownership of the land on which the game occurred was the primary determinate of the right to hunt, particularly after the introduction in the Cape Colony of the Game Law, 1886 and the increasing enclosure of farmland since the 1880’s. A landowner could prevent others from hunting wild animals on his land and, in the case of the hunting of royal game, no permit would be granted

Longitudes: comparative perspectives on Cape environmental history,” *Kronos*, 29, Environmental History (Nov. 2003), 7-29.

¹²² Brown, Karen. “Cultural Constructions of the Wild: The Rhetoric and Practice of Wildlife Conservation in the Cape Colony at the turn of the Twentieth Century,” *South African Historical Journal*, 47 (Nov. 2002), 75 – 95.

¹²³ The development of a social history of hunting in Kenya, another region of British imperial and colonial enterprise, has received the attention of Edward Steinhart, who has recognized the need to interrogate the different varieties of white and African hunters, identify representative exponents of these categories, and consider their social and class identity. Steinhart, Edward I. “Hunters, Poachers and Gamekeepers: Towards a Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya,” *The Journal of African History*, 30: 2 (1989), 247-264. This paper was followed by Steinhart, Edward I. *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya*. Oxford: James Currey, 2006.

to shoot on private land without the prior written consent of the landowner. Thus although wild animals were considered according to the Roman Dutch common law as being incapable of being owned (in legal terms as “res nullius”), the landowner effectively controlled the right to hunt those animals for so long as they were present on his land.¹²⁴ One of the most significant developments in the game legislation was the abolition of the onerous precondition that an owner of land was required to publish his desire to protect the game on his land (without which the consequences of unlawful killing on game did not come into operation) and its replacement with a general prohibition of killing game on the land of another without his permission, regardless of whether there had been any publication or not. This represented a final departure from the concept that game on private land might be killed by members of the public (which favored the traditional Boer concept of being allowed to hunt for the pot in the countryside) and its replacement with the protection of all game on private land in the interests of the landowner. The amendment closed a loophole that had been used to great advantage by hunters who killed animals on other people’s land. An example of an acquittal in Court, on the ground of a failure of the prosecutor to prove the necessary publication in a “local newspaper”, is reported in an appeal heard by the Cape Supreme Court in 1904.¹²⁵ The accused, both of whom claimed to be sportsmen, were charged with shooting and killing a buck on private farmland without the consent of the owner. The owner had in fact published a warning in a newspaper circulating in the Paarl district that he was desirous of preserving the game on his farm, but the accused were acquitted on a technicality because publication was not proved in the correct manner.

William Scully refers to the rights available to the landowner and the limitations of protection of game.¹²⁶ He hunted in the Tarkastad district during the late 1870’s where he commenced his career in the Cape Civil Service as clerk to the local Civil Commissioner. He had the run of every farm in the district except that of a local farmer named Hattingh who refused him permission to shoot. After Scully on one occasion pursued a wounded buck into Hattingh’s veld and there killed it, Hattingh reacted by publishing a notice in the next issue of the Tarka Herald warning Scully by name never to set foot on his land again. Hattingh’s warning however failed because his land was not enclosed. The springbuck spent the days on the sanctuary of Hattingh’s land and went over to the neighbor’s land to graze at night. Scully in turn responded by adopting the strategy of stampeding the animals

¹²⁴ Couzens, E.D. “Only half a penguin a day: The early history of wildlife law in South Africa,” in *The exemplary scholar: Essays in honour of John Milton*, edited by S.V.Hoctor and P.J.Schwikkard. Cape Town: Juta 2007, 207-235.

¹²⁵ *Rex v Enslin and Moll* (1904) 21 SC 401.

¹²⁶ Scully, William C. *Further Reminiscences of a South African Pioneer*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913, 41- 42.

by night deep into the adjoining veld where he had permission and then shooting them with impunity in the early dawn.

A secondary determinate of the right to hunt was the policy of the authorities towards the hunting of particular animal species. The Cape Colony's Game Law 1886 made detailed provision for control over the hunting of animals, and recognized the rights of the landowner to shoot the game upon his private land. The Act required all sportsmen (other than landowners hunting on their own land) to hold and pay fees for licenses issued by the Resident Magistrate for the hunting of game other than specially protected or "royal game" (which included kudu and buffalo). Hunters of "royal game" required the issue of a special permit (initially free of charge) by the Department of Agriculture in addition the consent of the landowner. Even landowners were not permitted to shoot royal game on their private land without the grant of a permit by the authorities.

The effect of the Game Law, combined with private land ownership, has been identified by van Sittert as a move towards private rather than public ownership of game in the Cape Colony propelled by a rural rather than an urban elite. This recognition, and the effect of the enclosure of private land by fencing contributed to the "commodification" of game in private hands.¹²⁷ As is pointed out by van Sittert,¹²⁸ and noted by the well known ostrich pioneer Arthur Douglass,¹²⁹ the increased enclosure of farmland by fencing, financed and necessitated by the introduction of large scale ostrich farming, advanced rapidly in the 1880's.

Although van Sittert analyzed the number of hunting licenses issued annually in the Cape Colony, and determined their geographical distribution, these statistics do not disclose the species and localities of animals shot nor provide any evidence as to the identity of the hunters, patterns of ownership of land on which the game occurred, or of the local hunting communities. His study considers recreational hunting in general terms without separate consideration of the dynamics of the hunting of the various categories of game animals in different localities. In the case of the hunting of royal game this evidence is available in respect of each permit issued. The number of permits issued annually to hunt royal game would not have satisfied the demands of the thousands

¹²⁷ Van Sittert, Lance. "Bringing in the Wild," 269-91.

¹²⁸ Van Sittert, Lance. "Holding the Line: The Rural Enclosure Movement in the Cape Colony, c 1865-1910," *Journal of African History*, 43 (2002), 95-118. Van Sittert, Lance. "Bringing in the Wild," 269-91.

¹²⁹ Douglass, Arthur. *Ostrich Farming In South Africa*, London: Cassell, Peter, Galpin & Co, 1881, 29.

of aspirant hunters in the Cape Colony who purchased game licenses, and only the fortunate few could enjoy hunting royal game.¹³⁰

Year	Permits	Buffalo	Permits	Kudu	Permits	Elephant
1898	15	24	208	279		
1899	8	20	212	171	1	1
1900	2	3	21	40		
1901	6	7	64	75		
1902	4	6	123	172		
1903	12	15	134	169		
1904	37	40	201	298		

Schedule 1: Number and species of big game for which permits were granted for the eastern Cape Colony for the years 1898 to 1904.

The number of permits to shoot big game granted by the Under Secretary for Agriculture in the area of the Eastern Conservancy for the years 1898 to 1904, as they appear from the reports of Lister, are summarized in the table above.¹³¹ During the seven years 1898 to 1904, a total of 963 permits were issued for the hunting of 1204 kudu, being an annual average of 138 to sportsmen for the Albany, Fort Beaufort and Uitenhage districts combined, with an annual average for the years 1901 to 1903 of just 26 permits for the Albany and 34 for Fort Beaufort Districts, compared with the total number of hunting licenses (as opposed to special permits) issued annually in the Cape Colony. Van Sittert calculated that a total of 125 000,00 hunting licenses were issued for the 25 years from 1886 to 1911, being an annual average of some 5000 licenses per annum and claimed a “boom” in sport hunting during the period, attributing this to sport hunting amongst the urban middle class centered on urban centers such as Cape Town in the west and Port Elizabeth in the east, and describing the

¹³⁰ Lance van Sittert calculates in “Bringing in the Wild,” 278-279 that 125 000,00 hunting licenses were issued in the Cape Colony as a whole during the twenty five years after 1886, at an average of 5000 permits per annum.

¹³¹ *Cape of Good Hope, Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1902*, Cape Town: Cape Times, 1903, 106-107. *Cape of Good Hope, Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the nine months ended 30 September 1904*, Cape Town: Cape Times, 1905.

distribution map of the issue of sports licenses as a reflection of “the social geography of sports hunting”.¹³²

The table provides confirmation of what may be described as different layers of elite hunting, with a limited few having access to the limited number of permits granted for royal game, the overwhelming majority of the sportsmen having to be content with a lower tier of privilege. On the basis of a crude comparison, approximately 3 % of the sportsmen to whom hunting licenses were issued for the eastern part of the Cape Colony were lawfully permitted to shoot a kudu bull and even fewer a buffalo or an elephant. An analysis of the permits granted for the shooting of gemsbok in the Northern Cape indicates that the participation by urban sportsmen from centers such as Cape Town or Kimberley was negligible.¹³³ The urban sportsmen were accordingly almost entirely excluded from hunting royal game and obliged to focus their attention upon other forms of hunting such as the pursuit of smaller antelope including springbuck and game birds.

The various different local hunting cultures that developed in the eastern Cape in the late nineteenth century were strongly influenced by the influx and settlement of British settlers in the region after 1820. During the years that followed what might be described as colonial hunting and sporting cultures developed similar to that to be found at the time in Great Britain, albeit with certain significant differences as a consequence of being transplanted to southern Africa.

Hunting Royal Game

Kudu

The largest and most desirable antelope in the eastern Cape, at the apex of the pyramid filled in Britain by the stag, was the spiraled horned kudu, its head and horns constituting an impressive and highly prized trophy for the sportsman. By the late 1880's these animals were, apart from a population in the Uitenhage district, predominantly distributed within the Upper Albany district to the north of Grahamstown and towards Fort Beaufort in the valleys of the Great Fish and Koonap rivers, and were found almost exclusively on private land. This land was predominantly in the hands of English speaking farmers, who exercised control over access to kudu hunting.

¹³² Van Sittert, Lance. “Bringing in the Wild,” 269-91.

¹³³ The permits to shoot royal game in Namaqualand and the northern Cape, and in particular gemsbok, are preserved in the Cape Archives Repository (CAB) under Agr 209, Ref 1581 and Agr 375, Ref 1585.

The initiative to preserve kudu for sporting purposes originated with the farmers themselves and not from the State, the initiative coming from leading local landowners and keen hunters such as George S. Tomlinson and Kemp Knott, both of whom controlled extensive landholdings in the Koonap River valley between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort. The records of the Department of Agriculture, which confirm the maintenance of the kudu populations and their gradual growth, show that the “commodification” of the kudu, and the value placed upon it by land owners and recreational hunters, ensured its survival and increase. Karen Brown has correctly emphasized, in this context, the development of a consciousness for wildlife conservation in the Cape, concluding that it was “in reality the economic and sporting instincts of farmers, rather than state-managed land initiatives, that remained integral to faunistic conservation.”¹³⁴

During the latter nineteenth century, and commencing in the 1870’s, mainly English speaking farmers of the eastern Cape Colony organized themselves into local Farmers Associations, affiliated to a centralized Congress, that provided a platform from which to articulate and present the interests of landowners to government. The landowners of the Koonap established the Koonap Heights Farmers Protection Society (later known as the Koonap Farmers Association) in 1889, and similar farmers associations were formed for Upper Albany, Lower Albany and Victoria East.¹³⁵ The founders of the Koonap Farmers Association were the elite farmers of the district, who were also at the forefront of kudu preservation and sports hunting, and included George S. Tomlinson of Lanka, William Tomlinson, Kemp Knott of Botha’s Post and George Johnson. Membership of the Association at one time reached as many as one hundred individuals, and included seven members of the Tomlinson family of Lanka and Koonap Heights; five of the Knott family of Botha’s Post; and a number of the Douglass family of Heatherton Towers. Membership was not limited to English speakers and included a minority of Dutch speakers with names such as Du Preez and Nel, both of which families also preserved kudu on their land for sporting purposes. A comparison of the holders of permits issued by the Department to shoot kudu in the Koonap area (which fell within the Fort Beaufort magisterial district)¹³⁶ with the register of members of the Association¹³⁷ confirms that most of the landowners on whose farms kudu occurred and were hunted were Association

¹³⁴ Brown, Karen. “Cultural Constructions of the Wild,” 75 – 95.

¹³⁵ White, T. “A community in our midst: A brief history of the Koonap Farmer’s Association over its first hundred years,” in *Koonap Farmers Association 1889-1989*, Grahamstown: privately published, c 1989, 25-45.

¹³⁶ The records of the Department of Agriculture, with regard to the applications for and grant of permits to shoot kudu in the Fort Beaufort district are found in the CAB in Agr 209, Ref 1582 (1889-1895), Agr 375, Ref 1582 (1905) and Agr 376, Ref 1596.

¹³⁷ Register of Members the Koonap Farmers Association, Cory Library, Rhodes University, MS 17877/1.

members. The chief objects of the Association were the suppression of stock thefts, the holding of periodic stock fairs and the destruction of so-called “noxious animals” or vermin.¹³⁸ White states that from 1892 onwards the Association took the protection of game seriously and became increasingly active in that regard.¹³⁹ Some of the leading landowners in the Koonap were also prominent members of societies such as a lodge of freemasons, William George Tomlinson (as senior deacon) and Benjamin Tomlinson of the farm Koonap Heights being members of St. John’s Lodge No 828 of Grahamstown.¹⁴⁰ Another indication of connection appears from the list of eight honorary members of the Farmer’s Association, all of whom were not themselves farmers but were perceived to be of assistance to the members. The eight honorary members include Dr. Selmar Schönland, (Director of the Albany Museum in Grahamstown and for whom the members regularly made available kudu and other antelope for “scientific purposes”); Augustus W. Preston (Clerk to the Civil Commissioner of Fort Beaufort and a keen hunter who was regularly invited to hunt on local farms¹⁴¹); and five professionals active in work on diseases occurring in cattle, including lung sickness and rinderpest. One of these honorary members was Jotello Festiri Soga, fourth son of Rev Tiyo Soga and the first South African born veterinary surgeon, stationed at Fort Beaufort.¹⁴² Soga’s honorary membership, notwithstanding his being the son of a Xhosa father, is another indicator of the importance of class as opposed to race as a social qualifier.

Most of the members of the Farmers Association, first generation born in Africa, still associated closely with what they perceived as their British motherland and were supporters of the imperial policies of Alfred Milner. A meeting on 11 April 1900, under the chairmanship of Arthur Douglass of Heatherton Towers, approved a motion introduced by George Johnson that the “association

¹³⁸ The conflict between commercial stock farming and wild animals such as the jackal, which were described as “vermin” is considered in Van Sittert, Lance. “‘Keeping the enemy at Bay’: The Extermination of Wild Carnivora in the Cape Colony, 1889-1910,” *Environmental History*. 3: 3 (Jul. 1998), 333-356 and Beinart, William. “The Night of the Jackal: Sheep, Pastures and Predators, 1890-1930,” in *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock and the Environment 1770-1950*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, 195-234.

¹³⁹ White, T. “A community in our midst,” 27. Unfortunately White’s statement regarding kudu could not be verified. Certain of the Minute Books of the Koonap Farmer’s Association have been lodged in the Cory Library, Rhodes University. The earliest minute book (Ref MS 1786/1) is that for the period 1897 onwards and on perusal of this Minute Book no mention could be found relating to kudu during the period 1897 to 1905. Enquiries made to the present executive of the Koonap Farmers Association did not result in the location of the missing minute book.

¹⁴⁰ Drury, Edward Guy Dru. *United Lodge of Instruction No 389, Grahamstown. A Chronicle of St John’s Lodge no 828* and Bate O. H. *Some Notes on South African Masonic History*, London: Spencer & Co, 1906.

¹⁴¹ Augustus William Preston, Chief Clerk to the Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort, 1892-1897, later promoted to Resident Magistrate at Herschel. Kilpin, Ernest F. *Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1908*. Cape Town: Cape Times, 1908, 386.

¹⁴² Jotello Festiri Soga (1865 – 1906), first South African veterinary surgeon and fourth son of Rev Tiyo Soga, a Xhosa, and his wife Janet Burnside. After graduating in 1886 at the Royal Veterinary College at Edinburgh, Soga entered the Cape Civil Service and was stationed from 1889 in Fort Beaufort, it being noted that his work on diseases of animals was appreciated and accepted by all sections of the farming population. *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. iii, 746-747.

approves of Sir Alfred Milner's policy since his arrival on South African shores and hopes that he will be spared to see us united and living as one peaceable people under the dear old Flag."¹⁴³ On the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, the members unanimously passed a resolution, at which all members present stood up, expressing loss "which the whole Empire has sustained at the loss of our beloved Queen, whose long and glorious reign and noble example has endeared the hearts of her subjects that no sovereign has done before in the history of the world."¹⁴⁴

Soon after the promulgation of Game Law in 1886 the authorities used their powers to prohibit kudu hunting in both the Fort Beaufort District (from 1888 to 1894) and the Albany District (from 1888 to 1891), measures that were extremely unpopular with landowners such as G. S. Tomlinson, who were already engaged in voluntary game preservation, and particularly when their requests for special treatment or exceptions were turned down and they were obliged to wait for the end of the prohibition in 1894.¹⁴⁵ Compliance in the face of such prohibitions, particularly in relation to private land, was inevitably dependent upon the co-operation of the landowners and their willingness to obey the law.

The development of a local kudu hunting culture was conditioned by the limited number of permits granted by the authorities. Except for large farming blocks such as Lanka and Botha's Post, only one permit was granted annually to hunt on each farm, usually for one named sportsman to hunt a kudu bull. Permits were not transferable from one sportsman to another and so, at least nominally, the permit holder was required to have killed the animal. The hunt was a social occasion when the permit holder, perhaps with one or two friends, came together, enjoyed camaraderie and companionship, and sought to secure the (usually single) kudu trophy. Hunting parties might be made up of local farmers or sportsmen invited by the landowner from towns such as Grahamstown, mostly successful professionals or businessman and often connected by family or through common school attendance. The hunting party tended to enjoy the hospitality of the landowner and his family for a weekend if not longer; hunting took place with rifles only and not with other weapons; hunting did not take place at night and Sunday was usually observed as a dies non; only bulls were

¹⁴³ Cory Library, Rhodes University. MS 17876/1. Minutes of the Annual Meeting held at the Richmond Hotel on 11 April 1900.

¹⁴⁴ Cory Library, Rhodes University. MS 17876/1. Minutes of the Annual Meeting held at the Richmond Hotel on 8 February 1901. The meeting was attended by 22 members, including all the prominent farmers in the district who were leaders in kudu hunting, including Arthur Douglass, M.L.A. in the Chair; George S. Tomlinson (Secretary); Messrs. R. B. and W. Tomlinson; Messrs. K. and J. Knott; A. Kent; J. Humphrey and George Johnson.

¹⁴⁵ The correspondence between George S. Tomlinson and the Department of Agriculture in attempting to secure a permit to shoot a kudu during these years of prohibition can be found in the files of the Cape Department of Agriculture: CAB, Agr 209, Ref 3536 and Agr 209, Ref 1582.

shot and cows and young were left unmolested. The method of hunting also required skill from the hunter, the bulls usually being stalked on foot rather than on horseback and dogs were not utilized to bring the animal to bay. After the hunt the head was borne homewards where, after suitable preparation, it adorned the walls of the sportsman's home, once again in a manner not unlike the antlers of the deer that decorated the walls of the equivalent British home.

The combination of land ownership and the permit system had the effect of limiting the hunting of kudu for the purposes of sport, and precluded the rest of the population almost entirely from kudu hunting, as would have been the case with the hunting of deer in Britain. The opportunity to hunt kudu being reserved to the rural elite, middle class townsman without social or other connections had little if any prospect of engaging in such sport. The records of the Department of Agriculture indicate that no permits to hunt kudu were granted to the urban working class, the African population, or the rural poor. The British and Western European concept of the elite rural hunt came to be transplanted to the eastern Cape, but in a unique way that differed from the established British hunt. The establishment of colonial hunting cultures in other parts of the British Empire such as in New Zealand has recently received attention¹⁴⁶ and the anglophone eastern Cape was similarly the focus of such colonial developments. One of the distinguishing features of the private landowners who controlled game was that they were not, as in Britain, an aristocratic elite with private means. Instead, as is apparent from an analysis of the identity and occupation of permit holders, they represented a newly established colonial elite of successful settlers, mostly first generation born outside Britain, who had succeeded in farming in their adopted country or who had found success in the professions or business. Few of them could have hoped to aspire to possessing game as landowners in Britain, or have engaged in similar recreational sport on private estates in their country of origin. In their new country, in the absence of an established landed aristocracy, they formed the uppermost strata of the rural class structure.¹⁴⁷

Those excluded from lawful hunting resorted to hunting unlawfully or "poaching". Tomlinson complained of the depredations of poachers who unlawfully shot roaming kudu bulls. The demand for desirable kudu trophies to adorn homes exceeded the number of animals for which permits were issued, and sportsmen were prepared to resort to poaching in the quest for trophies. A taxidermist

¹⁴⁶ Hunter, Kathryn M. "New Zealand Hunters in Africa: At the Edges of the Empire of Nature," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40: 3, (Sept. 2012), 483-501.

¹⁴⁷ The establishment of new colonial identities amongst British settlers after their arrival in the eastern Cape in 1820 is considered in Lester, Alan. "Reformulating identities: British settlers in Early Nineteenth-Century South Africa," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 23: 4 (1998), 515-531.

with premises in the Grahamstown High Street was convicted in 1901 of being in possession of 23 kudu trophies without being able to furnish a lawful explanation.¹⁴⁸ All indications are that the offenders were whites, possibly townsmen, as they could afford the services of a taxidermist, and not Africans or the underclasses of the urban or rural poor.

Buffalo

The second big game animal available for hunting in the region, albeit in very limited numbers, was the buffalo of Lower Albany. As is the case with the kudu, the identity of those who applied for and were either granted or refused permits to shoot buffalo can be ascertained from the files of the Department of Agriculture.¹⁴⁹

An exclusionary elite, different in its composition to that of the kudu hunter and sportsman of Upper Albany, tended to develop. One of the important characteristics of the buffalo, and one that probably contributed to local extinction, was that these animals moved freely between Crown Forest and private land. Even if protected in Crown Forests, buffalo were liable to be shot on private land by farmers, and by the same token animals leaving private land might be poached or shot in Crown Forests. The buffalo also tended to cause damage to crops, a consideration not relevant to the dryer area of Upper Albany where stock or ostrich farming was the primary agricultural pursuit. For these reasons the buffalo failed to fall satisfactorily into private ownership and was not subjected to the same form of “commodification” that might have guaranteed their local survival. From at least 1890 leave was refused for all commercial buffalo hunting, leaving the grant of permits to those who wished to engage solely in pure recreational “sport”. In the ensuing years the authorities, faced with declining numbers, sought to limit the numbers of animals for which permits were granted and the categories into which the sportsmen fell. Permits were first denied to applicants from outside the district; after 1894 permits were refused for hunting in Crown Forests; permits were then only granted to a few selected farmers to shoot a single bull on their own land in the belief that the landowner would be encouraged thereby to preserve the remaining

¹⁴⁸ Skead, C. J. *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape* edited by Andre Boshoff, Graham Kerley and Peter Lloyd. Port Elizabeth: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, 2007, 69.

¹⁴⁹ The records of the Department of Agriculture are held by the CAB. For the Magisterial District of Bathurst: Game Permits to Shoot, Bathurst, Agr 209, Ref 1592 (1892-1895) and Agr 376, Ref 1592 (1897 – 1901); For the Magisterial District of Albany, Game Permits to Shoot, Albany, Agr 210, Ref 1596; Agr 211, Ref 1596 (1892 – 1895); and Agr 377, Ref 1596 (1900 – 1904). Further documents are to be found in the Departmental files under “Game Protection”, Agr 67, Ref 234; Agr 68, Ref 234; Agr 69, Ref 238 and 239; Agr 155 Ref 692; and Agr 156, Ref 711.

animals and combat poaching because he himself had been granted a benefit; and finally a total ban on shooting was imposed. In the end, and despite local attempts by a small group of local farmers such as the Kent and Timm families in The Coombs and at Elephant Park on the Fish River to preserve the few remaining animals, local extinction was not avoided.

Buffalo hunts failed to attract the same form of ritual, on the British model, as was the case with the kudu. Hunting techniques differed and the hunt was not dependent upon the skill of single hunter stalking and killing the animal. The buffalo were hunted in the thick riverine bush by groups of hunters supported by teams of beaters (although this practice came to be prohibited in Crown Forests) and packs of dogs were used to bring the animal to bay. Once the dogs had done their work the hunters rushed up and sought to put in a shot before the animals crashed back into the undergrowth. The local buffalo hunting culture was molded by the identity of the landowners onto whose land the buffalo roamed, or whose land abutted the Crown forests in which the animals sought refuge. Socially these farmers on the verges of the Kowie River valley appear to have been generally of a different social class to the Upper Albany and Koonap elite. Whereas many of the landowners of Upper Albany were wealthy, had been schooled at St. Andrew's College in Grahamstown, and included prominent men such as Arthur Douglass, the Member of the Legislative Assembly for Albany, this was not the case with the average Lower Albany farmer. The documents filed in support of permit applications suggest from the handwriting and signatures that many of the farmers were barely literate and clearly lacked anything but a basic education. There is also evidence of widely practiced unlawful buffalo hunting by the farming community, both without a permit and out of season, an activity that the authorities did not have the means or the manpower to police or prevent. On one occasion three white farmers of the Bathurst district were prosecuted and convicted for killing a buffalo out of season and without a permit, it being considered that this would set an example to deter others. There is no record of any similar prosecution of any landowner relating to kudu in the Upper Albany district, perhaps because the sportsman's code was adhered to, although it is possible that the authorities would have been reluctant to take such a step against one of their own class.

Springbuck and the concept of "The Hunt"

For the majority of both rural and urban sportsmen, excluded as they were from access to royal game, hunting was limited to smaller antelope and game birds. Smaller antelope such as springbuck frequented the plains to the north of Grahamstown and towards Bedford and Adelaide and are well

documented in the Karroo areas such as Graaff-Reinet and Colesburg, and other species such as bushbuck and duiker abounded in the thickets of the region. All these animals might be hunted by holders of an ordinary hunting license that could be purchased from the office of the Resident Magistrate, but the limiting factor was the need to obtain permission to hunt either on private land, on municipal commonage or, as the case might be, in Crown forest. The accounts of organized hunts for this game reveal that land ownership and class was once again the factor that determined access to hunting.

Springbuck hunting in the eastern Cape Colony became a social activity compared with the more solitary pursuits of royal game, this being attributed to the higher number of animals that might be shot on a single occasion. Not only did the size of the potential bag allow for larger groups of hunters but it also provided the opportunity for competition amongst sportsmen as to the highest individual score. Plains game such as springbuck offered the opportunity for hunts on horseback, with the associated excitement of the gallop after fleeing game, which was not possible in hunting kudu or bushbuck. The vocabulary of these hunts was of a military nature, references being made to “campaigns” against the massed animals.¹⁵⁰ By the late nineteenth century large herds of springbuck were preserved on enclosed private farmland, on which the animals had been “privatized”, hunting of these animals usually taking place within the fenced area from which the animals were unable to escape.¹⁵¹

Chris Roche has considered the often ritualized springbuck Hunt in the Graaff-Reinet district, parties of selected rural and urban sportsmen being invited by wealthy landowners to participate in organized hunts on their private land, the buck having been preserved for the purpose.¹⁵² These hunts were the occasion for lavish hospitality for those fortunate enough to be invited, and were marked by competition for bag sizes; the presence of official photographers and reports in the local press. The purpose of the large and lavish springbuck shoots held annually on Queen Victoria’s birthday on the farm Wellwood was not merely a social occasion, but also promoted business

¹⁵⁰ Bryden, Henry A. *Kloof and Karroo, Sport, Legend and Natural History in the Cape Colony*. London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1889, 220-234.

¹⁵¹ J. B. Greathead commented, when hunting springbok on the farm Groenfontein on the Dikkop Flats north of Grahamstown during 1891, that the animals were within a fenced area and were driven up against the fence line. Gess, David W. *The African Hunting and Travel Journals of J. B. S. Greathead 1884 – 1910*. Cape Town: Creda, 2005.

¹⁵² Roche, Chris. “‘Fighting their battles o’er again,’” 86-108. Hunting on the farm Wellwood in the Graaff-Reinet district, owned by the Rubidge family is considered by William Beinart in “The Farmer as a Conservationist,” 304-331. A springbok hunt on the enclosed and fenced merino farm of J. B. Evans in the Graaff-Reinet district is described in Bryden, *Kloof and Karroo*, 220-234.

connections, the guests of Charles Rubidge not only including neighbors but also customers for the merino rams from the Wellwood stud.¹⁵³ By the late nineteenth century large hunts were discontinued on Wellwood and replaced by more modest family hunts at Christmas.¹⁵⁴ Annie Martin, the wife of a British immigrant farmer in the Karroo, describes similar organized springbuck hunts held on the Queen's birthday that provided the opportunity for gatherings of large family parties at the host's farm. After the days hunt, at the conclusion of which the buck were arranged side by side on the ground in front of the house as evidence of the men's prowess in the field, families participated in activities such as theatricals and a dance that would last into the early hours of the morning.¹⁵⁵

The documented Springbuck hunts in the Upper Albany district during the late nineteenth century indicate a far less lavish concept of the Hunt, the emphasis being upon a close circle of friends or family, and the absence of the kind of self-conscious publicity exhibited by the socially conscious and wealthy landowners of Graaff-Reinet.

J.B.Greathead, a medical doctor in Grahamstown, participated in a number of Springbuck hunts over the years, usually at a distance of within three hours journey by horse and buggy from Grahamstown, and undertaken over a week's holiday from his medical practice.¹⁵⁶ His accounts are important in that they provide the identities of the participants, thus enabling analysis of who was admitted to these occasions, and confirm that they were enjoyed by an elite group bonded by family connection, marriage or through their common school attendance of the elite St. Andrew's College School in Grahamstown.

These springbuck hunts were held at Eastertide or in June/July each year on the farms of the Cloete, Currie and Norton families on the Dikkop Flats near Carlisle Bridge. The shooting parties tended to be made up of local farmers and their sons, together with guests who travelled out from Grahamstown, the point of contact being common attendance of St. Andrew's College in Grahamstown. The hosts on the farm Groenfontein were the Currie family and the guests from town were school acquaintances, young men in their late 20's or early 30's, such as J.B.Greathead¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Southey, Joan. *Footprints in the Karroo: A story of farming life*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1990, 173.

¹⁵⁴ Beinart, William. "The Farmer as a Conservationist," 304-331 at 327.

¹⁵⁵ Martin, Annie. *Home Life on an Ostrich Farm*. London: George Philip & Son, 1890, 221-223.

¹⁵⁶ Gess, *Travel Journals of J.B.S.Greathead, 1884-1910*.

¹⁵⁷ J. B. Greathead (1854-1910) attended St. Andrew's College between 1869 and 1871 and returned to Grahamstown as a medical doctor in 1879 after qualifying at Edinburgh University.

William Espin¹⁵⁸ and W. H. S. Bell,¹⁵⁹ all members of the professions and keen sports hunters. Other hosts of springbuck hunts at Carlisle Bridge included John Ogilvie Norton of the farm Middleton and Miles Bowker of the farm Thornkloof. It was noted during July 1891 that about 800 springbuck were sighted on Miles Bowker's land, the bag secured by the party on that occasion being 19 head.¹⁶⁰ Miles Bowker was himself a leading member of the local community and a keen hunter, having taken part in big game hunting expeditions to the Transvaal Lowveld during 1888. He also formed part of the St. Andrew's connection, having sent his five sons to the school, the first entering during 1883.

The shooting party on Groenfontein during July 1891 was made up of a small group of friends, including William and Harry Currie, Ned White and Greathead, all Old Andreans. The co-operation within the local landowning community for sporting purposes is evidenced by the manner in which the small shooting party was afforded unrestricted access to the neighboring farms, and enabled to move from farm to farm with the consent of the landowners to try their luck at shooting small antelope, hares and game birds. In this way the group of sportsmen were not limited to a single farm and were able to access game over a considerably larger area in a similar manner as would previously have been available prior to settlement and enclosure.

A selection of images has survived of one of these hunts held on the farm Groenfontein during July 1891, and these provide insights into the chosen self-portrayals and poses of both the sportsmen and the female members of the party.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ William Espin grew up in Grahamstown where his father, Canon Espin, was the headmaster of St Andrew's College. He attended St Andrew's College between 1880 and 1886. After finishing school he first moved to Mashonaland in the 1890's before returning to Grahamstown to practice in Grahamstown as an attorney. He was a keen hunter not only locally in the eastern Cape but also further afield and Greathead met him during September 1899 when he was on a big game shoot on the Pungue in Mozambique.

¹⁵⁹ W.H.S. Bell grew up on the farm Orange Grove in the Albany District where he developed a love of shooting. After attending St. Andrew's College between 1871 and 1873 and qualifying as an attorney he first practiced in Grahamstown and then moved to Johannesburg. Mathews, Arthur. *Register of St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, from 1885 to 1902*. Cape Town: Juta & Co, 1902; Iwema, Harco and H.C. *Register of St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, 1855-1959*, Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry, 1959. Bell, W.H.S. *Bygone Days*. London: H.F.& G. Witherby, 1933.

¹⁶⁰ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 74.

¹⁶¹ The recognition of the importance of photographic images as historical evidence, albeit to be approached with caution, is receiving increased recognition. Patricia Hayes and Andrew Bank. "Introduction," *Kronos*, 27, Visual History (Nov. 2001), 1-14; Wolfram Hartmann, Jeremy Sylvester and Patricia Hayes (editors), *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 1998; Spyer, Patricia. "Photography's Framings and Unframings: A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 43: 1 (Jan. 2001), 181-192.



Figure 1: Posed group of male hunters, watched by the women, at the Groenfontein homestead, July 1891. (Photo: J.B.Greathead)



Figure 2: Enlarged image of the group of hunters at Groenfontein, posing for the camera. Note the hunting jackets, caps and straw boaters on the English model. (Photo: J.B.Greathead)

The first image shows the group of men posing self-consciously in hunter's poses, watched by their female counterparts. Part of the image is separately enlarged. In a further two images the male and female groups pose for the camera in separately. The men consciously present the masculine image, being dressed for the hunt with hunting jackets, caps or straw boaters, some even wearing ties and

hold their rifles as though ready for action. At their feet are their dogs and the fallen or defeated springbuck are scattered on the ground.



Figure 3: The male members of a hunting party at Groenfontein, Dikkop Flats, 1891. (Photo: J.B.Greathead)



Figure 4: The female members of the party, posing against the same backdrop as the men. Note the woman on the far left posing with a book, and an open book rests strategically placed on the lap of the young girl in the front row. (Photo: J.B.Greathead)

When it is their turn, the women, the younger of whom are dressed in long white dresses despite the dust, choose a clearly feminine presentation. In an emphasis of the female role, as opposed to the male presentation, the fallen buck are not included in the image but two of the women hold books, articulating culture and reading. Both of these groups copy the mode of dress and presentation of the equivalent class in Britain, but against the backdrop of an African environment. Were the landscape to be exchanged for that of the England and the game for deer or pheasant it might be difficult to identify the images as being of an African sporting weekend.

Springbuck hunts were also arranged on the farm Kopleegte, to the north of Grahamstown, during 1888, 1889 and 1891, participated in by a small group of friends to the exclusion of mass hunters or outsiders. The absence of any mention of a host suggests that the farm was hired for the hunt as opposed to the hunting party being the guests of the owner.



Figure 5: A days campaign against springbuck – 115 buck in one day. The farm Kopleegte in the Adelaide district, July 1888. (Photo: J.B.Greathead)

The 1888 hunt lasted two days, 115 buck being shot. That held during 1889 lasted three days, and 29 buck were shot on the first day and 19 on the second by a party of five sportsmen. Four of the five members of the party, J.B. Greathead, Alfred White, Dennison L. Clarke and Jack (John

Ogilvie) Norton once again being associated with St. Andrew's.¹⁶² White and Norton were both landowners with full time farming interests and Greathead and Dennison Clarke, although both lived in Grahamstown, owned farms in the region.

The shooting party at Kopleegte during June 1891 was made up of J.B. Greathead, Alfred White, Dennison L. Clarke, Robert Mullins, John Ogilvie Norton, Clement Currie and was joined later by Arthur Douglass (Jnr) of Heatherton Towers, all seven of whom had St. Andrew's associations and six of whom had attended the school, and was accompanied by Mrs. Norton (born Bowker) of the farm Middleton and her daughter Mrs. Alfred White. There were approximately 150 springbuck noted that year on Kopleegte, the party shooting 26 buck on the first day and 49 on the second, the daily score of each sportsman being noted.¹⁶³ The close and informal nature of this group is emphasized by the eight members of the party, six men and two women, sleeping on the floor, eight in a row, on the night before the hunt. The close connection of this local elite was further cemented by marriage, John Norton's sisters Hester and Anne marrying Dennison Clarke and Alfred White respectively.

Bushbuck

The other popular game antelope of the eastern Cape was the bushbuck, which frequented the thickets of the region, and in respect of which no special permit was required and the "bag" was unlimited. Once again, the local hunting traditions differ depending upon whether the hunters were urban dwellers of the cities such as Port Elizabeth, members of the elite Upper Albany farming community, or African hunters pursuing the chase in forests east of the Fish River.

Fred Barber, who grew up on a farm in the Albany district, provides an account of social hunting amongst the rural elite in the area north of Grahamstown in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁶⁴ Hunts were organized in the winter months amongst the local farmers, with as many as 15 to 20 guns, together with beaters and dogs contributed from different farms. The latter were put into what he describes as the "forest" to drive the buck and cause them to break cover. In the evening the whole party would go for dinner in a hospitable farmer's house in the neighborhood, where the night was spent telling sporting yarns over their pipes. He paid tribute to two particular

¹⁶² Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*.

¹⁶³ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 71.

¹⁶⁴ Tabler, Edward C. *Zambezia and Matabeleland in the Seventies: The Narrative of Frederick Hugh Barber 1875 and 1877-1878*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1960, 83.

hosts, Tom and George White of the farms Table Farm and Brack Kloof, both farms being situated just to the north of Grahamstown.

During 1885, in a typical example, Greathead spent a day hunting bushbuck on the farm Blaaukrantz (in a party of 11 sportsmen, which included the landowner Wicks and a number of friends), the total bag being 8 buck. Later in the same year he joined friends near Salem on the farm Lindale, owned by Simon Amm, the total bag being 10 bushbuck. Amm was remarkable in having kept a farm diary (almost akin to a game book in England), recording all hunts in which he participated from 1886 onwards¹⁶⁵ and describing shoots on the neighboring farms of his friends in the Assegai River Valley, with up to ten guns utilizing beaters and dogs to hunt bushbuck and duiker in the thick bushveld. During 1891 Greathead participated in another bushbuck hunt arranged on the farm of Tom Palmer near Grahamstown, to which one of the party, named Wallace, brought his pack of beagles to assist in the hunt.¹⁶⁶

There is photograph of a group of hunters taken in the Lower Kariëga in Lower Albany in *Southwell Settlers*,¹⁶⁷ said to have been taken about 1893, which depicts a group of eleven hunters, a hunting dog and at least three fallen bushbuck. The caption gives the names of the sportsmen as including Bowles, Webber, Amos and Penny – all members of farming families of the Bathurst district. Skead includes a posed image of eight hunters and their bag of bushbuck after a hunt on the farm Tharfield near Kleinemonde in 1912, which had been hired for the purpose, six members of the party being members of the White family that had come for the occasion from as far afield as Carlisle Bridge, Fort Beaufort and Cradock.¹⁶⁸

Hunting for the urban middle class: coursing clubs and hunting associations

Aspirant hunters otherwise excluded from sport on private land were obliged to seek permits to shoot small game such as bushbuck or duiker in Crown Forests or, provided that they had the means to do so, seek hunting grounds to the north beyond the boundaries of the Cape Colony where opportunities might present themselves for sport in areas in which game was not yet “privatized” and where the land had not been settled and enclosed by white settlers.

¹⁶⁵ Skead, *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape*, 63-64.

¹⁶⁶ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 71.

¹⁶⁷ Stirk, D *Southwell Settlers*, Grahamstown: privately printed, 1971.

¹⁶⁸ Skead, *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape*, 63-64.

One avenue open to townsmen seeking to hunt who were otherwise excluded from hunting game on private land was to join a local Gun Club or Hunting Association and hunt small game on commonages; to hunt on farms rented by the Club for the purpose; or to hunt on Crown Land under permit issued by the Conservator of Forests. It was in the larger urban rather than the rural centers that local sporting clubs, often described as Game Protection Associations, were established, emphasizing the need for urban sportsmen who were excluded from rural land ownership or connection to organize for the purpose of obtaining access to game for sporting purposes.¹⁶⁹ Van Sittert has interrogated the social and class phenomenon of the establishment of small local hunting clubs in urban centers, such as the Easter Hunt Club established in Port Elizabeth, a group of ten to fifteen sportsmen spending a week over Easter each year on the farm Wycombe Vale in the Alexandria district.¹⁷⁰ Activities such as these were clearly limited to a wealthy urban middle class elite and such hunting opportunities would not have been available to the urban working class or to the urban poor seeking access to meat.

The experiences of William Charles Scully¹⁷¹ are probably typical of the experiences of many young townsmen who wanted to hunt but were not themselves landowners, and for whom the only available opportunity was to hunt on farms in the eastern Cape with (or without) the consent of the owners, or participate in coursing on horseback on the town commonage. After being appointed as Clerk to the Resident Magistrate at Tarkastad in 1876, and, having the means to purchase a rifle and a pony, he would go out hunting several days a week, leaving town a few hours before daybreak and returning mid morning with two or three rhebuck or springbuck, the venison of which he shared with friends. He comments that at that time, before the introduction of the Game Law of 1886, the “Game Law was a dead letter” and that no “close season” was observed. For the purposes of hunting he had the run of most of the farms in the district, the boundaries of which were in certain instances unfenced, Scully having obtained permission from the owners to shoot on their land. On being transferred some years later to Aberdeen, he was instrumental in establishing a coursing club that met twice a week – on Saturday mornings and Thursday afternoons. Animals such as steenbok, jackal and hare were hunted on horseback using dogs such as greyhound on the “enormous commonage attached to the village.” Later, after the introduction of the 1886 Game Law, and his

¹⁶⁹ Lance van Sittert in “‘Bringing in the Wild’,” 278 and Karen Brown in “Cultural Constructions of the Wild,” 84 (footnote 89) both refer to these associations and rely upon the same correspondence from William Wardlaw Thompson dated 20 February 1905 (CAB Agr, 307, 234) for the list of nine such sporting clubs established in the following urban centers: Cape Town, Griqualand West; Uitenhage; East London; George; Port Elizabeth; Vryburg; Mafeking; and Pokwani.

¹⁷⁰ Van Sittert, Lance. “Class and Canicide,” 207-234.

¹⁷¹ Scully, *Further Reminiscences*.

promotion as acting Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate and posting to Colesburg, he enjoyed “magnificent shooting”, commenting that many of the farmers in the area preserved their game. In the company of Dr. Riordan, the District Surgeon of Colesburg, he was a “welcome guest” whenever they chose to visit on the farms in the district, shooting antelope of various kinds and birds such as bustards, korhaan, partridges, wild geese and ducks.

The interest of the members of the local urban Gun clubs, pressing for unrestricted hunting opportunities for their members on Crown land, were often at variance with the strict controls placed upon their activities by the authorities who sought to limit hunting to the middle class hunter of the type described as the “true sportsman”. Joseph Storr Lister, the Conservator of Forests, complained of repeated attempts by the King Williamstown Gun Club to wrest control of hunting in Crown Forests from the Department and transfer jurisdiction to the local Divisional Council, an elected body representing townsmen’s interests. On 16 November 1904 Lister reported to the Under Secretary for Agriculture, regarding a request by the King Williamstown Gun Club (which he described as “preposterous”) that no Crown Forest be closed to holders of Game Licenses without a resolution from the local Divisional Council, and that on payment of a license fee of £2.20 per annum, license holders should have free run of all unenclosed forest. Lister pointed out in response that to meet the request would mean that the Department would lose all control; there would be a considerable loss of license fees; and the forests would be “over-run by licensees upon whom there would be no check and game would be exterminated as in the case of private forests”.¹⁷² Similar sentiments were expressed by Lister in 1903, in response by calls to reduce license fees levied for shooting in Crown Forests, citing the fear that “the rabble from towns like Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, East London, King Williams Town, Stutterheim etc. would overrun the forest reserves” which would have the consequence that the “game would be butchered and there would be little left for genuine sportsmen.”¹⁷³

In response to a similar request from the King Williams Town Gun Club made in 1905, Lister reported to the Under Secretary for Agriculture on 31 May 1905 that he opposed the request, and added that: “The fact that the natives occasionally raid the forests and illegally destroy game is hardly sufficient reason for throwing open forests to all who may take out an annual license”.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² CAB, FC 3/1/50, Ref 366. Letter Joseph Storr Lister to Under Secretary of Agriculture, Cape Town, 16 November 1904.

¹⁷³ Brown, Karen. “Cultural Constructions of the Wild,” 88 in which she quotes from a letter addressed by Lister to Charles Currey, Under Secretary for Agriculture dated 17 July 1903. (CAB, FC 3/2/21).

¹⁷⁴ CAB, FC 3/1/50, Ref 366. Joseph Storr Lister to Under Secretary for Agriculture, 31 May 1905.

The pressure to hunt on local commonages also resulted in over-hunting and municipalities, such as that of Port Alfred during 1895, found it necessary to approach the Department for the publication of a Proclamation prohibiting all hunting of game within the municipal boundaries, including the commonage, for the period of a year.¹⁷⁵ As a further measure, oribi were protected from all hunting in the Bathurst district by Proclamation in terms of the Game Law, 1886, for a three year period from 1 February 1895.¹⁷⁶ The following year a Notice was published by the Civil Commissioner for the Bathurst district further restricting hunting opportunities and prohibiting hunting or shooting in demarcated forests without special permission from Lister, the effected areas being described as not only including areas such as the Bathurst and Kowie Forests but also the coastal reserve stretching from the Kariega to the Great Fish Rivers.¹⁷⁷ Notices were posted in the district carrying warnings to the public that shooting in these areas was prohibited.¹⁷⁸

The essential difference between game on private land and on public or Crown land cannot be overemphasized. Game on private land was, apart from the consequences of poaching, largely immune from the various demands of the urban sportsmen and the poor for hunting opportunities. Whether game survived or even thrived depended upon the outlook of the individual landowner, this in turn being influenced by whether or not the game (such as was the case of springbuck competing with small stock farmers) competed materially for grazing with the stock that represented the landowner's livelihood.

During the 1890's there were many proposals from the officials on the spot as to how best to utilize Crown Forests in the interests of sport and as a source of possible profit. Many of these proposals originated from Lister, whose area of jurisdiction included the entire eastern Cape, and are to be found in his Annual Reports to the Cape House of Assembly¹⁷⁹ or in correspondence addressed to the Department of Agriculture in Cape Town, and have been considered in some detail by Karen Brown.¹⁸⁰ Lister had previously served in India and sought to apply the doctrines of British India to

¹⁷⁵ CAB, Agr 156. Request of the Port Alfred Municipality, 27 February 1895. The Proclamation was granted as Proclamation 151/1895, prohibiting the hunting of "*all kinds of game upon Municipal Land within the limits of the Municipality of Port Alfred for a period of one year from 1 March 1895.*"

¹⁷⁶ Proclamation 48/1895 published in the Government Gazette.

¹⁷⁷ CAB, Agr 340. Notice issued by T. E. Minto at Port Alfred dated 27 February 1896, and which made reference to Government Notice No 102, published 7 February 1896.

¹⁷⁸ CAB, Agr 340. Warneford, Clerk to the Civil Commissioner Bathurst to the Department, 15 February 1896.

¹⁷⁹ From 1888 until his appointment as Chief Conservator of Forests, Lister contributed a report on his area of jurisdiction that was included in the annual report of the Conservators to the Cape House of Assembly.

¹⁸⁰ Brown, Karen. "The Conservation and Utilization of the Natural World: Silviculture in the Cape Colony, c 1902-1910," *Environment and History*, 7 : 4 (Nov. 2001), 427-447.

the South African context.¹⁸¹ He perceived the goal as of being to encourage and facilitate Crown Forests to be a place where sport shooting should be encouraged, and where game species suitable for hunting were allowed to increase through resting of the forest from hunting for suitable periods and through the manipulation of nature by the elimination of predators of game, such as the jackal, cat or leopard, which came to be classified as vermin.

The policy of the Conservator of Forests, insofar as it concerned Game for which special permits were not required in terms of the Game Act, 1886 was to grant leave to sportsmen, on application, to hunt in Crown Forests subject to strict limitations. District Forest Officers and Forest Officers were not empowered to grant permission to hunt in Crown Forests in terms of Regulation 25 of the Act, the authority vesting in the Conservator himself. Leave was usually granted to sportsmen to shoot game during the open season (without any limitation upon the bag save that the animals were not of a species which required the grant of a special permit in terms of Section 4 the Game Act), for one or two specified days in a season and only in a specified forest. Lister instructed his subordinates in 1889 that, in order for the game in the Forests to multiply, no permit for longer than a day or two would be issued to any individual during any hunting season. A perusal of the applications for permits held in the files relating to Forestry matters held by the Cape Town Archives Repository¹⁸² show that the Conservator granted permits to individuals (often pursuant to requests dispatched to him by telegram), or listed members of local hunting associations, to hunt on occasions such as one or two days over Easter. It was a condition of the grant of all such leave that the sportsmen concerned be the holders of a game license issued pursuant to the Game Act 1886, and further that the use of beaters in Crown Forests was not permitted. The game animals hunted in Crown Forests and Reserves in the region appear to have been predominantly bushbuck and duiker.

In his first such report, submitted for the year of his appointment in 1888,¹⁸³ Lister pointed out that in terms of the new Forest Act, 1888, game, skins, horns and ivory were included in the definition of “forest produce”, and consequently all persons wishing to shoot in a Crown Forest would henceforth need to apply to his department for a permit, which would be granted for a limited number of days during the hunting season, and made subject to stringent conditions. He considered that “All true sportsmen will heartily welcome this measure”. Comparing the position to that

¹⁸¹ Barton, Gregory A. *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, 102 -105.

¹⁸² The files held by the CAB for the period 1889 to 1900 can be found in FC 3/1/48 and for the period 1901 to 1904 in FC 3/1/50.

¹⁸³ *Cape of Good Hope: Report of the Superintendent of Woods and Forests*, 1888, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1889, 48.

prevailing in India, he remarked that in India there was a high fee to be paid for such permits, but that at the Cape permits were still issued gratis. The purpose of the grant of these permits was expressed by Lister as being to “prevent the extermination of the game and not stop but to encourage sport.”¹⁸⁴

The number of permits issued to shoot in Crown Forests was initially relatively small but soon increased as sportsmen sought to take advantage of the hunting opportunities. A total of 41 permits were granted free of charge for the year 1890,¹⁸⁵ and 22 for 1891.¹⁸⁶ These permits, often applied for by telegram addressed to Lister in King Williamstown, were not general permits but were limited to one or two days of the year for each applicant and permission was limited to a specific locality. The right to grant such permission was jealously guarded and during 1890 Lister informed James Nightingale, Manager of the Alexandria Forests (who made enquiry of him), that he did not have the right to grant permission to holders of ordinary hunting licenses to hunt in Crown Forest, and that he was also not allowed to invite his friends to do so.¹⁸⁷ The reservation of forests and forest produce was strictly enforced by prosecutions, 130 persons being prosecuted under the Forest Act during 1890, five convictions being secured in the Alexandria district and three in the Bathurst district for shooting and killing game in Crown Forests without a permit.¹⁸⁸

Lister considered that the measures taken by his department to have been effective, reporting that:

In former years the Forests were continuously harried by large hunting parties, accompanied by several hundred Kaffir beaters, who slaughtered game wholesale. This has effectively checked, so that the Forest Reserves now form a safe retreat for every species of game, and the sportsman with gun and dog may count on a fair day's shooting.¹⁸⁹

The Forest Department found it impossible to continue with the informal ad hoc grant of permits, often received by telegram, to shoot in Crown Forests over holidays such as Easter, and in 1894

¹⁸⁴ CAB, Agr 329, Circular issued by Lister dated 24 March 1890 in which he advised that he had instructed that all persons found destroying Game in Crown Forests would be prosecuted unless they were the holders of a permit as prescribed under Regulation 1 of the Forests Act.

¹⁸⁵ *Cape of Good Hope: Report of the Superintendent of Woods and Forests for the year 1890*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1891, 113.

¹⁸⁶ *Cape of Good Hope: Report of the Conservators of Forests and District Forest Officers for the year 1891*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1892, 9.

¹⁸⁷ CAB, Agr 328. James Nightingale to Joseph Lister, 28 March 1890,

¹⁸⁸ *Cape of Good Hope: Report of the Superintendent of Woods and Forests for the year 1890*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1891, 113.

¹⁸⁹ *Cape of Good Hope: Report of the Conservators of Forests and District Forest for the year 1891*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1892.

proposed that licenses be issued and paid for, a policy that was put into effect from 1896.¹⁹⁰ In his report for 1894 Lister recognized the pressure to gain hunting opportunities and referred to difficulties experienced during the previous season with numerous applications being received from “all parts of the country” for the grant of licenses to shoot game in Crown Forests, and the danger of being accused of favoritism in granting licenses to some applicants and refusing others. In seeking a solution he had consulted with “leading sportsmen in various centers with a view to adopting a reasonable and fair system to meet the case”. These enquiries had established that licenses should be issued “subject to stringent conditions, and a sufficiently high tariff to limit the number of licenses.” Lister considered that the license fee would have to be sufficiently high to “check excessive shooting” and that the introduction of licenses would provide revenue that could be utilized by his department in employing forest guards to prevent poaching.¹⁹¹

After the introduction of a new policy, and the imposition of a license fee of 10 shillings per permit which generated revenue for the Department, 184 licenses to hunt in Crown Forests were granted for 1896, 183 for 1897 and 319 for 1898¹⁹² and 414 for 1899.¹⁹³ This number fell back to 300 licenses for 396 guns in 1900, the reduction being ascribed to most of the keenest sportsman having joined up.¹⁹⁴

The repeated concern was to ensure that license holders engaged in recreational sport and did not use the opportunity to shoot for subsistence or the pot, which was considered both to be unsporting but also likely to encourage hunting methods that did not adhere to the sporting code.¹⁹⁵ William Warneford, the Chief Clerk to the Civil Commissioner of the Bathurst district, opposed the opening of the Crown Forests to hunters on payment of a license fee, with a warning against “pot hunters” who, in a well-stocked forest, would soon recoup four or five fold the cost of the license from the value of skins and meat. He identified the culprits as being the small-scale farmer close to the forests, who hunted but did little else, a type that was stated to be found in all districts. Should

¹⁹⁰ An example of one of many of these applications was that of a Mr. A Benson of St Marks who on 23 February 1891 applied to Lister for a permit to shoot on Crown Lands at Bathurst for two days over Easter, which was duly granted three days later. CAB, Agr 328.

¹⁹¹ *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1894*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1895, 91.

¹⁹² *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1898*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1899, 74.

¹⁹³ *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1899*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1900.

¹⁹⁴ *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1900*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1901, 102.

¹⁹⁵ This attitude was widespread and is considered by William Adams in “Sportsman’s Shot, Poacher’s Pot: Hunting, Local People and the History of Conservation” in *Recreational Hunting, Conservation and Rural Livelihoods: Science and Practice* edited by Barney Dickson, Jon Hutton and William M. Adams. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2009, 127-140.

permits be issued to individuals following a procedure similar to that in terms of the Game Law, it would enable the man wishing for a “fair day’s sport” to get it, but would serve to exclude the “pot hunter”, and the man who “sat in trees to shoot buck by moonlight”. Such persons would denude a district of its game, and could not be excluded if permits were granted without a selection process and simply upon the basis of the purchase of a license for a fee.¹⁹⁶ In the context, these objections were class related and in respect of white hunters as opposed to Africans.

The perceived purpose of the animals in the Crown Forests, as providing mass hunting opportunities to white hunters and a revenue stream to the State, was aptly described by District Forest Officer P. C. Harran of Keiskamma Hoek, reporting to Lister on 10 October 1907 on the subject of illegal hunting by Africans in Crown Forests to the east of the Fish River, in which he observed that it had been his hope that the Crown Forests would “afford sport to 100’s of sportsmen who appreciate small game shooting, and that a substantial revenue from the issue of the licenses would accrue to the Department”.¹⁹⁷

An further important distinguishing feature applicable to game on public as opposed to private land was the extent to which poaching took place and the resources to combat illegal hunting. The private landowner (particularly after the advent of large scale enclosure and the amendment of the Game Law which no longer required a landowner to advertise his desire of protecting game on his land as a precondition of prosecuting poachers) was in a position to police and control his own land. The state on the other hand did not have a police force available to combat often rampant poaching on Crown land. What is more, it was recognized by the authorities that the police were themselves often guilty of poaching and considered themselves to be above the law.

As early as 24 February 1890 Fischer (acting Secretary for Agriculture) had signed a circular addressed to all Civil Commissioners and Resident Magistrates in the Cape Colony, seeking their co-operation and assistance in combatting illegal hunting:

I have the honor to call your attention to the fact of the illegal destruction of Game that goes on in all parts of the Colony, ie. at the hands of persons without the license required by the Game Law, and to ask your co-operation in checking this as much as possible. The difficulty of doing so is in many instances no doubt insuperable, but there are other cases, such as the infringement of the law in this respect on the occasion of organized “hunts” etc, at which it is believed that little difficulty would be had in making a wholesome example of offenders, an example likely to have a lasting beneficent effect.

¹⁹⁶ CAB, Agr 68, Ref 234. Warneford to Department, 15 September 1894.

¹⁹⁷ CAB, FC 3/1/50, Ref 366. Forest Officer Harran to Joseph Storr Lister under the heading “Illicit Hunting in Crown Forests”, 10 October 1907.

Instances have been reported of Police at outposts having constantly amused themselves by shooting Game both on Crown Lands and private farms. It is hard to imagine that these men took out the necessary licenses for the purpose, or, in the case of Crown Lands, asked the permission required by the Act.¹⁹⁸

In this manner the coercive powers of the State were used to reserve game in Crown Forests for recreational sportsmen and achieve revenue for the Department, at the same time excluding subsistence and commercial hunting.

Women

Hunting during the late Victorian era was overwhelmingly a masculinist pursuit, but a limited number of women also participated in sports hunting including the pursuit of big game. These female exceptions in an activity that was considered to be a male preserve tended to be visiting imperial hunters from Europe or America on safari in areas such as British Somalia, East Africa or in India.¹⁹⁹ As John Mackenzie points out, nineteenth century imperial hunting remained a largely male affair.²⁰⁰ The travel accounts written by sportsman and adventurers include a few authored by women, but none relating to personal hunting experiences in the Cape Colony or elsewhere in southern Africa by either imperial or colonial women.²⁰¹

Unlike the recorded instances of intrepid imperial woman shooting big game whilst on vacation safari in east and central Africa and India, there is no evidence or accounts suggesting that colonial women in the Cape Colony engaged in similar activities. A review of the permit applications to shoot royal game in the Albany, Bathurst and Fort Beaufort districts does not disclose a single application by a woman, and the same appears to apply to similar applications received from other districts. Similarly, women are not mentioned as participating in springbuck hunting nor are they depicted as hunters in any of the surviving images.

The fact that colonial women might not participate in recreational hunting did not mean that some women, particularly those growing up on Albany farms, were not good shots and capable of shooting game when the need arose. Mary Elizabeth Norton (1847-1936), a member of the prominent Bowker family and wife of John Ogilvie Norton, the host of springbuck hunts on his

¹⁹⁸ CAB, Circular, A. Fischer, Secretary for Agriculture to All Civil Commissioners and Resident Magistrates, 24 February 1890, Agr 328.

¹⁹⁹ The exploits of some of these women are collected together in Capstick, Fiona Claire. *The Diana files: the huntress-traveller through history*. Johannesburg: Rowland Ward Publications, 2004.

²⁰⁰ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 21-22.

²⁰¹ Czech, Kenneth P. *An Annotated Bibliography of African Big Game Hunting Books, 1785 – 1950*. St Cloud, Minnesota: Lands Edge Press, 1999.

farm Middleton near Carlisle Bridge, is described as being a good shot who in her husband's absence did not hesitate to shoot a wild pig that had broken into one of the ostrich camps.²⁰²

Although not engaging in hunting itself, women such as Mary Elizabeth Barber (born Bowker), a member of one of the leading settler landowning and hunting families in the nineteenth century eastern Cape, participated in and contributed to the study of natural history, establishing a name for themselves in their own right. William Beinart comments upon Barber's role as an amateur scientist amongst men who were imbued with what he describes as the "hegemonic masculinity" of the newly forged British frontier.²⁰³

Hunting by Africans

Tony Dold and Michelle Cocks describe hunting with packs of dogs for small antelope, hares and birds as being a common pastime in rural villages in Xhosa land to this day and, despite being illegal, is considered to be a traditional Xhosa sport. They suggest that hunting with dogs, unlike hunting with firearms, is considered to be a sport rather than a commercial venture.²⁰⁴

Hunting by Africans of small game such as bushbuck and duiker in Crown Forests adjoining communal land to the east of the Fish River appears to have been commonplace in the late nineteenth century, these activities often taking the form of organized hunts in which groups of individuals up to two hundred strong, often supported by numerous dogs, swept the forests clean of all game. These activities and the responses of the authorities in attempting to apprehend the hunters and eliminate the dogs, are the subject of recent studies such as that by Jacob Tropp,²⁰⁵ who has identified the suppression of African hunting to make the wildlife available for white sportsmen. African hunters, who were considered to hunt merely for food and not for sport, were portrayed as being primitive, and their perceived lack of concern for female and juvenile and young animals was considered as confirmation that they were "wanton killers".²⁰⁶

²⁰² Mitford-Barberton, Ivan and Raymond. *The Bowkers of Tharfield*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952, 110.

²⁰³ Beinart, William. "Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24: 4, Special Issue on Masculinities in Southern Africa (Dec. 1998), 775-799.

²⁰⁴ Tony Dold and Michelle Cocks. *Voices from the Forest: Celebrating Nature and Culture in Xhosaland*. Auckland Park: Jacana, 2012, 50.

²⁰⁵ Tropp, Jacob. "Dogs, Poison and the Meaning of Colonial Intervention in the Transkei, South Africa," *The Journal of African History*, 43 (2002), 451-472.

²⁰⁶ Brown, Karen. "Constructions of the Wild," 80.

One of the most important limitations upon African hunting in the eastern Cape was the Peace Preservation Act, 13 of 1878.²⁰⁷ The Act was designed to disarm Africans from a military point of view as opposed to being a measure designed to restrict hunting. Initially only applicable to the areas to the east of the Great Fish River, its operation was extended by Proclamation to the broader eastern Cape. The Act prohibited all except those with a special permit from being in possession of arms, weapons, bullets, gunpowder and ammunition, those without a permit being required to surrender them. The definition of arms and weapons was broad and was defined as including guns, pistols, swords, bayonets, daggers, spears and assegais. This prohibition effectively precluded Africans from hunting all but small game except with the assistance of dogs. Examples of prosecutions included Stoffel Jager charged in 1880 with possession of a gun and ammunition before the Resident Magistrate for Bathurst;²⁰⁸ and separate instances of men charged in 1880 and 1883 before the Resident Magistrate for King Williamstown for possession of two²⁰⁹ and sixteen²¹⁰ assegais respectively.

A further important limitation on traditional African hunting was introduced in 1908 by the amendment of the Game Law to prohibit the hunting of game otherwise than by shooting, one of the exceptions being beaters lawfully employed by the landowner in hunting large game.²¹¹ This new restriction upon traditional hunting may have been a response to concerns, such as those expressed by District Forest Officer Harran with particular reference to the Keiskamma Hoek area, that the withdrawal of regulation under the Peace Preservation Act, 1878 would interfere with the work of the Department as Africans would be able to carry arms without fear of prosecution. He also complained that large numbers of Africans had been issued with permits for modern firearms.²¹² In addition, as an additional method to limit African hunting, the authorities waged a campaign against dogs used by Africans in hunting.²¹³

Confirmation of the class as opposed to necessarily racial overtones of the policy of the Forest Department is confirmed by the fact that Forest Officers sought to persuade African hunters to take

²⁰⁷ The introduction of the policy of disarmament of Africans in the Transkei and the broader eastern Cape pursuant to the provisions of the Peace Preservation Act, 1878 is considered in Storey, William K. *Guns, Race and Colonial Power in Colonial South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 210-252; and Storey, William K. "Guns Race and Skill in Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa," *Technology and Culture*, 45: 4 (Oct. 2004), 687-711.

²⁰⁸ Queen versus Stoffel Jager 1880 EDL 225.

²⁰⁹ Queen versus Dolos 1883 EDL 116.

²¹⁰ Queen versus Bolozana EDL 228.

²¹¹ Section 9 of the Game Law Amendment Act, Act 11 of 1908, which came into effect on 11 August 1908.

²¹² CAB, FC 3/1/50, Ref 366. Forest Officer Harran to Joseph Storr Lister under the heading "Illicit Hunting in Crown Forests. 10 October 1907.

²¹³ Tropp, Jacob. "Dogs, Poison and the Meaning of Colonial Intervention in the Transkei, South Africa," *The Journal of African History*, 43 (2002), 451-472.

out hunting licenses rather than necessarily outlaw African hunting altogether. The issue of hunting in Crown Forests without licenses, and the enforcement of the Forest Act, was of particular concern to Lister with regard to the Crown Forests in the Amatolas and the Pierie Forest. The correspondence preserved in the files held by the Cape Archives Repository contains many reports from the District Forest Officers, and the local Forest Officers on the spot, of large hunting parties of Africans numbering up to 400 individuals, with as many dogs, who organized drives through forests and destroyed all the game (in particular bushbuck) that could be found.²¹⁴ None of the participants held licenses and the Forest Officers and Guards reported themselves powerless to prevent these activities by confrontation or attempting to arrest the hunters, attempts to do so being met with resistance and violence.

Lister reported to Parliament in 1895 that the forests now “teem with game”, this being ascribed to the suppression of hunts by Africans and the laying down of poison in the forests.²¹⁵ The reference to the laying down of poison is the first reference in Lister’s reports to combatting species that were considered to be “vermin”, which included jackals, wild cats and leopards, and the destruction of “hundreds of curs belonging to illicit hunting parties”. Complaints regarding African hunting practices continued over the years, District Forest Officer Harran complaining during 1907 that Africans persisted in the practice of “arranging armed parties of hundreds of men, with corresponding numbers of dogs, to overrun the forests, and sweep them clear of everything that cannot fly.”²¹⁶

The incidence of hunting by Africans was very different to the west of the Fish River, in which region Africans did not have access to firearms and did not openly carry the traditional assegai. William Warneford, Chief Clerk to the Civil Commissioner for the Bathurst district, stated on 15 September 1894 (in response to a query from the Under Secretary for Agriculture regarding the activities of African hunters in his district and the incidence of poaching) that Joseph Lister’s complaints to the authorities relating to large hunting parties of Africans armed with sticks and assegais (which related to the areas east of the Fish river) did not apply to the Bathurst district as Africans were not ever seen with an assegai, the carrying of weapons by Africans being in his view adequately dealt with by the Peace Preservation Act. Warneford conceded that poaching was taking place in the Bathurst division, but attributed this to the small number of police and the vast

²¹⁴ CAB, Agr 68. Examples of such correspondence are: Lister to Department, 25 June 1894.

²¹⁵ *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1895*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1896, 103.

²¹⁶ CAB, FC 3/1/50, Ref 366. Forest Officer Harran to Joseph Storr Lister under the heading “Illicit Hunting in Crown Forests. 10 October 1907.

area to be covered. In his view poaching was committed by small parties of hunters, usually numbering up to three individuals, accompanied by hounds. Furthermore beaters, when employed on private farms in the hunting of antelope such as bushbuck, were furnished with sticks only and never with assegais.²¹⁷

The rural countryside to the west of the Fish river was dominated by white-owned farms on which Africans were unlikely to receive permission to hunt even had they made such a request. There are no records at all of Africans making application for special permits to shoot kudu or buffalo either on private or Crown land. Africans would in any event not have qualified for the grant of such special permits to hunt royal game, even had they obtained a permit to possess a firearm, unless they had obtained the essential prior permission of the landowner in the case of private land (which was unlikely as they did not, in common with urban or rural whites of similar social station, fall within the rural sporting elite) and in addition were able to persuade the authorities that the purpose of such hunting was “pure sport” unrelated to shooting animals for own consumption or for commercial purposes.

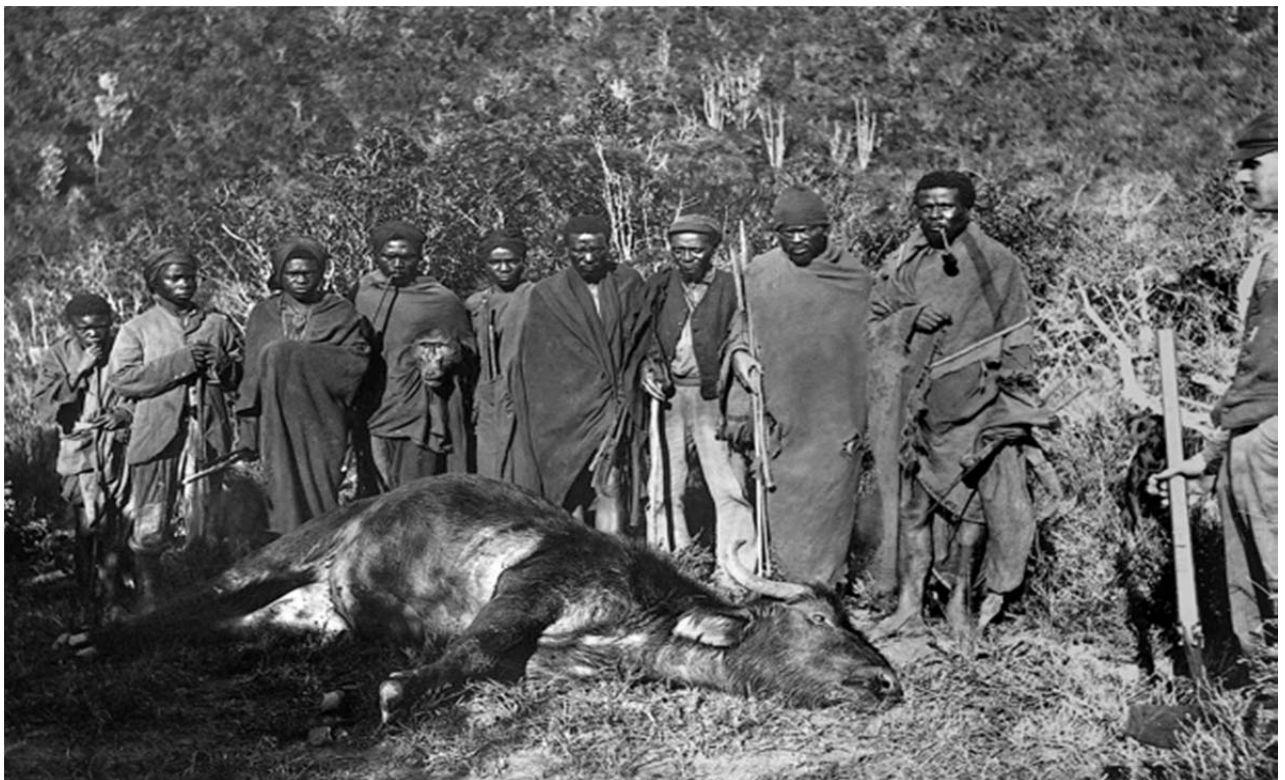


Figure 6: Buffalo hunt on private farmland at Elephant Park, July 1897, with beaters and dog handlers armed with sticks, but none with assegais, spears or weapons of any kind. (Photo: J. B. Greathead)

²¹⁷ CAB, Agr 68, Ref 234. Warneford to the Department of Agriculture, 15 September 1894.

Africans played an important subordinate role in the field as beaters, dog handlers or trackers, as is borne out by the images depicting them in these roles, and they tended to carry sticks in the field and not assegais or spears. By contrast, African hunting assistants in the Transvaal Lowveld during the same period (in an area where possession by Africans of firearms but not of assegais or spears was prohibited) are depicted in images armed with spears.

In the role as beaters and dog handlers in the eastern Cape, Africans performed a similar function as the beaters and hunting assistants drawn from the rural poor or estate employees who assisted in supporting roles in the ritualized British hunts in pursuit of deer or pheasant but did not themselves enjoy the right to hunt.

Proposals for the creation of state hunting preserves

The Cape was not immune from the international movement for wildlife conservation, initially in the interests of seeking to protect wildlife or game animals from over hunting or outright extinction in the interests of sports hunters. The destruction of the teeming herds of wildlife of the Cape over a few short decades, followed in short succession by the destruction of the wildlife in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Highveld, provided impetus to limit what was described as “unbridled hunting”.²¹⁸ It was also appreciated at the Cape that visiting imperial hunters were prepared to pay handsomely for the opportunity to hunt big game even if the animals were no longer truly in the wild but protected in fenced or enclosed game preserves.

During the latter part of the period under consideration, and with the diminishing numbers of “big game” in the region, Lister repeatedly but without success called for the identification of Forest Reserves that could be fenced so as to provide a haven for big game, large enough to enable them to breed, the expenses to be defrayed from the grant of a limited number of licenses to shoot within the fenced Reserve against the payment of a very high license fee. These recommendations were consistent with the concept of imperial game parks, in which game could recover through protection in order to “provide future regulated sport for a license paying white male elite.”²¹⁹

Lister, in a letter addressed to the Under Secretary for Agriculture on 2 July 1898, made far-reaching proposals regarding big game preservation. He repeated his request to the Department that no more special permits be issued for the shooting of elephant, buffalo and kudu in forest reserves,

²¹⁸ Prendergast, David K. and Adams, William M. “Colonial wildlife conservation and the origins of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (1903-1914),” *Oryx*, 37 (2), (2003), 251-260; Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature*.

²¹⁹ Brown, Karen. “Constructions of the Wild,” 80.

stating that if this was disregarded large game in the Cape Colony would very soon become extinct. He then suggested that, to prevent any inconvenience that local farmers might suffer, “one of our large forest reserves be enclosed with a substantial fence, and made a state reserve for game of all kinds.” The reserve could be placed under the supervision and control of officers of the Department and the issue of a limited number of licenses to shoot game in the reserve, at sufficiently high tariffs, would be adequate to cover the cost of the fence and its maintenance. He proposed a license fee of £20 for an elephant, £10 for each buffalo or kudu, and 10 shillings per day for small game. Lister recommended that the question of the proposed sanctuary be referred to Mr. Arthur Garcia, the Civil Commissioner of Uitenhage (in whose jurisdiction the Addo bush was situated), who he described as being a keen sportsman. Upon being requested to submit a further report to the Department as to the cost of fencing one of the Cape’s Crown Forests, Lister suggested on 20 October 1898 that a fence could be erected economically using sections of old rails from the railway department. If necessary, artificial drinking ponds could be created in the reserve, which would be of sufficient size to allow the elephant to roam at large and breed. The government was called upon to give serious consideration to the establishment of a State Preserve for Big Game in the Cape Colony, Lister warning that if nothing was done there would soon be no big game left south of the Zambezi River.²²⁰ Despite the Game Act being amended during 1899 to empower the Governor to create game reserves within the Cape Colony, Lister’s proposals were not acted upon.

The idea of establishing large areas as a Game Park, and artificially stocking the enclosed area with local game for the benefit of elite foreign sportsmen, and as a place where animals might be viewed, was also proposed by the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for Albany, John Hemming, who supported Lister’s proposals that Forest Reserves should be the breeding places for game, but added a suggestion of his own:

In my opinion a National or Colonial Park should be established by Government, in which should be placed, when procurable, any of the animals (except dangerous carnivora) which are gradually becoming extinct; such as the zebra, quagga, elands, gnu and the numerous antelope once so plentiful within the Colony, a few rhinoceros, hippopotami and alligators might also be placed about a river in such a Park; the district of Knysna, where there are large areas of forest, a good river, lakes and varieties of veldt suitable for the different classes of animals, seems peculiarly suited for such a purpose. When the animals had increased to undue numbers this would be a most attractive hunting ground to sportsman from Europe who are enthusiastic enough to pay handsomely for such sport unattended by risks from savages and sickness so common in the interior, in fact I see no end to the

²²⁰ *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1898*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1899.

pleasure and profit to be derived from such a scheme, to say nothing of the advantages to science of animals in their natural state.²²¹

These proposals were all intended to artificially provide animals for sportsman to hunt, providing they were prepared to pay for the privilege. It is of particular interest that, despite the existence of large numbers of game to the north of South Africa, Henning was of the view that there were wealthy foreign sportsmen who would be prepared to travel to South Africa and hunt big game especially placed and bred for the purpose in artificially created parks, so as to avoid the attendant risks and inconveniences of engaging on a real safari further afield.

Unlike elsewhere in the Empire, these recommendations were not carried into effect in the Cape Colony, possibly because those foreign sportsmen willing and able to pay the high license fees envisaged were still able to participate in real safaris, with wild game in “public” ownership in locations such as Kenya which in the first decade of the 20th Century became the focus of African sporting safaris for the elite of the Empire.²²²

Introducing foreign game

In addition to setting aside areas in which animals might be provided for wealthy sportsmen willing to pay for the privilege, Lister went further and campaigned for the introduction of exotic animals and birds for sporting purposes. These included the introduction of exotic game from India into Cape forests for the purpose of sport. Thus in his report for 1892 Lister first suggested that game be introduced from other countries such as the Sambre, Barasingh, Barking Deer and jungle Murghi from India which occurred in the sub-Himalayas and were likely to thrive in the South African Forests.²²³ In his 1894 Report this proposal was repeated, it being suggested that the revenue obtained from proposed license fees to be payable by sportsmen hunting in Crown Forests be applied towards “the introduction and preservation of game from other countries”. In his report for 1902,²²⁴ the year that the South African War ended, Lister continued to promote the introduction of foreign game (such as jungle fowl) from India and elsewhere to be financed from the license revenue, but this scheme was eventually not adopted.

²²¹ CAB, Agr 68. John Hemming, Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Albany to Department of Agriculture, 15 September 1895.

²²² Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature*; Steinhart, Edward I. *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya*. Oxford: James Currey, 2006.

²²³ *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1892*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1893, 68.

²²⁴ *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1902*, Cape Town: Cape Times, 1903, 106-107.

The notion of introducing exotic game animals from abroad for the sole purpose of providing sport, which did in fact take place in the case of the introduction of foreign fish such as trout for the purposes of recreational fly-fishing,²²⁵ was not unique to the Cape Colony. Kathryn Hunter has described the adoption of such measures in New Zealand during the nineteenth century, by way of the introduction of mammals such as deer, chamois, wapiti and even moose, on the initiative of the private individuals and acclimatization societies.²²⁶ What distinguishes such initiatives at the Cape was that, unlike the case of New Zealand (which has no indigenous mammals), the Cape already had a wide range of indigenous birds and mammals. Secondly, the initiative in New Zealand came from private individuals seeking to establish game for sports hunting where it was absent, whereas at the Cape the initiative came from the state with a view to stocking public land as a source of revenue after the indigenous animals had been hunted out.

Collection of natural history specimens and museums

The establishment of museums throughout the British Empire, and the hunting and collection of specimens for these museums, has been described by John Mackenzie as a part of the imperial enterprise.²²⁷ A theme that runs parallel to the shooting of game for sport in the eastern Cape was the enthusiasm displayed amongst the English speaking elite of the region for collecting natural history specimens and supporting the local museum. The hunting for what was considered to be “scientific purposes” was the only acceptable exception to the creed that wild animals were to be shot for sport and not for profit, commerce or own consumption.

During this period museums became what Jane Carruthers describes as “repositories of imperial knowledge” and local museums established “national collections” in British colonies.²²⁸ The collection of representative collections of southern African animals and birds was however not limited to imperial Britain or to European imperial powers such as Germany or Belgium, and institutions such as the Smithsonian Institution (which described itself as the “United States National Museum”) participated in exchanges of specimens with the Albany Museum in

²²⁵ Brown, K “Cultural Constructions of the Wild,” 92.

²²⁶ Hunter, Kathryn. M. “New Zealand Hunters in Africa,” 483-501.

²²⁷ Mackenzie, John M. *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009

²²⁸ Carruthers, Jane. “Changing Perspectives on Wildlife in Southern Africa, c 1840 to c 1914,” *Society and Animals*, 13: 3, (2005), 183-200.

Grahamstown as early as 1889, offering specimens of the fauna of the United States in exchange for specimens from South Africa.²²⁹

The Albany Museum, designed to serve the broader eastern Cape, was founded in Grahamstown during 1855. Upon Dr. Selmar Schönland being appointed director in 1889 a concerted attempt was made, with the enthusiastic support of members of the public, to increase its holdings of natural history specimens. The members of the committee of the Museum mirrored the sporting elite of the region, those in office during 1903 including J. B. Greathead (as President), Fred Barber and John Hemming (the former Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner) as also the current Civil Commissioner (ex officio).²³⁰ The Museum appointed a German taxidermist, Carl Wilde, who was not only responsible for preserving specimens but was active during the early 1890's in hunting for the museum.²³¹

John Hewitt, a subsequent director of the Albany Museum, emphasized the concept of the amateur “field naturalist” whose efforts were directed at the “habits and histories” of the various creatures, describing this as a immense field of enquiry so little explored that almost any series of carefully made observations would be of value. He considered that during the study of fauna, and because of limited knowledge of many species, it was both “permissible, and indeed necessary, to collect specimens,” but that such specimens collected by the field naturalist in the course of his investigations ought to be entrusted to a museum where they could be available for future workers.²³² The recognition by the authorities of such projects is evidenced by the Museum advising, in a leaflet printed in 1902 entitled “Notes for Collectors” that the public might send natural history specimens from any part of the Cape Colony, free of charge by rail or the post, if addressed as being On His Majesties Service.²³³ John Mackenzie notes that during this period

²²⁹ Albany Museum, Schönland papers, Ref 758. Letter Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington to Dr. Selmar Schönland, Curator of the Albany Museum, Grahamstown, 18 December 1889. Correspondence also exists in the file relating to exchanges and co-operation during this period with a range of leading institutions in Europe, including the Royal Zoological Museum in Berlin; Dr. Lenz, Director of the Natural History Museum in Lübeck (who offered specimens from Europe, the Cameroons and Madagascar); and the British Museum of Natural History in London, demonstrating that the Albany Museum was not an isolated colonial institution.

²³⁰ *Records of the Albany Museum*, 1903.

²³¹ The Department of agriculture issued permits to the Museum for the shooting of kudu on Botha's Post, the farm of the Knott family in the Koonap district, the Museum's permit being endorsed to Carl Wilde for the purpose. Arrangements were also made for Wilde to shoot birds for the Museum on commonage and private farms in the region. Albany Museum, Schönland papers, Ref 758.

²³² Hewitt, John. *A Guide to the Vertebrate Fauna of the Eastern Cape Province. Part 1: Mammals and Birds*. Grahamstown: Albany Museum, 1931.

²³³ *Notes for Collectors*, issued by the Albany Museum, Grahamstown.

natural history was not only part of the “imperial impulse” but also came to be “propagated as an appropriate hobby for all social classes.”²³⁴

During the late nineteenth century there was an increasing interest by laypersons and amateur naturalists in areas such as ornithology, entomology and conchology. This has been noted by Jane Carruthers in considering changing perspectives on wildlife in southern Africa.²³⁵ The observation of the habits of birds, the collection of ornithological specimens, and the preparation of bird skins for museum specimens by members of the public, was a particularly popular pastime that was not limited to sportsmen or to men. Schönland encouraged private individuals to collect interesting birds for the museum collection and many of the enthusiastic collectors included women who are known to have prepared the skins themselves. Correspondence addressed to Schönland held in the files of the Albany Museum confirms the keen interest in natural history by both male and female inhabitants of the eastern Cape, regular donations of skinned and stuffed ornithological and other specimens being made to the Museum.²³⁶ Items of all kinds that might possibly be rare or interesting were offered to Schönland from all over the District. An example of one of the enthusiastic young taxidermists was Miss Eliza Evans, daughter of the late J.B. Evans of the farm Rietfontein in the Karroo who had been a pioneer in the breeding of Angora sheep and ostriches. Henry Bidnell of Uitenhage wrote to Schönland on 24 October 1894,²³⁷ enclosing a Blue Spreu that had been stuffed and set up by Miss Evans, and requested him that he write to Miss Evans and offer constructive advice and encouragement. Bidnell informed Schönland that Miss Evans had become interested in natural history as a young girl after H.A. Bryden, the English sportsman who wrote for the periodical “The Field”, had visited her father’s farm to hunt springbuck.²³⁸

The Annual Reports of the Albany Museum list the principal accessions during the past year, and similarly provide evidence of the enthusiastic interest that the inhabitants of the district had in the museum. Greathead, a friend of Schönland and for some years President of the Museum, was a regular donor. On his return from the Lowveld in 1893 he was thanked for the donation of “a lioness, several rare antelopes and bird skins”, and in the years that followed he presented a wide

²³⁴ Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 36.

²³⁵ Carruthers, “Changing Perspectives on Wildlife,” 183-200.

²³⁶ Held in the Albany Museum as the Schönland correspondence.

²³⁷ Letter Henry Bidnell to Dr. S. Schönland, 24 October 1894, Albany Museum, Schönland Papers, Ref 756.

²³⁸ Henry A. Bryden mentions this visit to the farm Rietfontein, where he viewed the agricultural pursuits and hunted springbok as the guest of J.E. Evans, in a chapter of his book *Kloof and Karroo in the Cape Colony*, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1889.

range of items collected on his travels, including mammals, birds, a snake, a tortoise, numerous herbarium specimens of plants, insects and items of mineralogical and geological interest.

One of the foremost and best-known collectors of natural history specimens in the eastern Cape was Mary Elizabeth Barber (born Bowker) (1818-1899), the mother of the brothers Fred and Hal Barber. Alan Cohen, author of a number of papers on her career and achievements,²³⁹ describes her as “South Africa’s first lady natural historian”. Dr Selmar Schönland later wrote of her that from a young age she developed a love of natural history in all its branches, later “following her brothers everywhere on their hunting expeditions, collecting beetles, butterflies and plants etc.”.²⁴⁰ Notwithstanding being isolated on farms in the eastern Cape Colony, her studies led her to correspond and develop friendships with eminent men of the day such as Charles Darwin, the Hookers and Dr. Harvey. She became a member of a number of scientific societies and was elected as a corresponding member of the prestigious Linnaean Society of London, a number of papers being published in her own name during her lifetime. Mary Barber lived for many years on the farm Highlands near Grahamstown and from 1880 on the farm Junction Drift on the Fish River owned by her son Hal Barber. Her contributions were recognized in publications such as Layard and Sharpe’s *Birds of South Africa*; Trimen’s *South African Butterflies* and Harvey’s *Thesaurus Capensis*, a large number of new species of insects and plants being named after her.²⁴¹

Eastern Cape sportsmen on safari

The lure of big game hunting further north in the interior of the African continent inspired sportsmen from the eastern Cape, as it did the imperial sportsmen from Britain. The prominent elite recreational sports hunters resident in the Albany district not only formed a local colonial variant of the British sporting tradition amongst the English speaking elite of the eastern Cape, but also embarked on hunting safaris in southern and east Africa in a manner similar to that of the visiting imperial hunters from Britain, and they were able to compete with the imperial hunters on equal

²³⁹ Cohen, Alan. “Mary Elizabeth Barber: South Africa’s first lady natural historian,” *Articles of Natural History*: 27 (2): (2000), 187-208; “Mary Elizabeth Barber, The Bowkers and South African Prehistory,” *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 54: 170 (Dec. 1999), 120-127; Mary Elizabeth Barber, some early South African geologists and the discoveries of gold, *South African Journal of Economic History*, 15: 1-2, (2000), 1-19.

²⁴⁰ Schönland, Selmar. “Biography of the late Mrs. F.W.Barber and a List of her Paintings in the Albany Museum,” *Records of the Albany Museum*, 1: 2, (18 March 1904), Grahamstown: Josiah Slater, 95-108.

²⁴¹ Bienart, William. “Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24: 4, Special Issue on Masculinities in Southern Africa (Dec. 1998), 775-799.

terms. This group appears to have been limited to the wealthy landowners and professionals of the Grahamstown and upper Albany region.

During the first half of the nineteenth century adventurous hunters and traders of British origin had penetrated the interior of southern Africa engaged in the ivory trade and other commercial ventures and Grahamstown market was at one time a focus of the ivory trade. The available accounts suggest that by the 1880's and 1890's sportsmen from the eastern Cape, accompanied by their like-minded friends, embarked upon regular sports and recreational hunting expeditions to areas such as the Transvaal Lowveld. In later years these safaris were extended to areas such as Mozambique, the Rhodesia's and British East Africa.

These recreational sports hunters included members of prominent landowning families such as the brothers Hilton, Graham and Guy Barber; Miles Robert Bowker; the brothers Fred and Hal Barber; the brothers Russell and Alec Bowker; Bertram and Charles White; and Gordon Cumming. All were of British stock and most of them had grown up on stock farms in the more affluent areas of Upper Albany to the north of Grahamstown, an area in which the concentration on farming small stock may have permitted their absence from their farms during the winter months. These men were accompanied by friends from Grahamstown such as Dr. Gotto in 1892 and Dr. J. B. Greathead in 1893. A high proportion of these men had been educated at St. Andrew's College in Grahamstown, where they had received a British style education and where sport and manly outdoor activities were emphasized. The elite status of these men in Albany Society is further evidenced by their homes, which provide evidence of their success in colonial society, and which tended to be on the British model.²⁴²

Some of these elite eastern Cape sportsmen ventured far afield in search of sport, the most prominent of them hunters being the adventurous brothers Fred and Hal Barber, who hunted extensively throughout southern and east Africa. Other farming friends joined them, one such occasion being an expedition through the Kalahari Desert in 1895 in which Russell Bowker and

²⁴² The home of the Cumming family on the farm Hilton, north of Grahamstown, is described in Lewcock, Ronald. *Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*. Cape Town: A.A.Balkema, 1963, 186-190. Lewcock describes the house on Hilton, built by George Cumming and commenced in 1834, as a "*magnificent double-storeyed bow-fronted house*" of the kind fashionable throughout the late Georgian period. He adds that "*it looks forward optimistically to a life of security and grace on the frontier*", and in style "*looks backward to the elegance of eighteenth century England 30 years and 6,000 miles away*". The substantial home of the White family at Table Farm is depicted in White, F.C.D. *Major T.C. White, 1820 Settler and his Descendants*. Privately printed, (no date).

Bertram White,²⁴³ another old Andrean, participated.²⁴⁴ In 1893 Dr. J.B. Greathead of Grahamstown participated in a hunting trip to the Lowveld in the company of his friends the Barber brothers, later embarking on self-led major sporting expeditions to Rhodesia and Mozambique (1899); British East Africa (1904); and North Eastern Rhodesia (1910).²⁴⁵ Other elite hunters from Grahamstown included Dr. Fitzgerald, a medical doctor, and William Espin, son of Canon Espin of Grahamstown, and later prominent attorney of that city, both of whom engaged in big game hunting during 1899 on the Pungue Flats in Mozambique, inland of Beira.²⁴⁶

Participation in recreational hunting beyond the borders of the Cape Colony was limited by the high associated cost, occasioned at least in part by the remoteness of the hunting grounds from the eastern Cape. The cost of a shooting expedition was considerable, and Greathead noted the total basic cost of the 1893 expedition to the Lowveld was £590 for the party of five of which he was a member. The breakdown was £100 for the hire of three wagons; £210 for three spans of donkeys; provisions at a cost of £100; £90 for six hunting assistants at £3 per month for five months.²⁴⁷ In addition there was the cost of hunting licenses; the cost of rifles and ammunition; and for travel to and from the hunting grounds (in the case of those travelling from Grahamstown, travel by train from Grahamstown to Johannesburg, and returning by sea from Delagoa Bay to Port Elizabeth). A further cost, which few but the well off or those of independent private means without the need for employment could afford, was absence from their profession or employment for a period of at least six months. In addition, any person who was not self-employed or a farmer with “down time” would have found it difficult to be absent from home for such a lengthy period. The high costs, in the absence of a commercial venture that would turn a profit to subsidize the input costs, were

²⁴³ Bertram Egerton White, son of T.C.White of Table Farm north of Grahamstown, attended St Andrew’s College between 1882 and 1884 and later embarked on a career as a farmer in the Bedford district, Cape Colony. Iwema, Harco and H.C. *Register of St Andrew’s College, Grahamstown, 1855-1959*. Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry, 1959.

²⁴⁴ Mitford-Barberton, Ivan. *The Barbers of the Peak: A history of the Barber, Atherstone, and Bowker families*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934, 134.

²⁴⁵ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S.Greathead*.

²⁴⁶ The keen interest in hunting and the Lowveld amongst the Grahamstown elite is further evidenced by the call for accounts of travels. Greathead was requested on his return to write an account of his experiences for his old school magazine (Greathead, J.B.S. “A Hunting Trip to North-Eastern Transvaal,” *St. Andrew’s College Magazine*, Vol. XV: 4 (Dec.1893),77-91). On 26 October 1893, shortly after his return, he gave a public lecture entitled “Hunting Expedition in East Africa” to the Eastern Province Literary and Scientific Society. (*The E.P.Magazine: A Publication of the Eastern Province Literary and Scientific Society*, 2:3 (Dec. 1894), Grahamstown: Grocott & Sherry, 1884, 115.). A set of 88 lantern slides was prepared from the half plate negatives. A note in the box, dated 9 January 1895, from Dr.Greenlees of the Grahamstown Asylum, requests the loan of the slides for “an entertainment” the Dr. Greenlees was giving the following evening.

²⁴⁷ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S.Greathead*, 148.

considerable and accounts for the fact that the hunting experience of most Cape sportsmen was limited to social hunting and the occasional shooting of a kudu on private land not far from home.

Conclusion

A consideration of the social history of hunting communities and the issues of class, race and gender cannot be undertaken in general terms and without an inquiry into the personal identity and background of the local *dramatis personae* and their competing interests. A rich field of investigation presents itself for the diverse districts of the Cape Colony, this study limiting its focus to communities in parts of the eastern Cape Province.

The hunting communities of the eastern Cape during the period 1886 to 1905 reveal competing interests and hunting practices depending upon the animal to be hunted, the terrain and control over the land; distinctions between town and country; landowners and landless; public and private land and the associated distinction between game falling within public and private ownership; issues such as private “commodification” of game; involvement in poaching; and distinct layers of class, social position and connection within colonial society. What developed was a local colonial hunting tradition rather than the typical imperial hunting tradition described by John MacKenzie. This hunting tradition developed against the background of a replication of the imperial class structure amongst colonists of British origin, albeit with the establishment of a local landowning elite that controlled the land and the animals upon it. Unlike areas such as Kenya, the imperial aristocracy did not establish itself in southern Africa, and this local landowning elite was one that flourished after taking advantage of the presented opportunities in new lands. With the settlement and enclosure of vast tracts of land in the Cape, and the absence of wilderness areas under state control in which game abounded, hunting came to be privatized in the hands of those who controlled the land rather than under public or state control. The urban middle class contrived, with varied degrees of success, to obtain access to hunting through invitation from the rural squires or through organized hunting associations and gun clubs. The urban working class and the rural poor, both of which hunted for the pot rather than for sport and recreation, came to be excluded from hunting at the instance of the sportsman, who successfully entrenched the notion that wild animals in the Cape Colony were to be preserved and killed for recreation and not subsistence. Hunting by Africans was precluded by their lack of land ownership, by disarmament, and by the suppression of traditional hunting methods that were considered primitive and unsporting, conflicting as they did with the reservation of wild game for recreational hunting. Central to this debate was the issue of the purpose of the preservation of

wild animals, the distinctions between game and vermin, the legitimate purposes for which wild animals classified as “game” might be killed, and the class in colonial society for whom the privilege of killing these animals was reserved.

The following chapters provide an in-depth and comparative look at two hunting communities organized around the two “royal game” animals already mentioned, namely buffalo and kudu in the eastern Cape. Chapter 3 considers the hunting and preservation of kudu on private land, analyzing in detail the identity of the hunters who were granted permits to hunt these animals; the associated privatization and ‘commodification’ of this species; and their ultimate survival and increase. Chapter 4 deals with the hunting of Buffalo, primarily in the Bathurst district; the identity and purpose of the hunters who were granted permits to shoot them; the competition to obtain such hunting rights; and the significance of the mobility of these animals and their ability to move freely between public and private land, this being one of the factors tending against their privatization and contributing to their ultimate local extinction.

CHAPTER THREE

HUNTING STATUS: POWER AND BUFFALO SHOOTING IN THE ALBANY AND BATHURST DISTRICTS OF THE CAPE COLONY 1892-1906

Introduction

Buffalo were once numerous in the dense bush of the valleys of the Great Fish and Kowie Rivers in the eastern districts of the Cape Colony, but by about 1916 the buffalo was locally extinct. The hunting of game was regulated throughout this period by the Game Law 1886, a special permit being required for every buffalo hunted or killed.

The local tradition of buffalo hunting in the Bathurst district, which is remembered with nostalgia in popular publications on the region,²⁴⁸ differs from traditions in other communities in the Cape Colony such as the springbuck hunting community of Graaff-Reinet,²⁴⁹ the bushbuck hunters of the eastern Cape²⁵⁰ and the elite kudu hunting traditions of the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts. The existence of diverse local “small traditions”, and the importance of recovering them, has been highlighted by Van Sittert who has warned against the attempt to create a single great hunting tradition or meta-narrative in the manner of MacKenzie.²⁵¹

This chapter considers buffalo hunting in the Bathurst and Albany Districts in the closing years of the 19th Century; the identity and practices of the buffalo hunters; and the fierce competition by individuals within this community to obtain for themselves the opportunity to hunt big game in one of the last areas in the Cape where it was still possible to do so. In addition, the posting to the Bathurst district of an avid buffalo hunter as assistant to the local Civil Commissioner is explored, as a lens into the use of influence and connection in the pursuit of personal hunting interests.

²⁴⁸ References to the buffalo hunting in the region appear in popular local histories such as Stirk, Doris. *Southwell Settlers*, Grahamstown: privately printed, 1971, 69-71; Scotney, Pearl. *The Kent Family 1820-1986*, Faerie Glen: privately printed, 1986, 61; Webb, Tom. *Port Alfred Beachcombers*, privately printed, (undated), 34; Erasmus, M C. *A River Runs through it, volume 1, A Selection of Historical Photographs of Port Alfred & Environs, Lower Albany, and Numerous Forts and Posts of the Eastern Cape*. Port Alfred: privately printed, (no date), 350.

²⁴⁹ Roche, Chis. “‘Fighting their battles o’er again’: the springbok Hunt in Graaff-Reinet, 1860-1908,” *Kronos*, No 29, Environmental History (Nov. 2003), 86-108. Local conservation in the Graaff-Reinet is considered by William Beinart in “The Farmer as a Conservationist: Sidney Rubidge at Wellwood, Graaff-Reinet, 1913-1952” in *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock and the Environment 1770-1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 200, 304-331.

²⁵⁰ Van Sittert, Lance. “Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemic,” *South African Historical Journal*, 48:1, (2003), 207-234. Skead, C. J. *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape*, edited by Andre Boschoff, Graham Kerley and Peter Lloyd. Port Elizabeth: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, 2007, 61-64.

²⁵¹ Van Sittert, Lance. “Bringing in the Wild: The Commodification of Wild Animals in the Cape Colony/Province c 1850-1950,” *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), 269-291; MacKenzie, John M. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

The regulatory framework and the issue of permits

The Game Law 1886 contained a key provision that governed the hunting of listed game such as buffalo. Section 4 limited the hunting of listed game (later known as royal game), including buffalo, to holders of a special permit issued free of charge by the Governor. Effective power to control the hunting of all listed animals passed to a small group of career civil servants in Cape Town to whom the Governor had delegated his authority. The Forest Act 1888 regulated the hunting of game in Crown Forests and prohibited the hunting of game in both demarcated and un-demarcated forests without the consent of the Conservator of Forests.

Permit applications submitted for each magisterial district of the Cape Colony, and associated correspondence, memoranda and marginalia are preserved in the files of the former Cape Department of Agriculture and are now held by the Cape Town Archives Repository.²⁵² The records are more comprehensive for the period commencing in 1892 but fragmentary for the years immediately following the introduction of the Game Law.

The identity and background of the officials who processed permit applications in terms of Section 4 provide insight into the control of hunting of listed game; the identity and motives of the administrators; the struggle between local interest groups and individuals to secure the right to hunt for themselves to the exclusion of others; and the potential for cronyism and favoritism which is illustrated through the conduct of the civil servant William John Jorten Warneford.²⁵³

The issue of permits was administered from 1886 by the Department of Agriculture and fell under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office. On 1 September 1892 a new Ministerial Department was established with the merger of the Department of Agriculture with the Department of Crown Lands and Public Works, the new department being known as the Department of Lands, Mines and Agriculture. Prior to this merger the Chief Clerk in the Office of the Department of Agriculture was Warneford who had been appointed to the post on 1 July 1889, and it was he who until 31 August

²⁵² For the Magisterial District of Bathurst: Game Permits to Shoot, Bathurst, CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592 (1892-1895) and Agr 376, Ref 1592 (1897 – 1901); For the Magisterial District of Albany, Game Permits to Shoot, Albany, Agr 210, Ref 1596; Agr 211, Ref 1596 (1892 – 1895) and Agr 377, Ref 1596 (1900 – 1904). Further documents are to be found in the Departmental files under “Game Protection”, Agr 67, Ref 234; Agr 68, Ref 234; Agr 69, Ref 239; Agr 155 Ref 692; and Agr 156, Ref 711. Unfortunately the individual documents are simply bound together in volumes and are not individually numbered.

²⁵³ Warneford commenced his working life in the Imperial Service, serving in campaigns on the eastern Cape frontier and finally holding the post of Deputy Assistant Commissary-General with the rank of Captain at the time of his retirement in 1880. He entered the Cape Civil Service on 12 September 1881 as Clerk in the Office of the Commandant-General and, after serving from 1 July 1889 to January 1893 in the Department of Agriculture, took a transfer to Port Alfred where he was employed until his retirement on 1 July 1904 at the age of 65. Kilpin, Ernest F. *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1903*. Cape Town: W. A. Richards and Sons, 1904.

1892 administered the permit applications and matters relating to game in general. At the time of the merger the Chief Clerk in the Department of the Commissioner of Crown Land and Public Works was Charles Currey, the four First Class Clerks serving under him being Noel Janisch, William Hammond Tooke,²⁵⁴ William Wardlaw Thompson and Barry MacMillan.²⁵⁵

The staff of the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works, being generally senior in years of service to those in the Department of Agriculture, were allocated to all the senior positions in the merged Department, and took over responsibility for matters agricultural including applications for hunting permits. Charles Currey was appointed head of the merged Department, with the designation as Secretary.²⁵⁶ When a new Ministerial portfolio of Secretary for Agriculture was created a year later on 12 September 1893 Currey's post was re-designated as Under Secretary for Agriculture. The first incumbent as Secretary for Agriculture was John Frost, a Queenstown farmer and member of the Rhodes Cabinet, who held the post from 1893 to 1896.²⁵⁷ Tooke was appointed as Chief Clerk ahead of Warneford, despite the latter being the older man and having spent 18 years in the imperial service before transferring to the Cape Civil Service only three years after Tooke had commenced his civil service career. Sydney Cowper,²⁵⁸ who was also senior to Warneford in years in the civil service, was appointed to the post of Principal Clerk. Warneford was left as one of the four First Class Clerks, together with William Wardlaw Thompson.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁴ William Hammond Tooke joined the Cape Civil Service in 1878 as a Clerk in the Control and Audit Office and was promoted through the ranks in the Department of Crown Lands and Public Works. He held the position of Chief Clerk in the merged Department until he was promoted on 1 July 1901 to the post of Assistant Under Secretary for Agriculture upon the transfer of Currey. Kilpin, *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List*, 1903.

²⁵⁵ Kilpin, *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List*, 1893. Cape Town: W. A. Richards and Sons, 1893.

²⁵⁶ Charles Currey was a veteran civil servant with 21 years service, having joined the Cape Civil Service in 1871 as a 3rd class clerk and worked his way up through the ranks in the Department of Crown Lands and Public Works. He was appointed as Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands and Public Works and then on 15 April 1892 as Permanent Head, with the title of Secretary on 1 September 1892. Kilpin, *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List*, 1893, 212.

²⁵⁷ John Frost, later Sir John Frost (1828-1918) was one of the leading farmers in the Queenstown area. He served in various conflicts on the eastern Cape frontier between 1850 and 1882. From 1874 he was the member of the Cape House of Assembly for Queenstown, holding his seat until 1907. He was held the Ministerial post of Secretary for Agriculture from 1893 to 1896. *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. iv 168-169.

²⁵⁸ Sydney Cowper was previously employed in England from 1871 to 1875 in the office of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851; from 1876 to 1879 under the Council for Education, South Kensington Museum; and was appointed to the Cape Civil Service in 1879, serving as Private Secretary to various Cape premiers, including J G Sprigg (1880-1881) and Thomas Upington (1884-5). In August 1896 he was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Prime Minister and in November 1897 as Secretary to the Prime Minister, receiving the CMG in 1901. Kilpin, *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List*, 1903.

²⁵⁹ William Wardlaw Thompson, one of the four First Class Clerks, had joined the Cape Civil Service in 1878 in the Public Works Department and was appointed Chief Record Clerk, Crown Lands Office in 1885 and First Class Clerk in that Department in 1889. Kilpin, *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List*, 1893, 259.

Warneford considered his treatment to be an unwarranted demotion and personal slight and lodged a written protest that he had been passed over after having acquitted himself well as Chief Clerk.²⁶⁰ Despite being reassured that the re-organization of posts was based strictly upon seniority, and that neither his seniority in the civil service nor his remuneration would be affected in any way, Warneford chose to leave the Department of Agriculture. An alternative civil service post was found for him and he was transferred to Port Alfred as First Clerk on the Staff of the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for the district of Bathurst with effect from 9 January 1893. His voluminous and often controversial correspondence with his former associates and rivals in Cape Town offers key primary evidence that is considered in this chapter.

On 1 September 1892, with the merger, the power to grant permits to shoot listed game passed from A. Fischer as Secretary of Agriculture and the Warneford as Chief Clerk into the hands of a small group of English speaking career civil servants made up of Currey, Tooke, Cowper and Thompson. This small group, initially under the leadership of Currey and then his successor Tooke, remained essentially intact until at least 1904. The comments of the clerks appear from internal memoranda addressed to Currey and extensive initialed and dated marginalia on the applications as the documents made their way up through the hierarchy from the hands of the First Class Clerks to Currey, in whose name the permits were granted or declined. This primary evidence has not received attention in previous studies.

Applications for permits were almost invariably submitted to the office of the local Civil Commissioner for the district in which the proposed hunt was to take place, that official being required to furnish comment and make a recommendation before the application was forwarded to the Department in Cape Town. When an applicant, contrary to practice, approached the Department directly the application was referred back to the Civil Commissioner on the spot. Applicants wishing to hunt on private land were required to obtain the prior written consent of the landowner and this document was to be filed in support of the application. In the case of applications for permits to hunt listed game in Crown Forests the comment of the Conservator of Forests was also required. Local Civil Commissioners and Resident Magistrates acted as a filter through which applications had to pass and empowered them to influence whether permits were granted or refused. This role was open to abuse when the Civil Commissioner or his staff were themselves keen hunters competing with members of the public for the right to hunt, and the opportunity presented itself for abuses such as favoritism, cronyism and possibly even corruption.

²⁶⁰ CAB, Agr 21, Ref 39. Warneford to Secretary for Lands, Mines and Agriculture, 4 September 1892.

When Warneford joined the staff of the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for the Bathurst district as First Clerk, his superior was Colonel T. E. Minto.²⁶¹ Minto and Warneford had much in common, both having seen extensive military service as officers in the campaigns on the eastern Cape frontier before entering the Cape Civil Service. Subsequent to his transfer to Bathurst Warneford drafted most of Minto's official correspondence with the Department on game related matters, the letters on occasion being in Warneford's hand but signed by Minto, and Warneford from time to time acted as Resident Magistrate during Minto's absence from Port Alfred. In both his official and personal capacities, the boundaries of which often became inextricably blurred, he became one of the most prolific of all correspondents with the Department concerning matters relating to game, often unashamedly and blatantly using his position and personal connections to advance his own interests and those of his friends.

Forest policy in the Cape Colony in the late nineteenth century was modeled on the previous Indian experience of senior officials in the Cape Forest Department and the Forest Act of 1888 was based upon the Madras Act of 1882. The origins of Imperial Forestry, and the nature of that policy when applied to the various parts of the British Empire and in the United States of America, are considered in detail by Gregory A. Barton,²⁶² the emphasis being on the management and preservation of natural forests, the establishment of plantations, and the long-term use of both in a way that was profitable. Karen Brown has identified the demarcated forests as the prototype game park in the Cape Colony.²⁶³ The Conservator of Forests, Eastern Conservancy, during the period under consideration was Joseph Storr Lister, a veteran civil servant and forest conservator who had commenced his career in the Forest Department in the Punjab in India and was appointed to the post as Conservator in King Williamstown during May 1888 at the time of the introduction of the Forest Act, 1888.²⁶⁴ His area of jurisdiction covered the areas to the East and West of the Fish River, and included the Crown Forests in the Bathurst District including the Kowie Forest. Lister's policy regarding hunting of game in Forest Reserves was that the game was to be encouraged to multiply to be available for sports hunting.

²⁶¹ Colonel T.E. Minto had commanded the Albany Mounted Volunteers in 1877 and, after participating in various campaigns over the years, ended his military service in 1886 with the rank of Colonel, being appointed as Acting Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Bathurst in 1889, a post that he held until his retirement in 1899. Kilpin, *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List*, 1893, 239.

²⁶² Barton, Gregory A. *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

²⁶³ See Brown, Karen "Cultural Constructions of the Wild" The Rhetoric and practice of Wildlife Conservation in the Cape Colony at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *South African Historical Journal* 47 (Nov. 2002), 75-79; Brown, Karen. "The Conservation and Utilization of the Natural World: Silviculture in the Cape Colony, c 1902-1910," *Environment and History*, 47 (Nov. 2002), 427-447.

²⁶⁴ Kilpin, *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List*, 1893, 236.

The local extinction of buffalo in the region

The historical incidence of buffalo in the Albany and Bathurst districts was examined in detail by C.J. Skead.²⁶⁵ He states that the last buffalo was shot in Albany proper in about 1878. Buffalo still occurred in the Bathurst district, the last known individual having been shot by poachers on the farm Elephant Park between 1916 and 1918.²⁶⁶ By the late nineteenth century the remaining buffalo of the Bathurst and Albany districts were made up of a number of distinct populations. In the Bathurst district buffalo occurred in the thick riverine forest of the Kowie River valley and on occasion roamed onto adjoining cultivated land and farms such as Blaauwkrantz, Holling Grove, Wesley Wood and Wolf's Craig in the vicinity of the villages of Bathurst and Southwell. Further east in the valley of the Great Fish River populations of buffalo survived on farms such as Elephant Park and slightly further to the north in the Albany district in the area known as The Coombs. The only other surviving remnant of the once numerous buffalo herds of the Cape Colony had found refuge in the almost impenetrable bush of the Addo area in the Uitenhage district, an area that falls outside the scope of this study.

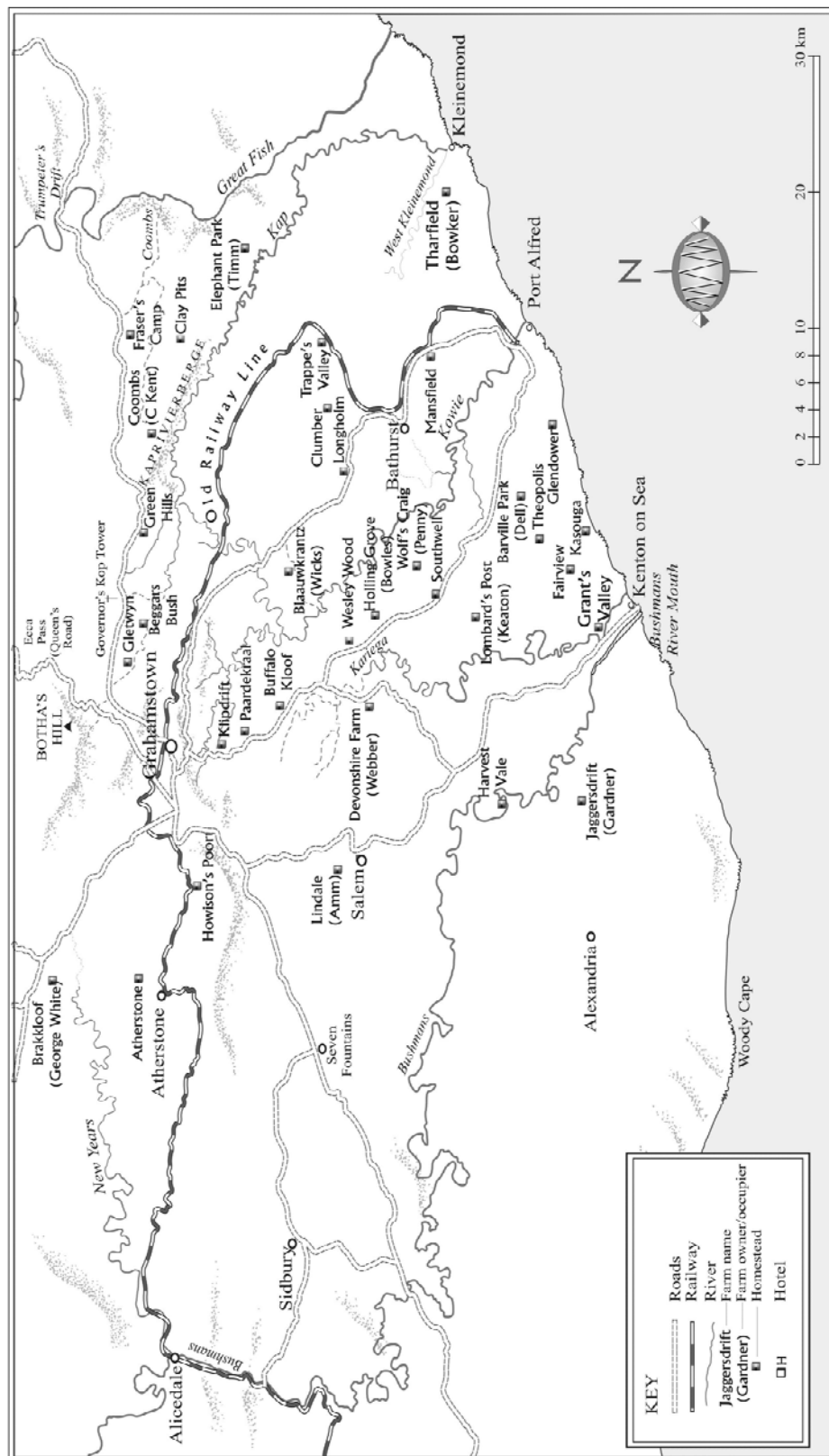
Hunting and the competition for the right to shoot buffalo

Hunting of buffalo by farmers whose land adjoined the Kowie Forest was widespread before the introduction of the 1886 Game Law with the dual motivation of protecting crops and engaging in sport. One such documented hunt took place during September 1885, undertaken Daniel John Bowles of the farm Holling Grove in the company of two other local farmers Walter and Robert Webber. The hunt was inspired by the desire to chase and if possible kill buffalo that were roaming onto Holling Grove farm from the adjoining Crown Forest and doing damage to cultivated mealie and wheat lands. The hunters pursued the buffalo into the Crown Forest where Bowles killed a buffalo cow but was disemboweled in the process. After his recovery he retained the horns of the buffalo that had injured him but presented Dr. J.B. Greathead, who had been called to his aid, with a pair of horns from another buffalo cow that had killed by him during the previous month.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Skead, *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape*.

²⁶⁶ Skead, *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape*, 81-84.

²⁶⁷ Gess, David W. *The African Hunting and Travel Journals of J. B. S. Greathead 1884-1910*, Cape Town: Creda, 2005, 15-16; Stirk, Doris. *Southwell Settlers*, Grahamstown: (privately printed), 1971, 69-71



Map 1: Bathurst District showing locations for which permits were issued for the hunting of buffalo.

The first phase: before the advent of Warneford:1886 - 1892

The Civil Commissioner recommended to the Department that a total of ten permits to shoot buffalo be issued for 1892 to individuals who wished to hunt for sport.²⁶⁸ The first group of applicants were Rev. J. Wilson Thompson (a local Wesleyan Minister of Clumber); William Henry Swan; John Peter Wilmouth and Fuller Cooper, the latter two being farmers in the vicinity of Bathurst.²⁶⁹ The next three applicants were Dr. Walter Atherstone (a medical doctor then holding a Civil Service post as Acting Surgeon Superintendent at the Port Alfred Asylum), Augustus W. Preston (then holding a Civil Service post as Chief Clerk to Minto) and J.R. Bell, all of whom wished to hunt on private land on the farms Blaauwkrantz or Wolf's Craig. The final three applicants, also to hunt on the farm Blaauwkrantz, were Dr. Alexander Edington (Government Bacteriologist, Grahamstown) and Charles and George Fletcher, both local farmers.²⁷⁰ In supporting the applications, which were all ultimately granted, Minto represented that "the majority of the men asking for permits are anxious if successful to present the animal to the Grahamstown Museum". These ten grantees were all either from the urban professional elite or the self-styled rural gentry.

Permit applications by residents outside the district were discouraged. After the full complement of ten permits had been granted a J. Brent of Newcastle requested the assistance of the Civil Commissioner of Peddie in obtaining permits to shoot two buffalo in The Coombs, professing that if successful he would be prepared to send the heads to the Grahamstown Museum for scientific purposes.²⁷¹ This request was forwarded to Minto accompanied by the comment that that there was nothing to show that the Museum required the specimens.²⁷² Minto informed the Department that he did not recommend the grant of these permits, as if all the persons who had been granted permits "were moderately successful quite a sufficient number of animals will be slaughtered"²⁷³ and the permit appears to have been refused.

Permits were not granted to persons suspected of intending to shoot for commercial gain rather than for sport and there is an implication that the authorities were particularly suspicious of foreigners. On 7 March 1892 a Mr. Amos of Grahamstown submitted an application directly to Hon. A. Wilmot, Member of the Legislative Council residing in Grahamstown, requesting permission to

²⁶⁸ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Minto to Department of Agriculture, 21 January 1892.

²⁶⁹ *The South African Directory for 1883-1884*. Cape Town: Saul Solomon and Co, 1883, 28.

²⁷⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Minto to Department of Agriculture, 10 February 1892.

²⁷¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Brent to Piers, Civil Commissioner Peddie, 29 March 1892.

²⁷² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Piers to Minto, 28 April 1892.

²⁷³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Minto to Department of Agriculture, 6 May 1892.

shoot two buffalo on his own farm, stating that he wanted to make use of the heads and hides.²⁷⁴ Wilmot forwarded the request to the Department in Cape Town, adding that Amos was a “respectable farmer” and that the request did not appear to be unreasonable.²⁷⁵ Warneford, who was at the time still employed as Chief Clerk in the Department, referred the matter to Hemming who responded that he did not recommend the grant of the permit, explaining that he believed that there was a German living on Amos’ farm who was about to leave the employ of the Albany Museum; that he had reason to believe that this man was doing a good business in sending specimens to Germany; and that he thought it likely that the hides and skins were really for this man.²⁷⁶ The reference to the taxidermist was no doubt to Carl Wilde, a German taxidermist who had previously been on the staff of the Berlin Museum, and who was at the time employed by the Albany Museum in that capacity. Hemming suggested that a permit could be granted if Amos made a declaration that the buffalo was for his own use and not that of the German taxidermist and the permit was in due course granted once the declaration had been lodged with the authorities.

Applications were also not granted to the urban or rural poor seeking to hunt for subsistence, these groups not constituting the kind of hunter for which there was any support, the hunting of rare game species being reserved for sport hunting by landowners or gentleman sportsmen resident in local towns. William and Daniel Van Wyk of Grahamstown submitted an application on 8 March 1892, through the agency of Messrs. Stone and Son of Grahamstown, in which permission was sought to shoot one buffalo each in the Crown Forest in the Kowie Bush, and one kudu each in the Queens’s Road area, on private farms with the consent of the landowner.²⁷⁷ John Hemming, in whose district the Queen’s Road was situated, responded to a request for comment from Warneford and stated that the Van Wyks were very poor and wanted the animals for food, and he therefore recommended the application.²⁷⁸ Minto recommended that the buffalo permits should be refused, as the total of ten permits for the season had already been granted.²⁷⁹ This is the only instance of permits being sought by persons who Warneford later described as being “pot hunters” rather than sportsmen.

²⁷⁴ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Amos to Hon. A. Wilmot, M.L.C. Grahamstown, 17 March 1892. The Amos family owned the farm Wesley Woods on the west bank of the Kowie River.

²⁷⁵ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Wilmot to Under Secretary of Agriculture, 19 March 1893.

²⁷⁶ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Hemming to Secretary for Agriculture, 23 March 1892.

²⁷⁷ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Stone and Son to Colonial Secretary, 8 March 1892.

²⁷⁸ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Hemming to Warneford, 17 March 1892.

²⁷⁹ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Minto to Warneford, 28 March 1892.

The grant of permits for scientific purposes to enable museums to build up representative specimens of local fauna, part of the Victorian enterprise,²⁸⁰ was consistently regarded as an exception to the general rule that the animals were reserved to be shot by sportsmen. Similar special concessions were granted to museums in other areas of southern Africa such as Zululand.²⁸¹ Dr Selmar Schönland, appointed as director of the Albany Museum in Grahamstown during 1889, was determined to obtain specimens of buffalo for the Museum and was informed on 1 February 1890, in a letter signed by Warneford, that he had been granted a permit to shoot a buffalo in the Bathurst district for the Museum.²⁸² The hunt was not successful and the permit was subsequently renewed in 1893, the re-issue of the permit being motivated by the explanation that the Museum had no buffalo in its collection and that the animals were “fairly plentiful” in the Kowie bush.²⁸³

The second phase: the new order and limiting permits to sportsmen: 1893 – 1894

On 3 January 1893, only six days before taking up his new post in Bathurst, Warneford opened his campaign to shoot a buffalo and wrote to Minto seeking permission to do so on the farm Summerhill Park near Bathurst owned by A. W. Wagner, stating in his application that he believed that the annual net increase in buffalo was about four to five in both the Kowie Forest and The Coombs.²⁸⁴ This permit would have had every prospect of being granted the previous year when Warneford had dealt with permit applications. This time, and despite Minto’s support,²⁸⁵ the application was refused, an official noting to Cowper that “the practice in the past has been to discourage this sort of thing as much as possible” and in another hand is added “send usual refusal”.²⁸⁶ The Departmental response to Minto, in a letter dated signed by Charles Currey, was that:

...the rule is to grant these permits only when the object is to secure specimens of this animal for scientific purposes. Understanding Mr Warneford’s object to be purely sport the

²⁸⁰ Mackenzie, John M. *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009. A chapter is included on the Albany Museum, 105-119.

²⁸¹ McCracken, Donal P. *Saving the Zululand Wilderness: An Early Struggle for Nature Conservation*. Pretoria: Jacana, 2008, 108-109. Shirley Brooks considers the collection of mammal specimens in Zululand for the Natal Museum under the direction of the director Dr. Warren for the re-presentation of nature in museum displays in *Changing Nature: A Critical Historical Geography of the Umfolozi and Hluhluwe Game Reserves, Zululand 1887-1947* (PhD diss.), Queen’s University, Kingston, April 2001, Chapter 6, 224.

²⁸² Department of Agriculture, Cape Town to Dr S. Schönland, Curator Albany Museum, Grahamstown, 1 February 1890. Albany Museum, Schönland Papers, Ref 756.

²⁸³ Department of Agriculture, Cape Town to Dr S. Schönland, Curator Albany Museum, Grahamstown, 11 April 1893. Albany Museum, Schönland Papers Ref 756; and CAB Agr 209, Ref 1582.

²⁸⁴ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford to Minto, 3 January 1893.

²⁸⁵ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Minto to Department of Agriculture, 12 January 1893.

²⁸⁶ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Marginal note W. Bowker to Cowper 19 January 1893.

Government hesitates to depart from this practice which tried to preserve the species of buffalo and the species of the larger game of the Colony.²⁸⁷

This statement of policy was a break with that for 1892 when Warneford had been Chief Clerk, Warneford's own application for 1893 being no different from a number of the ten applications that he had participated in approving the previous year. Minto continued to make representations on Warneford's behalf, writing to the Department that he was similarly "actuated by the desire" to preserve the large game of the Colony, but adding that he understood from reliable information received that there were two buffalo herds in the division, one numbering about 200 and the other about 85. Allowing for a margin of error, Minto estimated the annual increase at 50, and added that he had;

...annually requested permission for the shooting of 10, by persons of reliable standing as honest and good sportsmen in the Division – by allowing these gentlemen to shoot the limited number, I have a little chance of keeping the poachers away.²⁸⁸

On 20 February 1893 the Department finally relented and granted Warneford the desired permit.²⁸⁹

Applicants, including ministers of religion, were prepared to make false representations to the Department in the hope of circumventing the new policy that permits would not be granted where the purpose was considered to be pure sport. On 8 May 1893 The Rev. J. Wilson Thompson, a Wesleyan Minister and keen hunter who had been granted a permit the previous year when Warneford was Chief Clerk, made application directly to the Under Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, by-passing the Civil Commissioner for Bathurst, for a permit to shoot a buffalo for the Grahamstown Museum on Summerhill Farm owned by Mr. Wagner, at the same time alleging that there were about 70 to 80 buffalo in the neighborhood.²⁹⁰ This was the same farm for which Warneford had been granted a permit shortly before. The representation that the buffalo was to be shot for scientific purposes was false, no doubt in the hope that this would improve the prospects of a permit being granted. Once the application had been forwarded to the Department an official with sharp eyes added a marginal note that Dr. Schönland had already received permission to shoot a buffalo bull in the Kowie Bush for the Albany Museum and Rev. Thompson was to be told that Dr. Schönland had already shot a specimen for the museum "this year".²⁹¹ The application was referred back to the Civil Commissioner, Minto reporting that:

²⁸⁷ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Currey to Minto, 28 January 1893.

²⁸⁸ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Minto to Department of Agriculture, 28 January 1893.

²⁸⁹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Department to Minto, 20 February 1893.

²⁹⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Thompson to Under Colonial Secretary, Cape Town 8 May 1893.

²⁹¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Marginal note, 17 May 1893.

there are a number of buffalo in this division and Mr. Thompson who is a good sportsman might be allowed to shoot one, but I think he should produce a request from the curator of the Museum to shoot one for that institution if the Government is determined not to allow one to be shot except for Museum purposes. I believe one buffalo has been shot in this Division for the Museum this year.²⁹²

Currey instructed that Thompson was to be informed that Dr. Schönland had already shot a specimen for the museum that year but that if the curator desired another specimen “we will of course authorise Mr. Thompson to shoot as requested”.²⁹³ Needless to say, no request from Dr. Schönland was forthcoming and the permit was not granted. Rev. Thompson was not prepared to take no for an answer and on 6 Jun 1893 wrote directly to Hon. John Laing, Commissioner of Crown Lands, requesting permission to shoot a buffalo on George Penny’s farm, Wolf’s Craig, without disclosing that his previous application to hunt buffalo on Summerhill Farm had already been refused.²⁹⁴ Bowker, one of the clerks, added a marginal note that Thompson, having received an unsatisfactory answer, had sought to “give us the go by” in writing directly to Laing.²⁹⁵ Thompson was duly informed by the Department:

With a view to the preservation of the few remaining specimens of Big Game in the Colony, it has been found advisable to restrict as far as possible the issue of permits to shoot for the purpose of mere sport, and I am to state that your application to shoot a buffalo on the farm of Mr. Penny in the division of Bathurst cannot therefore be acceded to.²⁹⁶

The refusal of Rev. Thompson’s application to shoot a buffalo for the purposes of sport on Penny’s farm Wolf’s Craig was followed shortly thereafter on 16 June 1893 by an application by George Penny himself to shoot one buffalo on his own farm, this application being recommended by Minto with the comment that there were a large number of buffalo on Penny’s farm and that he “assiduously preserves them from destruction.”²⁹⁷ The permit was granted to Penny on 21 June 1893, but it is left open to doubt whether the beneficiary thereof was Penny or Thompson. In accordance with the policy of granting permits to landowners H. C. Kent was allowed to shoot two buffalo bulls on his father’s farm “Whitcomb” in The Coombs²⁹⁸ and permission was granted to Job Timm to shoot a buffalo on his farm Elephant Park.²⁹⁹

²⁹² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Minto to Department of Agriculture, 25 May 1893.

²⁹³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Marginal note, 30 May 1893.

²⁹⁴ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Rev J.W.Thompson to Hon John Laing, Commissioner of Crown Lands 6 June 1893.

²⁹⁵ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Marginal note W. Bowker 13 June 1893.

²⁹⁶ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Department of Agriculture to Rev Thompson, 15 June 1893.

²⁹⁷ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Minto to Department of Agriculture, 16 June 1893.

²⁹⁸ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. H. C. Kent, 23 June 1893.

²⁹⁹ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Department to Civil Commissioner Bathurst, 23 September 1893.

Applications were also received from members of the rural poor who sought the opportunity of shooting buffalo on Crown land, James Edward Pittaway (of Martindale, Kap River) requesting a permit to shoot a buffalo bull in the Kowie Forest on the west side of the Kowie River and Edwin Purdon and Thomas Brown Jnr (both of Clumber) to hunt in the Kowie Forest on the East side. The applications of Pittaway, Purdon and Brown were all in the same handwriting, and the signatures of the applicants show them to be persons who were scarcely literate.³⁰⁰ In response to a request from Cowper for a recommendation from the Civil Commissioner, Warneford recommended that the permits be refused, emphasizing at length that should permits be granted to persons other than landowners these be issued to elite sportsmen and not ordinary members of the public:

This application, and that from Mr. Pittaway, are of the same nature, ie from men who really have no sort of claim to the concession asked for – beyond that which may be advanced by any one of the public – and if it once be admitted that any farmer asking leave to kill one of the specially protected large game of the Colony, can obtain that permission, it would mean the extermination of these animals within a very short time.

It is, I venture to submit, a very different thing when the application is from a man having buffalo's on his own farm, and which farm adjoins Government forest. Then the request becomes a legitimate one, and it is even in the interests of the protection of this game that such landowner should occasionally be allowed to kill one. The usual object of the outsider in asking permission to kill a buffalo is to secure what it is to him and his friends a very valuable prize – valuable in its mere money's worth – the hide alone is worth when cut into riums, from £5 to £6, whilst the carcass, head etc can all readily be disposed of, at fancy prices..... And possibly Government may in the near future be disposed of to only grant a permit to anyone not having buffalo on his own farm, on payment of say £ 5 to £10 for every animal sought to be killed.... To allow a man to shoot a buffalo on a game license of 10 shillings which applies equally to quail seems an anomaly if not an absurdity. Until buffalos have a chance of becoming more numerous in this district, I cannot venture to recommend granting of more than a very limited number of permits each season – and then only having really some sort of claim, and for this reason I cannot recommend that the permission sought by Messrs. Robey and Pittaway be given.³⁰¹

The three applicants were informed that their applications had been declined, the Department once again repeating that, in the interests of protecting big game in the Colony, it was necessary to restrict as far as possible the issue of permits for the purpose of mere sport.³⁰² Warneford's own permit had been inspired by pure sport, but it would appear that the real reason for the refusal was that Warneford was considered to belong to a class which had an "entitlement" to shoot buffalo for sport whereas the other applicants were of a social status which denied them a similar "entitlement".

³⁰⁰ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Pittaway, Purdon and Brown to Department of Agriculture, 5 July and 13 July 1893.

³⁰¹ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Warneford to Cowper, 17 July 1893.

³⁰² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Department to Warneford 2 August 1893.

The year 1894 brought Warneford's blatant and unashamed manipulation of the permit system to ensure that he obtained a permit for himself into the open and caused the abandonment of the policy adopted by the Department in 1893.

The first application, submitted on 3 January 1894, was for Warneford to hunt a buffalo on Crown land in the Kowie Forest rather than on private land.³⁰³ Cowper suggested that this application should be considered with other applications that might be received in due course prior the commencement of the open season³⁰⁴ and Warneford was informed accordingly.³⁰⁵ Not being satisfied with the response he wrote directly to Cowper, informing him that he had discussed a buffalo permit for himself with Currey directly during a visit to Cape Town, and that Currey "very kindly thought it could be managed and that I was to send in the official application." Warneford went on to appeal to Cowper, as a sportsman, to reconsider his request and claimed that he had not applied early so as to anticipate other applications but rather because he wished to make arrangements "as the early bird in this case catches the worm."³⁰⁶ Significantly for the present argument, the personal appeal to Cowper as a fellow gentleman and sportsman was effective and the desired permit was finally issued on 27 January 1894.³⁰⁷

Whilst Warneford's application was being considered other applications were received by the Civil Commissioner's office but these were not forwarded to the Department until Warneford had been granted his preferential permit. Two applications that were received shortly after Warneford's application but were withheld, were those of two medical doctors of Port Alfred, B.B. Newnham, and Walter Atherstone, both of whom wished to shoot a buffalo bull each in the Crown Forest.³⁰⁸ John Landsdell sought a similar permit to shoot a buffalo on Crown Land on the Kowie River,³⁰⁹ J.C. Fletcher of the farm Wellington requested a permit to shoot a buffalo on the farm Blaauwkrantz,³¹⁰ and W.E. Pike to shoot a buffalo on his farm Dundas.³¹¹ Minto only forwarded these applications to the Department on 21 February 1894, with the comment that there were about 300 buffalo in the division; that he "knew all the applicants to be keen good sportsmen"; and that he

³⁰³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Minto to Department of Agriculture, 3 January 1894.

³⁰⁴ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Marginal note Cowper.

³⁰⁵ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Department of Agriculture to Warneford, 10 January 1894.

³⁰⁶ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford to Cowper, 17 January 1894.

³⁰⁷ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Permit issued on 27 January 1894 to Warneford to shoot one buffalo in the Kowie Forest "in the coming season".

³⁰⁸ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Application B. B. Newnham, 6 January 1894; Application W. Atherstone, 24 January 1894.

³⁰⁹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Application John Landsdell, 30 January 1894.

³¹⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Application J. C. Fletcher, 14 February 1894.

³¹¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Application E. Pike, February 1894.

recommended the grant of the permits.³¹² The five permits were duly granted. An application was also received from J. B. Greathead, a medical doctor of Grahamstown, to shoot one buffalo bull and cow, and this was granted even though the animals did not occur on his own land. Applications were also granted to landowners to shoot buffalo on their own land or that of fellow landowners. George Penny was granted a permit to shoot a buffalo bull on his farm Wolf's Craig;³¹³ H.C. Kent to shoot a bull on his father's farm Whitcoomb³¹⁴ and Edwin Clayton of Fish River Mouth to shoot a buffalo at The Coombs on the Kent's farm.

Despite the fact that permits were granted to local residents to shoot buffalo, Warneford tried to ensure that such permits were denied to sportsmen from outside his district. Thus on 11 May 1894 Thomas Brown of Guildford in the Cathcart district applied for permission for his son to shoot a buffalo in the Kowie East bush, stating that "they want sport when they come down to Albany on leave". A report under the signature of Minto motivated the refusal of the permit on the ground that while permits were frequently denied to farmers and others resident in the district, it would seem hardly fair to give them to residents outside.³¹⁵ On 25 May 1894 Warneford, presumably in an attempt to motivate the denial of permits to outsiders, reduced his estimate of the number of buffalo in the district from 300 and advised the Department that he estimated the number of buffalo in the Kowie Forest to be limited to only 50 or 55, and those in the Fish River (in the district known as The Coombs) to about 80, adding that "at the rate that they have been shot in the past few years, they will soon be exterminated."³¹⁶ Thompson immediately noted the reduction and added a marginal note to this letter that "Warneford has a permit to shoot one himself this season," and that the Department had been informed on 21 February 1894 that the estimated number of animals in the division was 300 and that Warneford had informed the Department as recently as 3 January 1894 that the annual increase was 4 to 5 animals in the Kowie Bush and the same for The Coombs. Despite Warneford's attempts to limit the grant of permits to those resident in the district, Brown was granted a permit, the Department informing Warneford that no further permits would be granted that year.³¹⁷

³¹² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Letter Minto to Department of Agriculture, 21 February 1894.

³¹³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. G. Penny to Civil Commissioner Bathurst, 11 March 1894. The permit was granted by Currey on 29 March 1894.

³¹⁴ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. H. E. Kent 7 March 1894; Minto to Department of Agriculture, 14 March 1894; The permit was issued on 29 March 1894.

³¹⁵ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Minto to Thompson, 17 May 1894.

³¹⁶ CAB, Agr 68, Ref 234. Warneford to Department of Agriculture, 25 May 1894.

³¹⁷ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Cowper to Warneford, 14 June 1894.

The grant of the permits to Warneford and Drs. Newnham and Atherstone to shoot buffalo in Crown Forests came to the attention of Joseph Lister, the Conservator of Forests, who had not been consulted or informed before the permits were granted. Lister raised the issue of the grant of the three permits to hunt in the Crown Forest, stating that:

I have learned indirectly that Dr. Newnham, Dr. Atherstone and J. J. Warneford of Port Alfred have recently received permits to shoot one buffalo each in the Kowie Forest. I would bring to your notice that the number of buffalo in these forests is rapidly diminishing and, if not rigidly protected, they will become exterminated in the near future.....Also that you will now inform the gentlemen named, that they cannot use beaters or delegate to others the permission they have received. I understand that they are issuing invitations and organizing a big hunt. I would also enquire for what period the permits are available and the conditions upon which they are issued. Usually on these occasions much other game is destroyed.³¹⁸

The Department noted the comments of Lister, and Thompson prepared a memorandum that reveals his concerns:

I do not see that we can do anything in the matter this year except to refuse further permits. We cannot now impose restrictions on the permits issued which have been issued unconditionally. But we might write off to Warneford and ask him, in case he is one of the numbers of the projected hunt, to discourage as much as possible extensive driving and disturbance of game by a large body of hunters and beaters and also reckless slaughter of smaller game. After his many reports on game matters, it seems strange that he should contemplate a “big hunt”. Mr. Lister has I hope been misinformed in his case. I would suggest that no buffalo shooting at all should be allowed in the Kowie Bush next season.³¹⁹

On 3 August 1894 Warneford reacted strongly and at length to the Department’s letter seeking clarification of his intentions, seeking to ensure that the permits granted to him and his friends were not revoked or limited in any way. He wrote a personal letter to Currey in which he placed the blame for the reduction in buffalo numbers not upon hunters but upon woodcutters cutting wood in the forests (to whom Lister’s office granted permits), advancing the argument that sportsmen such as himself performed an essential role in combatting poaching in Crown Forests:

If you could most kindly hinder, or at least control in certain limits this wood cutting the revenue from which I imagine must be very trifling, it would mean a step towards better protection of the buffalo in this its last home in the Colony – but to give just two or three permits each season to men really interested in preserving these splendid game animals (may I include myself), is I may venture to say so, not an unwise step, as the mere knowledge that these few sportsmen have these permits will deter others from poaching – ie for fear of being caught.³²⁰

³¹⁸ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Lister to Currey, 27 June 1894.

³¹⁹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Internal memorandum by W. W. Thompson, 5 July 1894.

³²⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford to Currey, 3 August 1894.

Warneford assured Currey that the complaints that had been made regarding his proposed hunt were grossly misleading, provided a detailed description of a buffalo hunt and continued to motivate the grant of permits to shoot in Crown Forests to “men really interested in preserving these splendid game animals (may I include myself).”³²¹ Apparently feeling it necessary to protect the reputation of his friend Dr. Walter Atherstone, he wrote again to Currey that he was “notoriously one of the last men to do an unsportsmanlike thing.”³²² The objections and concerns of Lister were brushed aside after the intervention of the political authority in favor of Warneford and his friends, Currey informing Lister that the Secretary Agriculture, John Frost, had directed him to respond that the permits already granted for the 1894 season would not be restricted for the area for which they were available, the Secretary “not being disposed” to force any restriction in that regard upon the permit holders, particularly in the light of the explanation that had been provided by Warneford.³²³

The third phase: subversion of policy by political intervention: 1895

The identity of Warneford’s two or three men “really interested” in preserving buffalo who should be granted permits to kill them during 1895 was soon revealed, the three candidates selected being Warneford himself (to hunt on the farms Percival or Radies Vley in The Coombs); George Penny (for his farm Wolf’s Craig); and Dr. Newnham (for Crown land in the Kowie Forest). On 17 January 1895 Warneford applied to the Department for the grant of these three permits, motivating the grant of one or two permits “to men who will not abuse them”, as a method of combatting poaching. He suggested that a poacher could never feel sure that one of the licensees might not appear on the scene, and that poachers would otherwise feel secure in having the “vast forests” to themselves.³²⁴ The request for permits in three different areas was probably designed to give the three applicants the opportunity to hunt in all three localities.

The attempt by Warneford to secure the only three permits for the year 1895 for himself and his friends posed a number of challenges. It would, if acceded to, have restricted the permits issued for 1895 to men who had already held permits during the previous two hunting seasons. The application for Dr. Newnham was contrary to the assurance given to Lister that no permits would be granted during 1895 to hunt buffalo in Crown forest. Penny was the only one of the three on who owned the land on which buffalo occurred. The new argument about deterring poachers was also

³²¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford to Currey, 3 August 1894.

³²² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford to Currey, 15 August 1894.

³²³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Currey to Lister, 11 August 1894. Warneford’s letter dated 3 August 1894 was attached.

³²⁴ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford, as Acting Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Bathurst to Department of Agriculture, 17 January 1895.

clearly spurious as the area was vast; the permit holders were unlikely to be out hunting in more than one locality at a time and probably not during office hours on week days; and furthermore the permit holders were limited to the open season which was not a consideration or limitation to possible poachers.

Thompson prepared an internal memorandum dated 25 January 1895 in which he pointed out that assurances had been given to Lister that no permits would be issued to shoot on Crown land in the Kowie Forest and that in the circumstances a permit could not be issued to Dr. Newnham to hunt in the Kowie Bush. To grant permits to Penny and Warneford, and to refuse them to owners of property who might be protecting the animals (and who should be encouraged in their efforts by being allowed to shoot one occasionally) would be unfair. Thompson accordingly recommended that, if only three permits were to be allowed, it would be preferable that no permits at all be granted for the 1895 season and that the buffalo be given a chance to increase. On the other hand, if more than three buffalo could be shot without doing any harm to the population, he queried why the three permits proposed by Warneford should be the only ones to be granted.³²⁵

Warneford continued to promote his own interests and those of his friends and on 26 January 1895 submitted an application for the grant of a fourth permit to Elijah Pike of the farm Dundas in The Coombs. This application was accompanied by the explanation that the purpose of the permit was to enable Pike to join him in the hunt for which he had already asked permission, and that not more than one animal would be killed between them.³²⁶

Currey decided not to grant any of the three permits and that, in view of the scarcity of buffalo in the district and the need for numbers to increase, no permits would be granted for the 1895 season to hunt buffalo in the Bathurst district.³²⁷

In a repetition of his 1893 and 1894 campaigns, and despite the decision having been taken that no permits would be granted for 1895, Warneford still attempted to have the policy reversed. On 23 March 1895 George Penny addressed a letter to Warneford, requesting him to approach Government on his behalf, motivating the grant of a permit to him on four grounds.³²⁸ It appears probable that the author of the document was Warneford, as it is in the form of a memorandum and set out in point form, and letters on file suggest that Penny had little literary ability. The first point

³²⁵ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Internal memorandum by W. W. Thompson dated 25 January 1895.

³²⁶ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford to Department of Agriculture, 26 January 1895.

³²⁷ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Currey to Civil Commissioner Bathurst, 11 February 1895.

³²⁸ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. George Penny, 22 March 1895.

raised in the name of Penny was that he was one of the largest landowners in the Lower Albany District and that there were more buffalo on his farm than on any other; secondly that he was “debarred from slaughtering one of these no matter whatever destruction they may afford in my lands, without a special permit which it appears an impossibility to obtain”; thirdly that he had done his best to “hinder unauthorized persons destroying these, although for scientific purposes I have had to submit to their destruction”; and fourthly that it would be very hard on him if he could not get a permit, once in a while, to “shoot one for my pleasure and profit”. Warneford forwarded this document to the Department, recommending that the permit be granted and adding that many buffalo were present on Penny’s farm Wolf’s Craig and that these were “most jealously protected by him”. He added that there were a number of farms (though they were principally dense bush) adjoining the Kowie bush, these being Wolf’s Craig, Holling Grove, Wesley Wood, Rokeby Park and Langholm, and that it was to the owners of these farms that “we” have to look for the protection of the buffalo; that Penny “has loyally done his bit”, as had the owners of Holling Grove and Rokeby Park. On the other hand the owner of the farm Langholm had allowed a buffalo to be killed on his land unlawfully during February 1894; that he had himself tried and sentenced those involved, and that his judgment was presently under review by the Eastern Districts Court. He suggested that the Government “would recognize the wisdom of distinguishing between those who aid in protecting this fine game, and those who aid the slaughter of it”. He concluded by stating that it was not unreasonable for a landowner, on whose land these were a large number of buffalo, to be allowed to kill one of them.³²⁹

The authorities were unmoved by Penny’s application, Cowper noting that a decision had been taken not to grant permits to shoot buffalo in the Bathurst district during the 1895 season so as to enable buffalo numbers to increase.³³⁰ On 4 April 1895 the Department refused Penny’s application and advised that although Penny’s efforts at protection were appreciated it did not seem too much to ask for landowners to “hold their hand” for a season.³³¹

Someone with connection to the political authority, most probably Warneford, must have then lobbied John Frost, the Secretary of Agriculture, to have the decision to refuse a permit to Penny overturned. There is an undated note on file that John Frost understood from Penny that the number of buffalo on his farm Wolf’s Craig had considerably increased; that he did not make use of the permit granted him the previous year; and that Frost wished permission to be granted for the

³²⁹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford to Department of Agriculture, 23 March 1895.

³³⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Marginal note Cowper, 29 March 1895.

³³¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Currey to Warneford, 4 April 1895.

shooting of two buffalo bulls on that farm. An unidentified official noted that he knew nothing of this, and Thompson sought guidance from Currey, commenting that it appeared that Frost wanted the permit to be granted and would send the permit himself. Thompson enquired whether, with this one exception, the decision to refuse all permits would still be adhered to.³³² On 12 June 1895 Currey advised Warneford that, on further consideration, Frost had decided to make a special exception in the case of Penny, and to grant him permits for two buffalo bulls for Wolf's Craig.³³³ During the course of the political intervention in the administrative process the number of buffalo bulls for which the permit was requested was increased from one to two animals, presumably for the benefit of Warneford and his associates. This was the second year that Frost had personally intervened to assist Warneford and his associates. Frost and Warneford were probably well known to each other, having served contemporaneously as officers during the same frontier conflicts in the eastern Cape. It was probably also no co-incidence that Frost, in addition to being Secretary for Agriculture, was also the Member of the Legislative Assembly for the Queenstown parliamentary constituency, in which town Warneford had served until June 1889 as Clerk to the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate prior to his transfer to the Department of Agriculture as Chief Clerk. There is no evidence that Frost ever intervened to assist any other applicants.

George Penny and his sponsors were still not satisfied and on 13 June 1895 Currey addressed a memorandum to Frost, informing him that Penny now wished his permit to be extended to the Crown Forest adjoining his farm. He drew attention to Lister's remarks on the subject and pointed out that the Department would have great difficulty resisting applications from others if Penny's request were to be granted. Penny had held permits for 1893 and 1894, and a special exception had been made for the farm Wolf's Craig for 1895, but he hoped that Penny would be informed that the Crown Forests were to be rigidly preserved.³³⁴

The Department, having granted one permit as an exception, was now faced with more applications for permits to hunt buffalo, one of these being that of Warneford, the consideration of which had stood over pending the finalization of the Penny application.³³⁵ The applicants were Charles and John Wilmot of Highlands (to shoot one buffalo between them on Penny's farm Wolf's Craig); J. McDougal (for his farm Claypits); and G. R. Fletcher³³⁶ and W. Warneford (to hunt on the farm

³³² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Marginal note Thompson to Currey, 11 June 1896.

³³³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Currey to Warneford, 12 June 1895.

³³⁴ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Internal memorandum Currey to Secretary for Agriculture, 13 June 1895.

³³⁵ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Undated marginal note on memorandum to Secretary for Agriculture dated 13 June 1895.

³³⁶ George Fletcher was a farmer of the farm Mt. Wellington. Cuylerville is near Port Alfred. *The South African Directory for 1883-1884*. Cape Town: Saul Solomon & Co, 1883, 29.

Whitcoomb in The Coombs owned by Kent family). McDougal's application was submitted through the office of John Hemming, Civil Commissioner of Albany. McDougal was suspected of involvement in the incident of the unlawful shooting of a buffalo on the farm Langholm the previous year and Warneford, who had been instrumental in his conviction and was unaware of the application, expressed personal outrage. McDougal had motivated his request by representing that the buffalo's were destroying the crops on his farm but this would appear spurious, as McDougal was in reality a keen buffalo hunter.

Having failed in his attempts to obtain a permit to shoot a buffalo in the Bathurst district, Warneford next addressed a letter to John Hemming, expressing the hope that he would recommend his application to shoot a buffalo bull in the Fish River Bush in the Albany district. In support of this application he stated that "I am informed on the best authority these animals are, this year, exceptionally numerous", and that "Government is protecting buffalo in this division for this season, and this explains why I ask through your office."³³⁷ He did not disclose, as was customary, the identity of the owner of the land on which it was proposed to hunt, merely stating that he would have permission of the landowners. He also failed to disclose that his application to shoot a buffalo in the Bathurst division was still pending. Hemming recommended the grant of the permit, suggesting that no further shooting be allowed thereafter,³³⁸ but Lister opposed the grant of the permit.³³⁹ Thompson suggested in a marginal note dated 25 June 1895 that the Department should refuse all four applications but, clearly because the administrative consideration of permit applications was now subverted to decisions of the politicians, enquired whether his superiors wished the permits to be granted.³⁴⁰ Currey noted that the correct response ought to be that, due to the number of applications received that year and the growing scarcity of buffalo, Frost did not see his way to authorizing the grant of these permits.³⁴¹ Frost ultimately overruled Currey's decision and a memorandum addressed to Frost states that it was understood that he wished all applications for permits to shoot buffalo on private farms to be granted for 1895, but then refused the following year and a year or two thereafter.³⁴²

Frost's decision was that private landowners should be allowed to shoot buffalo on their own land during 1895, but that no permits were to be granted the following year so as to allow the animals to

³³⁷ CAB, Agr 210. Warneford to Hemming, 25 May 1895.

³³⁸ CAB, Agr 210. Hemming to Department of Agriculture, 30 May 1895.

³³⁹ CAB, Agr 210. Lister to Currey, 1 July 1895.

³⁴⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Internal memorandum Thompson to Currey, 25 June 1895.

³⁴¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Undated marginal note of Currey.

³⁴² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Memorandum Currey to Secretary for Agriculture, 5 July 1895.

increase.³⁴³ The practical effect of this decision, as noted by Thompson on 11 July 1895, was that the only application that could be granted was that of McDougal to shoot on his own farm, all the other applicants not qualifying.³⁴⁴ In the result, a permit was issued to McDougal on 13 July 1895 to shoot on his farm Claypits and the three other applications, including that of Warneford, were refused.

Hunting of buffalo without permits appears to have been commonplace. In response to a request from Currey to the Civil Commissioners of Bathurst and of Albany that they report to him on this subject, Warneford responded:

Two years ago, when I first came here, I was a guest in a house where I saw a fresh buffalo head, freshly killed, and in my asking about it was told that it was the head of a bull killed in the preceding December (ie out of season). As I was a guest in the house I refrained from asking by whom. I wish that the recent conviction of Clark and others, who were sentenced to pay £10 each for killing a buffalo out of season, will have an excellent and lasting deterrent effect. On the other hand I think it more politic, unless government is prepared to maintain a forest guard of some 20 to 30 men, to issue a reasonable number of permits annually, to land owners in the forest, ie on whose lands are buffalos. Those men form a better guard than any paid servants, but the numbers should be very restricted and under what may reasonably be calculated on as the annual increase in the herds – say three permits for the Kowie Forest, and three for the “Coombs”, the increase being at least over double that.³⁴⁵

Warneford's report confirmed that hunting and poaching was conditioned by issues of class and behavior perceived as making up the gentleman's code of conduct. When a guest in the house of a poacher Warneford, despite his position in the Office of the Resident Magistrate, felt constrained by the gentlemen's code not even to raise the issue or to later mention the name of the transgressor. On the other hand, when poachers with whom he had no personal connection were prosecuted for the same contravention he had no hesitation in hearing the case and making an example of the accused.

The fourth phase: permits for private landowners: 1896 – 1897

Warneford's attempts to obtain a permit in his own name to shoot buffalo for the 1895 season having failed, he soon opened his campaign for 1896 despite being aware of the decision of Frost that no permits were to be issued that year. He commenced his campaign by addressing simultaneous personal letters to Lister and Cowper. In his approach to Lister, who to his knowledge opposed the grant of permits to shoot buffalo in Crown Forest, he wrote:

³⁴³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Marginal note Thompson dated 6 July 1895.

³⁴⁴ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Internal memorandum Thompson, 11 July 1895.

³⁴⁵ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford to Department, 4 July 1895.

....may I hope that you will give me your recommendation in regard to one buffalo (bull) in Kowie Forest, where we have done our very best in the past two years to hinder the poaching that undoubtedly used to go on there – and with the good result that buffaloes have greatly increased (one big bull the other day ran out on to a neighboring farm, a thing unknown for many years). I ran in the owner of “Langholm”, a farm adjoining the forest a few months ago for killing a buffalo out of season and without a permit, and he and his two conferants were fined £10 each – a lesson they are not likely to forget. Without in any way presuming to offer advice, yet if you could before recommending permits most kindly give us an idea as to whom the applicants are, we might possibly be in a position to tell you what their status and claims are. Personally I apply early because in hunting buffalos one has to look out for one or two experienced men to go with you.³⁴⁶

In a letter addressed to Cowper a few days later Warneford represented that he would rather not recommend more permits than there was a likelihood of being granted, and that he would be “awfully obliged” if he could be given some idea of the number of permits that would be allowed. He went on to explain that although he understood that no permits would be granted for the Government Reserves in the Kowie Forest (rather a remarkable statement in the light of his application to Lister five days previously to be permitted to do so), he hoped that the Department would see the “desirability” of granting one or two permits for shooting buffalo on private farms. He then went on to suggest the candidates to whom these permits should be granted. He proposed that as George Penny of Wolf’s Craig had been issued two permits the previous year, one permit be issued to Bowles of Holling Grove “and might my name be put down for one on the same farm. Bowles, Penny and I could then go out twice in the season, once on Bowles’ permit and once on mine (It takes three hunters to go after one buffalo).”³⁴⁷ Thompson noted on the margin of the letter– “Why Penny? He does not recommend a permit for him. I suppose he means 1 Penny; 1 Bowles; 1 Warneford”. With regard to The Coombs, Warneford recommended that, because the Timms of the farm Elephant Park had been issued with two permits the previous season, that Pike of the farm Dundas and van der Merwe of the farms Percieval and Radies’ Vley be issued with one permit each.³⁴⁸ This letter was written before any applications had even been submitted by the men recommended for permits and was a clear attempt to arrange the grant of permits prior to any applications being received.

Before his letter could be responded to Warneford wrote again to Cowper, stating that he would receive no better Christmas present “than a couple of lines to tell me that my claims to a permit to shoot one buffalo have been admitted (and between you and I, I honestly think I have some little claim)”. He added that if the grant of permits to shoot on farms adjacent to the Kowie Forest were

³⁴⁶ CAB, FS 3/1/48, Ref 570. Warneford to Lister, 25 November 1895.

³⁴⁷ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford to Cowper, 30 November 1895.

³⁴⁸ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. To this statement Thompson noted in the margin: “No. Job Timm got a permit for one”.

objected to, he had secured permission from the owners of the farms Clay Pits and Coombs Vale.³⁴⁹ The owner of Clay Pits was McDougal, the same man who had been implicated by Warneford in the unlawful killing of a buffalo on Langholm, and the grant of a permit to whom had engendered Warneford's expressions of outrage. Warneford represented that although it was really immaterial in whose name the permit was given, because that person invited the owner of the land and "brother sportsmen" to join him, it was wise now and then to be the inviter and not the invited. He ended by assuring Cowper that this would be the last year that he would ask for a permit, as it would be somebody else's turn the following year.

The personal approach to Cowper almost yielded Warneford's Christmas present and Cowper noted to Thompson that "he supposed" that the permit could be issued.³⁵⁰ Thompson prepared an internal memorandum to Currey dated 13 December 1895 in which he sought instructions.³⁵¹ In his submission Thompson referred to the Departmental decision of 6 July 1895 that no permits at all were to be granted for the Kowie Bush during 1896, but suggested that some permits might be granted to landowners who preserved buffalo carefully on their own farms, so as to encourage them to look after the game. He commented that Warneford was most "pertinacious in applying for a permit for himself" and that, though not a landowner, he had "evinced much interest in game preservation and it seems hard to refuse him." Currey referred the matter for decision to Frost for a final decision.³⁵² The final decision was that of Frost, and Currey initialed a minute dated 10 January 1896 indicating that Frost understood that there were very few buffalo left and it was his view that they were to be protected. In no case would he allow anyone, unless an owner of land on which buffalo were living, to shoot any. The buffalo should however be protected entirely for the year 1896.³⁵³ This decision appears to have been final and there is no evidence that any permits were granted during 1896 to shoot buffalo in either the Bathurst or Albany districts. Unfortunately that year brought a new and even deadlier threat to the remaining isolated populations of buffalo – that of rinderpest.

The policy of limiting the grant of permits to landowners to shoot buffalo on their own land was strictly adhered to for the 1897 season. J.B. Greathead applied for a permit to shoot one buffalo bull and one cow during 1897, the application being recommended by Minto who explained that

³⁴⁹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Warneford to Cowper, 9 December 1895. The application was accompanied by a consent signed on 9 December 1895 by the owner of Coombs Vale, W. R. Dixon. The letter itself is written out in Warneford's own hand, Dixon adding an almost illegible signature.

³⁵⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Marginal note Cowper to Thomson.

³⁵¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Internal memorandum Thompson 13 December 1895.

³⁵² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. Memorandum Currey to Frost, 13 December 1895.

³⁵³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. File note dated 10 January 1896, initialed by Currey.

Greathead would only go with some of the farmers of the Division to whom the Department had given permission to shoot buffalo, but that he was afraid of joining their shooting parties without being armed with a permit himself.³⁵⁴ Thompson prepared a memorandum on the application in which he stated that in view of the “trouble” that the Department had had in the matter of granting permits for buffalo shooting in the Bathurst district, it had been decided that permits were to be granted only to landowners shooting on their own farms. As Greathead’s application was on quite a different footing, he did not see how the Department could grant the application and refuse the others. Another official added a note that the permit could not be granted, the only possible ground for the grant being if it was for “scientific purposes”. Thompson instructed that a letter be written declining the permit; drawing attention to the reasons; and “expressing regret”.³⁵⁵ The response addressed to Minto, dated 3 May 1897,³⁵⁶ was signed by Tooke and explained that in view of the recent decision to restrict the granting of permits to kill buffalo’s to landowners wishing to hunt on their own properties, it would not be fair to grant Greathead a permit when all the other applicants had been refused.

During July 1897 Greathead accompanied the Timm family of Elephant Park on a buffalo hunt on their farm during which a young buffalo cow was shot. There are a number of photographs taken after the hunt, one including Greathead and the owners of the farm, Job, Fred and Rio Timm standing behind the dead buffalo. Another image in the series shows the head of the buffalo on the ground with the African beaters and dog handlers crowded around. A third image, taken after the head of the buffalo had been cut off as a trophy, shows the dog handlers who had assisted in the hunt standing around with the dogs used in the chase tethered on chains.

³⁵⁴ CAB, Agr 376, Ref 1592. Minto to Currey, 20 April 1897.

³⁵⁵ CAB, Agr 376, Ref 1592. Internal memorandum Thompson, 24 April 1897.

³⁵⁶ CAB, Agr 376, Ref 1592. Tooke to Minto, 3 May 1897.



Figure 7: Buffalo hunt, Elephant Park July 1897, left to right: Job, Fred and Rio Timm and J.B.Greathead (Photo: J.B.Greathead)



Figure 8: After the hunt, beaters with pack of dogs used in the hunt and severed buffalo head, Elephant Park, July 1897. (Photo: J. B. Greathead)

The fifth phase: total prohibition by proclamation: 1898 -1900

Due to concerns at the diminishing herds, to which the ravages of rinderpest most probably contributed,³⁵⁷ the remaining buffalo were protected in the Bathurst District by Proclamation for a period of three years from 22 October 1897 to 21 October 1900.³⁵⁸ There is no evidence that any permits were granted during this period of official protection. Hewitt refers to a statement of J. C. Penny (presumably of the Wolf's Craig family) that the Buffalo perished in the Kowie Bush during the rinderpest epidemic.³⁵⁹ It would appear that some individuals survived in or near the Kowie bush, such as on Wolf's Craig, for a few more years.

The final phase: limited hunting and local extinction 1901 - 1916

On 4 March 1901 and after the expiry of the period of three years protection, Warneford once again and for the last time renewed his campaign to shoot a buffalo and wrote to Tooke, Currey's successor, asking what chance there was of his obtaining permission to kill a buffalo on George Penny's farm Wolf's Craig, describing Penny as his friend. He continued putting forward the spurious argument that the grant of permits to a selected few sportsmen deterred poachers, suggesting that the grant to him of such a permit "would really honestly do good, as it would encourage him to see to the protection of the herd – and deter poaching from outsiders."³⁶⁰ William Scully, the then acting Civil Commissioner for Bathurst, having been requested for a recommendation, replied that the local Divisional Council had resolved the previous week to recommend that buffalo be specially protected by Proclamation for a further three year period, and that he was accordingly unable to recommend Warneford's application.³⁶¹ In an internal submission Thompson commented that Scully had reported to the Department that there were now only 15 buffalo left in the Bathurst district, a diminution of the 50 individuals estimated to exist in 1899, and enquired why this had happened.³⁶² An official added a marginal note to the application: "Please. This is very lamentable. I wonder Warneford asked."³⁶³ The permit was declined, the reply referring to the Secretary of Agriculture having heard how few buffalo were left, and recording that the local Divisional Council sought to protect buffalo for a further period of three years.³⁶⁴ Scully's

³⁵⁷ Skead. *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape*, 82.

³⁵⁸ Proclamation 462/1897 issued in terms of Section 11 of the Game Law.

³⁵⁹ Hewitt, John. *A Guide to the Vertebrate Fauna of the Eastern Cape Province, Part 1: Mammals and Birds*. Grahamstown: Albany Museum 1931, 51

³⁶⁰ CAB, Agr 376, Ref 1592. Warneford to Tooke, 4 March 1901.

³⁶¹ CAB, Agr 376, Ref 1592. Scully to Under Secretary for Agriculture, 19 May 1901.

³⁶² CAB, Agr 376, Ref 1592. Internal memorandum Thompson, 28 March 1901.

³⁶³ CAB, Agr 376, Ref 1592. Marginal note dated 29 March 1901.

³⁶⁴ CAB, Agr 376, Ref 1592. Department to Warneford 30 March 1901.

census return for 3 April 1901 confirmed the decline in numbers, it being reported that the number of buffalo in the division were limited to 15 and 20 individuals.³⁶⁵

During December 1899, when the South African War was still far from over, Warneford lobbied for position for himself and wrote directly to Joseph Chamberlain, requesting to be considered for a post in either the Transvaal or the Orange Free State “at the conclusion of the present military operations”. Chamberlain referred the letter to Alfred Milner with the comment that Warneford should be informed that it was premature to consider his application “at the present time”.³⁶⁶

Warneford’s final use of his connections for personal advantage came with his retirement and during January 1904 he wrote personally to Cowper (who was no longer an official in the Department of Agriculture but was Secretary to the Prime Minister of the Cape) requesting that his retirement from the civil service be postponed to from 1 June to 30 June 1904, citing financial reasons.³⁶⁷ Cowper wrote to the Attorney General Thomas Graham³⁶⁸ on Warneford’s behalf, requesting that if he could “possibly oblige old Warneford I should be grateful. He did good work in the Department of Agriculture under me in ’92 and is a worthy though erratic old cuss.”³⁶⁹ The request was duly acceded to. Faced with the prospect of retiring after a lifetime of service with the designation of Chief Clerk to the Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Bathurst, Warneford addressed a letter dated 3 June 1904 to Lonsdale, Assistant Secretary to the Law Department, and requested that he be pensioned as Assistant Resident Magistrate for Bathurst, without the additional designation of Clerk to the Civil Commissioner, explaining that it would cost the government nothing as he sought only the title and not any associated financial benefit. Warneford added that after 18 years service in the army and 23 ½ years in the civil service his relatives in England might regard him as “very small beer” if he ended his career as a Clerk and that the indulgence sought would do him a “kindness”.³⁷⁰ Lonsdale’s superiors had no objection, and Warneford returned to England on his retirement with his vanity and need for social status and recognition satisfied.³⁷¹

³⁶⁵ CAB, Agr 376, Ref 1596. Census return submitted by Scully, 3 April 1901.

³⁶⁶ CAB, GH, vol1/466, Ref 131. Joseph Chamberlain to Alfred Milner, 1 December 1899.

³⁶⁷ CAB, Agr 1394, vol1, Ref 1583. Warneford to Cowper, 26 January 1904.

³⁶⁸ Thomas L. Graham, Q C was Attorney General of the Cape from 19 February 1902 to 21 February 1904. He was succeeded by Victor Sampson, K.C.

³⁶⁹ CAB, Agr 1394, vol 1, Ref 1583, Cowper to Graham, 2 February 1904.

³⁷⁰ CAB, Agr 1394, vol 1, Ref 1583. Warneford to Lonsdale, 3 June 1904.

³⁷¹ Warneford’s need for recognition is also explained by the status achieved by his children. His son Gonville Warneford entered the imperial service and served as a Captain in the Indian Staff Corps and Assistant Political Resident in Aden. He was killed whilst on duty in the hinterland of Aden on 3 March 1904 and there is a brass memorial plaque for him, and other members of the Warneford family, at St. Michael’s Church, Highworth,

During September 1906 one of the few remaining buffalo bulls in the Bathurst district, known as “Wol Zak”, was shot on the farm Elephant Park, the purpose being to preserve his remains for mounting as a specimen for the King Williamstown Museum. A permit was obtained from the Secretary for Agriculture and permission granted by the landowners, Job Timm of Elephant Park and William Pike of Dundas, the hunt being described by Frank Pym the Museum director.³⁷² C.J. Skead suggests that the decline in buffalo numbers had reached the point where extermination was considered inevitable and as the aged bull would either have fallen victim to poachers or died and been lost in the bush, a decision was taken to shoot the animal and mount his body as an example of the buffalo of the region.³⁷³

There were still a few buffalo present in the Albany district in 1902, the Civil Commissioner reporting in his census return to the Department dated 5 March 1902 that there were estimated to be 15 buffalo on the farm Kalk Vley, owned by J. J. Kent.³⁷⁴ Greathead’s diaries include references to a buffalo hunt during the period 16 to 20 July 1906 on the farm of the Kent family during which five buffalo were seen but no shots fired.³⁷⁵

Scotney suggests that Charlie Kent admitted to hunting the last buffalo in the Albany district, which was shot on “picnic hill” on the southern boundary of his farm Widcombe, and the horns thereafter presented to the Adelaide museum.³⁷⁶ Tom Webb, the owner of the farm Tharfield relates local lore and provides an insight into voluntary game protection and utilization by local farmers. He states that the last herd of buffalo in the Bathurst district, consisting of about twenty five animals, ranged over four adjoining farms – Elephant Park, Glen Garry, Sportsdale and Dundas, and records that:

The owners of these four farms mentioned above managed the buffalo herd in such a way as to keep its numbers constant. Each year by agreement the Pikes, Timms and Kents shot one buffalo each. During the First World War, when these landowners were serving their country, unscrupulous poachers took the opportunity of hunting these animals until the last one was shot.³⁷⁷

Wiltshire, England. One daughter Winifred married a successful barrister, Thomas Joseph Strangman, (later Sir Thomas) during 1896, who was appointed Attorney General at Bombay, India and his daughter Beatrix married Major O’Neal Seagrave, an Irish-born army officer who served in South Africa and was awarded the D.S.O in 1902. (Information obtained from website at <http://www.annmariejones.me.uk/family>, and the website of St. Michael’s Church: http://www.oodwooc.co.uk/ph_highworth.htm, both as viewed on 8 July 2013).

³⁷² Pym Frank A.O. *Visitor’s guide to the collections contained in the King Williamstown Museum* (ca 1907).

³⁷³ Skead, *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape*, 82-83.

³⁷⁴ CAB, Agr 377, Ref 1596. Graham to Department of Agriculture, 5 March 1902.

³⁷⁵ Gess, *Journals of J. B. S. Greathead*.

³⁷⁶ Scotney, P. *The Kent Family 1820-1986*. Fairie Glen: privately printed, 1986, 61.

³⁷⁷ Webb, Tom. *Port Alfred Beachcombers* (undated), 34.

Skead refers to a member of the Timm family who that there may have been as many as twelve or fifteen buffalo roaming at will on the farms Elephant Park and Dundas as late as 1916, but that these were killed by poachers, mostly Fingoes, from the East (Peddie) side of the Fish River whilst he and his generation were away serving in the armed forces in the First World War.³⁷⁸

The buffalo hunting experience

Buffalo hunting for sport was engaged in by men as a social activity and the difficulty and danger associated with the animal and the endurance required in traversing the almost impervious thickets of the riverine bush would have added to the experience.

Unlike the numerous accounts of buffalo hunting elsewhere in southern Africa there are very few such first-hand accounts for Bathurst district. One of the most detailed narratives is that of Henry Melladew, an international sportsman who had hunted extensively on the continents of America and Asia, and who described hunting buffalo in the Kowie Bush during the period 1891 to 1892.³⁷⁹ He describes how he and three companions, one of whom was probably the professional soldier Colonel R.F.J. Gascoigne to whom the book is dedicated, obtained permission to shoot two buffalo in Crown Forest at the Kowie. Farmers consented to the hunters crossing private land adjoining the forest and the hunt itself was assisted by two local farmers with a pack of ten hunting dogs of all descriptions.³⁸⁰ The dogs were used to follow and rush the herd, thereby bringing one or two animals to bay and affording the hunters time to approach. He graphically describes the strenuous physical activity of traversing the thick Kowie bush, with the hunters walking up steep slopes and down into valleys, stooping and creeping under low bushes and stumbling over creepers. What was possibly more important for Melladew than the chase, which was ultimately unsuccessful, was the companionship of male friends, the enjoyment of the open air, and the opportunity to camp together in tents which he describes as being erected in a campsite on green grass at the edge of the Kowie Bush, to which the tired hunters returned at the end of each day's exertion and, after supper and over their pipes, talked over the events of the day.

J.B. Greathead describes the similar enjoyment of the outdoors, in spartan conditions, in the company of men during the course of a buffalo hunt held during July 1906 on Charles Kent's farm

³⁷⁸ Skead, *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape*, 83-84.

³⁷⁹ Melladew, Henry. *Sport and Travel Papers*, London: T.Fisher Unwin, 1909, 160-167. The book was printed for private circulation only.

³⁸⁰ The hunting of the buffalo with dogs in the thick riverine bush of the region was not a recent innovation. Black, W.T. *The Fish River Bush, South Africa and its Wild Animals*, Edinburgh: Young J. Pentland, 1901, which reproduces a series of articles that originally appeared during 1853, states that the buffalo were hunted with dogs to bring them to bay, so as to afford the hunter the chance of a good shot.

at The Coombs. He describes the companionship of the hunt, as he and Kent rode together into the buffalo veldt, breakfasting together at an old hut “in the heart of the bush”. He and Kent spent a cold night in the middle of winter in a hut without a door, spending two days in pursuit of the buffalo without result.³⁸¹

These two buffalo hunts are no doubt typical of many others, the narrators emphasizing the excitement of the chase, the enjoyment of male company, physical exertion and endurance and camping in the open air. The actual killing of the animal was simply an added bonus, the lack of which does not appear to have detracted from the enjoyment of the whole. After all, as Robert Morrell recognized, in the context of the Natal Midlands, the importance of hunting, the dangers of the wild, the pleasure of communing with nature and skill with firearms played an important role in masculine values in colonial society.³⁸²

Conclusion

The official exchanges of correspondence between buffalo hunters, local officials and the authorities in Cape Town provide valuable insights into hunting in the Cape Colony and the politics of the competition to control the identity of those who would be allowed to hunt the few remaining buffalo.

The struggle for the opportunity to shoot buffalo pitted competing interest groups one against another. Over a period of time, and as the number of animals were reduced, ever further groups were excluded from the opportunity to hunt. The first to be denied the right to hunt were the rural and urban poor who hunted for subsistence or some form of commercial gain, this being condemned by sportsmen and officials alike as “pot hunters” and “unsportsmanlike”. Africans and poor white farmers were, as elsewhere in the world, regarded as direct threats to game.³⁸³ This left only the “gentleman” recreation hunters who were designated as being the only “true sportsmen” and it was for them that hunting was reserved. The next contestation was between the sporting interests of local sportsmen and those from outside the district, the locals succeeding in persuading the authorities to exclude the foreigners.

³⁸¹ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 264.

³⁸² Morrell, Robert. *From Boys to Gentlemen: Settler Masculinity in Colonial Natal 1880-1920*. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2001, 81.

³⁸³ Adams, William M. “Sportsman’s Shot, Poacher’s Pot: Hunting, Local People and the History of Conservation” in *Recreational Hunting, Conservation and Rural Livelihoods: Science and Practice*, edited by Barney Dickson, Jon Hutton and William M. Adams, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, 127-140.

The final struggle for the right to hunt was between the local urban elite and the rural landowners, with the latter eventually succeeding in gaining the upper hand on the pretext that the buffalo came onto on their private land, that they took steps to preserve the animals, and that they should accordingly be rewarded with the grant of a limited number of permits. Because the buffalo were restricted to the thick bush of the river valleys, control over hunting buffalo in the region came to be controlled by small communities of landowners whose farms adjoined these areas.³⁸⁴ In the Bathurst district a small community of English speaking and mostly Wesleyan descendants of 1820 settlers, clustered around the villages of Southwell, Bathurst and Clumber controlled buffalo hunting. Further to the east near the Fish River Valley and in the valley of The Coombs families such as Timm, Pike and Kent enjoyed a similar position.

The buffalo of the Bathurst district were not capable of being enclosed and moved freely through the thick bush of the region, from public land to private land and from the land of one private landowner to that of another. The limited impetus for buffalo preservation in the Bathurst district was not from what has been described as the “economic and sporting instincts of farmers”,³⁸⁵ but was instead characterized by attempts by officials in Cape Town to decree from a distance that the locals desist from or limit hunting. “Commodification” of the buffalo, to use the phraseology of Van Sittert, did not take place unlike the case of wild animals such as the ostrich, kudu or springbuck that were more easily contained and “privatized”.

This intense competition for permits in the Bathurst district was complicated by the personal hunting ambitions of Warneford who sought to use his position and influence to control the identity of those to whom permits were granted. His subordination of the permit system to his own personal interests and those of his friends is well documented. In pursuit of these interests Warneford blatantly and unashamedly utilized his personal influence and connections with former colleagues in the Department of Agriculture, and on occasion with the political head John Frost, to obtain favors and exceptions to the established policy, gaining opportunities to hunt buffalo denied to others. This misuse of position for own advantage was also present in other jurisdictions such as Zululand, where complaints were made that Resident Magistrates, who were empowered to grant of permits, refused permission to the public to hunt while hunting when they liked.³⁸⁶ Such local

³⁸⁴ The consequences of enclosure of private farmland are explored by Lance van Sittert in “Holding the Line,” 95-118. and “Bringing in the Wild,” 278.

³⁸⁵ Brown, Karen. “Cultural Constructions of the Wild,” 75-79 at 92.

³⁸⁶ Ellis, Beverley. “Game Conservation in Zululand 1824 – 1947, Changing Perspectives,” *Natalia* 23 and 24 (1993/4), 27-44 at 38. Donal McCracken also comments that the magistrates of Zululand, who decided on the grant of permits, were powerful men, not least when it came to deciding who would and who would not be allowed to shoot.

abuses were probably limited to some extent because the ultimate discretion to grant permits vested in the hands of officials in Cape Town rather than at local level. Warneford's conduct frustrated attempts to limit hunting; undermined a consistent policy; and must have created a sense of injustice in those who were denied rights that he obtained for himself and his associates. His was an ongoing and gross example of a civil servant using his own position to further his own personal interests in conflict with his duty.

The story of the buffalo and their hunters provides evidence of a local hunting tradition, unique in its own way, that makes up a part of the patch-work quilt of small traditions and exceptions to general trends in the narrative of hunting and game in the late nineteenth century Cape Colony.

A complainant stated that there was "no rule to go by except the personal good will of the magistrate". McCracken, Donal P. *Saving the Zululand Wilderness: An Early Struggle for Nature Conservation*. Pretoria: Jacana, 2008, 142. Shirley Brooks in *Changing Nature: A Critical Historical Geography of the Umfolozi and Hluhluwe Game Reserves, Zululand 1887-1947* (PhD diss.), Queen's University, Kingston, April 2001, 153, points to the conduct of the Resident Commissioner for Zululand, Sir Melmoth Osborn, who consistently advised the Governor to refuse hunting licenses to people who made application to hunt "royal game", and advocated penalties for those who shot rhino, none of which prevented him from shooting rhino himself.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STAG OF THE EASTERN CAPE? POWER, STATUS AND KUDU HUNTING IN THE ALBANY AND FORT BEAUFORT DISTRICTS, 1890 TO 1905.

Introduction

The kudu stood at the apex of the social hunting pyramid in the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts.³⁸⁷ The argument is advanced in this chapter that the hunting of the kudu, and its privatization in the eastern Cape Colony, became one of the small but significant local traditions that together played a role in shaping hunting and associated game preservation in the Cape Colony as a whole. The kudu was, together with the buffalo and a few remaining elephants in the Addo bush, the only big game species still occurring in the eastern Cape. By the late nineteenth century the kudu in the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts were restricted to private land, the animal filling the niche occupied by the scarce and desirable stag in the British hunting community.³⁸⁸ It will be shown that the operation of the Game Law reinforced the power of the local rural gentry and kudu hunting became a socially stratified phenomenon. In the process, a local hunting culture arose that differed sharply from that applicable to the hunting of more numerous animals such as springbuck or bushbuck. This development is considered, at the same time examining the role of the landowners in protecting kudu and exploring the constructed identity of the small body of sportsmen who exercised the privilege of engaging in kudu hunting.

Recent studies of hunting in the Cape Colony during the late nineteenth century have either focused on sport hunting in the Cape Colony in general terms³⁸⁹ or examined local hunting traditions of

³⁸⁷ The Greater kudu, *Tregalaphus strepsiceros*. The name is derived from the Khoikhoi name “kudu” and was previously also referred to as “koodoo”.

³⁸⁸ Roche, Chris. “‘Fighting their battles o’er again’: the springbok Hunt in Graaff – Reinet, 1860-1908,” *Kronos*, 29 Environmental History (Nov. 2003), 86-108. Shirley Brooks in *Changing Nature: A Critical Historical Geography of the Umfolozi and Hluhluwe Game Reserves, Zululand 1887-1947* (PhD diss.), Queen’s University, Kingston, April 2001, 147, points out in the context of Zululand that the animals and birds that were given the status of game were chosen because they represented the species that most closely resembled the animals preserved on private estates in England for sports hunting. Thus, the kudu of the eastern Cape filled the niche of the stag, and also provided good “sport” and was considered to be a “noble” quarry.

³⁸⁹ Van Sittert, Lance. “Bringing in the Wild: The Commodification of Wild Animals in the Cape Colony/Province c 1850-1950,” *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), 278; Brown, Karen. “Cultural Constructions of the Wild: The Rhetoric and practice of Wildlife Conservation in the Cape Colony at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *South African Historical Journal* 47 (Nov. 2002), 75-79

hunting game such as springbuck³⁹⁰ or bushbuck³⁹¹ but none have considered the dynamics of hunting listed or royal game. Hunting in the Cape Colony during this period was regulated by the Game Act 1886.³⁹² An ordinary hunting license, available for purchase from the local magistrate, entitled the holder to hunt small game and antelope such as springbuck, bushbuck and duiker provided that the license holder either owned the land on which the game was to be found or was able to obtain permission from the landowner to hunt. As Lance Van Sittert has pointed out, thousands of these licenses were issued annually to members of the public.³⁹³ This license system, apart from providing statistics of the number of licenses purchased in the various districts, does not provide any opportunity for enquiring into the identity and purpose of the license holders.

The Game Act, and more particularly Section 4, prohibited the hunting of listed larger or scarcer game animals (later defined as “royal game”³⁹⁴) including antelope such as kudu, blesbok or gemsbok, without a special permit granted by the Governor. These permits were issued free of charge to applicants³⁹⁵ who were already the holders of ordinary game licenses, and allowed the holder to hunt a stipulated number of these animals on specified land. The administrative process required that all such applications, accompanied by written consent of the landowner, be submitted through the Office of the Civil Commissioner in the Magisterial District in which the applicant proposed to hunt and the recommendation of the local Civil Commissioner was required before any permit was granted. These permit applications, the recommendations made by the Civil Commissioners at local level, and the factors taken into consideration in the exercise of the discretion whether or not to grant permits, offer an unparalleled opportunity for a detailed enquiry into the identity and purpose of the individual hunters and the construction of hunting communities in the diverse districts that made up the Cape Colony.

³⁹⁰ Roche, Chris. “‘Fighting their battles o’er again’: the springbok Hunt in Graaff – Reinet, 1860-1908,” *Kronos*, 29 Environmental History (Nov. 2003), 86-108. Local conservation in the Graaff-Reinet is considered by William Beinart in “The Farmer as a Conservationist: Sidney Rubidge at Wellwood, Graaff-Reinet, 1913-1952” in *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock and the Environment 1770-1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 304-331.

³⁹¹ Van Sittert, Lance. “Class and Canicide in Little Bess: the 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemic,” *South African Historical Journal*, 48, (2003), 207-234.

³⁹² Cape of Good Hope Act 36 of 1886, promulgated 6th July 1886.

³⁹³ Van Sittert, Lance. “Bringing in the Wild: The Commodification of Wild Animals in the Cape Colony/Province c 1850-1950,” *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), 278. Van Sittert notes that in the twenty five years after 1886 more than 125,000 licenses were purchased in the Cape Colony.

³⁹⁴ The definition of “royal game”, similar to the listed game of Section 4 of the Game Law, 1886, was introduced by the Game Law Amendment Act, Act 11 of 1908.

³⁹⁵ A fee for the issue of a permit to shoot listed or royal game was only introduced in 1908 in terms of Section 2 of the Game Law Amendment Act, Act 11 of 1908 which provided for a royal game license to be issued at a cost of £ 3 to persons domiciled in the Cape Colony and £ 25 to persons domiciled outside the Colony.

The study in this chapter is the first that seeks to reconstruct a complete representation of a local hunting community engaged in the hunting a single important animal species (in this case study the kudu) by utilizing the surviving permit applications as source material. The magisterial districts selected, being those of Albany and Fort Beaufort, are geographically contiguous and constitute a single human community and ecological unit. By identifying the owners of the land on which the hunting of kudu took place, and enquiring into the identity, occupation and class of the hunters to whom permits were granted, it is possible to draw valuable conclusions regarding the local hunting traditions and social dynamics.

Historical incidence of kudu in the region

The thick bush near the Koonap River was always a stronghold of kudu and the presence of these animals was the subject of regular comment by military men stationed in the frontier zone. Lt. William R. King, travelling from Grahamstown towards Fort Beaufort in 1851, describes going by way of the Ecce Pass to Fort Brown and then to the Koonap River where his party outspanned for a couple of hours in the morning and “saw two magnificent kudu” which “disappeared in the thick bush before any of the stalkers were within rifle range. One of them a splendid fellow, as large as a mule with long upright spiral horns full three feet high.”³⁹⁶

An assistant surgeon, W.T. Black, stationed on the eastern Cape frontier with the Army Medical Staff during the years 1848 to 1852, described the kudu as being one of the “handsomest of buck”, and that it might be observed in small herds, or solitary, about the Fish River Rand, their refuge being the bushy kloofs.³⁹⁷ Black describes the contemporary Boer hunting techniques, being to search for spoor on horseback and, when a kudu entered a kloof, to summon dogs to drive the quarry out into the open, the hunters stationing themselves at the head of the kloof to secure a shot. The meat was used for biltong and the hides, which Black valued at £ 1 each, were used for the manufacture of wagon whips or sold for dressing.

The British sportsman and game preservationist Henry A. Bryden, writing in 1889 after a visit to southern Africa, expressed the then commonly held view that the British or English hunters were sportsmen and the Boer hunters were irresponsible butchers. He states that kudu of the eastern Cape were then “fairly abundant” and “of late years, indeed, owing to the preservation of British farmers,

³⁹⁶ King, William R. *Campaigning in Kaffirland, or Scenes and Adventures in the Kaffir War of 1851-2*, London: Saunders and Otley, 1853, 37.

³⁹⁷ These accounts originally appeared in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* of July to October 1853 and later in book form as Black, W.T. *The Fish River Bush, South Africa and its Wild Animals*, Edinburgh: Young J. Petland, 1901, 23.

it has even largely increased in numbers”, adding that “It is hardly necessary to mention that, if left to the tender mercies of the Boers, this antelope would soon be mercilessly shot off”.³⁹⁸ In a later work published in 1897 Bryden expressed the view that the kudu had increased and multiplied thanks to the “preservation of English farmers” and had even become fairly abundant on a few private farms. The shooting season was described as being a short one, allowing the animals to remain entirely unmolested during the rest of the year, this providing an “excellent example of what may be done elsewhere in South Africa by timely and intelligent preservation.”³⁹⁹

John Hewitt (director of the Albany Museum) writing in 1931 considered the increase in kudu numbers in the Fish River Bush over the “last few decades” as being attributable to the fencing of farms that had made it easier for the farmers to protect the animals. He mentions the late Mr. George Tomlinson of Koonap who had “championed the cause of kudu preservation in the region and was largely instrumental in preventing their extinction here.”⁴⁰⁰ A contrary view advanced in 1920 by F.W. Fitzsimmons, the then director of the Port Elizabeth Museum, though not supported by the available evidence, was that the credit for kudu survival in the Cape Colony was to be attributed to Government rather than private initiative.⁴⁰¹

The hunting of kudu in the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts

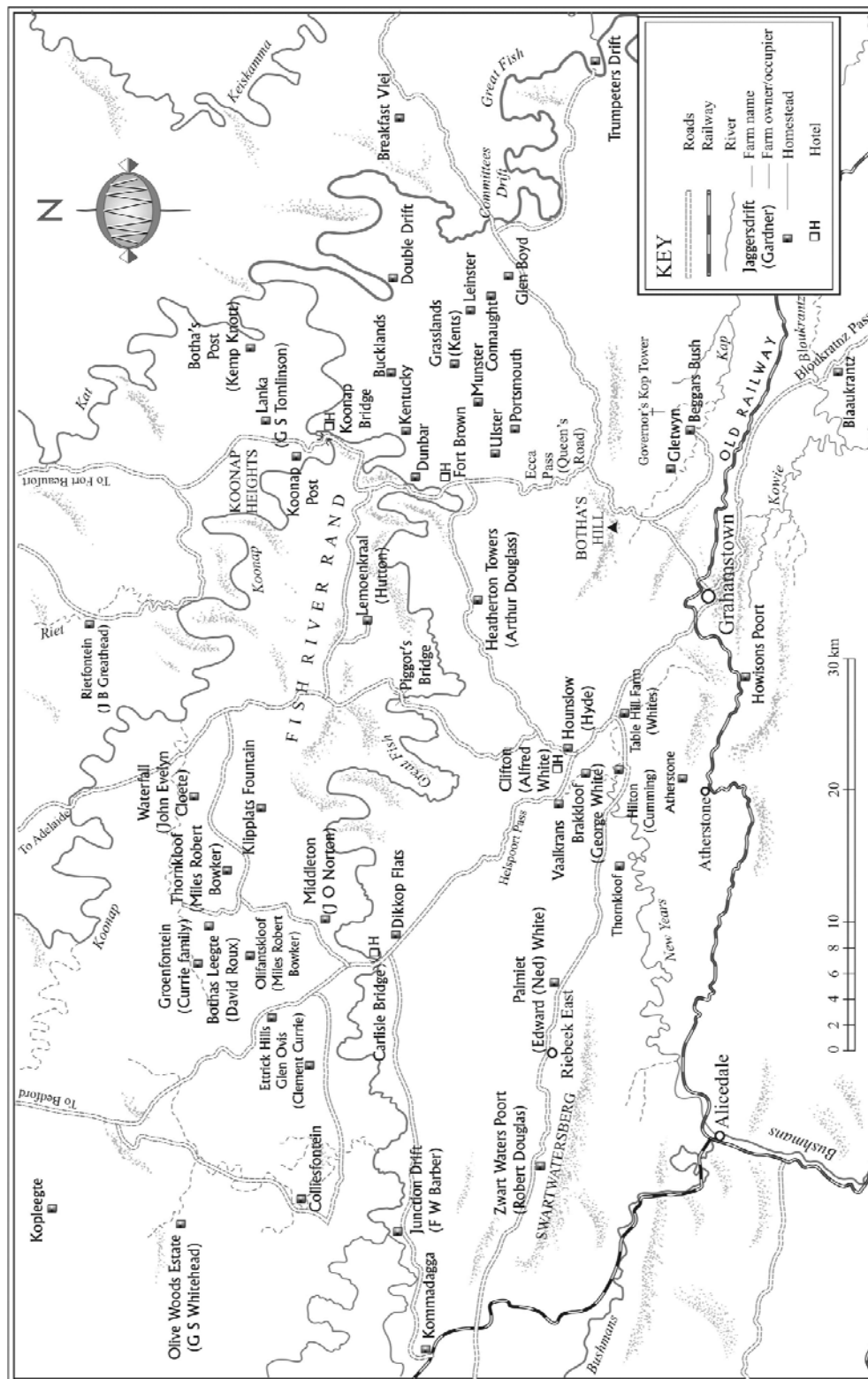
The kudu was, and remains to this day, relatively common in the Albany and Fort Beaufort Districts, particularly in the Fish and Koonap River valleys. The separate treatment of the kudu populations of the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts was – as this chapter will show - an accident of administrative rather than geographical or ecological boundaries, the kudu moving at will within the region and rendering it impossible to distinguish for census purposes in which district a kudu was “resident”. Some farming blocks, such as that of the Tomlinson family, were divided by the boundaries of the Albany and Fort Beaufort magisterial districts. On the other hand the considerably greater population of Kudu in the Uitenhage district was geographically separate and distinct.

³⁹⁸ Bryden, Henry A. *Kloof and Karroo, Sport, Legend, and Natural History in Cape Colony*, London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1889, 292.

³⁹⁹ Bryden, Henry A. *Nature and Sport in South Africa*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1897, 242 -243.

⁴⁰⁰ Hewitt, John. *A Guide to the Fauna of the Albany District, Part I, Vertebrates*. Grahamstown: Albany Museum, 1931, 50-51.

⁴⁰¹ Fitzsimmons, F. W. *The Natural History of South Africa*, vol. iii, London: Longmans Green and Co, 1920, 129.



Map 2: Albany and Fort Beaufort Districts showing locations for which permits were issued for hunting of kudu.

The introduction of the Game Law and the period of total prohibition

Shortly after the introduction of the Game Law in 1886 the hunting of kudu was prohibited within the Fort Beaufort district for a three-year period from 30 April 1888 to 30 April 1891,⁴⁰² and again from 19 April 1891 to 19 April 1894 in terms of Proclamations published in the Government Gazette in terms of Section 11 of the Act. Hunting of kudu was also prohibited in the Albany district for the three-year period 30 April 1888 to 30 April 1891 but this prohibition was not renewed for a further three years. No permits were issued during these periods of total protection, even to landowners to hunt on their own farms.

These periods of prohibition, which also applied to hunting on private land by the owner, were the cause of considerable frustration to law abiding landowners such as George S. Tomlinson of the farm Lanka, who considered the measure unfair and unenforceable and had voluntarily limited hunting on his own land prior to 1886.

The architects of local protection of kudu on private land

Two families, the Tomlinsons and the Knotts, owners of large swathes of land in the kudu heartland in the valleys of the Koonap and Fish rivers, were at the forefront of promoting limited hunting of kudu on their land for sporting purposes. This was an initiative that was voluntarily engaged in by local landowners, even before the commencement of the Game Law, and was not one imposed from above by officialdom.

The comments of John X. Merriman, in opposing the Game Law being made of application to landowners hunting on their own land, are particularly apposite to landowners such as the Tomlinsons. Merriman argued during the third reading of the Game Law Bill in the Cape House of Assembly that he considered the real question to be whether the game belonged to the owner of the land or the Government. He considered that farmers ought to be allowed to shoot wild animals on their own land whenever they liked, adding that “Nothing could be done with a game law except with the consent of those that hold the land.”⁴⁰³ Game preservation on private land clearly depended upon the inclinations of the individual farmer. The debates and objections raised in the House of

⁴⁰² Cape of Good Hope Proclamation 69 of 1888.

⁴⁰³ Debate in the House of Assembly on 23 June 1886. *Cape of Good Hope: Debates of the House of Assembly, In the Third Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Cape of Good Hope, opened on the 9th April, 1886*. Cape Town: Murray and St. Ledger Printers, 1886, 445.

Assembly to the proposed legislation did not touch upon the control of hunting of listed game such as kudu, but instead focused upon the rights of landowners to hunt animals such as springbuck, for which the sportsman required an ordinary hunting license. These more numerous animal species were the focus of rivalry between the self-styled rural gentry and the urban elite, both of whom wished to secure hunting opportunities.

The Tomlinson family had established itself on the Koonap by the early 1830's, having immigrated to the Cape Colony in 1820. George Tomlinson, the first member of that family to settle in the area, was a well-known local character who kept a roadside inn near Post Koonap, his hostelry being regularly remarked upon by travellers passing along the road from Grahamstown to Fort Beaufort. Tomlinson was treated with respect by passing British officers, having the revered status of a life guardsman who had served at Waterloo. He saw action again in the frontier war of 1835 when a determined attack upon his inn was repulsed with remarked upon gallantry. Lt. Colonel Eylers Napier passed by in 1846, at a time that the frontier was again at war, and described crossing the Koonap River, passing the small military post and finding the inn loop holed and barricaded.⁴⁰⁴

George S. Tomlinson, the nephew of the old soldier, commenced farming on Lanka in about 1878 and by his own account voluntarily limited hunting of kudu on his land from that time. This notwithstanding, the effect of the prohibition introduced during 1888 in the Fort Beaufort district meant that he was denied the right to shoot any kudu on his own land during the six year period from 1888 to 1894.

Having been refused a permit for the 1888 season, Tomlinson addressed a letter to William Scully,⁴⁰⁵ the acting Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for the Fort Beaufort district and himself a keen sportsman, in which he sought support for an application to the authorities for the grant of a permit to shoot a kudu on his own farm, motivating his application as follows:

I scarcely think the Government will refuse my application when I state that I have preserved these animals upwards of 10 years (of course long before I was compelled to do so by law) and there are large numbers at present on the place. Several of the older bulls have been driven off the farm by the younger animals, and are frequently shot and destroyed on other farms in the neighborhood. I beg that I may be permitted to shoot one full grown bull for my own use.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Napier, Eylers. E. *Excursions in Southern Africa*, London: William Shoberl, 1850, vol. 2, 80-83.

⁴⁰⁵ William Charles Scully was briefly Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Fort Beaufort from May 1889 to January 1890, when he was transferred to Namaqualand. Kilpin, Ernest F. *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List for the year 1893*. Cape Town: W.A.Richards, 1893.

⁴⁰⁶ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 3536. G. S. Tomlinson to W. Scully, 9 June 1889.

William Scully recommended the grant of this permit, writing to the Department that:

Mr. Tomlinson states that he has reserved kudu on his place for upwards of 10 years and that a considerable number of these animals are now there. This I have ascertained from separate sources is quite true. What Mr. Tomlinson states about the old bulls being driven off by the young ones is also true.... As Mr. Tomlinson has set such a very good example to farmers in preserving this rare species of game from destruction, it is I beg to submit, only fair that he should be allowed to reap some benefit accordingly.⁴⁰⁷

The permit for 1889 having been declined, Tomlinson renewed his request for the 1890 season, addressing a letter to Scully's successor, in which he motivated why he should be granted a permit:

That I have been the caretaker of the koodoos before the Government and had I not protected them 11 years ago and since they would have been exterminated in these parts ere this. When I first came farming in 1878 there was scarcely a koodoo to be seen; I have within the last two months seen as many as 9 bulls in one herd..... I have been a sportsman the last 11 years and have done my best to protect game, not only kudu but ewe bucks of all descriptions and I can safely say that there is no farm in the district that has more game on than mine..... my farm has on it at the present time a large number of koodoos roughly I say 50-70 and they mean something to protect and graze which deserves some consideration. I think it I great hardship and an injustice considering what I have done to protect the game not being allowed to shoot any of the old koodoo bulls for my own use as they are utterly useless for breeding purposes. They are being driven from the herds by the younger bulls. As you know, I am not the man to shoot anything but old bulls.⁴⁰⁸

Tomlinson's statement that he permitted the kudu to graze on his farm, and by implication that the animals consumed the grazing that could otherwise be available for domestic livestock, was a regular refrain on farms where the game was considered to compete for scarce resources. Landowners were prepared to accept the perceived loss of grazing if they could enjoy the opportunity of hunting.

The Civil Commissioner recommended Tomlinson's application, at the same time emphasizing the frustration that Tomlinson experienced in the face of refraining from hunting whilst others hunted without permits with impunity. He also warned of the consequences of denying landowners the right to hunt, with the likely consequence that the kudu would not be considered to have a value for sporting purposes:

The facts stated by Mr. Tomlinson in his letter enclosed are substantially correct, and I fear that should the application now made be refused, the koodoos will have a bad time of it when their period of protection has lapsed. Mr. Tomlinson's farm had been the place at which koodoos have been protected for years, and it is very galling to him to see old bulls wander off one by

⁴⁰⁷ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 3536. W. Scully to Department, 11 June 1889.

⁴⁰⁸ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 2356. G. Tomlinson to W. Scully, 23 May 1890.

one to adjoining farms to be shot under government permission as in the case of Mr. Campbell, or as frequently happens, destroyed by persons at isolated spots, illegally it is true, but at the same time with perfect impunity. I therefore most strongly urge principally for the preservation of this breed of these animals, that Mr. Tomlinson's, in my opinion most reasonable request, be acceded to.⁴⁰⁹

Tomlinson's application for a permit to shoot a single kudu bull on his own farm during the 1890 season was also declined, the Department citing the special protection afforded to kudu in the Fort Beaufort district for the three year period from 30 April 1888 to 30 April 1891.⁴¹⁰ On 9 April 1894, in anticipation of the expiry of the six years of protection, Tomlinson requested a permit to shoot three kudu bulls on his farm Lanka during the 1894 open season, which request was granted.⁴¹¹ Tomlinson subsequently applied for the permit to be amended to allow one of the three bulls to be shot by George Johnson, a keen hunter and fellow landowner, and this request was also granted.⁴¹²



Figure 9: George S. Tomlinson and kudu shot by J. B. Greathead, Lanka, 22 June 1906. (Photo: J.B.Greathead)

⁴⁰⁹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort to Department of Agriculture, 5 June 1890.

⁴¹⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. Department to Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort, 16 July 1890.

⁴¹¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582.

⁴¹² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. G. S. Tomlinson to Department of Agriculture, 28 April 1894.

George Tomlinson applied for permits to shoot five kudu bulls on his farm Lanka during the 1895 season, as also for one permit for a Mr. W. Dick, a general dealer of Healdtown.⁴¹³ This application was further amended as the Civil Commissioner shortly thereafter recommended permits for six kudu bulls to be shot on Lanka, three for G.S. Tomlinson and one each for A.W. Preston⁴¹⁴ and G. Pilkington⁴¹⁵ of Fort Beaufort and for W. Dick of Healdtown. A further permit was granted to John Richards of Fort Beaufort to shoot one kudu bull on Lanka, the consent of Tomlinson having been obtained, bringing the number of permits granted for Lanka for the season to seven.⁴¹⁶ Permits were thereafter regularly granted to hunt on Lanka, both for Tomlinson and for his friends and guests. One of the regular guests was Dr. J.B. Greathead of Grahamstown who hunted on Lanka, usually in company of Tomlinson, during the years 1901, 1905 and 1906.

William George Tomlinson also farmed on the Koonap, but his farm Koonap Heights, although situated near George Tomlinson's farm Lanka, fell within the Albany and not the Fort Beaufort district. After the expiry of the three-year protection of kudu in the Albany district on 31 April 1891, W.G. Tomlinson was granted permits to shoot five kudu bulls on his farm during the 1891 season, but only three were shot. During June 1891 Greathead went out hunting with the Tomlinson and secured a fine old kudu bull that was described as being "perfect" and a "magnificent specimen". The primary sporting purpose is confirmed by the measurement of the horns, the weighing of the animal and the skin being taken off and rubbed with alum. The entire kudu head was preserved, being transported into Grahamstown on the doctor's buggy together with two hindquarters. As will be shown in this chapter, the authorities considered the shooting a kudu for sport and thereafter eating the meat as being acceptable, but permits were not granted to those whose purpose in hunting was for the pot or to make biltong.

On 4 April 1892 W.G. Tomlinson wrote to the John Hemming, Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for Albany, stating he had been issued with a permit to shoot five kudu bulls during the previous year but that only three were shot (one each by J.B. Greathead, Mr. Stirk⁴¹⁷ and Tomlinson's own son), and requesting that he be allowed to shoot the two remaining bulls during

⁴¹³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. G. S. Tomlinson to Department of Agriculture, 24 April 1895. Mr. W. Dick was a general dealer at Healdtown in the Fort Beaufort district. *The General Directory of South Africa, 1905*. London: Dennis Edwards & Co, 1905, 554.

⁴¹⁴ A.W. Preston was at the time Chief Clerk, Office of the Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort. Kilpin, Ernest, F. *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1908*, Cape Town: Cape Times Ltd, 1908.

⁴¹⁵ G. Pilkington was an attorney and notary of Fort Beaufort. *The General Directory of South Africa, 1896-7*, London: Dennis Edwards and Co, 148.

⁴¹⁶ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. Department of Agriculture to Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort, 9 May 1895.

⁴¹⁷ Probably C. J. Stirk, proprietor of C.J. Stirk and Son, a successful firm of ironmongers in Grahamstown. *The General Directory of South Africa, 1896-7*, London: Dennis Edwards and Co, 1896, 152.

the 1892 season. Hemming forwarded Tomlinson's letter to the Department with a recommendation that permission be granted.⁴¹⁸ An official noted on the rear of the document that the permit did not cover the transfer of the right to others.⁴¹⁹ Hemming acknowledged receipt of a letter from the Department (which is not on the file), which presumably raised the issue of persons other than Tomlinson, as permit holder, having shot the kudu bulls, and stated:

...both Dr. Greathead and Mr. Stirk hold game licenses. This being the case and Mr. Tomlinson having a permit to shoot five kudus on his own property, I cannot see that he contravened the law by inviting two of his friends who held game licenses to help him to shoot the number of animals he was permitted to shoot. Nor do I think the gentlemen mentioned could be prosecuted for contravening Section 4 when they were asked by Mr. Tomlinson to assist him..... I would strongly recommend the granting of the permit as through Mr. Tomlinson's careful preservation of kudus over the years the number have so largely increased on his property as almost to become a nuisance.⁴²⁰

The Knott family was also not a newcomer to the region. George Knott the patriarch was born in England in about 1818 and appears to have farmed at Botha's Post, Koonap, since approximately 1850 and he was still living there in the early 1890's. He and his sons regularly hunted kudu on the family farm and every year granted permission to a large number of sportsmen to do likewise.

Prior to the commencement of the 1894 hunting season, and in anticipation of the expiry of the six consecutive years of protection on 19 April that year, applications for permits were made by a Mr. Swan of Alice and Mr. A.W. Preston of Fort Beaufort to shoot a kudu bull each on Botha's Post, the consent of Ralph Knott accompanying the application. The Civil Commissioner recommended the applications, adding that kudu on the farm were "very numerous"⁴²¹ and the permits were duly granted. On 4 May 1894 Kemp Knott applied for a permit to shoot two kudu bulls on his farm, one for himself and one for John Richards. He motivated the application by stating that the kudu had been preserved in the division for a number of years and had become numerous, and that: "I have been preserving koodoos for a number of years and they are numerous so that the shooting of a couple will make very little difference to the herds, indeed it will do good as the younger bulls drive the older animals off my place."⁴²² Both permits were granted.

Prior to the 1895 season Kemp Knott applied for permits for himself and his three brothers (Joseph, George and John) to shoot two kudu bulls each on Botha's Post, the successful application being

⁴¹⁸ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. Hemming to Department of Agriculture, 3 May 1893.

⁴¹⁹ CAB, marginal note, Agr 209, Ref 1582, 13 May 1892.

⁴²⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. Hemming to Department of Agriculture, 1 June 1892.

⁴²¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort to Department of Agriculture, 5 April 1894.

⁴²² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. Kemp Knott to Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort, 4 May 1894.

motivated with the statement that “we have several hundred of these animals and it is expedient that some of the old Bulls be got rid of.”⁴²³ A.W. Preston, in the absence of the Civil Commissioner, supported the application, stating that the permits were “required for the purpose of thinning out the old bulls which are driving the younger ones away and will be used judiciously”.⁴²⁴ The same year permits were granted for one kudu bull each on Botha’s Post to Charles Tainton Rayner, Inspector in the Cape Police at Alice,⁴²⁵ Percy Cockcroft, Field Cornet of Victoria East; J. W. van der Vyver of the farm Smits Kraal in the Fort Beaufort district; and to D.C. Gradwell,⁴²⁶ Miles Bowker⁴²⁷ and W. Weeks, all farmers at Carlisle Bridge in the Albany district. The motivation for the grant of the latter application was that the three sportsmen were all very anxious to shoot a kudu so as to prepare the head and skins,⁴²⁸ once again serving to confirm that the nature of the hunt was for sport, and to secure trophies, and not for subsistence.

Shooting for ‘scientific purposes’ for the Albany Museum

The shooting of animals for “scientific purposes” was a consistent exception to the general rule that animals might only be shot for the purpose of sport. During 1890, and after some initial hesitation, the Department went so far as to grant permits to shoot a kudu bull and cow for the Albany Museum even though the three years prohibition was still in force.

Dr. Selmar Schönland, who was appointed as director of the Albany Museum during 1889, set about improving the museum holdings of specimens of all kinds and applied during 1890 for permits to shoot a kudu bull and cow in the Fort Beaufort district. The correspondence preserved at the Albany Museum indicates that the permits were initially granted and then subsequently revoked by the Department on the ground of the prohibition of hunting kudu in that district. The matter must have been resolved, as Greathead recorded in his diary that Schönland had obtained permits for a pair of kudu for the Albany Museum, and describes successfully hunting these animals in the

⁴²³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. Kemp Knott to Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort, 12 June 1895.

⁴²⁴ CAB, Agr 1582, Ref 1582. A. W. Preston, on behalf of Civil Commissioner Fort Beaufort to Department of Agriculture, 13 June 1895.

⁴²⁵ Charles Tainton Rayner, Inspector in the Cape Police at Alice. *The General Directory of South Africa, 1896-7*, London: Dennis Edwards and Co; Kilpin, Ernest F. *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1893*. Cape Town: WA Richards & Sons, 1893.

⁴²⁶ M. R. Gradwell, a farmer of Ertrick Hill, Carlisle Bridge. *The South African Directory for 1883-1884*, Saul Solomon & Co, Cape Town, 1883, 5.

⁴²⁷ Miles R. Bowker of the farm Thornkloof, Carlisle Bridge. *The South African Directory for 1883-1884*, Saul Solomon & Co, Cape Town, 1883, 5.

⁴²⁸ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582.

company of Schönland during June 1890 on the farm Botha's Post.⁴²⁹ Schönland, Greathead and Oswald Barry (son of Sir Jacob D. Barry, Judge President of the Eastern Districts Court and an officer in the Royal Navy) travelled out from Grahamstown to the Koonap, staying overnight at W. G. Tomlinson's.



Figure 10: Shooting for the Albany Museum: Kemp Knott and a kudu cow, Botha's Post during July 1891. (Photo: J. B. Greathead)

The hunt itself took place on George Knott's farm Botha's Post, Knott's sons assisting in their father's absence. Two other hunters, W.A. Smith⁴³⁰ and J.H. Webber,⁴³¹ both businessmen of Grahamstown, had also travelled out from Grahamstown to participate in the hunt and the kudu were pursued with the assistance of 25 beaters and a pack of dogs. After a hunt through various kloofs Greathead shot a kudu cow and Ralph Knott a kudu bull that had been brought to bay by the dogs against a steep krantz. The next day it was decided to shoot another kudu cow as the dogs had

⁴²⁹ Gess, David W. *The African Hunting and Travel Journals of J B S Greathead, 1884-1910*. Cape Town: Creda, 2005, 57-58.

⁴³⁰ Probably W. A. Smith, a wholesale boot manufacturer of Bathurst Street, Grahamstown. *The South African Directory for 1883-1884*, Saul Solomon & Co, Cape Town, 1883.

⁴³¹ Probably John Henry Webber, a butcher of Market Street, Grahamstown. *The South African Directory for 1883-1884*, Saul Solomon & Co, Cape Town, 1883.

spoilt the specimen of the previous day by tearing one of the ears, and Webber shot the additional animal. During May 1891 a further hunt took place for the Albany Museum on Botha's Post, this time in the company of the museum taxidermist Carl Wilde, Schönland having noted on his permit that he had transferred the permit to Wilde.

During March 1893 Schönland made a further application for a permit to shoot a kudu cow for the Albany Museum on the farm of W.G. Tomlinson of the farm Koonap Heights, which was duly granted on 11 April 1893. He motivated the application by stating that:

Mr. Tomlinson has kindly granted leave to kill a kudu cow on his property subject to that license being granted by the Government. The kudus have so largely increased on the abovementioned property and a few of the adjoining farms that they interfere to a certain extent with Mr. Tomlinson's farming operations and I hope therefore that there will be no objection to the above licenses being granted.⁴³²

For those who had no kudu on their own land, there was the possibility of establishing a kudu population. An example of game capture for breeding purposes appears from a letter dated 8 August 1892 addressed by C. Gardner of Harvest Vale, Salem to Arthur Douglass, M.L.A., at Cape Town.⁴³³ Gardner explained that he sought permission to "catch two young kudu calves", and stated that Mr. Tomlinson of Bathurst Street, Grahamstown who owned a farm on the Koonap, had given him the necessary permission to effect the capture which was proposed to take place in the summer months when the calves were more numerous. He stated that his own property was "enclosed and adapted for large game, there being plenty of bush and an abundance of water." The special permission sought was granted by the Ministers in the Executive Council (possibly because of the proclamation then in force protecting kudu), it being communicated on 17 August 1892 that special permission had been granted to catch two kudu calves on Mr. Tomlinson's farm on the Koonap in the Divisions of Albany and Fort Beaufort, "for the purpose of removing them to his own farm".

The identity of kudu hunters in the Albany and Fort Beaufort Districts

Kudu existed almost exclusively on private land in the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts and there is no evidence that these animals occurred on any Crown land or that permits were granted to shoot kudu on public rather than private land. In the result, the only opportunity to hunt kudu available to urban residents or persons who did not own the land on which the kudu occurred was through obtaining the consent of a landowner to hunt. The general position of the aspirant urban sportsman,

⁴³² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582.

⁴³³ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1592. C. Gardner to Arthur Douglass, 8 August 1892.

even where there was no intent to hunt listed or royal game, is well illustrated by a letter addressed by a Mr. H. Kemp of Port Elizabeth to the Commissioner of Crown Lands on 2 February 1892. Mr. Kemp requested permission to hunt on Government land near Port Elizabeth, explaining that although he had taken out a game license he had nowhere to hunt as all land was either private or Government land.⁴³⁴ The Commissioner's office refused the request, explaining that a game license did not entitle the holder to shoot or kill game on Government land.⁴³⁵ The dilemma of townsmen such as these who could take out a game license but were unable to participate in hunting emphasizes the power of the rural gentry as the arbiter of access by outsiders to hunting opportunities.

The privatization of the game coincided with the enclosure of private farms in the eastern Cape, as has been recognized and discussed by Van Sittert.⁴³⁶ One of the farms on which kudu were regularly hunted was Heatherton Towers owned by Arthur Douglass, member of the Cape House of Assembly for Albany and a pioneer in ostrich farming in South Africa. Douglass stated that before ostrich farming began in South Africa fencing for stock farming was unknown.⁴³⁷ Although the erection of fences did not limit the movement of kudu, which were capable of moving from farm to farm simply by jumping fences, the enclosure of private land served to delineate the boundaries of private land and would have assisted in combatting trespass.

After the expiry of the three years of protection of kudu in the Albany district, permits were issued for the 1892 season. The initial applicants were almost exclusively landowners seeking permission to hunt kudu on their own farms. In addition to the permit granted to W.G. Tomlinson to shoot five kudu bulls on his farm Koonap Heights, permits were granted to landowners, including Dennison Clarke to shoot two bulls on his farm Grasslands; H.C. Kent to shoot two bulls on his father's farm Kentucky; and H.C. Nel on his farm Dassie Schuur.

There was an increase in applications for the Albany district for 1893, Hemming observing to the Department that he considered the grant of 18 to 20 permits for the Albany district appropriate.⁴³⁸ The applications included the usual applications by landowners to shoot on their own land and requests were also received for leave to shoot on private land with the consent of the landowner. William Tucker applied for permission to shoot a kudu bull on his farm Portsmouth; W. G. Dunbar

⁴³⁴ CAB, Agr 69, H. Kemp, c/o Tudor Oil Works, Port Elizabeth to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 2 February 1892.

⁴³⁵ CAB, Agr 69, Sydney Cowper to H. Kemp.

⁴³⁶ Van Sittert, Lance. "Bringing in the Wild: The Commodification of Wild Animals in the Cape Colony/Province c 1850-1950," *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), 269-91.

⁴³⁷ Douglass, Arthur. *Ostrich Farming in South Africa*, London: Cassell. Peter, Galpin & Co, 1881, 29.

⁴³⁸ CAB, Agr 210. Hemming to Department of Agriculture.

on his farm Lifford Park; J.N. Humphrey on his farm Koedoekloof; and W.G. Tomlinson applied to extend his unused permit rights from the previous season. The guests of the landowners included W. Ayliff to shoot a kudu bull on the farm Ulster and C. H. Driver on the farm Kentucky, both with the consent of the owner Kent. There were similar applications for the 1894 season.

During 1895 permits were granted for the Albany district to 14 individuals to shoot a total of 17 kudu.⁴³⁹ The identity of the permit holders confirms the hold of local landowners over kudu hunting. William Tucker of the farm Portsmouth and James Lappan of the farm Connaught were each granted permits to shoot two kudu bulls on their own land. Permits to shoot one kudu bull each were granted to the following landowners or occupiers to shoot on their own land: G. G. Hayes of Carriqua Gunnil; A. Kent one bull on each of his farms Ulster and Kentucky; W. A. Bosch of Bezuidenhoutskraal; Isaac F. Nel of Dassie Schuur; and N.J. Frank (who described himself as “holder” of the farm Grasslands). The guests of landowners included Dr. Fitzgerald, a medical doctor of Grahamstown and a keen big game hunter, who was granted a permit to shoot a kudu on either Grasslands or Double Drift Outspan, both of which farms were owned by Dennison Clarke; W.J. Dold, a businessman and auctioneer of Grahamstown, to shoot on the farm Committees; and each of J. N. Naylor, Messrs. C.A., J.F. and S.P. Lombard and W.E. Ayliff on unspecified farms in the district.

The pattern of permit applications for the Fort Beaufort district for 1895 is similar to that for Albany, the majority of permits being granted to landowners to shoot on their own land.⁴⁴⁰ In addition to the permits granted for G. S. Tomlinson’s farm Lanka and the Knott’s farm Botha’s Post, permits were granted to D.W. Johnson to shoot one kudu bull on his farm Edenvale on the Koonap;⁴⁴¹ J.H. Wood on his farm Merino; George Johnson on his farm Windsor; W. Gilbert of Fort Beaufort on his farm Hopeful; and George S. Campbell and his brother Peter Campbell on their farm Waterfall.⁴⁴²

Joseph Lister, the Conservator of Forests (Eastern Conservancy) attributed the marked reduction in the number of permits issued during 1900 to the sale of ammunition being prohibited in the Cape Colony on account of the South African War. In addition, he noted that there had also been a sharp

⁴³⁹ CAB, Agr 210.

⁴⁴⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582.

⁴⁴¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. D. W. Johnson to Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort, 8 March 1895.

⁴⁴² CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1582. George S. Campbell to Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort, 10 June 1895. The address given for the Campbell brothers was the farm Rocklands.

reduction in the sale of ordinary game licenses to hunt on Crown Land, stating “most of our keenest sportsmen having betaken themselves to the front.”⁴⁴³

The information relating to permits granted by the Department to shoot kudu in the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts during the years 1901 to 1903 is far more comprehensive than for the previous period and a complete list of the number of permits granted, the permit holders, and the farm names for which the permits were issued, can be determined for these years with certainty. The occupations and identity of the permit holders has been determined through the use of sources such as contemporary gazetteers.

An analysis of the permits granted, in particular during the period 1901 to 1903, confirms that kudu occurred exclusively on private land and that no applications were made or granted to hunt kudu on Crown or public land or commonage in the region, no doubt because the kudu had only managed to survive on private land where the landowner had resolved to preserve the game.

A considerable number of the permits were granted to landowners or their families to hunt on their own land. Of the 79 permits granted for the Albany district, at least 24 (representing approximately 30%) were granted to farmers or their sons to hunt their own land and it is estimated that a further 11 permits (representing approximately 14%) were granted to guests who were also farmers and landowners in the district. In the case of Fort Beaufort the percentage was lower, mainly because of the large numbers of permits granted to shoot on the Knott’s farm Botha’s Post. Of the 102 permits granted for the Fort Beaufort district during these three years, no less than 51 (representing 50% of the total permits grant to hunt kudu in that district) were for Botha’s Post.

The guests of the landowners included fellow English speaking landowners, such as those who farmed in areas such as Carlisle Bridge in the Albany district where kudu did not occur. The urban guests were mostly locally resident English speakers from the professions, such as medical doctors,⁴⁴⁴ dentists,⁴⁴⁵ advocates⁴⁴⁶ or attorneys,⁴⁴⁷ or prominent and successful businessmen such

⁴⁴³ *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1900*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards. 1901, 102.

⁴⁴⁴ Dr. J. B. Greatehead was issued a permit to hunt in Albany on Kentucky in 1901 (owned by fellow Old Andean F. Douglass) and for the same year to hunt on Botha’s Post (Knott family); in 1902 to hunt on Lanka (George S. Tomlinson) and in 1903 of Heatherton Towers (owned by fellow Old Andean Arthur Douglass). Another medical doctor, who held permits for 1902 and 1903 was Dr. Smyth of Peddie. During 1895 Dr. Fitzgerald of Grahamstown was also issued a similar permit.

⁴⁴⁵ Harold Conder, a dentist of Grahamstown, was granted permits for 1901, 1902 and 1903, each year for a different farm owned by a different land owner.

⁴⁴⁶ Ernest W. Douglass, an Old Andean, hunting on his father’s farm Kentucky.

⁴⁴⁷ Hilton Hockly, an Old Andean and attorney of Fort Beaufort, held permits for each of the three years 1901 to 1903 to hunt on Botha’s Post.

as auctioneers,⁴⁴⁸ merchants (owners of businesses such as a chemist and druggist;⁴⁴⁹ a wagon maker;⁴⁵⁰ a baker;⁴⁵¹ a butcher;⁴⁵² and an outfitter/tailor.⁴⁵³) Other guests included prominent members of local society such as the Civil Commissioner,⁴⁵⁴ the Civil Commissioner's Chief Clerk,⁴⁵⁵ a Wesleyan Minister,⁴⁵⁶ and a School Headmaster.⁴⁵⁷ Dutch speaking landowners, where they did protect game, such as was the case with Isaac F. Nel of the farm Dassies Schuur, tended to invite Dutch speaking sportsmen to hunt on their land. There is no indication of any permits being granted to hunt kudu to any persons outside these social strata of local society. The hold of the private landowners over hunting, and the necessity of obtaining the landowners prior written consent in support of permit applications, meant that persons excluded from hunting did not seek permits from the authorities.

Were the sportsmen required to make payment to the landowners in exchange for the permission to hunt? Whilst there is little doubt that landowners would not have charged their friends, a family such as the Knotts might have required some form of remuneration as it is improbable that all the prospective sportsmen were friends or acquaintances. The local connection between the landowners and the hunters, and within the hunting community itself, was also conditioned by membership of male societies or clubs such as attendance at the same public school, or membership of a lodge of freemasons.⁴⁵⁸ A considerable number of the sportsmen had either themselves attended St. Andrew's College in Grahamstown,⁴⁵⁹ or had sent their sons to the school and/or served as

⁴⁴⁸ Horace Dold, an auctioneer of Grahamstown.

⁴⁴⁹ Henry Sinclair, a chemist and druggist of Fort Beaufort.

⁴⁵⁰ W. Clarke, a wagon maker of Fort Beaufort, held a permit to hunt on a farm owned by a Mr. du Preez.

⁴⁵¹ W. MacCullum, a baker of Fort Beaufort, held a permit to hunt on Botha's Post.

⁴⁵² W. T. Tharatt, a merchant and butcher of Fort Beaufort, held a permit to hunt on Botha's Post.

⁴⁵³ W. Brooks, an outfitter/tailor of W Brooks and Co of Church Square, Grahamstown.

⁴⁵⁴ J. d'Oliviera, administered martial law in Fort Beaufort 1901 to 1902 and was appointed Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Fort Beaufort in 1902. He held permits for 1901 and 1902, both for Botha's Post.

⁴⁵⁵ A. W. Preston, Clerk to the Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort.

⁴⁵⁶ Rev J. W. Thompson, a Wesleyan Minister, was granted permits to hunt kudu in each of the three years 1901 (for Botha's Post owned by the Knott family); 1902 (for Bucklands and Koonap, owned by A. Buckley, later C. Fletcher) and 1903 (for Grasslands or Glen Boyd owned by Kent and Lappan respectively). According to Drury, Edward Guy Dru. *United Lodge of Instruction No 389, Grahamstown. A Chronicle of St John's Lodge no 828* and Bate O H *Some Notes on South African Masonic History*, London: Spencer & Co, 1906, James Wilson Thompson (probably the same person) became a member of St John's Lodge in 1901 and died in January 1904. Members of the Lappan and Kent families were both members of the lodge.

⁴⁵⁷ Ernest Gerald Gane was Headmaster of Kingswood College in Grahamstown and from 1905 was a member of St John's Lodge. His permit for 1902 was to hunt on the farm Lanka of George S. Tomlinson.

⁴⁵⁸ The significance of such masculinist institutions has been considered, in relation to Colonial Natal, in Morrell, Robert. *From Boys to Gentlemen, Settler Masculinity in Colonial Natal 1880 – 1920*. Pretoria: Unisa, 2001.

⁴⁵⁹ The proportion of Old Andreans being granted permits to hunt kudu in the Albany district during the years 1901 to 1903 is indicated by the fact that is estimated 16 of the total of 79 permits (representing 20% of permits) were issued to Old Andreans. A considerable number of the permit holders for the Fort Beaufort district had similarly attended the school. Their occupations were either townsmen practicing in the professions such as medical doctors, attorneys or accountants or wealthy farmers and landowners in the Albany district. Matthews, Arthur. *Register of St Andrew's*

members of the school Council. Arthur Douglass, J. B. Greathead and Dennison L. Clarke served on the Council during this period. Both John Hemming, who served until 1901 as Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Albany, and his successor Francis Graham served on the school Council.⁴⁶⁰ A second group was connected by membership of the brotherhood of St. John's Lodge No 828 of Grahamstown. This group of men of Albany who either allowed kudu hunting on their land or themselves participated in the kudu hunt included William George Tomlinson (as senior deacon) and Benjamin Tomlinson of the farm Koonap Heights; Charles James Leppan; John James Kent; Dr. Gerald Fitzgerald; James Wilson Thompson and Ernest Gane, the Headmaster of Kingswood College in Grahamstown. Following his retirement as Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of Albany John Hemming was also inducted into St. John's Lodge.⁴⁶¹

The advent of ostrich farming in the Albany area north east of Grahamstown not only brought enclosure but also brought new owners to some farms, mainly English speakers, who took an interest in the preservation of game and also wished to engage in sports hunting. During the mid to late nineteenth century, families such as that of Kent, Douglass and Dennison Clarke acquired and consolidated large blocks of land, made up of multiple farms, which became private game preserves. In preserving the kudu they followed the traditions already established by men such as Tomlinson and Knott. Greathead's accounts of kudu hunts in the region confirm the close co-operation of local farmers who permitted sportsmen to hunt from the land of one landowner to another despite the fact that the permit applied to one farm only. A number of farms to the north of Grahamstown, on which kudu were hunted, were acquired by men who were either townsmen first and foremost who made a living from the professions, such as attorneys, advocates and doctors, or by sons of farmers whose primary occupation was in the professions rather than farming, thus providing the new owners access to kudu hunting.

Permits to shoot kudu were issued during the latter part of the South African War to imperial army officers from Britain to hunt on farms in the region with the consent of the landowner. As was often the case with conflicts throughout Africa, visiting imperial army officers, often from the nobility, used their leave or leisure time to engage in hunting. One of these imperial officers who took the opportunity to hunt in the Fort Beaufort district during 1902 was the 6th Marquis of Waterford (1875 – 1911), an Irish peer and keen big game hunter who served as an officer in the Imperial

College, Grahamstown 1855 to 1902. Cape Town: Juta & Co, 1902; Laurie, W.W.J. *Register of St Andrew's College, Grahamstown, from 1855 to 1914.* Grahamstown: Slater & Co, 1914.

⁴⁶⁰ Matthews, Arthur. *Register of St Andrew's College, Grahamstown 1855 to 1902.* Cape Town: Juta & Co, 1902.

⁴⁶¹ Drury, Edward Guy Dru. *United Lodge of Instruction No 389, Grahamstown. A Chronicle of St John's Lodge no 828 and Bate O. H. Some Notes on South African Masonic History,* London: Spencer & Co, 1906.

Yeomanry during the South African War. Permits were also granted to Major Harold William Addington, younger son of the 3rd Viscount Sidmouth and a career officer in the Royal Artillery⁴⁶² and Lt. Edward Longueville, an officer in the Coldstream Guards.⁴⁶³ These few exceptions represent the only appearance of the imperial hunter identified by MacKenzie.⁴⁶⁴

It is significant that once the periods of protection had expired during the 1890's there is no evidence in the Departmental files, except for a single incidence referred to below, that permits to shoot kudu bulls were refused. This may well be attributable to the fact that kudu did not occur on Crown Land in the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts and the requirement that all applications were required to be accompanied by the written consent of the landowner to shoot the specified number of kudu on his land. This is to be compared with the constant clamor for permits to shoot buffalo on Crown Land in the Bathurst district.

Permits were not granted to hunters whose purpose was to shoot for meat for subsistence rather than for sport. William and Daniel van Wyk of Grahamstown submitted an application on 8 March 1892 seeking permission to shoot one kudu each in the Queens's Road area, on private farms with the consent of the landowner.⁴⁶⁵ John Hemming, in whose area of jurisdiction the Queen's Road fell, recommended the application, stated that the van Wyks were very poor and wanted the animals for food. The applications were not supported by consents granted by landowners and the Department enquired as to the identity of the owners of the land on which the two kudu were to be shot.⁴⁶⁶ This information does not appear to have been forthcoming, presumably because no consent had been obtained from any landowner, and there is no record of these permits being granted. This is the only record of applications for permits to shoot kudu being made by individuals who wished to shoot for subsistence rather than sport, and likewise the only such applications that were refused.

The attitude adopted by the authorities to the van Wyk application was consistent with similar contemporary views expressed in permit applications in other districts and serves to emphasize that

⁴⁶² Major Harold William Addington (1860-1941), a son of the 3rd Viscount Sidmouth, served in the South African War in the Royal Artillery. Kane, John and Askwith, William. *List of officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery from the year 1716 to the year 1899*. London: Royal Artillery Institution, 1900, 110; www.thepeerage.com/p57654.

⁴⁶³ Lt. Edward Longueville served in South Africa between 1899 and 1902 as an officer in the 2nd Battalion, Coldstream Guards. His diary for this period is referred to in Spiers, Edward M. *The Late Victorian Army 1868-1902*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992, 97. Longueville referred to extensive hunting of fowl, buck, antelope and Cape Buffalo when he was based at Naauwpoort in the Cape Colony, and reference is also made to regular hunts with the Cape Foxhounds at Wynberg and polo.

⁴⁶⁴ Mackenzie, John M. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

⁴⁶⁵ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Stone and Son to Colonial Secretary, 8 March 1892.

⁴⁶⁶ CAB, Agr 211, Ref 1596. Warneford, on behalf of the Department of Agriculture to Hemming.

it was considered essential that the animal was killed for sport, even if the inevitable result was that the meat was in any event consumed as food. During 1890 a Mrs. De Lange, a widow, applied for permission for the shooting of three buffalo by a Mr. Hermanus Fourie and his three sons on the farm Breaknek in the Uitenhage district, the permit being motivated with the explanation that dried meat (biltong) would thereby be provided for Mr. Fourie and his family during the winter months. The application was refused, the official reason being that the reasons put forward were “insufficient”, the concern being internally expressed that such hunting could not be permitted without supervision on land adjoining Government land due to the danger that more than three animals might be killed.⁴⁶⁷ The implication was that those who did not qualify as gentlemen sportsmen could not be trusted to hunt responsibly. In another example, a Mr. Coetsee, a farmer of the farm Rietfontein in the Steynsberg district applied on 1 December 1892 for a permit to “catch” six young blesbok on his own farm.⁴⁶⁸ In an internal note between departmental officials, it was pointed out that it must be established for what purpose the blesbok were to be caught, as during the previous year an applicant had requested leave to kill two blesbok “and we just found out in time that it was for biltong.”⁴⁶⁹

No applications for permits were made by women or black hunters to shoot kudu during the period 1892 to 1905. At this time there was no exclusionary legislation that precluded black hunters from purchasing ordinary game licenses or making application for a permit in terms of Section 4 of the Game Act. The absence of any such applications to shoot in the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts is no doubt attributable to the exclusion of black hunters from access to kudu as a consequence of patterns of land ownership in the eastern Cape region to the west of the Fish River. The records of permit applications for the Namaqualand District show that local Nama hunters held ordinary game licenses and applied for and were, on occasion, issued special permits to shoot gemsbok on Crown land in Bushmanland.⁴⁷⁰ The Civil Commissioner for Namaqualand and the departmental authorities viewed these applications with the same kind of disfavor that had been applied to applications by men such as the van Wyks. During 1892 an application of Christiaan Carolus was refused following a report by Civil Commissioner Scully citing concerns that the applicant was not of good character; had served time on the breakwater for horse-stealing; had been a “vagrant” for years; and that there were grave suspicions that he had previously hunted gemsbok and ostrich

⁴⁶⁷ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 739.

⁴⁶⁸ CAB, Agr 239, Ref 1587. J. B. Moffatt, Civil Commissioner of Steynsburg to the Department of Agriculture, 1 December 1892.

⁴⁶⁹ CAB, Agr 239, Ref 1587, William Warneford to Sydney Cowper.

⁴⁷⁰ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1581.

without a permit.⁴⁷¹ Other similar applications were refused on the ground that the applicants were squatters who made a living by shooting for animal products including ostrich feathers.⁴⁷² In another instance during 1900, after permits were in fact issued by the department to several Nama residents of Pella to shoot two gemsbok each in Bushmanland, the permits were subsequently cancelled and returned to the department at the insistence of Civil Commissioner J. B. Van Reenen and re-issued to white hunters, his motivation being that the grantees were “untrustworthy” and that it was most desirable that these individuals be prevented from entering the Bushmanland Game Reserve.⁴⁷³ Subsequently during 1904 Piet Visagie and Valtyn Diergaard of Pella, both of whom held ordinary game licenses, were both refused permits to shoot gemsbok after the Acting Resident Magistrate had recommended that the applications be declined on the ground that the applicants were not “landed proprietors”; possessed no qualification that would entitle them to shoot gemsbok; and in the case of the latter was also suspected on information received of being a member of a gang of poachers.⁴⁷⁴ Sport hunting was clearly to be reserved for gentlemen and not for the urban or rural poor who were considered not to have any entitlement to share in such natural resources.

The development of policy and the issue of permits

The policy of limiting the maximum number of permits for each variety of big game to be shot in any one season to a maximum of 10% of the estimated number of animals in the district in question was already in place as early as June 1893. Each Civil Commissioner in the Cape Colony was required to provide the Department with an annual written estimate of the number of big game animals in his district, these being submitted prior to the hunting season and utilized in determining the number of permits that would be granted to shoot each species of animal in each separate magisterial district. These returns are important, not only insofar as they provide a guide to game numbers and distribution, but also as a source for identifying on what land the animals occurred and whether this was private or Crown land.

⁴⁷¹ CAB, Agr 209, Ref 1581. Report W. Scully to W. Warneford, 1892.

⁴⁷² CAB, Agr 375, Ref 1585.

⁴⁷³ CAB, Agr 375, Ref 1585. The permits were issued to Jan Rahman, Piet Visagie, G. Brand and Valtyn Diergaard, granting leave to each of them to shoot two gemsbok in the Bushmanland Game Reserve.

⁴⁷⁴ CAB, Agr 375 Ref 1585. The recommendation to the department of the Acting Resident Magistrate, Springbokfontein (in the absence of the Civil Commissioner), dated 8 June 1904, relating to the application of Valtyn Diergaard was that: “The Applicant is a native residing at Pella and is not a landed proprietor, besides which I am informed he is one of a gang of poachers, I am accordingly unable to recommend the desired permission.” The recommendation relating to the application of Piet Visagie, dated 15 June 1904, was that: “He is a bastard residing at Pella and not being a landed proprietor or possessing any qualification that will entitle him to obtain a permit to shoot gemsbok, I am not in a position to recommend the man for a permit”.

The census returns for 1895 are representative of the period. John Hemming reported that the only big game animal in the Albany district proper was the kudu, and estimated there to be 300 individuals.⁴⁷⁵ The Office of the Civil Commissioner of Bathurst reported that kudu did not occur in that district⁴⁷⁶ and the Civil Commissioner of Fort Beaufort reported that there were said to be several hundred kudu in his district on the farm Botha's Post owned by the Knott family and Lanka owned by G.S. Tomlinson, no other farms being mentioned. He added that the owners of these farms "preserve them zealously and only give permission to their friends to shoot such animals as they consider necessary,"⁴⁷⁷ emphasizing the view that landowners could be trusted to control hunting on private land.

The estimates increased over the years and on 20 March 1899 the Civil Commissioner for Fort Beaufort estimated the number of kudu in his district at 374, made up of 100 animals on Lanka; 250 on the farms Botha's Post, Kat River Mouth and Onverwacht combined; 10 on Windsor; and a total of 14 for the farms Richmond, Merino and Waterford.⁴⁷⁸ In the 1901 census it was reported that the kudu of the Fort Beaufort district were all "preserved on enclosed farms" in the Koonap ward, which serves to confirm the limitation of the animals to enclosed private land.⁴⁷⁹

On 8 March 1901 Francis Graham, the newly appointed Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for Albany, addressed a letter to the Under Secretary, Department of Agriculture, advising that the number of kudu was undoubtedly increasing in the Albany District, notwithstanding the fact that a great many kudu were being hunted unlawfully.⁴⁸⁰

During November 1904 the Under Secretary, Department of Agriculture, Cape Town, W. Thompson caused the customary annual circular to be sent out to all Civil Commissioners seeking particulars of the numbers of each variety of royal game in each division, and setting out policy with regard to the applications for permits addressed to Civil Commissioners. The circular included the following instructions to Civil Commissioners:

⁴⁷⁵ CAB, Agr 69, Ref 239, Hemming to the Department of Agriculture, 16 December 1895, in response to Circular 45 of 1895, issued by Charles Currey dated 19 November 1895.

⁴⁷⁶ CAB, Agr 69, Ref 239. Warneford, Chief Clerk to the Civil Commissioner of Bathurst to the Department of Agriculture, 19 December 1895.

⁴⁷⁷ CAB, Agr 69, Ref 239. Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort to the Department, 25 November 1895.

⁴⁷⁸ CAB, Agr 375, 1582. Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort to the Department, 20 March 1899.

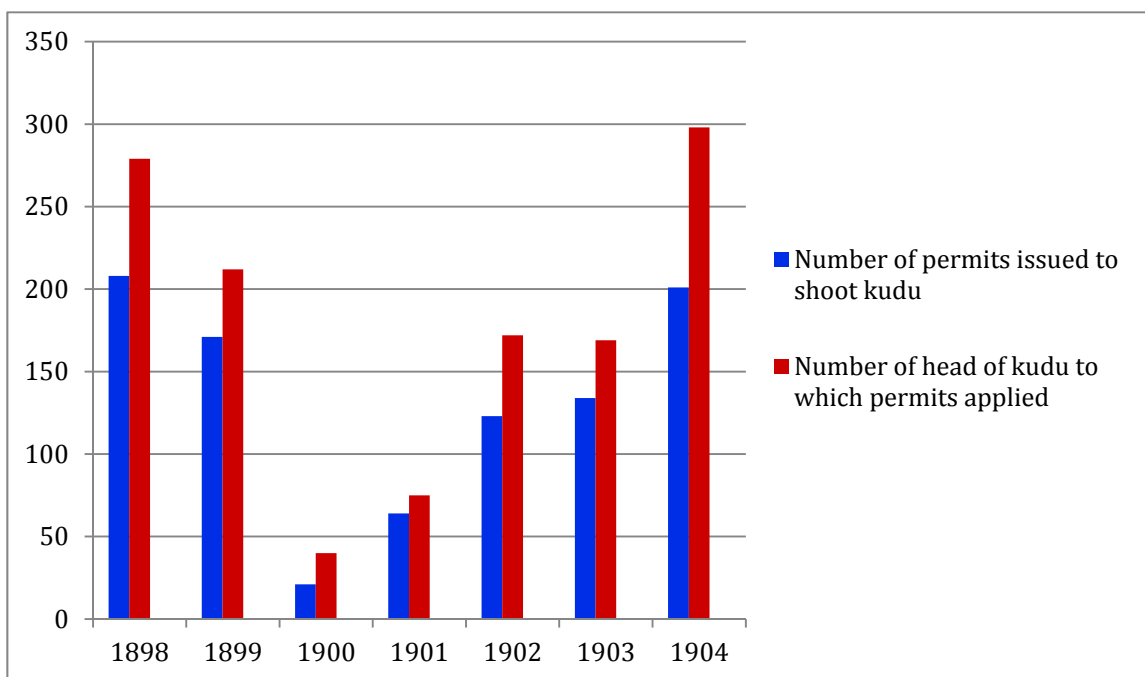
⁴⁷⁹ CAB, Agr 376, Ref 1596. F. Gaston, Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort to Department, 6 April 1901.

⁴⁸⁰ Francis Graham was appointed Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate, Albany on 24 August 1900. From 1901 to 1902 he was president of the special high treason commission. Kilpin, Ernest F. *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List, 1908*. Cape Town: Cape Times, 1908.

I further invite your attention to the necessity for restricting the issue of permits to shoot royal game; and I am to request that, in submitting your recommendations with regard to applications submitted to you, it may be borne in mind that not more than 10% of the estimated number of any variety of big game in the division can be allowed to be killed in any one season, and that preference should in all cases be given to those landowners who are known to be careful game preservers.

Before recommending the issue of permits to the general public therefore it will be well if the desires of the landowners in respect of permits they themselves are likely to require can be ascertained and noted. In this connection it may be pointed out that the number of animals allowed to be killed by any one person during the season should also be restricted. It is considered that as a rule the maximum number should be two head per variety; in special cases, however, this may raise to four head when the applicant is a landowner who is known to preserve strictly and who has a large number of game on his property. The maximum for any one farm is six head, unless under very special circumstances, which should be fully stated when recommending.⁴⁸¹

Information extracted from the annual reports of the Conservator of Forests indicates the total number of permits granted for the hunting of kudu and the number of head to which the permits applied, as issued by the Department for the eastern districts of the Cape Colony.⁴⁸² The totals provided are consolidated for the magisterial districts of Uitenhage, Albany, Fort Beaufort, Victoria East, Alexandria and Jansenville for each of the years 1898 to 1904.



Graph 1: Total kudu permits issued compared with number of head to which permits applied.

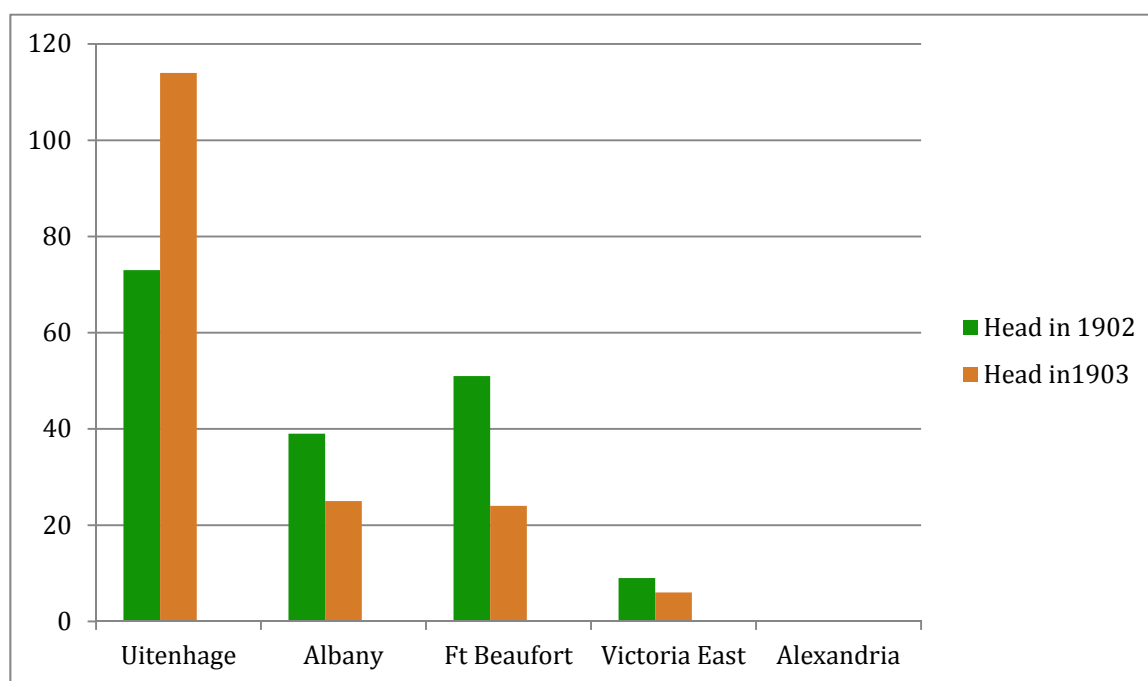
⁴⁸¹ Circular, Under Secretary for Agriculture to all Civil Commissioners, November 1904.

⁴⁸² *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the nine months ended 30 September 1903*, Cape Town: Cape Times, 1904, 88; *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1902*, Cape Town: Cape Times, 1903, 106-107.

In those districts in which kudu were scarce, such as Albany and Fort Beaufort, sportsmen were usually only granted a permit for a single kudu bull. In the Uitenhage district, where kudu were more numerous, permits were regularly granted to individual sportsmen to shoot more than one kudu bull during a hunting season.

The number of permits issued did not mean that kudu were shot, as appears from a report for 1899 submitted to the Department by the Civil Commissioner, Fort Beaufort in which it was recorded that although 37 permits had been granted that year to hunters to shoot one kudu bull each in the Fort Beaufort district, only 8 of these permit holders had shot a kudu bull. Two permit holders, including G.S. Tomlinson of Lanka had failed to submit a return.⁴⁸³

The Annual Reports of the Conservator of Forests enable a comparison to be made between the number of kudu permits issued for the 1902 and 1903 seasons for each of the magisterial districts of Uitenhage, Albany, Fort Beaufort, Victoria East and Alexandria.⁴⁸⁴



Graph 2: Total kudu permits issued by magisterial district for the 1902 and 1903 seasons.

Hunting of kudu without a permit and poaching of game on the land of others remained widespread at the time and was difficult to combat. An article published in the *Grocott's Penny Mail* dated 27 February 1901 refers to a prosecution of Robert Ivy, a taxidermist of High Street, Grahamstown,

⁴⁸³ In terms of Circular No 18 of 26 July 1898

⁴⁸⁴ *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the nine months ended 30 September 1903*, Cape Town: Cape Times, 1904, 88; *Cape of Good Hope: Reports of the Conservators of Forests for the year 1902*, Cape Town: Cape Times, 1903, 106-107.

who was charged with possession of 23 pairs of kudu horns, and having failed to furnish a proper explanation therefor, was convicted and fined the sum of £ 10. It seems possible that he was not prepared to implicate his clients, who may well have hunted “royal game” without the necessary permits. To put the 23 pairs of horns into perspective, only 15 permits to shoot kudu bulls had been granted for the entire Albany district for 1901, and 39 permits for 1902.⁴⁸⁵ District Forest Officer Harran, who was stationed in Port Elizabeth, reported to Lister that it was his firm impression that misuse of the permit system for big game was rife, and that as many as three animals were shot for every permit issued, quite apart from the number of animals wounded.⁴⁸⁶ Given that Harran was stationed in Port Elizabeth his information may have related to the Uitenhage district.

The kudu hunting experience

There are few published accounts of the kudu hunting experience in the eastern Cape, unlike the case of the pursuit of springbuck or bushbuck, probably because of the very different nature of a kudu hunt. The photographic images of springbuck and bushbuck hunts usually depict groups of sportsmen posing with large numbers of buck hung up in neat array, or scattered at their feet, providing evidence of their prowess and in commemoration of success in the field. The images of kudu hunts, which focus on the single “noble” animal, confirm the elite nature of an activity reserved for the privileged few.

Kudu hunting was not a group activity and was usually engaged in by a single sportsman, perhaps with a single companion, in pursuit of the single bull for which a permit had been allowed. This was not the opportunity for large or lavish social occasions involving mass sportsmen, who might be members of local Hunting Associations, sometimes on horseback and accompanied by dogs, and there was no competition as to bag size between local nimrods. The concept of the social Hunt, in the manner as described by Roche for Graaff-Reinet⁴⁸⁷ or Van Sittert for Port Elizabeth⁴⁸⁸ did not apply. Hunting of kudu took place exclusively on private land and was an occasion for the landowner, perhaps in the company of a few selected friends or guests, to test skills in stalking and bush-craft. The fellow sportsmen were often put up at his home as his guests, venturing forth at dawn each day in search of game and enjoying the fresh air, exercise and companionship, later

⁴⁸⁵ C. J. Skead. *Historical Incidence of the Larger Land Mammals in the Broader Eastern Cape*, edited by Andre Boshoff, Graham Kerley, and Peter Lloyd. Port Elizabeth: Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, 2007, 69.

⁴⁸⁶ CAB, FC 570, 3/7/48. Harran to Lister, 9 October 1902 and 17 October 1902.

⁴⁸⁷ Roche, Chris. “‘Fighting their battles o’er again’: the springbok Hunt in Graaff – Reinet, 1860-1908,” *Kronos*. 29, *Environmental History*, 86-108.

⁴⁸⁸ Van Sittert, Lance. “Class and Canicide in Little Bess: The 1893 Port Elizabeth Rabies Epidemic,” *South African Historical Journal*, 48, (2003), 207-234.

spending the evenings together with the landowner's family after a long day in the bush. The elusive and wary kudu bulls were stalked in thick kloofs or bush at dawn or shortly before dusk, the sportsmen proceeding on foot rather than on horseback and usually without the assistance of dogs or beaters. Success depended upon personal skill and marksmanship and several days might pass before a suitable kudu bull was sighted and shot. The goal was not to kill as many animals as possible, but rather to select a single animal with a fine pair of horns to retain as a trophy to adorn the walls of the hunter's home. The kudu hunt itself was concluded when the single kudu bull for which a permit had been issued had been shot and the sportsmen then turned their attention to bushbuck or game birds for which permits were not required.

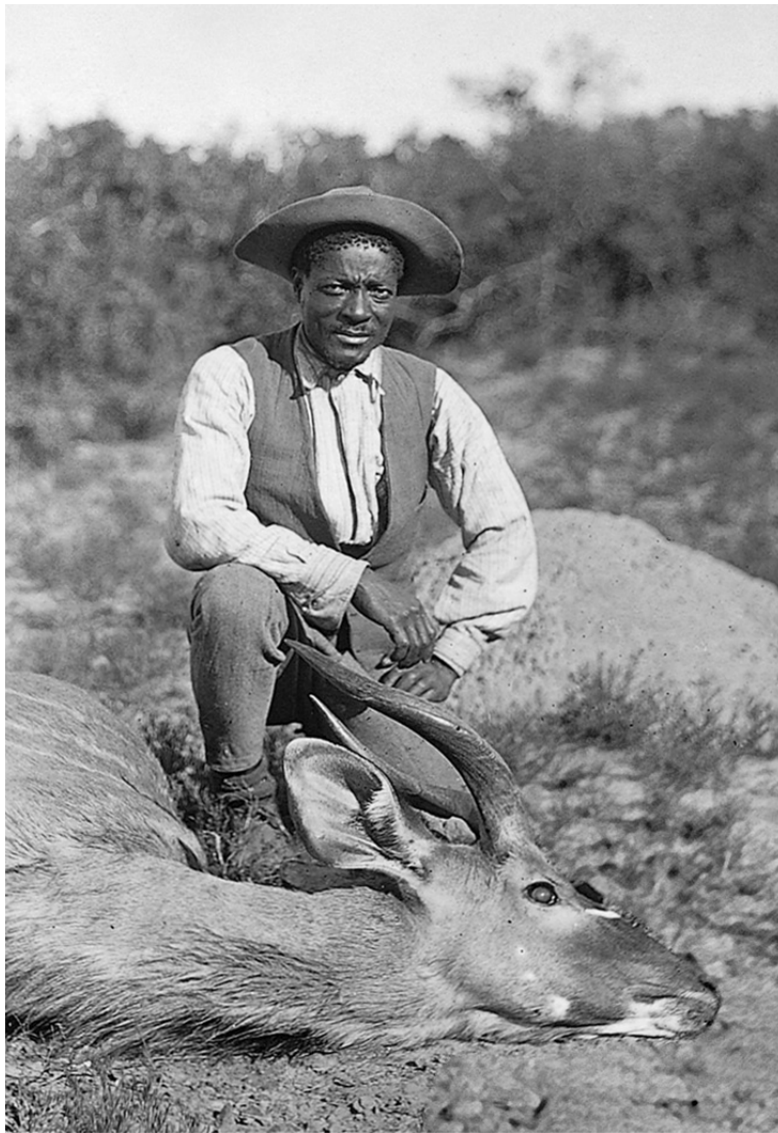


Figure 11: “Kopje” and young kudu bull shot by J. B. Greathead on Lanka during 1901. (Photo: J. B. Greathead)

Greathead hunted in the company of George S. Tomlinson on Lanka during 1901 and again during 1905 and 1906. During the 1905 hunt he stayed as the only guest of Tomlinson and his family, being accompanied into the veldt each day either by Tomlinson or a man known as “Kopje” who lived on Lanka and appears to have had special skills in bush-craft and hunting.⁴⁸⁹

An extract from Greathead’s diary for 22 July 1905, one of several successive days spent hunting before a suitable kudu bull was secured, reveals the nature of the kudu hunt and the aspect of communing with nature, very different from the large social groups noisily competing in the organized Hunt after springbuck:

It was a calm, still morning with bright moon and stars, and a keen bite in the July air. We picked our way to the randts to the right of the house and below it. We are seated on a cold slope to see daylight coming into the bush clad hillside opposite, and our hopes of Kudu waiting there for the sun keeps us alert. The light comes and though a kudu cow barks away down the valley there is no bull. So we make for pastures new. At two miles per hour we pick our way amongst stones and bush, now on a bushy slope scanning the distant covert with binoculars, now threading our way through tough and thorny kloofs. We are not rewarded. The morning with bright sun wears on a pace. A bushbuck ram barks, but takes good care not to expose himself. So we wander on for another hour or so. Then Kopje with his keen eyesight espies three fine bulls just clearing over the next ridge. We give them time to forget us and then descend through thick bush and work our way over the heavy slope beyond. – Then, away on the next ridge, some 400 yards distant, is the sentry bull, a magnificent pair of horns and his large ears well forward being all that is visible. Kopje advises making my shot, and I stealthily gain another five yards behind a bush, – sit own to it, and fire where I think his body must be. A loud report is the result and a little smoke, but away goes our quarry, in a moment he is lost to sight.⁴⁹⁰

“Kopje” was photographed with a young kudu bull shot on Lanka during 1901 (included above) and appears again in the group photograph for 1906 with a kudu shot by Greathead, these being some of the few examples of the African hunting assistants in the eastern Cape, as opposed to only the sportsmen, being afforded recognition for their assistance and contribution in the field and allowed an identity of their own.⁴⁹¹ Greathead’s inclusion of his host or of Kopje in images of the kudu shot by him, and the absence of images in which the hunter appears in person, suggests that the images were intended to serve the function of recalling the occasion and those who had assisted in securing the prize rather than commemorating the hunter and his own personal sense of achievement. It is also noteworthy that the images portray the kudu with respect, and that none of the spectators are arranged standing upon or with their feet resting upon the animal so as to emphasize man’s conquest of the animal world.

⁴⁸⁹ Gess, *Journals of J. B. S. Greathead*, 251-252.

⁴⁹⁰ Gess, *Journals of J. B. S. Greathead*, 251.

⁴⁹¹ Gess, *Journals of J. B. S. Greathead*, 259-263.



Figure 12: Kudu shot by J. B. Greathead on Lanka on 22 June 1906, with beaters and members of the Tomlinson family. “Kopje” fifth from left. (Photo: J. B. Greathead)

Conclusion

There are relatively limited records of hunting activities in the eastern Cape during the late nineteenth century, largely as a consequence of the changed nature of the hunting experience from a commercial or recreation activity on public land, where game could be hunted at will in its wild state, to one where game effectively fell into private ownership and was hunted on demarcated privately owned land and the hunt was limited to the small number of animals for which permits were granted. The available records for the hunting of animals such as kudu, for which a permit was required, provide a fertile field for considering the identity, composition and dynamics of the local hunting communities and the identity of the individual hunters who enjoyed the privilege of hunting listed or royal game.

An analysis of the kudu experience in the Albany and Fort Beaufort districts confirms that widely diverse local hunting traditions developed in the various regions of the Cape Colony. These local traditions varied according to the species of animal to be hunted; whether the animals were numerous or scarce and therefore sought after; whether the animals were to be found on private or public land; and the identity of the private landowners. Different local traditions developed in the

same district for hunting animals such as the kudu (the hunting of which was highly regulated by the Game Act) and for the hunting of animals such as springbuck and bushbuck for which no permit and only an ordinary hunting license was required.

The available evidence makes it clear that the initiative for preserving kudu for sporting purposes in the Cape Colony was attributable to the efforts of private landowners and not the Government. The primary motivation for the preservation of the kudu was the desire to conserve the game for the purposes of private hunting by the landowner and those whom he chose to grant the privilege to hunt on his land. Van Sittert has correctly identified the creation of an effective legal monopoly over game that could be converted into profit or patronage. Game animals such as kudu developed a value to the landowner far beyond the commercial value of the hide, meat and the horns.

In the result, a small elite of mostly English speaking farmers in the region between Grahamstown and Fort Beaufort effectively came to monopolize and control the hunting of kudu. Many but not all of this circle of landowners in upper Albany were connected by their common attendance of St. Andrew's College in Grahamstown. Others appear to have been bonded by the brotherhood of freemasons. The guests of the landowners were either other local landowners; senior civil servants, professional people from the local towns such as doctors, lawyers and the like, or successful businessman. During the South African War hunting opportunities were made available to visiting military officers from Britain, an exception to the general exclusion of outsiders and imperial hunters from abroad.

The poor white townsman and Africans were entirely excluded from kudu hunting because they did not own the land nor did they have any prospect of being the invited guests of the landowner. In most cases the purpose of these groups in participation in hunting, which would have included access to meat and hides as the primary purpose of the hunt, would have been objectionable both to the authorities who issued the permits and to the sports hunters who controlled the land. Hunting practice and perception in the Cape Colony had by this time turned irrevocably against the subsistence hunter of the early and mid-nineteenth century. Sport, pure and simple, was considered as being the only legitimate motivation for hunting kudu and other listed or royal game animals. Hunting for biltong, even if for personal use, was considered an unacceptable motivation even though the meat of a kudu killed for sport invariably found its way into the pot. In the eastern Cape the sport of kudu hunting became the preserve of the privileged and provided an opportunity for the elite gentleman sportsman, relying upon his individual bush craft and marksmanship, to secure a fine trophy with which to decorate the walls of his home. This individual and self-reliant activity

had a different dynamic and purpose to the competitive mass hunting by members of local Hunting Associations and coursing clubs that sprang up amongst urban dwellers in towns such as Port Elizabeth where the emphasis was upon social status through participation in group activity.

CHAPTER FIVE

BEYOND THE CAPE COLONY: THE MULTIPLE IDENTITIES OF HUNTERS IN THE EASTERN TRANSVAAL LOWVELD, c 1880 – 1900

Introduction

By the closing decade of the nineteenth century, the eastern Transvaal Lowveld was one of the last places in southern Africa where big game still occurred in large numbers in its natural state and in what could be described as being in “public ownership”. Most of the healthy areas of southern Africa, including most of the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Highveld, had been permanently settled and the game either shot out⁴⁹² or, as has been recognized by Lance van Sittert, effectively privatized on enclosed farms on the initiative of private landowners.⁴⁹³ The unrestricted hunting of animals in public ownership on State land in the Lowveld flourished contemporaneously with the development of a highly restricted hunting culture in the Cape Colony, where big game hunting was rapidly becoming the preserve of the elite sports hunter.⁴⁹⁴ The role players included African subsistence hunters; professional Boer hide hunters; and English-speaking sports hunters resident in southern Africa and in the imperial metropole. The presence and activities of recreational hunting parties from those regions of the eastern Cape Colony considered in previous chapters of this thesis contribute to a more complete and nuanced understanding of the development of sports hunting cultures in those local communities.

Recent studies of hunting in the region prior to the South African War (1899- 1902) have tended to focus on the early calls for game preservation and the broad categories of people and interest groups who hunted in the region in the decades shortly before the creation of a game reserve. Save for studies relating to “big men” such as James Stevenson-Hamilton, who was appointed warden of the

⁴⁹² MacKenzie, John M. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.

⁴⁹³ Van Sittert, Lance. “Bringing in the Wild: The Commodification of Wild Animals in the Cape Colony/Province c 1850-1950,” *Journal of African History*, 46 (2005), 278; Brown, Karen. “Cultural Constructions of the Wild: The Rhetoric and practice of Wildlife Conservation in the Cape Colony at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *South African Historical Journal* 47 (Nov. 2002), 75-79. Roche, Chris. “‘Fighting their battles o’er again’: The springbok Hunt in Graaff-Reinet, 1860-1908,” *Kronos*, No 29, *Environmental History* (Nov. 2003), 86-108. Van Sittert, Lance. “Holding the Line: The Rural Enclosure Movement in the Cape Colony, c 1865-1910,” *Journal of African History*, 43 (2002), 95-118.

⁴⁹⁴ In the Cape Colony the hunting of all animals defined as “game” was strictly regulated by the provisions of the Game Law of 1886.

game reserve at the close of the South African War,⁴⁹⁵ little attention has been given to investigating the identity, origins and activities of the individual hunters themselves.⁴⁹⁶

Aside from a dearth of analysis of hunting narratives, there is an almost complete absence of photographic images taken in the Lowveld during the late nineteenth century.⁴⁹⁷ Indeed, very few such images exist. Those that do have been neglected. For example, the images taken by J.B.S. Greathead, a medical doctor from the Cape Colony who visited the area during a six month sporting trip in 1893, and which probably make up one of the most important photographic records for the period, remain unrecognized, ignored⁴⁹⁸ or incorrectly attributed to other regions, contexts or time periods.⁴⁹⁹ The present chapter incorporates some of Greathead's photographic images that provide important visual evidence from the viewpoint of a sportsman visiting the area.

⁴⁹⁵ Carruthers, Jane. *Wildlife and Warfare: The Life of James Stevenson-Hamilton*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001.

⁴⁹⁶ Carruthers, Jane. *The Kruger National Park, A Social and Political History*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995; Carruthers, E. J. *Game Protection in the Transvaal 1846 to 1926*. Pretoria: The Government Printer, 1995; Pienaar, U. De V. (and contributors). *A Cameo from the Past: The prehistory and early history of the Kruger National Park*. Pretoria: Pretoria Book House, 2012; Carruthers, Jane. "Dissecting the Myth: Paul Kruger and the Kruger National Park," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 20: 2 (June 1994), 262-283. (This article was resulted in a debate with Hennie Grobler. Grobler, Hennie. "Dissecting the Kruger Myth with Blunt Instruments: A Rebuttal of Jane Carruthers's View," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22:3, (Sept. 1996), 455-472; and Carruthers, Jane. "Defending Kruger's Honour? A Reply to Professor Hennie Grobler," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22: 3, (Sept. 1996), 473-480. In these works there is little more than a cursory consideration of individual hunters.

⁴⁹⁷ In Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park*, there are no images of the area now constituting the Kruger Park prior to the South African War. In Pienaar, U. De V. (and contributors) "Pioneers and hunters in the Lowveld" in *A Cameo from the Past: The prehistory and early history of the Kruger National Park*, Pretoria: Pretoria Book House, 2012, there are formal portraits of some of the hunters and one image (at 226) sourced from the Transvaal Archives, and captioned as depicting a "hunting camp in the Sabie area of the Lowveld during the 1880's".

⁴⁹⁸ Despite having been lodged with the National Archives Repository, Pretoria during 1955, no reference is made to Greathead's North-Eastern Transvaal diary for 1893, nor is any reference made to any of the photographs contained in a photograph album lodged in the archives at the same time, either by Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park* or Pienaar, *A Cameo from the Past*. In addition to those contained in the album lodged with the archives, there are a considerable number of other Lowveld images, approximately 100 in total.

⁴⁹⁹ In a bizarre misrepresentation of the historical record, three of the images from Greathead's 1893 Eastern Transvaal album appear in Peter Flack, David Mabundla and Shane Mahoney, *The South African Conservation Success Story*, Cape Town: Peter Flack Productions, 2011. One of the images (depicting Alec Bowker with his trophies) is attributed to game control measures in Zululand with the caption "Hunters were allowed to shoot as much as they wanted to"; another (depicting a wildebeest and the gun-bearer known as "Matches"), to game control measures in Zululand during the period following the First World War (with the caption "One of the many wildebeest killed in Operation Game Extermination", which is stated in the text to have been carried out in Zululand between 1916 and 1929)) and a third (depicting a hyena being carried on a pole) to predator control in the Kruger Park in the period post 1927 (with the caption "A hyena killed as part of the predator control in the Kruger National Park"). Further Lowveld images taken during 1893 are misrepresented in the DVD of the same title associated with the book. These are not the only misrepresentations, as an image of a buffalo shot by Greathead during 1899 whilst on a sports hunting trip on the Pungue Flats near Beira in Mozambique during 1899 (which depicts a buffalo and Africans from the Pungue region) is captioned "A buffalo-one of the thousands of wild animals killed in the mistaken belief that they harbored the tsetse fly", being a reference to the campaign against tsetse fly in Zululand. This is despite the fact that the accessions for the Lowveld images in the National Archives Repository, Pretoria (and which are available on an internet search of their holdings) states that the photographs were taken by Greathead in the North-Eastern Transvaal during 1893, and provides correct captions for the images.

This chapter identifies a representative sample drawn from the various categories of Lowveld hunters, considers their identity, origins and various motivations for making the journey into the Lowveld, and reflects upon their impact upon the wildlife.

Commercial hunters

The Boer commercial hunters who made a living from selling wildlife products such as ivory, hides and skins, and biltong were the last of the breed of commercial hunters that had previously ranged across southern Africa, shooting animals that were in the public domain without any limitation or control from any governmental authority.⁵⁰⁰ These men had no interest in shooting animals for recreation or for mere sport and took no interest in accumulating collections of game trophies or in any form of natural history. For them the wild animals were part of a resource that was available and waiting to be harvested. The cost of the hunting licenses levied by the authorities of the South African Republic was soon recouped many times over from the income earned from hunting.⁵⁰¹ The sport or recreation hunters severely criticized these commercial hunters who they perceived to be wantonly exterminating the game, this disdain for one another having its origins in class differences.⁵⁰²

The big game was fast disappearing and by 1890 many species such as elephant, rhino, hippo, buffalo and eland were tracked only occasionally in the Lowveld, and then with great difficulty.⁵⁰³ In 1894 the game laws of the South African Republic were amended to prohibit the shooting of rhinoceros, buffalo, eland and giraffe, these species being added to elephant and hippopotamus that were already protected under the 1891 game legislation.⁵⁰⁴

The Boer commercial hunters, who included men such as Solomon Vermaak; Bezuidenhout; Abel Erasmus; Dawid Schoeman of Krugers Pos; Ignatius Ferreira; and Gert Stols, left little or no written

⁵⁰⁰ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, and in particular chapter four entitled "Hunting and settlement in southern Africa", 85-119.

⁵⁰¹ The South African Republic sought to impose game licenses upon hunters, although the game law was notoriously not strictly applied. F.V. Kirby commented that the 1892 Game Law of the South African Republic, which imposed a license fee of £10 for the shooting of giraffe, rhinoceros, eland and buffalo, was simply "playing at legislation". Kirby, Frederick V. *In Haunts of Wild Game*, 330-331. A £3 license was required for large antelope and a £ 1.10 license for small game. Greathead purchased the necessary licenses in Middleburg, en route to the hunting grounds, at a total cost of £15. Gess, David W. *The African Hunting and Travel Journals of J B S Greathead 1884 – 1910*. Cape Town: Creda, 2005, 85.

⁵⁰² Trapido, Stanley. *Poachers, Proletarians and Gentry in the Early Twentieth Century Transvaal*. University of the Witwatersrand, African Studies Institute, March 1984.

⁵⁰³ The hunting party conducted by the Barber brothers in 1893 did not sight a single elephant, rhino or buffalo during their 5 months sojourn in the Lowveld and Alec Bowker, who hunted to the north of the Olifants River, shot only one buffalo and wounded another.

⁵⁰⁴ Carruthers, *Game Protection in the Transvaal*, 72-75.

record of their own hunting experiences in the Lowveld during the 1880's or early 1890's, and their narratives must be gleaned from reading the accounts of others against the grain.⁵⁰⁵

Many of these men such as Vermaak and Bezuidenhout both engaged in stock farming and hunted professionally all their lives, commencing their careers as ivory hunters. Once the elephants became scarce they turned to harvesting antelope on a huge scale for hides and biltong. During 1877 the brothers H.M. (Hal) and F.H. (Fred) Barber met two groups of elephant hunters that included Vermaak and Bezuidenhout in the Likwasa Valley north of the Nata River in what is now Botswana. Fred Barber recorded that during the two months of elephant hunting they never gave thought to other game, his companions being "professional elephant hunters pure and simple, and all other game was beneath their notice", and when on the spoor of elephant they daily passed giraffe, roan antelope, eland, hartebeest, zebra and even sable antelope, all of which were ignored.⁵⁰⁶

Once the big game had been shot out elsewhere, the commercial hunters turned their attention to the Lowveld, their activities being limited to the winter months due to the danger of contracting malaria.⁵⁰⁷ James Stevenson-Hamilton describes the eastern slopes of the mountains as being settled by pioneers such the Sanderson brothers and near Pilgrim's Rest and Lydenburg by men such as Henry Glynn and Abel Erasmus. These hunters trekked down into the Lowveld with their wagons during the healthy months of the year when malaria was not prevalent to shoot for biltong and hides. Boer farmers travelled down to the Lowveld in increasing numbers every winter following the Sekhukhune War of 1878, bringing with them wagons, horses, cattle and sheep, to graze their stock and shoot for profit, camping right up to Lebombo Mountains.⁵⁰⁸ Harry Wolhuter describes a Boer family residing near White River that called themselves farmers but never did any cultivation:

⁵⁰⁵ The accounts of members of the survey team led by Gideon von Wielligh, Surveyor General of the South African Republic, recounting experiences during the course of the demarcation of the Lebombo boundary with Mozambique in 1890, include references to extensive hunting during the course of surveying but are not accounts of men whose primary purpose was that of hunting for a living. Pienaar, *A Cameo from the Past*, and in particular Chapter 12, Pienaar, U. de V. "The demarcation of the border between Mozambique and the ZAR", 368 – 382; Von Wielligh, G.R. *Langs die Lebombo*. Pretoria: Van Schaik, 1925.

⁵⁰⁶ Tabler, Edward.C. *Zambezia and Matabeleland in the Seventies, The Narrative of Frederick Hugh Barber 1875 and 1877-1878*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1960, 83. After Hal Barber was injured by a wounded buffalo, his brother Fred joined Vermaak, Darke and Spencer hunting elephant, travelling away from the base camp every Saturday for a fortnight and then returning to spend Sunday in camp where Mrs. Vermaak made them hard biscuits for their next trip out. In this way, hunting together, they shot in excess of 50 elephants over a period of 6 months.

⁵⁰⁷ Pienaar, U. de V. "The influence of tsetse flies, malaria and the rinderpest epidemic of 1896-7 on the development of the Lowveld", in *A Cameo from the Past: The prehistory and early history of the Kruger National Park*, edited by Pienaar, U. De V. (and contributors), Pretoria: Protea Book House, 2012, 336-349; Packard, Randall. "'Malaria Blocks Development': The Role of Disease in the History of Agricultural Development in the Eastern and Northern Transvaal Lowveld 1890-1960," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27: 3 (2001), 591-612.

⁵⁰⁸ Stevenson-Hamilton, James. *The Lowveld: Its Wildlife and People*. London: Kassel & Co, 1929.

they kept some oxen and a wagon but their wants were few and they lived exclusively on game.⁵⁰⁹ Colonel Pennefather, who accompanied the Glynns during 1880 on one of their annual hunts trips, recalled that the larger game animals were then already scarce in the western areas of the Lowveld, adding that “wagons heavily loaded with biltong and giraffe hides were constantly met trekking homewards.”⁵¹⁰

One of Greathead’s 1893 images depicts Solomon Vermaak’s hunting party, then encamped on the Timbavati River. Three bearded hunters, with wide-brimmed hats and each with a well-stocked bandolier buckled round his waist or over the shoulder, iconic wear made famous a decade later in photographs of men on commando during the South African War, pose with a huge kudu bull and the head and horns of a freshly killed wildebeest can be made out on the outspanned wagon. Despite the magnificence of the kudu, which earned the admiration of the sports hunters, it had not been selected and shot as an outstanding trophy, but merely as a source of meat for biltong production and another hide to add to the stock for sale. Animals such as these occasioned wistful thinking amongst the sport hunters at the magnificent trophies, perhaps even of record size, that had passed unappreciated and unnoticed by the commercial hunters.



Figure 13: Professional hide and biltong hunters: J.S. (Solomon) Vermaak and Boer hunting party near the Timbavati River, 6 June 1893. (Photo: J.B. Greathead)

⁵⁰⁹ Wolhuter, Harry. *Memories of a Game Ranger*, Johannesburg: The Wild Life Protection Society of South Africa, 1948, 20-22.

⁵¹⁰ Stevenson-Hamilton, *The Lowveld*, 62.

On 15 May 1893 Greathead's party met Vermaak with his wife and family en route from their farm in the Middelburg district to the Lowveld to hunt during the winter. Vermaak was clearly a man of considerable means, possessing four wagons and the associated draft animals and a herd of cattle that was being driven with him. The competition between the commercial hunters was keen and on reaching Kirby's camp, near present-day Bushbuck Ridge, Vermaak complained bitterly that Bezuidenhout had gone on ahead to shoot the eland before his arrival. Lottering, a member of another Boer hunting party active in the Lowveld with whom Greathead's party exchanged their surplus hides for two donkeys, reported having shot 14 giraffe during a single week but still expressed disgust at the scarcity of game and had his eyes on the richer hunting grounds in south-east Mashonaland where he had heard that game was more plentiful. By the end of the season this party had shot 45 giraffe for their hides, but considered the country to be "played out" and not worth another visit. Vermaak dried 18 cwt of biltong (which represents 914,4 kilograms of dry meat⁵¹¹) and accumulated as many hides as his wagons could carry,⁵¹² an indication of the extent of the slaughter of wildlife.

The trade in hides provided a good living. On hearing that the Barbers, who were sports hunters, had exchanged 49 hides (including ten of giraffe) with Lottering for two donkeys worth only £6.00, the Krauze family was scandalized at the financial loss, informing Greathead that giraffe hides, when worked up into sjamboks and wagon whips, were worth as much as £25.00 to £30.00 each. According to Henry Glynn the Boers made a profit of £40.00 from a single hippo hide, and more from the teeth.⁵¹³ These profits considerably exceeded what unskilled laborers could expect to earn in steady employment in the town and cities. The unrestricted life of the hunter, free from regulation or any form of supervision, was no doubt far more congenial than wage labor.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹¹ Eighteen hundred weight, each hundred weight being the equivalent of 100 pounds or 50,8 kg.

⁵¹² Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 138, diary entry for 6 September 1893. This huge weight of biltong was not out of the ordinary as Stanley Trapido cites as an example of a farm tenant who during 1905 sold 2400 pounds of biltong at Nylstroom. Trapido, *Poachers, Proletarians*, 14.

⁵¹³ Glynn, Henry T. *Game and Gold: Memories of Over 50 Years in the Lydenberg District, Transvaal*. London: The Dolman Printing Co.Ltd, (undated), 165.

⁵¹⁴ A comparison of the financial rewards of engaging in agriculture or securing employment in the towns can be readily demonstrated with reference to the salaries paid at the time to unqualified civil servants in full time employment. By way of example, the *Cape Civil Service List for 1893* (Kilpin, Ernest F. *The Cape of Good Hope Civil Service List for 1893*, Cape Town: W.A.Richards & Sons, 1893.) records the rates of pay on the Cape Government Railways as being between five and ten shillings per day for gangers; carpenters and masons at between twelve and six shillings per day and locomotive drivers at ten shillings per A police constable in the country districts could expect to earn between £60 and £70 per annum. Thus a raw giraffe hide valued at between £1 to £4, and the value of a hide being increased after working up at £25 to £30 each, made hide hunting commercially attractive particularly when combined with farming activities during the summer months.

These two competing groups of hunters were distinguished by the role played by their woman and children in the field. The Boers hunters were married men who were accompanied to the Lowveld by their wives and children, the women playing an important supporting role in making the hunt a success, maintaining the base camp and providing food for the men on their excursions deeper into the field. Fred Barber noted the supporting role played by Mrs. Vermaak during 1877 on an elephant hunting expedition near the Nata River, the men departing every Saturday for a fortnight from base camp after elephant and then returning to spend Sunday in camp where Mrs. Vermaak made them hard biscuits for their next trip out.⁵¹⁵ In similar fashion, when Greathead's party visited Vermaak's campsite on the Timbavati River, they found that Mrs. Vermaak and the other women at basecamp whilst the men went on in pursuit of eland to an advance camp on the Olifants River.⁵¹⁶ Unlike the Boer hunters, the English-speaking sports hunters were not accompanied into the field by their families. They were for the most part bachelors, many of them only marrying and settling down in middle age, enjoying the excitement of the chase in the company of like-minded men far away from the formality of the towns and cities. Even if they were married their wives stayed behind at home and did not accompany them into the Lowveld, their hunting excursions representing vacations away the drudgery or stress of daily life and routine, rather than a way of life itself as was the case with the Boer professional hunters.

The commercial hunters and the mainly English speaking sports hunters also held widely different views as to the purposes for which animals might legitimately be killed. Vaughan Kirby severely criticized the slaughter of giraffe by Boer professional hunters in the Lowveld, and commented upon the Boers' motivation:

The Boers put forth as their justification that the animals were placed upon earth for man's use; they do not distinguish between use and abuse. They require meat, and prefer to kill wild game rather than their own stock. They want money; the proceeds of the hunt in the shape of hides, etc. supply their want. If they cultivated the land and produced the 1001 necessities which, the shame of the country be it said, now have to be imported, they would also get money; but then don't you know, hunting is a far more pleasurable occupation than tilling the soil! So far, after all, the Boers justification is not an unreasonable one, if only he could learn moderation.⁵¹⁷

The visiting British sports hunter Henry Bryden, who spent a year in what is now northern Botswana, expressed the views of the sports hunters and commented upon the activities of the Boer hunters and the prices offered by them for giraffe and elephant hides. The Boers offered to buy the

⁵¹⁵ Tabler, *Zambezia and Matabeleland in the Seventies*, 83.

⁵¹⁶ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 102, diary entry 28 May 1893.

⁵¹⁷ Kirby, *In the Haunts of Wild Game*.

hides of all the animals Bryden shot, offering £2.10 for giraffe and 15 Shillings for eland hides. Bryden explained to them that:

We were shooting for sport and not for skins, at which they seemed disappointed. They were astonished when they heard that all the best heads we wanted to take home as trophies. A Boer is not educated to the idea of decorating his home in this way. He usually has a pile of horns rotting somewhere near his door, if there is game about – horns that an Englishman would often jump at. Up country hunters are, however, beginning to find out that good horns have nowadays a value of their own, and are thus induced to bring them down with the skins.⁵¹⁸

Bryden related the fictional history of “*Hans Botha*”, a Transvaal Boer hunting sable antelope in the south eastern Transvaal.⁵¹⁹ “*Hans*” is described as being a former elephant hunter, like his father before him, who had been reduced like others of his kind to pursue the game that remained on the veld of south eastern Africa for the price he could get for the skins. He describes this skin hunting as being a miserable profession, only the poorest of the Transvaal Boers still pursuing it. Years ago, when the Transvaal and large Free State plains still swarmed with game, the Dutch Afrikaners did “pretty well at the business”. Bryden describes the morning’s bag of the fictional Botha as being three sable antelope, the three skins fetching 25 Shillings each and the heads, which would previously have been thrown away, being sent to Johannesburg for sale to “those idiotic Englishmen”.⁵²⁰ Bryden expresses the generally held antipathy between the sport and the subsistence hunters that was exacerbated by differences of class and nationality.

Abel Chapman, an imperial hunter from Britain who hunted in the Lowveld during 1899 shortly before the outbreak of the South African War, expressed similar sentiments towards Boer commercial hunters. He complained that there was a lack of understanding of even the “elementary significance of our British term ‘sport.’” With a few notable exceptions he considered the mounted rifleman of South Africa with his after-rider and repeating mauser to be “merely a butcher, a hunter of hides and meat”, with “no sense of respect for game, no admiration of its grace or beauty, ever penetrated minds debased by decades of slaughter. Game is nothing more than a target; after that, biltong, riems and so on.”⁵²¹

These views were similar to those expressed by leading members of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire who represented that British sportsmen, as a class, had done

⁵¹⁸ Bryden, Henry A. *Gun and Camera in Southern Africa – A Year of Wanderings in Bechuanaland, The Kalahari Desert and the Lake River Country, Ngamiland*. London: Edward Stanford, 1893.

⁵¹⁹ Bryden, Henry A. *Nature and Sport in South Africa*, London: Chapman & Hall, 1897.

⁵²⁰ Bryden, *Nature and Sport*, 206-207.

⁵²¹ Chapman, Abel. *On Safari, Big-Game Hunting in British East Africa*. London: Edward Arnold, 1908, 92.

nothing in any wild country to wipe out any kind of wild game, and that the “true sportsman” did not “obliterate wild life”. Although the sportsman killed animals, it was argued that his killing was seldom “wholesale and indiscriminate”. On the other hand, those who hunted for food or for trade were considered as lacking, by definition, “any sense of ‘sportsmanship’”.⁵²² In the Transvaal context the Boer commercial hunter was perceived to be of a primitive underclass, exemplified by a lack of formal education; the failure to put down roots and enter the formal economy; a perception of personal uncleanness; and the identification of his hunting activities with that of a butcher in a shambles or slaughterhouse. General perceptions of this kind tended to be more commonplace in the run up to the South African War, imperialists describing the Boers as “sluggish nomads whose parasitic lifestyle was retarding free economic expansion”.⁵²³

The numbers of animals shot by the Boer hunters was huge even when compared with the bags of the most prolific sports hunters of the time such as Frederick C. Selous. John MacKenzie refers to Selous as having shot 548 head of game in southern Africa in the four years from 1877 to 1880.⁵²⁴ Selous’ recorded bag indicates that during this period he shot 18 giraffe during this four-year period, modest in relative terms to the example of a commercial hunter’s harvest of 45 giraffe in a single season.⁵²⁵

Writing for the St. Andrew’s College magazine, which would have enjoyed a wide circulation amongst old boys interested in hunting, Greathead commented thoughtfully upon the mass shooting of giraffe that he has witnessed. His own party of 5 hunters shot a total of 12 giraffe that season (of which he had personally shot 2) but on a rough calculation, relying upon the reports of the Boer hunters, he estimated that approximately 150 giraffe had been shot that year in the Lowveld. Concerned that this might lead to their extinction, he warned that something should be done “to prevent them being clean wiped out”, suggesting that giraffe be declared “royal game” (as was the case with big game animals in the Cape Colony where the Game Law of 1886 required the issue of a permit by the authorities for each animal such as giraffe, buffalo, hippo, kudu and many of the larger antelope shot) and the law stringently enforced.⁵²⁶ The adoption of a permit system for the

⁵²² These attitudes are also considered in Carruthers, Jane. “Changing Perspectives on Wildlife in Southern Africa, c. 1840 to c.1914,” *Society and Animals*, 13: 3, (2005), 183-200 and Adams, William M. “Sportsman’s Shot, Poacher’s Pot: Hunting, Local People and the History of Conservation” in *Recreational Hunting, Conservation and Rural Livelihoods: Science and Practice* edited by Barney Dickson, Jon Hutton and William M. Adams, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009, 133-135

⁵²³ Nasson, Bill. *The War for South Africa*. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2010, 38.

⁵²⁴ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 137 where he refers to the number of animals shot by F.C. Selous.

⁵²⁵ Selous, Frederick C. *A Hunter’s Wanderings in Africa: Being a Narrative of Nine Years spent amongst the Game of the Far Interior of South Africa*. London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1881.

⁵²⁶ Greathead, J.B.S. “A Hunting Trip to the North Eastern Transvaal,” *St. Andrew’s College Magazine*, XV: 4, 86.

hunting of listed or “royal game” in the Cape Colony resulted in commercial hunters being denied the right to hunt, the hunting of big game being set aside for the small elite of sports hunters to whom the permits were issued by the authorities.

English-speaking residents living on the verge of the Lowveld

A self-consciously adventurous group of English speaking pioneers and hunters resided permanently or semi-permanently on the fringes of the Lowveld. One of the earliest first hand accounts of hunting in the Lowveld is that of William Charles Scully who arrived at Pilgrim’s Rest in about 1873 at the age of 18 after trying his luck on the diamond fields and tried his hand at prospecting for gold at Lydenburg, Mac-Mac and Pilgrim’s Rest.⁵²⁷ Scully described the lure of the game-rich Lowveld and the dangers of fever from November to May each year:

In the earlier days men bent on sport, on prospecting or on adventure pure and simple, climbed lightheadedly down the steep mountain stairs at all times and seasons – little reaking that it would have saved them much heedless misery if they had, instead, leapt headlong from the towering cliffs. From November to May fever stalked abroad over the plains and among the foothills, seeking human prey, and hardly any who ventured during these months into the domain of the fever king escaped his blighting grip. The few who managed to save their lives were doomed to months – or even years – of misery.⁵²⁸

During these pioneering days it was only the adventurous and the risk takers that were prepared to brave the unhealthy conditions and enter region where wild animals, either for sport or profit, were the only attraction.

Percy Fitzpatrick, author the enduring classic *Jock of the Bushveld*, based upon his experiences as a transport rider during the years 1882 to 1884, provides an apt description of the categories of hunters – great hunters whose names were known, others as great who had missed the accident of

⁵²⁷ Scully, William C. *Reminiscences of the South African Pioneer*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913. Scully and his family had immigrated to the Cape from Ireland in 1867, travelling by way of Grahamstown to a farm in the eastern Cape where they engaged in sheep farming.

⁵²⁸ According to Scully, thirty-five men descended into the Lowveld during the autumn of 1873, twenty-seven of which forfeited their lives. During 1874 the aspirant hunters had learned their lesson and none, save for a group described as the Alexandre Party, entered before June that year. That year there were no deaths amongst those who exercised caution but the Alexandre party, entering early in the season and camping on the eastern slopes of the Lebombo Mountains, came down with malaria and had to be rescued by another hunting party. Three of the eight members of the Alexandre Party lost their lives from malaria. During 1875 Scully and four fellow hunters injudiciously entered the Lowveld on 5 April, at least two months too early. Of the party of five that penetrated deep into the Lowveld three met their end in the bush from malaria. Scully and one other, named McKinnon, managed to reach Mac-Mac but McKinnon succumbed to malaria approximately a month later. Scully himself was fortunate to suffer from a relatively mild attack, but felt the effects for years. Scully, *Reminiscences of the South African Pioneer*, 172. Having enjoyed the adventures of youth Scully settled down to a long and distinguished career in the Cape Civil Service.

fame, and yet others again who traded, and traders who hunted,⁵²⁹ and describes the significance of trophies, visual evidence of a successful hunt and an inspiration to newcomers:

Trophies, carried back with pride or by force of habit, lay scattered, neglected and forgotten, around The Outspans, the tents of lone prospectors, the cabins of the diggers, and the grass wayside shanties of the traders. How many a “record” head must have gone then, when none thought of time or means to save them! Horns and skins lay in jumbled heaps in the yards or steads of the big trading stores. The splendid horns of the kudu and sable, and a score of others only less beautiful, could be seen nailed up in crude adornment of the roughest walls; nailed up and then unnoticed and forgotten! And yet not quite (or although to the older hands they were of no further interest, to the newcomers they spoke of something yet to be seen, and something to be done; and the sight set him dreaming of the time when he too would go ahunting and bring his trophies home.)⁵³⁰

One of the families that lived permanently on the verges of the Lowveld was that of Henry Glynn and his sons H.T. Glynn and Arthur Glynn. Henry Glynn (senior) emigrated to the Cape from County Kildare in Ireland and, after hunting in the interior between 1854 and 1856 and trying his luck on the diamond fields in 1869, moved to a farm near Pilgrim’s Rest having been attracted to the area by the discovery of gold at Lydenburg. Father and sons established a permanent base on the high ground at Sabie and from 1876 went down to hunt in the Lowveld each season, on the first occasion in the company of a Boer hunting party and thereafter leading their own hunting expeditions.⁵³¹

The Glynnns acted as guides to sports hunters from outside the region from as early as 1879, becoming one of the early exponents of the professional white hunter that became famous in Kenya in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Following the 1879 Anglo Zulu war the Glynnns escorted veterans of the campaign on a shooting trip into the Lowveld, these imperial visitors including Captain Pennefather of the Inskillings, Captain Smythe, Majors Biggs and Woodward and a Captain Bowlby of the 94th Regiment who came to grief and died as a consequence of injuries sustained during a close encounter with a wounded leopard. During 1890 the Glynnns are recorded as having conducted a party of five hunters, including an Australian visitor, to the Olifants River.

All three Glynnns were present at their home at Sabie in 1893 and Greathead photographed the trio on the verandah of their home, which had a view to the mountains, surrounded by their trophies strewn around in confusion. Despite still suffering from the effects from malaria contracted on previous expeditions they still went hunting that year, their party being made up of Henry Glynn;

⁵²⁹ Fitzpatrick, J.P. *Jock of the Bushveld*. London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1907, 14.

⁵³⁰ Fitzpatrick, *Jock of the Bushveld*, 14-15.

⁵³¹ Glynn, *Game and Gold*.

his sons H.T. Glynn and Arthur Glynn; J.C. Ingle and Harry Fisher. That year they shot nine sable antelope (two of which were fine bulls) and a kudu bull on a single day near the headwaters of the Semaan River. Greathead described their camp as being “bestrewn with trophies, large giraffe heads and a fine waterbuck trophy, but very poorly managed.”⁵³²



Figure 14: Henry Glynn (senior) and his sons H.T. and Arthur Glynn surrounded by trophies on the verandah of their home at Sabie, 5 May 1893. (Photo J.B. Greathead).

The Glynnns and the sportsmen who accompanied them were in pursuit of trophies, the best of which were shipped to Britain and set up by the fashionable taxidermists Rowland Ward of London, later being recorded in Rowland Ward’s publication, *Records of Big Game*, their record trophies being listed alongside those of hunters such as F.C. Selous, Fred and Hal Barber, and other prominent hunters of the day as tangible evidence to the hunting fraternity at large of their achievements.⁵³³ Henry T. Glynn was by no means an impoverished frontiersman living off the land, having an interest in various mining ventures, and after marrying later in life in 1896 was able to educate his son at St. Andrew’s College in Grahamstown and later Oxford University. The hunting activities of the Glynnns, and the large number of animals killed by them for sport rather than commercial purposes, drew negative comment from the Landrost of Lydenberg as early as 1884, the State Secretary being informed that men such as Glynn, Somersfield and Sanderson had killed a great

⁵³² Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 127.

⁵³³ This hunting trip to Mozambique and the Pungue during 1894 is also described briefly in an article written by H.T.Glynn, at the request of J. B. Greathead, for the St Andrew’s College Magazine. Glynn, H.T. “The .303 Bore as a Sporting Weapon,” *St Andrew’s College Magazine*, XVII: 2, (May 1895), 29-31.

deal of game and had done so only for the pleasure of hunting and not even for the hides.⁵³⁴ Thus whereas neither group viewed the killing of wildlife to be wrong, there were irreconcilable differences as to whether the killing of wildlife for pleasure and recreation and to take the head and horns of the animal as a trophy, as opposed to killing the animal to take the hide for later sale and to discard the head and horns, was morally defensible.⁵³⁵

Hunters wishing to place their stamp on the natural world carved their initials into the trunks of baobabs, this graffiti including that of the brothers H.T. and Arthur Glynn, with the date 1895, carved on a baobab near the confluence of the Olifants and Letaba Rivers, together with the initials of H.F. Francis dated the same year.⁵³⁶ This evidence suggests that, despite the scarcity of game and the amendments to the Game Laws, the Glynn's returned to hunt in the Lowveld during 1895. Glynn's view of these trophies, looking back down the years, was as follows:

When a man has won his trophies fairly, the horns which hang in his hall and study are treasures beyond price. When darkness covers the earth, and the sportsman is before the flames of a wood fire, the walls light up with the spoils of the chase – his hard earned treasures which he has set such value on – memory comes back vivid and glorious, recording the days of youth and adventure, when nothing would tire him.

To some people, the trophies may be mere bones, but the tired sport, dozing by his hearth, can call up pictures from the depth of the forest and jungle, that no artist could ever paint. Each head is a key to some locker in his memory, and can never be defaced.⁵³⁷

Not all English speaking hunters were sports hunters. William (Bill) Sanderson and his two brothers Bob and Tom arrived from Scotland as young unmarried men seeking opportunity and, like many others, moved north to try their luck on the alluvial gold diggings around Pilgrims Rest and Spitzkop. Bill and Bob later turned to farming, first near Sabie and later moved to the farm Peebles near Legogote.⁵³⁸ The Sanderson brothers ran a trading store, farmed, and hunted every winter in the Lowveld. Stevenson-Hamilton states that Sanderson first arrived in the hunting grounds south of the Olifants River in 1873.⁵³⁹ Once the big game was first shot out in the areas outside the tsetse fly belt, which presented an obstacle to the oxen and horses of the Boer commercial hunters who hunted on horseback, the Sanderson brothers penetrated the tsetse fly belt with donkey wagons, placing the certain loss of the animals against the profit that they expected to make from the hides

⁵³⁴ Carruthers, Jane. *Game Protection in the Transvaal 1846 to 1926*. Pretoria: The Government Printer, 1995, 50 and footnote 36. Carruthers refers to a letter dated 8 January 1884 from the Acting Landrost, Lydenberg to the State Secretary.

⁵³⁵ Carruthers, Jane. "Changing Perspectives on Wildlife in Southern Africa, c 1840 to c 1914," *Society and Animals*, 13: 3, (2005), 183-200.

⁵³⁶ Pienaar, *A Cameo from the Past*.

⁵³⁷ Glynn, *Game and Gold*, 182-183.

⁵³⁸ Wolhuter, Harry. *Memories of a Game Ranger*, Johannesburg: The Wild Life Protection Society, 1948, 25-26.

⁵³⁹ Stevenson-Hamilton, *The Lowveld*, 62.

and biltong. Each year they tried to increase their bag so as to compensate for the losses. The group of commercial hunters in pursuit of the marketable hides, skins and biltong was accordingly not limited to Boers.

Frederick Vaughan Kirby, who lived for some years on the edge of the Lowveld in the vicinity of what is now Bushbuck Ridge, was an Englishman whose colorful and self-promoting accounts of his exploits in the eastern Transvaal brought him to the attention of the public, these initially being published in article form in the popular British sporting journal *Land and Water* under the pseudonym “Maqaqamba” and later in book form in 1896.⁵⁴⁰ Kirby took up residence at the kraal of a Swazi *induna* during 1884 and used this as his base for annual hunting expeditions into the Lowveld. These were usually if not always undertaken in the company of male friends, the purpose apparently being to secure desirable trophies. Kirby does not appear to have been of private means and may well have supplemented the income from his trading store by acting as a guide to foreign sportsmen. He mentions hunting in 1886 in the company of Henry Glynn and his sons;⁵⁴¹ in 1889 he was again out hunting to the west of the Lebombo range “in the company of friends”; he visited Hal and Fred Barber at their hunting camp with their cousin Bowker during 1891; and met them again in the Lowveld during 1892.

Although Kirby refers to friends such as the Barbers and Glynns by name, he referred in his narratives to his other hunting companions, or perhaps clients, by way of letters of the alphabet, such as to “H”, “P”, “W” and “M”. There are numerous references to hunting in the Lowveld with “H”, whose identity is revealed in the dedication of Kirby’s second book, which was dedicated to his friend and comrade James J. Harrison Esquire of Brandesburton Hall, Yorkshire, in recognition of the happy days they had sport together in Africa.⁵⁴² Kirby refers to Harrison accompanying him on a later sporting expedition to the northern and southern districts of Mozambique, and appears to have conducted other visiting foreign hunters including an unnamed American who hunted sable antelope in the Lowveld in company with Kirby sometime prior to 1896.⁵⁴³

Kirby was absent in England during 1893, having gone to visit his father in England, his trading store being looked after in his absence by Frank Watkins, Glynn’s brother-in-law. There is no description of Kirby’s residence at this time in any of his own books, nor any mention of his

⁵⁴⁰ Kirby, *In the Haunts of Wild Game*. His later exploits are recounted in *Sport in East Central Africa, Being an Account of Hunting Trips in Portuguese and Other Districts of East Central Africa*, London: Rowland Ward, 1899.

⁵⁴¹ Kirby, *In the Haunts of Wild Game*, 305.

⁵⁴² Kirby, *Sport in East Central Africa*.

⁵⁴³ Kirby, *In the Haunts of Wild Game*, 315-319.

domestic arrangements, which is perhaps explained by the fact that Kirby had married a woman from the local kraal. Greathead, who described the visit to Kirby's store as "very unsatisfactory", was clearly shocked at the "Mrs. Kirby" in residence – an African woman of about 20 years of age who spoke no English or Dutch and appeared to be very timid and shy, carrying a "small yellow-skinned baby". The "domicile" was a large round hut divided in the middle into a sitting room and a bedroom and the "many nice trophies" which included two lion skulls, lion paws and a leopard's head and good specimens of sable antelope and waterbuck horns seemed "wasted" in such a place. Outside the hut there were a number of horns in heaps, such as those of the kudu, sable, tsessebe and bushbuck, indicating that this was the habitation of a big game hunter. In the almost complete absence of white women other than Boers in the Lowveld, Kirby had integrated into the local Swazi community amongst whom he lived, a way of life firmly discouraged at the time and not one that Kirby would have wished to disclose to the public or discuss at a London club.⁵⁴⁴ What became of his Swazi wife and child when he left the Lowveld and married a white wife is unknown.⁵⁴⁵ Those with first hand knowledge of Kirby's exploits were also not impressed by the boastful lion stories that he presented to the British public. Fred Barber, who had hunted with Kirby during previous seasons and no doubt knew the truth, described the tales in Kirby's short story "*Maqaqamba's Lion Hunt in South Africa*" as being pure invention, expressing the opinion that Kirby could not be the wonderful lion slayer he had made himself out to be, and that he had recently unearthed "several big lies of his." This view of Kirby was not unique, Stevenson-Hamilton writing to Dr. Warren, Director of the Natal Museum during 1911, at the time that Kirby was appointed Game Conservator in Zululand, that Kirby was "the biggest liar in Africa", adding in later correspondence that when Kirby lived in the Transvaal he had "a shocking reputation as a game slaughterer."⁵⁴⁶

Kirby distinguished, as he saw it, the "true sportsman" from the Boer hunter (who hunted for money) and the "gunner" (who simply sought to outdo anyone else by boasting of the number of head of game slaughtered). The "true sportsman", as he was known to "his brother sportsman", and in which category Kirby placed himself, was a person who:

⁵⁴⁴ McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*. London: Routledge, 1995, 47-48. Stoler, Ann L. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

⁵⁴⁵ By 1909 Kirby was married and young children to support, and was attempting at the time to earn a living from hunting and collecting expeditions. His wife was suffering financial hardship during his absence. Kirby's prospects improved later when he was appointed Conservator of the Zululand Game Reserve. Brain, C.K. (Bob) *Austin Roberts: A lifelong devotion to South Africa's birds and beasts*. Cape Town: Trustees of the John Voelker Bird Book Fund, 1998, 57.

⁵⁴⁶ Brooks, *Changing Nature*, 300. Brooks quotes from correspondence addressed by Stevenson-Hamilton to Dr. Warren, Director of the Natal Museum, dated 2 February 1911 and 27 September 1912. In the latter correspondence, Stevenson-Hamilton expressed the hope that Kirby might "turn over a new leaf" after he was appointed.

...believes he has as his justification in going forth to slay. The ideas of the gunner will never enter his head; he will feel more true pleasure in securing one good trophy than in laying low scores of animals which carry none, - in fact, he will refrain from doing the latter, and that because of the love of true sport is his justification. Whether he seeks to enrich science or to add to his own collection of trophies matters little; he seeks the display of his skill, courage, and endurance, and he uses, not abuses.⁵⁴⁷

Another Bushbuckridge resident was Captain J.C. Ingle, a keen hunter who was a member of the Glynn hunting party during 1893. Glynn states that Ingle (who later farmed at Sandford Orleigh and Boshhoek) arrived from England in about 1888, and walked from Delagoa Bay to Rosehill where his uncle was managing the Rosehill Company.⁵⁴⁸ Ingle hunted in the Lowveld near the Lebombo Mountains⁵⁴⁹ and later acted as the hunting guide to the visiting imperial hunter Abel Chapman.⁵⁵⁰ Chapman spent several months hunting in the Lowveld with J.C. Ingle and his brother Reginald Ingle, leaving the Transvaal shortly before the outbreak of the South African War during October 1899. Reginald Ingle was killed in action on 20 May 1900 whilst serving as a trooper in Bethune's Mounted Infantry in the Natal Field Force and his brother J.C. Ingle was held prisoner in the Lydenburg jail for eight months and, after escaping, served as a captain in the Imperial Yeomanry. As reprisal for his serving their enemy the Boers burnt down Ingle's house and store with all it contained, including all Chapman's trophies from the 1899 season that were in storage.⁵⁵¹

H.F. Francis, whose name and the date 1895 is carved into a baobab tree in the Lowveld, was a member of a Natal family who came to the Lowveld at the time of the construction of the Selati Railway and settled. He and his brother thereafter spent most of their time in the region, Francis making a reputation for himself as one of the few hunters of the day who preferred pursuing lion to antelope.⁵⁵² Jane Carruthers refers to H.F. Francis as having been a hunter-trader before the South African War who collected specimens for museums.⁵⁵³ He served in the war as a captain in Steinaecker's Horse, being killed in action during July 1901. Steinaecker's Horse operated in the Lowveld during the war and hunted in the Sabie Reserve for food and sport and even entered the trophy market, supplying trophies to be taken back to Europe by returning military men who had not secured trophies of their own.

⁵⁴⁷ Kirby, *In the Haunts of Wild Game*, 340.

⁵⁴⁸ Glynn, *Game and Gold*, 184-5.

⁵⁴⁹ Glynn, *Game and Gold*, 150.

⁵⁵⁰ Abel Chapman's experiences in the Lowveld were later recounted in *On Safari: Big Game Hunting in British East Africa with Studies in Bird Life*, London: Edward Arnold, 1908, 291 and *A Retrospect: Reminiscences and Impressions of a Hunter-Naturalist in Three Continents, 1851-1928*, London: Gurney and Jackson, 1928.

⁵⁵¹ Pienaar, *A Cameo from the Past*, 445. The book was previously published in Afrikaans in 2007 as *Neem Uit die Verlede*. A photograph of J.C. Ingle is included with a caption stating that he lived at Sabie and acted as a guide to Abel Chapman in the Lowveld during June to August 1899.

⁵⁵² Stevenson-Hamilton, *The Lowveld*, 187.

⁵⁵³ Carruthers, Jane. *The Kruger National Park*, 33.

A witness to these hunting activities who later stayed on in the region as one of the first wardens of the Sabie Game Reserve was Harry Wolhuter, whose highly popular memoirs appeared in 1948 as *Memories of a Game Ranger*.⁵⁵⁴ Born in 1877 at Beaufort West in the Cape Colony, he moved with his parents to the Transvaal in approximately 1890, where they established a farm and trading store at Legogote, not far from Pretorius Kop. During the period prior to the South African War he participated in hunts in the Lowveld, describing the activities of the Boer professional hunters who lived from the game, shooting hippo and giraffe for the hides and biltong.

English speaking recreational hunters from elsewhere in southern Africa

Many of the English-speaking hunters active in the Lowveld during the early 1890's did not live on the verges of the Lowveld and resided and were economically active elsewhere in southern Africa. Their purpose included hunting for sport and recreation, on occasion acting as guides to foreign hunters of means, and collecting specimens for museums and collections.

An important but largely overlooked component of the Lowveld hunting community for the twenty year period from the mid 1870's to the mid 1890's is the considerable number of sports hunters from the eastern Cape Colony, mostly first generation Cape born, who had established themselves in that region as a self-styled rural gentry on the British pattern. In many ways their trophy hunting activities mirrored those of the imperial visitors from the motherland but their colonial roots and the local hunting cultures of which they formed a part tended to make them more self-reliant and experienced than their foreign counterparts.⁵⁵⁵ Being acquainted with Africa, and in many cases fluent in African languages, they had the necessary self-confidence to arrange and lead their own sporting expeditions without the need of professional guides.

These men from the eastern Cape were already visiting the region during the 1870's, as was noted by Scully who visited acquaintances at their hunting camps in the Lowveld:

About 5 miles away from our camp was that of the Barbers and Cummings – old Kaffrarian friends of mine. I once walked over to see them. A sort of kraal fence of horns around their encampment was evidence of the splendid sport they had enjoyed. Mr. Hilton Barber had had a narrow escape a few days previously. When on horseback he had been charged by a

⁵⁵⁴ Wolhuter, Harry. *Memories of a Game Ranger*, Johannesburg: The Wild Life Protection Society, 1948.

⁵⁵⁵ The development of unique colonial hunting cultures has been recognized and considered in the context of New Zealand, by Kathryn Hunter in "New Zealand Hunters in Africa: At the Edges of the Empire of Nature," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. 40: 3, (Sept. 2012), 483-501. She also considers the need to differentiate between white hunters from Britain and those from other countries within the empire and the manner in which these hunting cultures promoted self sufficiency and what she describes as a form of amateurism in which professional hunting guides were dispensed with.

wounded buffalo. Mr. Barber was flung off. His horse was killed, but the buffalo fell to a well-directed bullet fired from the fellow rider while the poor horse was still impaled on the cruel horns.⁵⁵⁶

Hilton Barber, mentioned by William Scully, was a financially successful stock farmer in the eastern Cape who owned his land.⁵⁵⁷ The purpose of his adventure was sport and adventure without a commercial motive. During April 1874 he set off from his farm to join his brother Graham Barber and a friend George Cumming in Pretoria, thereafter travelling by wagon to Lydenburg and then on to Mac-Mac. The party hunted as far east as the Lebombo Mountains, along the Sabie River and enjoyed what he described as “the finest sport that anyone could desire”, shooting “all kinds of big game”, encountering a large troop of buffalo and shooting a number of lions. Unlike the commercial hunters who shot as many head of game as possible, Barber recalled that they returned to their main camp and left the Lowveld, “after having shot all the game we cared to”, and the account ends with a comment that “this ended our shoot, a most enjoyable trip.”⁵⁵⁸

Hilton Barber’s elder brother Graham Barber, who had first hunted in the region during 1872, was 39 and unmarried when he joined the 1874 party. The third member was George Cumming (junior), first generation Cape born, and the son of Alexander George Cumming of the farm Hilton near Grahamstown. The Cumming family was fond of sport on the English model, it being recorded that George Cumming (senior) led a pleasant life on his farm Hilton (on which he built a double storied house with a bow front in the Georgian style)⁵⁵⁹ where he entertained army friends from Grahamstown with shooting and fishing.⁵⁶⁰

The leader of another hunting party from the eastern Cape was Miles Robert Bowker (1837-1913) who in July 1888 left a physical record at Shipandani Leegte, the name “Miles Robert Bowker” being carved into a baobab tree. Like many of the sportsmen from the eastern Cape he was a successful farmer in the Albany district north of Grahamstown. According to a plaque subsequently erected at that spot, the hunting party that camped at this spot during 1888 included Miles Robert

⁵⁵⁶ Scully, *Reminiscences of the South African Pioneer*, 224-225.

⁵⁵⁷ Mitford-Barberton, Ivan. *The Barbers of the Peak: A History of the Barber, Atherstone and Bowker Families*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934, 45-53.

⁵⁵⁸ Hilton Barber wrote an account of his hunting experiences that was published in the Sunday Times of 7 July 1919 that is quoted extensively by Mitford-Barberton, *The Barbers of the Peak*.

⁵⁵⁹ Lewcock, Ronald. *Early Nineteenth Century Architecture in South Africa*. Cape Town: A.A.Balkema, 1963, 186-190. Lewcock describes the house on Hilton, built by George Cumming and commenced in 1834, as a “magnificent double-storeyed bow-fronted house” of the kind fashionable throughout the late Georgian period. He adds that “it looks forward optimistically to a life of security and grace on the frontier”, and in style “looks backward to the elegance of eighteenth century England 30 years and 6,000 miles away”.

⁵⁶⁰ Mitford-Barberton, *Some Frontier Families*, 84-85.

Bowker, Alec Bowker, Charles White and the brothers Fred and Harry Barber.⁵⁶¹ Mitford Barberton refers to Miles Bowker spending several months hunting in the Lebombo Mountains with friends, returning laden with trophies of horns and hides, having collected everything from giraffe to malaria.⁵⁶²

Two prominent hunt sports hunters with eastern Cape origins who regularly visited the Lowveld were the brothers Frederick Hugh (“Fred”) Barber (1847-1919) and his brother Henry Mitford (“Hal”) Barber (1850-1920).⁵⁶³ Their presence and activities in the Lowveld has been almost entirely ignored in recent studies, along with most of the English-speaking sports hunters. They were the sons of Frederick William Barber and Mary Elizabeth Barber (née Bowker),⁵⁶⁴ prominent sheep farmers in the Albany district of the eastern Cape and first cousins of Hilton, Graham and Guy Barber. The Barber family moved to the diamond fields in 1869, renting out their farm to a tenant, and in 1872 the bachelors, then aged 22 and 25, commenced their adventures in the eastern Transvaal. They hunted during 1872 in the Waterberg and Soutpansberg Districts and then for the first time in the Lowveld in the company of the brothers Graham and Guy Barber and George Cumming. Fred Barber looked for the first opportunity to further “the dream of my life to become an African hunter and traveler” and this opportunity presented itself in 1875 when, at the age of 28, he accompanied a fellow sportsman with the intention of travelling as far as the Victoria Falls. Upon reaching the Limpopo, and travelling along its bank, he described the unrestricted outdoor life that attracted him:

We hunted, feasted, fished, bathed, and slept to our heart’s content, pulling out our horse hair mattresses and pillows and spreading them under the shady trees overlooking the beautiful river. What a change from dusty old Kimberley. How we congratulated ourselves and pitied the many friends we had left there.

Nobody except those who have experienced it can form any idea of the joy and happiness and independence of a hunter’s life in the wilds of Africa. The health and vigor from daily

⁵⁶¹ These have been recorded (often with photographs) in Pienaar, *A Cameo from the Past*, and in particular in the chapter “Pioneers and hunters in the Lowveld”, 213-245.

⁵⁶² Mitford-Barberton, *The Bowkers of Tharfield*. 88.

⁵⁶³ Accounts of the adventures of two families of eastern Cape pioneers who made their mark as hunters in the Lowveld and elsewhere, the Barbers and the Bowkers, can be found in Mitford-Barberton, *The Barbers of the the Peak* and Mitford-Barberton, *The Bowkers of Tharfield*. Some of the earlier adventures of F.H. Barber can be found in Tabler, E.C., *Zambezia and Matabeleland in the Seventies: The Narrative of Frederick Hugh Barber, 1875 and 1877 to 1878*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1960.

⁵⁶⁴ *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. I, 26. Beinart, William. “Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24:4, (Dec. 1898), 775-799. Cohen, Alan. “Mary Elizabeth Barber: South Africa’s first lady natural historian,” *Articles of natural history*: 27 (2): (2000), 187-208; “Mary Elizabeth Barber: The Bowkers and South African Prehistory,” *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 54: 170 (Dec. 1999), 120-127; “Mary Elizabeth Barber, some early South African geologists and the discoveries of gold,” *South African Journal of Economic History*, 15: 1-2, (2000), 1-19.

exercise and pure air, the absence of all worry, posts, or bills, and all the useless conventionalities of life and fashion. To sleep like a child and awake to the song of birds.

Fred Barber's attitude towards life, and his motivation for seeking out wild places appears from the introductory part of his recollections in which he explained to the reader that:

I have always loved a free and roaming life, and am happier and more at home in the solitudes of the great plains, in the shadowy depths of the forest, or climbing the breezy slopes of mountain ranges, than in society or in the madding crowd.⁵⁶⁵

This love for the freedom of the outdoors without the pressures of conforming to the demands and formalities and routine of Victorian city life was probably an attraction for many of the recreation sportsmen and has been recognized as such by Robert Morrell and Callum Mckenzie.⁵⁶⁶ A comparison between the formal studio photographs of men such as Fred or Hal Barber, with starched collars and neatly clipped moustaches, and their informal and comfortable appearance in the field in old crumpled clothes and slouch hats reflects this need to escape from formality. Similarly, the formal photographs of Greathead the medical doctor must be compared with the obvious joy expressed in his account of having the freedom of shooting a crocodile on the Oliphant's river and then swimming out to the carcass to take off the skin clad in only his boots.⁵⁶⁷

The varied careers of the brothers Fred and Hal Barber are typical of the colonial adventurer of private means and require to be briefly set out. Fred Barber enjoyed a varied life after his first hunting expedition, returning to Kimberley to dig for diamonds from 1878 to 1880; farmed ostriches in the Fish River District on the farm Junction Drift, Carlisle Bridge from 1880 to 1884; discovered the first gold reef in the De Kaap Valley in 1884 in company with his brother; floated mining companies at Barberton and on the Rand; travelled extensively in Europe during 1889; explored and hunted throughout the north-eastern Transvaal from 1891 to 1893; travelled and hunted in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, returning via the Pungue, Beira and Delagoa Bay; crossed the Kalahari Desert to German South West Africa in the company of Russell Bowker, Bertram White and his brother in 1895. He was described as possessing the finest collection of African antelope horns in the world, including in his collection a number of world records recorded in Rowland Ward's *Records of Big Game*, many of these trophies being set up by Rowland Ward of

⁵⁶⁵ Tabler, *Zambezia and Matabeleland in the Seventies*, 12.

⁵⁶⁶ Morrell, Robert. *From Boys to Gentlemen: Settler Masculinity in Colonial Natal 1880-1920*. Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2001; Morrell, Robert. "Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24: 4, Special Issue on Masculinities in Southern Africa Studies (Dec. 1998), 605-630; Mckenzie, Callum. "The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to the 'Shikar Club'," *The Sports Historian*, 20:1 (2000), 70-96.

⁵⁶⁷ Greathead, J. B.S. "A Hunting Trip to North Eastern Transvaal," *St. Andrew's College Magazine*, Volume XV: 4, (Dec.1893), 86.

London.⁵⁶⁸ His adventures were undertaken as a bachelor, Fred Barber finally marrying in 1898 at the age of 51 and settling down in Grahamstown for some years before returning to farming, first sheep and later ostriches. In 1915 he and his brother moved to Kenya where he bought farms near Eldoret, where he died in 1919. His younger brother Hal is described as being “a hardy pioneer and a keen sportsman with a wide knowledge of southern Africa” and “an outgoing, self-reliant and fearless personality,”⁵⁶⁹ who devoted much of his time to hunting.⁵⁷⁰ In 1890 he and his brother hunted in the Lowveld, which they repeated in the seasons 1891, 1892 and 1893, in the last of which Greathead accompanied them. He married during 1894 to his cousin Mary Layard Bowker and they spent a month honeymooning together from August to September 1894 on a hunting expedition to the Tembi River. In 1895 he accompanied his brother Fred, Russell Bowker and Bertram White on a hunting trip to the Kalahari Desert, later purchasing a farm near Somerset East before moving with his brother to Kenya where he died in 1920.

Hal Barber described the hunting trip undertaken to the Lowveld during 1890 in a newspaper article “*Shooting in South Eastern Africa*.”⁵⁷¹ The party of six, departing from Johannesburg on 25 April 1890, was made up of Hal Barber, Alfred Wainwright, the brothers Alec and Russell Bowker, and John Briscoe. They camped along the Olifants River and then followed the Erasmus Road in the direction of Delagoa Bay, passing Selati and Klaserie before striking due east along the “Hunter’s Road” from Lydenburg to the Timbavati River. Barber recorded that game was scarce at the Timbavati River when compared with the experiences of the previous (1889) season when Alfred Wainwright and Alec Bowker had hunted in the area and he also mentions the presence in the area of the commercial Boer hunters Bezuidenhout and Vermaak. There is a name carved into a baobab tree just east of the confluence of the Olifants and Letaba Rivers, dated July 1890, which Pienaar suggests is “H.M. Borter”, although it is more likely to be “H.M. Barber”, who camped near the

⁵⁶⁸ Mathews, Arthur. *Register of St Andrew’s College, Grahamstown from 1855 to 1902*. Cape Town: Juta & Co, 1902; Laurie, K.W.J. *Register of St Andrew’s College, Grahamstown, from 1855 to 1914*. Grahamstown: Slater & Co, 1914; *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. ii, 25.

⁵⁶⁹ *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol iii, 47.

⁵⁷⁰ Hal Barber visited the Transvaal, Matabeleland, Portuguese East Africa and the Kalahari Desert. He was a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and a keen naturalist, discovering several new species of insects and butterflies. In 1872 he undertook the hunting trip described above in the company of his cousin Graham Barber and George Cumming, during the course of which he spent time pressing flowers and collecting butterflies. The party returned via Nylstroom, driving the ostriches which they had captured with them, and purchasing more along the way. During the period 1876 to 1877 he accompanied his brother Fred to Matabeleland on an extensive hunting trip, during the course of which he was severely injured in the thigh by an injured buffalo.

⁵⁷¹ Referred to in Mitford Barberton, *The Barbers of the Peak*.

Olifants River in 1890.⁵⁷² It is also no doubt during this latter trip that Briscoe also carved his name and the date “1890” into a baobab tree at Nrsumane Poort.

The brothers Hal and Fred Barber are frequently mentioned by Vaughan Kirby, who states that one of the men who accompanied them during 1892 season was a “Mr. Gotto” who saved his life when he went down from fever.⁵⁷³ This was probably Dr. Walter Gotto, another hunter from the eastern Cape, who was on the staff of the Colonial Bacteriological Institute in Grahamstown. During 1893 Fred and Hal Barber led a six month long shooting trip to the Lowveld accompanied by their friend Dr.J.B. Greathead of Grahamstown and the visiting British sportsmen A.M. Naylor and F.B. Dunsford.

Another visiting sportsmen from the eastern Cape was Bertram White (1867-1936), a cousin of the Barbers, who farmed at Table Farm just north of Grahamstown and accompanied them on various hunting expeditions, including two to the Lowveld and one to the Kalahari.⁵⁷⁴

The brothers Alec Bowker and William Russell Bowker, members of a prominent family of landowners in the eastern Cape, feature prominently in the accounts of hunters active in the Lowveld in the late 1880’s and early 1890’s, and were first cousins of Fred and Hal Barber.

Alec Bowker never married and lived most of his life with his brother Russell, with whom he immigrated in 1904 to the Kedong Valley in Kenya.⁵⁷⁵ He hunted in the Lowveld during 1893 with William Pott, a young bachelor from Johannesburg looking for adventure and an escape from city life. Pott was born in Scotland in 1865 and, after trying stock farming in New Zealand moved to the Transvaal in 1889, where he was employed by various companies in Johannesburg as a property manager. He undertook two extended big game shoots between Leydsdorp and Komati Poort during the years 1892 to 1893, on the latter occasion under the guidance of the older and more experienced Bowker.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷² Mitford-Barberton, *The Barbers of the Peak*.

⁵⁷³ Kirby, *In the Haunts of Wild Game*, 506.

⁵⁷⁴ White, F. C. D. *Major T C White, 1820 Settler and his Descendants*. Privately printed (undated), 110.

⁵⁷⁵ Mitford-Barberton, *The Bowkers of Tharfield*.

⁵⁷⁶ Wills, Walter H. *The Anglo-African Who's Who and Biographical Sketchbook*. London: L. Upcott Gill, 1907, 244-245; *South African Who's Who 1909*. London: Bemrose & Sons, 1909; *South African Who's Who Social and Business 1929-1930*. Cape Town: Cape Times, 1929.



Figure 15: Alec Bowker with his trophies near Legogote, 7 September 1893. (Photo: J.B.Greathead)



Figure 16: Alec Bowker and William Pott, 23 August 1893. (Photo: J.B. Greathead)

Bowker's 1893 bag was extensive, as appears from the image of him sitting in front of his wagon with his trophies on display, and was made up of over sixty head of game, including a buffalo and several giraffe.⁵⁷⁷

Alfred Wainwright was a regular hunter in the Lowveld but little is recorded of his career. It is unclear where he resided and into which category of sportsmen he should be placed. He hunted with Alec Bowker in the Lowveld in 1889 and again in 1890 in company with Alec and Russell Bowker, John Briscoe and Hal Barber. Glynn refers to himself and his father hunting with Wainwright in the Ohrigstad Valley.⁵⁷⁸ According to Tabler, Wainwright was an Englishman who hunted with the Glynn in 1877 in the Ohrigstad Valley; and thereafter hunted for many years on the Sand River, where he was camped in 1884.⁵⁷⁹

Greathead was a keen sportsman who hunted in the Lowveld for a single season in 1893, accompanying the brothers Fred and Hal Barber and two visiting British hunters, Naylor and Dunsford. He later undertook extensive sporting expeditions throughout southern and east Africa.⁵⁸⁰ He left a detailed daily diary of his Lowveld experiences and over 100 photographic images taken with a portable camera. His total bag for 1893 was two giraffe, two sable antelope, nine waterbuck, eight blue wildebeest, eight Burchell's zebra, eighteen impala, one tsessebe, three rietbok, two kudu, one crocodile, five duiker, one bushbuck, three steenbok, two klipspringer, one redbuck and one rhebok.⁵⁸¹

The high cost involved for those hunting for sport and not as a commercial venture was prohibitive for all but those of considerable financial means. Greathead provides a summary of the costs involved, being the total basic cost of £590 for the party of five. The cost for the hire of three wagons was £100; three spans of donkeys £210; provisions £100; six "boys" at £3 per month for five months in the total of £90. This did not include the cost of travel to and from the starting point; the cost of rifles, ammunition and photographic equipment; and the cost of hunting licenses which cost £15 per person— 10 shillings for birds; 30 shillings for small buck; £3 for large buck; and £10 for rhino, eland, buffalo and giraffe; and the taxidermy costs of setting up the trophies. The hidden cost was being away from one's profession or occupation for six months.

⁵⁷⁷ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 128, diary entry 11 August 1893.

⁵⁷⁸ Glynn, *Game and Gold*, 187.

⁵⁷⁹ Tabler, Eric C. *Pioneers of Natal and Southeastern Africa*, Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1977, 100.

⁵⁸⁰ Greathead subsequently undertook further sporting trips to areas such as Mashonaland and the Pungue in Mozambique (1899); Bechuanaland and Khama's Country (1903); Kenya (1904) and the Luangwa Valley in what was then known as North Eastern Rhodesia (now Zambia) in 1910. He died of sleeping sickness at the age of 56 near Serenje when on this final hunting trip.

⁵⁸¹ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 138, diary entry for 6 September 1893.



Figure 17: The company of men around the table relaxing after dinner – (from left) H.M. (Hal) Barber, Alec Bowker, F. Dunsford, F.H. (Fred) Barber and A.M. Naylor, 3 September 1893. (Photo: J.B. Greathead)

The keen interest of the eastern Cape farmers and townsmen in hunting in the eastern Transvaal, whose numbers appear to exceed sports hunters from any other part of southern Africa, is a previously unidentified theme in Lowveld hunting. This phenomenon may be attributable to a number of factors. The urban professional middle class and self-styled rural gentry of the eastern Cape were very British in their outlook and aspirations, maintaining close links to the motherland and to its traditions of hunting and sports, but were also influenced by the colonial hunting culture. They had the means, either from success in farming or the professions or from speculations in mining shares, to emulate the sporting expeditions of the wealthy imperial hunters who visited southern Africa and later had their trophies set up by the fashionable taxidermists Rowland Ward of London. The desire for adventure and the limited species of game then available in the eastern Cape would have attracted men of pioneer spirit. The preponderance of small stock farmers is explained by the ability to be away from their farms during the winter months of the year. The privatization of big game in the Cape Colony and the introduction of a rigorous permit system for the shooting of listed or royal game with strict bag limits, together with increasing enclosure of rural land, particularly in the period after the introduction of the Game Act in 1886, would all have contributed

to sportsmen looking northwards for hunting opportunities further afield.⁵⁸² Finally, the eastern Cape hunters were limited to a close circle of the Albany elite, focused around the pioneering Barber and Bowker families, and included their hunting friends such as Greathead, White and Cumming and Gotto. There is no evidence, either in the form of contemporary accounts or from graffiti, of the presence in the Lowveld of sportsmen drawn from urban centers such as Port Elizabeth or East London or of hunters from the western districts of the Cape Colony.

The visiting imperial sportsmen from Britain

The visiting foreign hunters, mainly from Britain, make up a further category of Lowveld hunters and represent the archetypal imperial hunters of the MacKenzie tradition.⁵⁸³ These men either made use of the opportunity presented by military service in southern Africa, or travelled out from Britain especially for the purpose. Unlike the local residents and the experienced colonial sportsmen they required guides to organize their shoots and assist them in obtaining their trophies. Steinhart's characterization of the guided hunt and the professional white hunter as East African innovations requires to be re-considered in the light of these Lowveld developments.⁵⁸⁴

Henry T. Glynn and his sons filled the need for professional guides and made a business of accompanying sportsmen to the Lowveld every year for big game shooting, commencing with guiding officers who had served in the Anglo Zulu War. Tabler names those who hunted with the Glynn's as including a Captain Kennedy, Captain Pollock, Spencer, Peacock, Thomas Bryne and Vaughan Kirby.⁵⁸⁵ A hunting party in the Crocodile Poort area led by the Glynn's during 1879 included Captain Mostyn Owen; Captain Bowlby of the 94th (who met his death after an encounter with a leopard); Captain Pennefather of the Inskillings (who later served Rhodes in what was then Rhodesia); Captain Smythe; and Majors Biggs and Woodward.⁵⁸⁶ These military sportsmen are the typical visiting imperial hunters identified by John MacKenzie,⁵⁸⁷ combining their postings to the far reaches of the British Empire with hunting. Some moved on from South Africa, others chose to stay on. Captain Mostyn Owen came out to South Africa with his regiment in the 1860's and stayed

⁵⁸² Van Sittert, Lance. "Bringing in the Wild," 278.

⁵⁸³ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*; Beinart, William. "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa," *Past & Present*, 128 (Aug. 1990), 162-186. The extent of the genre of hunting literature published in English, mainly by imperial hunters, is apparent from Czech, Kenneth P. *An Annotated Bibliography of African Big Game Hunting Books, 1785 to 1950*. St Cloud, Minnesota: Land's Edge Press, 1999.

⁵⁸⁴ Steinhart, Edward I. *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya*, Oxford: James Currey, 2006, 131 - 137.

⁵⁸⁵ Tabler, *Pioneers of Natal and Southeastern Africa*, 53.

⁵⁸⁶ Glynn, *Game and Gold*, 70.

⁵⁸⁷ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*.

in South Africa, being involved in many of the frontier wars.⁵⁸⁸ Captain Arthur Godolphin Yeatman-Biggs (1843-1898), a career soldier who eventually attained the rank of Major General, served in China, India, in the Anglo Zulu War (1879), then being posted to Egypt and dying of dysentery whilst on campaign on the north-west frontier of India.⁵⁸⁹ Edward Graham Pennefather (1850-1928) attended Harrow and joined the army after failing to graduate at Oxford, later seeing action in the Anglo Zulu War. His regiment remained in South Africa and he served in various southern African campaigns, being seconded in 1890 to command the combined Police Force and Pioneer Corps when the British South Africa Company occupied Mashonaland.⁵⁹⁰

The sixth edition of Rowland Ward's *Records of Big Game*, published in 1910, provides a useful source of information as to the identities of visiting hunters to the north eastern Transvaal. One of these was Lt. Colonel (later Brigadier General) R.B. Fell, who served in both the Anglo Zulu War and later the South African War, only leaving South Africa in 1904. During the Zulu War, as a young second lieutenant, he enjoyed hunting in Natal in the company of some Boers.⁵⁹¹ His sable antelope trophy is not recorded in Rowland Ward's third edition published in 1899, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the trophy dates from the latter war and that he, as did many others, took the opportunity of taking time off for some hunting. Rowland Ward's edition for 1899 records him as having records of three leopard from Caubattia in the Kumaon Hills of India, and after leaving South Africa he went on to serve in Ceylon.

James Jonathan Harrison, who hunted with Vaughan Kirby, was an army officer from a wealthy British family.⁵⁹² Like many other contemporary hunters, including his friend Kirby, he used the services of Rowland Ward of London for the setting up of his trophies. His various record heads, listed in Rowland Ward's *Records of Big Game*, provide evidence of his extensive travels in search of sport and trophies, including Caribou from Canada; Wapiti from Wyoming; Chital from either India or Ceylon; Tsessebe from South East Africa; Red duiker from Mozambique; Waterbuck from

⁵⁸⁸ When Glynn met him for the first time in 1878 he was a Captain commanding a corps of Volunteers in a campaign against the Sekhukhune. According to Glynn, Owen subsequently joined the service of de Beers at Kimberley and died shortly thereafter. Glynn, *Game and Gold*, 70.

⁵⁸⁹ Buckland, C. E. *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1905, 463. A scanned cutting of an obituary published in the *New York Times*, 6 January 1898, appears on the website of the Godolphin family, www.godolphins.org.uk.

⁵⁹⁰ *Dictionary of South African Biography*, vol. iii, 679-680.

⁵⁹¹ Emery, Frank. "A Soldier's Letters from the Zulu War: A source of historico-geographical value," *Natalia* 8, (1978), 54-59.

⁵⁹² Green, Jeffrey P. "Edwardian Britain's Forest Pygmies," *History Today*, Volume 45, Issue 8; and Green, Jeffrey P., "A Revelation of Strange Humanity: Six Congo Pygmies in Britain, 1905-1907," in *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*. edited by Bernth Lindfors, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999, 156-187.

South Africa; Black Buck from India; Indian Elephant from Ceylon; African Elephant from East Central Africa; and bears from the North-West Territory of Canada and Wyoming.⁵⁹³ Harrison was able to live a life of leisure, his father being a wealthy man who owned Brandesburton Hall in Yorkshire. After an education at Harrow and Oxford he joined the prestigious cavalry regiment The Princess of Wales Own Hussars in 1884 and appears to have spent much of his time hunting.⁵⁹⁴ He commenced big game hunting in 1885, a year after joining the army, and by 1892 he was able to write of having travelled and hunted in Bermuda, North and South America, Canada and southern Africa.⁵⁹⁵ Harrison is particularly well known for having visited the Congo and brought six Pygmies to England in mid-1905, after which they were put on public display at the London Hippodrome and toured England before being finally returned to the Congo in 1907.⁵⁹⁶

The visiting sportsmen A.M. Naylor and F.P. Dunsford, who accompanied the Barbers and Greathead to the Lowveld in 1893, also entered their record trophies in Rowland Ward's *Record of Big Game*, and were further examples of visiting imperial hunters, but probably not army officers. Greathead met Naylor and Dunsford for the first time in Johannesburg at the Rand Club where both were waiting for the start. He described them as "nice fellows, plain and manly, and they mean business with the game when we get it." Naylor had hunting experience in Ceylon, Texas and Norway and various other places and Dunsford was described as having roughed it in Australia and had hunted all over the world.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹³ Ward, Rowland. *Records the Big Game*, London: Rowland Ward, 1899.

⁵⁹⁴ By 1895 he was promoted to Captain, by 1902 to Major, and he retired as Colonel in 1905 without ever having seen action.

⁵⁹⁵ Harrison, James J., *A Sporting Trip through India: Home by Japan and America*, Beverly F. Hall, London, 1892. In 1893 he crossed the Rocky Mountains and hunted extensively in North America and during the period 1899 to 1900 visited Abyssinia, Lake Rudolph and Uganda in the company of other hunters which included Percy Powell-Cotton, who later described this journey in *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia*, that was published by Rowland Ward in 1905.

⁵⁹⁶ He published his experiences in the Congo as *Life among the Pygmies of the Ituri Forest, Congo Free State*. London: Hutchinson & Co, 1905. In later years, Harrison became a member of the British Parliament and displayed his large collection of rare birds and game, collected during his travels, at his seat at Brandesburton Hall. He married in 1910, after his adventures, and died in 1923.

⁵⁹⁷ Rowland Ward's *Records of Big Game*, (3rd edition 1899) shows that Naylor had record trophies of the Indian Sambar from Ceylon and a particularly good Bushbuck (the trophy of which is illustrated by Rowland Ward) from North Eastern Gazaland. Naylor had a total of six record trophies recorded in the 1899 edition, the other four being Lichtenstein's Hartebeest from the Pungue; Brindled Gnu from Beira; and Sable Antelope and Kudu from the North Eastern Transvaal.



Figure 18: Hunting party starting for the Lowveld, (from left) A.M. Naylor, F.H. Barber, H.M. Barber and F. P. Dunsford, 8 April 1893. Note the difference in dress and hats between the imperial and colonial sportsmen. (Photo: J.B. Greathead)

During 1899 the wealthy international hunter and author Abel Chapman hunted in the Lowveld, guided by the brothers J.C. and R. Ingle. Abel Chapman was a keen sportsman and school friend of F.C. Selous, the two having attended Rugby school at the same time.⁵⁹⁸ The Chapman fortune was made in brewing and the wine trade, and this made it possible for him to embark upon leisure hunting expeditions all over the world. He built up a large collection of trophies, a number of which from all over the world being entered in Rowland Ward's *Records of Big Game*.⁵⁹⁹ The purpose of Chapman's hunting trip to the Lowveld was to obtain trophies and Chapman later referred to his having secured forty four trophies, including two sable bull trophies secured in the Lebombo Bushveld, all of which were lost when Ingle's home and store were torched by the Boers during the

⁵⁹⁸ In later years the three imperial sportsmen Abel Chapman, F.C. Selous and J.G. Millais co-authored a hunting book *The Gun at Home and Abroad: The Big Game of Africa and Europe*. London: The London and Counties Press Association Ltd, 1914.

⁵⁹⁹ Ward, Rowland. *Records of Big Game*, 6th edition, London: Rowland Ward, 1910. Chapman retired from the family firm when it was bought out in 1897, and took up residence on an estate at Houxty in Northumberland where he created a small private nature reserve. A considerable number of Chapman's trophies now form part of the mammal study collection at the Great North Museum in Newcastle, managed by Newcastle University, to which they were donated. The website of Great North Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne, states that the "Game Head Collection" of the Museum is "dominated" by the specimens donated by Abel Chapman. <http://www.twmuseums.org.uk/great-north-museum/collections/natural-sciences.html>, as viewed 5 October 2013.

South African War.⁶⁰⁰ He was disappointed with his sojourn in the Lowveld, realizing that the pristine environment had been lost, and describes returning homeward “with a certain undefined sense of disappointment, or at any rate of aspirations not fully realized.”⁶⁰¹

A well-travelled hunter who was temporarily a resident of Barberton, but who probably falls into the category of the foreign visitor, was Dr. Percy Rendall who had hunted extensively in Africa and Asia.⁶⁰² Rendell was the son of a barrister and fellow of Exeter College Oxford and, after qualifying as a medical doctor, acted as colonial surgeon in The Gambia; then as Acting District Surgeon at Barberton in the then South African Republic, and later in Nyassaland (now Malawi) and was elected as a Fellow of the Zoological Society, London. His sporting career was, like that many of his contemporaries, was undertaken whilst he was still a bachelor and he only married and settled down in England during 1899. His biography, published in the first decade of the twentieth century when he was residing at the Old Manor House, Epsom, states that he travelled for ten years to various parts of the world – to Africa, India, the West Indies, China, Japan and so forth, for the purpose of “collecting natural history specimens and shooting big game.”⁶⁰³ During 1895 Rendall submitted field notes to the Zoological Society, London describing his hunting experiences in the Lowveld during the years 1893 and 1894 and the distribution of antelope in the Transvaal.⁶⁰⁴

Charles Adolphus Murray, the Seventh Earl Dunmore (1841-1907), a Scottish Peer, Conservative politician, and a widely travelled man and a keen hunter, visited the Lowveld to hunt and is recorded in the 1899 edition of Rowland Ward’s *Records of Big Game* as being the owner of a record trophy of a Sable Antelope bull from the Sabie River.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁰ These trophies measured 44 1/8 and 42 inches respectively (Despite its destruction, Chapman’s 44/8 inch trophy was entered in Rowland Ward’s *Records*). Chapman also held records of other trophies from the various parts of the world that he had visited in the course of his travels.

⁶⁰¹ Chapman, Abel. *On Safari: Big Game Hunting in British East Africa with Studies in Bird Life*, London: Edward Arnold, 1908, 92.

⁶⁰² The 1899 edition of Rowland Ward’s *Records of Big Game* lists Percy Rendell as the owner of two record trophies of Sable Antelope from the Sabie Flats and of numerous other trophies from as far afield as Barberton, Delagoa Bay, Nigeria, Lake Ngami, British Central Africa, Upper Shire Valley, Gabon, The Gambia, Algeria, Somaliland, Morocco The Celebes, Punjab, Sind, the Central Provinces of India, The Himalayas and Ceylon. He was a contributor to Henry A. Bryden’s *Great and Small Game of Africa*. London: Rowland Ward, 1899.

⁶⁰³ A scan of a biography of Dr. Percy Rendall, together with a portrait, appears on the website of the Epsom and Ewell History Explorer, www.epsomandewellhistoryexplorer.org.uk. It is stated that the information originates from Grant, John (editor) *Surrey: Historical Biographical and Pictorial*, London c 1900-1910, and Hichin, W.E. and Pike, W.T. *Surrey at the Opening of the Twentieth Century – Contemporary Biographies*. Brighton: W.T.Pike & Co, 1906.

⁶⁰⁴ Rendall, Percy. “Field Notes on the Antelopes of the Transvaal,” *Proceedings of the Zoological Society London*. 1895, 358 to 362.

⁶⁰⁵ Ward, Rowland. *Records of Big Game*, London: Rowland Ward, 1899, 262. During the years 1892 to 1893 Charles Murray travelled and hunted in the Pamirs and Kashgar, publishing his account in two volumes as *The Pamirs; being a Narrative of a Years Expedition on Horseback and Foot through Kashmir, Western Tibet, Chinese Tartary*

The possibility of hunting big game was an attraction to the visiting hunter from Britain who was either of private means and travelled out from Britain especially for the purpose or was posted to southern Africa on military service. These visitors did not, as had earlier sportsmen such as Harris or Gordon Cumming, arrange and lead their own hunting expeditions but instead chose to be conducted by English speaking hunters who had knowledge of the area and could make the necessary arrangements for them. The cost involved in such a venture was not onerous to visitors who had leisure time and moderate means. Samler Brown quotes from a contemporary article published in the British sporting periodical *The Field* that suggested that, with good management, the total outlay of a hunting trip to the Kalahari for two men for several months (including the cost of firearms, provided they were not to indulge “expensive tastes”) would amount to £500. This would include the cost of a wagon for two men, a water cart, draught oxen, four good horses, flour, groceries and the like, the former of which could be re-sold at the end of the trip. The estimate did not include the cost of necessary ship and rail expenses. He concluded by suggesting that two men could enjoy an African hunting trip of six month’s duration at less cost than that for which a little bird shooting and the expense of living in moderate comfort for the same period would entail at home in England.⁶⁰⁶

The African hunters

The indigenous African hunters, who either hunted on their own account or accompanied white hunting parties as gun bearers, trackers, and camp followers in various capacities, like the Boers left no written record of their activities. During the late nineteenth century the white communities of southern Africa attempted to limit the spread of modern firearms amongst black people and, where they did possess them, adopted a policy of disarmament.⁶⁰⁷ African hunters were labeled as poachers, as was the case elsewhere in colonial Africa.⁶⁰⁸ The South African Republic had made it an offence to sell or lend firearms or ammunition to Africans, punishable to a fine of £25 or a term of imprisonment, and it can therefore be assumed that any African hunters utilizing firearms in the

and *Russian Central Asia*. London: John Murray, 1893. It is not known when or under what circumstances he obtained his trophy on the Sabie River. He also held record trophies from the Pungue (Hippo and Waterbuck) and Gorongoza in Mozambique (Buffalo); Mashonaland (Kudu); Spitzbergen (Walrus) and the Pamirs (Marco Polo Sheep).

⁶⁰⁶ Samler Brown, A and Gordon Brown, G (editors), *The guide to South Africa for the use of Tourists, Sportsmen, Invalids and Settlers*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston, 1898, 214.

⁶⁰⁷ The colonial gun society has been considered in Storey, William K. “Guns, Race, and Skill in Nineteenth-Century Southern Africa,” *Technology and Culture*, 45: 4 (Oct. 2004), 687-711; and in *Guns, Race, and Power in Colonial South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

⁶⁰⁸ Steinhart, Edward I. *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Africa*. Oxford: James Currey, 2006.

Lowveld did so contrary to the law.⁶⁰⁹ African hunters however did continue to make use of firearms but sought to avoid detection. Abel Erasmus, the so-called Native Commissioner of the Lydenburg District, was appointed to collect hut taxes and his activities including looking for “poachers” and confiscating guns from Africans.⁶¹⁰

Despite the efforts of the authorities hunting by Africans continued in the Lowveld, both by locals and individuals entering from Mozambique. Stevenson-Hamilton states that during the period prior to 1892 hunting in the tsetse fly belts of the eastern Lowveld was mainly by African hunters. These men possessed a considerable number of firearms, mostly of antiquated make, and were active in the summer months of the year when the white hunters retreated from the Lowveld due to the risks of malaria.⁶¹¹ Boer commercial hunters complained that every year they found the game less, blaming this on the activities of the African hunters during the months of September and May each year, and contending that their profit in biltong and hides was likely to vanish. The authorities of the South African Republic reportedly sought to combat African hunting by removing Africans from the Lowveld and forcibly removing them to the Highveld where they could be distributed to work on farms.⁶¹²

Kirby noted that although the storekeepers in the South African Republic were prohibited from selling arms and ammunition to Africans, modern rifles such as Martini Henry’s were brought in through Mozambique in defiance of the law that prohibited Africans from purchasing or even carrying firearms.⁶¹³ Kirby complained of local Africans and non-residents from Portuguese territory east of the Lebombo Range were “swarming into the game district” and shooting when and where they liked, adding that on a number of occasions he shot a giraffe that had embedded in its flesh five, six or even seven bullets from these African hunters. On one occasion he removed seven such bullets from a bull giraffe– three Martini Henry bullets and four home made bullets made by

⁶⁰⁹ Samler Brown, A and Gordon Brown, G. (editors) *The guide to South Africa for the use of Tourists, Sportsmen, Invalids and Settlers*, London: Sampson, Low, Marston, 1898, 217. This guide provides detailed information for the sportsman wishing to hunt in Southern Africa, including recommendations and an overview of applicable game laws.

⁶¹⁰ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 132, diary entry for 23 August 1893. The disabilities imposed upon African hunting in the Lowveld, and the role of Africans, are considered in Carruthers, Jane. ‘Police boys’ and poachers: Africans, wildlife protection and national parks, the Transvaal 1902 to 1950. *Koedoe* 36/2 (1993), 11-22; and Trapido, *Poachers, Proletarians*.

⁶¹¹ Stevenson-Hamilton, *The Lowveld*, 62 to 63.

⁶¹² Stevenson-Hamilton, *The Lowveld*, 182.

⁶¹³ Kirby, *In the Haunts of Wild Game*, 331.

Africans – stones encased in lead⁶¹⁴ and on another four projectiles were removed from a bull giraffe, some of which were lead coated stones.⁶¹⁵

Greathead came across African hunters bearing firearms near Spitzkop when about twelve African hunters, all armed with muzzle-loading Snyder rifles, turned out on the suggestion of the storekeeper Luff to hunt buffalo in the thick bush a few miles from the store. The incident is important as it confirms the possession and use of firearms by the local African people despite the legislation outlawing such practices.⁶¹⁶

African hunting parties operating openly in the Lowveld were armed with traditional assegais, as appears from one of Greathead's images showing a group of three Swazi sportsmen hunting in the vicinity of Legogote armed with spears and accompanied by dogs.



Figure 19: A photograph entitled “Swazi Sportsmen”, depicting three hunters, each armed with two spears, accompanied by a large gracile dog, near Legogote 7 September 1893. (Photo: J.B. Greathead)

Vaughan Kirby recounted that after taking up residence during 1884 at the kraal of a well-known Swazi induna he and some of the “ardent sportsmen” of the kraal participated regularly in hunting expeditions together into the Lowveld.⁶¹⁷ These African hunters who accompanied Kirby also

⁶¹⁴ Kirby, *In the Haunts of Wild Game*, 342.

⁶¹⁵ Kirby, *In the Haunts of Wild Game*, 462.

⁶¹⁶ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 94, diary entry for 10 May 1893.

⁶¹⁷ Kirby, *Sport in East Central Africa*, 5. The two principal followers were described as “May” (a Sotho) and “Stuurman” (a Swazi) Both, together with two Swazi’s “Muntumini” and “Mvelafati”, are often referred to in

carried assegais in the field and Kirby describes an occasion when the Swazi hunter Muntumuni insisted upon spearing a wounded Sable Antelope with his assegai, adding that, “true to his Swazi traditions”, he was utterly fearless and that when on horseback during the chase placed little value on his neck. Kirby in this way acknowledged and respected the sporting qualities, fearlessness and pluck of his Swazi hunters that measured up to the code of the Victorian sportsman to which he subscribed.



Figure 20: African camp assistants around the fire after breakfast, 19 August 1893. (Photo: J.B. Greathead)

The African hunters employed as gun-bearers and trackers in the field had experience and skill in using firearms. Greathead employed a man referred to as “Matches”, whose kraal was near the present day Satara rest camp, as a tracker at £1 per month. This employment was taken up to earn cash to pay hut tax, as he briefly left the hunting party to pay his hut tax as soon as he had earned his first month’s pay. “Matches” proved to be knowledgeable in the field; a useful companion on the hunting trail; and a keen hunter in his own right. Greathead’s interaction with him is candid, “Matches” being allowed to hunt and use modern firearms. When a wounded wildebeest was lost

Kirby’s accounts of his exploits in the field. May and Stuurman, who were described as the “bravest and best” companions, met their end at Katungas on the Shire River in 1894, far from the eastern Transvaal, after falling victim to smallpox whilst on the way to join Kirby on a hunt. At the time of their death they had been hunting together with Kirby for nine years – presumably since 1884 when Kirby had taken up residence at the kraal of the Swazi induna. Kirby paid tribute to May as “without exception, the most resourceful and skillful hunter I ever had, and was quite an authority upon the ways and means of lion and leopard hunting; and to his assistance I owe much of whatever later success I have attained in their pursuit.”

near the Manunga River “Matches” was sent out on his own the next day with a rifle to locate the animal, later returning without finding the wildebeest but with the head of a fine boar that he had shot on his own initiative, this later being preserved as a trophy. On another occasion Matches was sent out to locate a wounded waterbuck ewe and shot a fine impala ram. When Greathead went out in company with “Matches” to hunt for meat for the pot and was crawling through long grass stalking a wildebeest, “Matches” “neatly bagged” an impala that was standing nearby watching his movements.



Figure 21: “Matches” with the morning’s bag, 28 July 1893. (Photo: J.B. Greathead).

The Acquisition of Trophies

The various early editions of Rowland Ward’s *Records of Big Game*, particularly the edition for 1899,⁶¹⁸ serve as a roll call of those big game hunters of the day who chose to compete with their peers for the distinction of having shot the largest and best trophies. The entries record Sable Antelope trophies from identifiable localities such as the Lebombo Mountains and Sabie owned by men such as F.H. Barber, Russell Bowker, H.T. and Arthur Glynn, Percy Fitzpatrick, A.M. Naylor and the Earl of Dunmore. Vaughan Kirby, A.M. Naylor and F.P. Dunsford owned record kudu horns from the same region; waterbuck horns were recorded for H.T. and Arthur Glynn; tsessebe

⁶¹⁸ Ward, Rowland. *Records of Big Game*. London: Rowland Ward, 1899.

for F.V. Kirby and H.M. Barber; and Kirby also had entries for giraffe and four lion skins. The professional Boer hunters had little use for trophies and are not represented at all in Rowland Ward's *Records of Big Game* for the period.

F.H. Barber put together what was later described as the "finest collection of African antelope horns in the world", his collection being sold in 1909 to the Heads and Horns Museum of the New York Zoological Society in the Bronx, New York, where it was put on public display⁶¹⁹ In correspondence addressed to William T. Hornaday, who arranged the purchase, Barber stated:

I do not think I am exaggerating when I say I have the finest private collection of African horns and heads in the world. I am sixty years old now, and during the whole of my life, I have made every available opportunity of travelling, hunting and shooting through all parts of the country. Zambezi, Rhodesia, Portuguese East Africa, Kalahari Desert and Cape Colony and Natal during which time I have always collected the best horns and heads that I could.⁶²⁰

In addition to the collection of game trophies for their own collections, attempts were made in 1893 by both Greathead and Hal Barber to provide specimens for the Albany Museum. Kirby records that in 1891 he met the Barber brothers and Alec Bowker camped near the Nguanetsi River, where they showed him a remarkable specimen of an albino reedbuck ram that one of their party had shot, and which was, he believed, afterwards presented to the Albany Museum.⁶²¹ Unlike hunters such as Kirby who made a living from selling specimens to museums and institutions, Greathead and Barber's specimens were donations. The only lion shot by the party during 1893, a fine specimen with a black mane, was also earmarked for the Albany Museum by Hal Barber⁶²² and Greathead later purchased a lioness skin from Solomon Vermaak for £5 as a companion for Hal Barber's lion.⁶²³ The collection of specimens was not limited to big game, Greathead commenting on the great variety of beautiful butterflies near Macmac and he collected an interesting green beetle for setting.⁶²⁴ Upon finding an interesting bee's nest, with a single round comb hanging by its center in

⁶¹⁹ Cohen, Alan, "The F.H. Barber collection of heads and horns". *Archives of natural history*, 28:3 (2001), 367-382. The National Collection of Heads and Horns had recently opened in the zoological gardens in the Bronx Park. Barber's collection, which consisted of 153 specimens, was made up of 67 heads, 83 pairs of horns, 2 skulls and a single horn, and was purchased for £500.00. According to Cohen, only 13 of Barber's specimens remain in existence, the New York Zoological Society's Natural Collection of Heads and Horns having been closed in 1970 and the collection was dispersed.

⁶²⁰ Cohen, "The F.H. Barber collection of heads and horns," 367-382.

⁶²¹ Kirby, *In the Haunts of Wild Game*, 470.

⁶²² Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 115, diary entry for 3 July 1893.

⁶²³ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 132, diary entry for 22 August 1893. The Annual Report for the Albany Museum for 1893 confirms these donations, Greathead being especially thanked for "a lioness, several rare antelopes, and bird skins from the Northern Transvaal". The list of principal accessions for that year confirms the receipt of the lion and lioness from Hal Barber and Greathead respectively; the gift from them of the impala ram and ewe; and Greathead was also acknowledged for the donation of a specimen of a Klipspringer and of the preserved skins of eight different species of birds. These included a green backed heron, a francolin, a honey guide, an African finfoot, an African green pigeon, and an owl.

⁶²⁴ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 119-120, diary entry for 14 May 1893.

a bush, one of the bees was collected for preservation.⁶²⁵ A traditional plant press can be seen in one of the campsite photographs, evidence of the collection and preservation of botanical specimens up to herbarium standards.

Conclusion

The period considered in this chapter is that immediately prior to the various attempts, commenced by the government of the South African Republic at the urging of sportsman hunters including Glynn,⁶²⁶ to intervene and control hunting in parts of the Lowveld as a game preservation scheme. These schemes would eventually lead to the creation of today's Kruger National Park. Competition for resources led to the South African Republic suppressing African hunting and prohibiting Africans from owning or bearing firearms. One of the first targets of legislation in this, as in various other parts of Africa, was to declare indigenous hunters to be poachers and exclude them from lawful hunting altogether. They continued to hunt using traditional weapons; hunted with firearms during the unhealthy summer months when the risk of detection and being apprehended was at its minimum; or participated in hunts organized by white sports hunters during which they might have the opportunity of some sport of their own using the firearms of their employers.

The commercial hunting of game for hides and skins on a vast scale, with the likely consequence of the total extermination of the game, brought commercial hunting into conflict with the interests of the recreation and sports hunters whose concern was that the game be preserved so as to be available for sports hunting.

As this chapter demonstrates, the recreation or sports hunting community of the Lowveld was made up of diverse groups of men. The first distinct grouping included local pioneers residing on the high lying land on the verges of the Lowveld from where they went down to hunt each season and acted as hunting guides to visiting sportsmen, either from elsewhere in southern Africa or more often foreign hunters from Britain. A second important component of the broader hunting community were the visiting elite sports hunters from the eastern Cape, emulating and competing on equal terms with the wealthy imperial visitors and in many instances surpassing them in the competition for record entries in Rowland Ward's *Records of Big Game*. The study of these men's careers demonstrates the difference between the colonial sports hunters, influenced by the southern African environment and hunting traditions and the visiting imperial hunters of the MacKenzie tradition.

⁶²⁵ Gess, *Journals of J.B.S. Greathead*, 104, diary entry for 1 June 1893.

⁶²⁶ The proposals to establish a game preserve in the Lowveld prior to the South African War are analyzed in Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park*, 24 – 28.

Finally there were the visiting imperial hunters and army officers from Britain who wished to add an African hunt and the associated trophies of the chase to their hunting experiences in other remote regions of the world and required the expertise and experience of the local hunters to make their shooting trips a success.

Once the broad generalized categories making up the broader hunting community are replaced with the identification and interrogation of individuals' lives, a clearer picture emerges of the wide range of individuals and interest groups who competed to take advantage of one of the last areas in southern Africa in which game in substantial numbers remained in public ownership and was available to the general public to be exploited in the manner of each hunter's individual choosing.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation examines the identity of hunters, sportsmen and the associated communities in two diverse regions of southern Africa during the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries. This period represents the transition between the era of the previously much admired “heroes” of southern Africa’s white “big game hunters” such as Harris and Cumming, and the establishment of public game preserves (and eventually national parks) as also the creation of private game preserves outside public ownership. Although this period has often escaped interrogation, perhaps because it lacks the marketable glamour of the early periods when the plains of southern Africa were said to teem with game, it was a critical period during which new patterns of hunting and local tradition were created.

The social history of humankind and game animals in the Cape Colony originated from wild animals being dragged from the veld and forest into the public domain of the legal imagination, often hunted for commercial purposes, and then dragged again into the realm of private space. As Lance Van Sittert has put it, this trajectory reflects the “commodification” and “privatization” of once “public” animals on privately owned enclosed land. Yet, as this study has shown, however, there was a key distinction between animals described as “royal game” and those that were not. The former were not merely more desirable due to their scarcity and status, but the shooting of these animals required the issue of a permit in terms of the Game Act, obtainable on written and motivated application to the Department of Agriculture in Cape Town. The applications for permits, and the development of policy, both in respect of each specific magisterial district and for the Cape Colony as a whole, provide a wealth of primary evidence as to the identity of those who were granted permits and those who were refused the opportunity to hunt royal game. The present study is the first to focus on these applications for specific regions, in this instance relating to the hunting of buffalo in the Albany and Bathurst Districts (where buffalo occurred on private and Crown land) and of kudu in the Albany and Fort Beaufort Districts (where kudu were to be found exclusively on private land).

Once the names of the applicants and permit grantees were established it became possible to interrogate their identity (inclusive of their class, occupation, race and gender) both individually and also as members of the local hunting community with distinct local traditions and connections. This study has confirmed that hunting “royal game” came to be controlled by local elites and interest

groups, to the exclusion of all others. In the case of the Albany district this elite was made up of rural squires and urban professionals, connected by attendance of the elite private school St. Andrew's College in Grahamstown; membership of the local lodge of freemasons; or through local farmer's associations such as the Koonap Farmer's Association. The records relating to the grant of permits similarly provide clear evidence of the identity of those individuals and groups that were excluded from the hunting "royal game" in the various magisterial districts on the ground of race, class and gender. Such permits for the Albany, Bathurst and Fort Beaufort districts were either not applied for, or were refused, to Black Africans (whose right to bear arms was strictly curtailed pursuant to the Peace Preservation Act, and who were subsequently also prohibited from hunting using traditional means such as spears, traps or snares); the rural and urban poor and commercial or subsistence hunters. No permits were applied for by or granted to women, an indication of the importance of the social association of hunting with masculinity.

Whereas ordinary hunting licenses might be purchased from the local magistrate's office on payment of a fee, the authorities required that the Office of the local Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate make recommendations with regard to each application for a permit to hunt "royal game". A study of the administrative process of recommendation and consideration of permit applications affords important insights into the day to day functioning on the Cape Civil Service, particularly when a discretion was being exercised. The records make it possible to consider the attitudes and prejudices expressed by individual Civil Commissioners as to race and class in the context of hunting, as also their positioning within the local community and connection with the applicants for permits. This study makes it clear that these officials tended to promote the interests of the rural landowning gentry and leading citizens of the towns and actively sought to limit the grant of permits on the ground of race and class. Other exclusionary categories included those perceived not to be "real sportsmen" or "gentlemen"; hunting for subsistence (the much hated and scorned "pot hunter" who was perceived to be of a lower and inferior class) or hunting for commercial purposes. These analyses are potentially enriched as some career civil servants, such as William Charles Scully, served as Civil Commissioners in a number of magisterial districts during the course of their careers. The opportunity presented itself to these influential local officials to use (or abuse) their position in furtherance of connection, favoritism and even possibly corruption in the recommendation and grant of permits, particularly should the local Civil Commissioner and his staff themselves be in competition for the same permits as members of the public. This study considers the career and activities of one such official, William Warneford (Clerk of the Civil Commissioner for Bathurst), who was indefatigable in his efforts to secure permits to hunt buffalo

for himself and his friends, often to the prejudice of other applicants and to the local survival of buffalo in the Bathurst district.

Wild animals, provided they qualified as “game” rather than “vermin”, were protected during the period in Crown forests under the jurisdiction of the Conservators of Forests, who administered such areas as commercial enterprises and as places where game might be allowed to increase for sports hunting purposes by white hunters. The tensions between these designs and traditional African hunting practices, which were usually condemned as “poaching”, and the measures that might be taken to police and prevent these activities, was a perennial theme in the official correspondence of the period.

In addition to the hunting of “royal game” for which permits were required, local traditions were established in the Cape Colony for the hunting of other animals considered to fall within the category of “game”, some of these activities being formalized into the formal Hunt in the case of Springbuck in areas such as Graaff-Reinett. Urban sportsmen developed social hunting through the medium of gun clubs, sporting associations and coursing clubs, but the scope of their activities was constrained by patterns of land ownership, the limits of town commonages and the ability through connection or wealth to obtain consents to hunt small game in Crown Forests or on private land.

The privatization and associated “commodification” of game animals in the eastern Cape was the precursor to further developments noted by scholars such as Shirley Brooks in the context of the Natal Midlands, the trajectory of land use of the nineteenth century being reversed. Wild animals had largely disappeared when the land was enclosed for stock farming and commercial agriculture, animals such as kudu being preserved by farmers for sport for themselves and their friends, and predators being eliminated as “vermin”. During the late twentieth century in turn private land was taken out of commercial agriculture and game farms and private hunting preserves proliferated, creating an artificial or “commodified wilderness” for new elites that either wished to enjoy the opportunity of exclusive game viewing or to provide for trophy hunting. Many of the farms in the Koonap and Fish River valleys, which had been the focus of attempts by English speaking farmers such as Tomlinson, Knott and Kent to preserve kudu for sport, are now either private or public “commodified wildernesses”. Farms such as Bucklands and Heatherton Towers form part of private game reserves open to the public at a fee as “private wilderness” and others such as Botha’s Post and Kentucky were donated to the state by descendants of the families that had owned the land since the early nineteenth century as public game reserves with a focus on kudu.

The social history of hunting in the Cape Colony, particularly amongst these English-speaking colonial sportsmen, challenges conventional historiography as it does not match the archetypal “imperial sportsman” identified by John MacKenzie in *Empire of Hunting*. Furthermore, the Cape’s trajectory towards private ownership and “commodification” of game differs markedly from the competing trajectory towards public or state ownership of game experienced in Kenya, the region that became the focus of the imperial sportsmen of the late Victorian era and synonymous with the concept of the “safari” and the professional white hunter.

The North-Eastern Transvaal Lowveld, the other area on which the lens is focused in this thesis, has become synonymous with the present day Kruger National Park, an area in which the game is now publicly owned and made available for public viewing rather than hunting. This study examines the identity and activities of the hunters active in that area during the late nineteenth century, contemporaneously with the contrasting developments in the Cape Colony. Rather than limiting the interrogation of hunters simply to anonymous categories, or to individuals or “big men” whose identities was well-known and who have become part of the well-established and popularized myths and lore, the lens was turned towards lesser known and “lost” hunters, their origins and their purpose in hunting. In doing so, it became possible to establish a more complete and nuanced picture of the hunters of wild animals in public ownership in the Lowveld. In addition to imperial sportsmen there were Boer commercial hunters hunting for hides and biltong; white residents on the verge of the Lowveld guiding visiting sportsmen as a pre-cursor to the professional white hunting guide; African hunters engaging in traditional hunting or engaged in wage labour to assist in the success of Boer commercial hunting or in the sports hunting enterprise; and colonial sportsmen resident elsewhere in southern Africa. Many of these English-speaking colonial visitors to the Lowveld, a category usually ignored or accorded scant attention, were prominent members of the landed or professional elite of the Albany district of the eastern Cape Colony whose material success enabled them to engage in such leisure activities. The diary of J.B. Greathead, one of the Albany sportsmen who hunted during 1893 in the Lowveld in company with the brothers Hal and Fred Barber, all members of the same Albany community and in the company of two visiting imperial sportsmen, provides new insights into the identity and purpose of colonial sportsmen. His photographic images for 1893, some of which are included in this dissertation, are a unique and important contribution to a period for which there is a dearth of photographic evidence, particularly of hunters and hunting practices.

Finally, this dissertation explores the opportunity of establishing a deeper and more nuanced understanding of hunting and nature conservation in southern Africa during the period through turning the focus of the lens more closely on an examination of the individual identities of hunters, and the communities of which they formed a part, in the context of enduring social history concern with race, class, gender and community.

The archival material considered in this study suggests rich fields for further research. The identity of the hunters and the local traditions prevailing in each magisterial district in the Cape is likely to have differed and a rich source of evidence remains untouched, but ripe for future research, with regard to the identity of hunters of “royal game” in other magisterial districts falling outside the ambit of this study. These include key areas such as Uitenhage (where kudu occurred in large numbers on private land and where elephant, buffalo and kudu survived on Crown land) and by contrast that of Namaqualand where a tradition of hunting of gemsbok by African Nama hunters (to whom permits were granted) resident in villages such as Pella survived into the first decade of the twentieth century alongside, and often in competition with, hunting by whites from towns such as Springbok. Another possible area of future enquiry is the extent of the issue of hunting licenses to African hunters east of the Fish River, which some forestry officials sought to encourage, and the licensing of firearms to Africans in terms of the provisions of the Peace Preservation Act. A further largely unconsidered matter, closely linked to issues of land ownership, are the reasons why the Cape Colony failed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to establish and maintain game preserves on Crown lands, despite the introduction of legislative authority to do so, and notwithstanding the establishment of such areas being recommended by Forest Conservators and local Civil Commissioners and Resident Magistrates.

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<http://www.annmariejones.me.uk/family> and the website of St. Michael's Church:
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The biography of Dr. Percy Rendall, together with a portrait, appears on the website of the Epsom and Ewell History Explorer, www.epsomandewellhistoryexplorer.org.uk, (as viewed 5 October 2013).