

PERFORMING MASCULINITY AND RECONCILING CLASS IN THE AMERICAN
WEST: BRITISH GENTLEMEN HUNTERS
AND THEIR TRAVEL ACCOUNTS,
1865-1914

by

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation investigates narratives by British gentlemen of the upper-middle and upper class, whose accounts of hunting in the Western United States in the second half of the nineteenth century reveal their sentiments toward issues of nation, race, class, and gender. I argue that hunting accounts set in the American West, where egalitarianism and nationalism ran strong, allowed these hunters to reconcile themselves to the increasing democratization, professionalization, and commercialization of Britain and the emergence of a multi-polar global power structure by crafting an upper-class identity that reaffirmed British supremacy and class values. At the core of this upper-class identity was the construction of the hunters' masculinity. The hunter-writers staked out a balance between the middle-class image of a pioneer frontiersman hunter and an "aristo-military"

hunter. By warding off or repelling Native thieves and warriors, as well as consistently overcoming the harsh natural and physical environment, the hunters were able to portray themselves – at the very least – as frontiersmen’s equals. Historians who have investigated similar accounts posit that upper-class British hunters sought to reassert elite values or “transcend” modern societal degeneracy and the sordid urban workplace with their writings. By contrast, I believe the hunters sought to prove they possessed the hearty work ethic of the British working and middle class and imperial pioneers/Western frontiersmen to show that they were *fit* to succeed in any environment or social circumstance if necessary – including the marketplace.

These upper-class accounts were concerned with more than simply proving competence vis-à-vis working men. The narratives also provided the authors with an opportunity to assert their social, national, and racial superiority through demonstrations of refinement, intelligence, leadership, and humanity. They used Americans and their institutions as points of comparison, and assumed that many of the traits associated with Americanization – such as greed, meritocracy, crassness, egalitarianism, and democracy – were amplified in the West. By demonstrating their intelligence through knowledge of natural history and geology, as well as their humaneness in hunting, the hunter-writers were able to establish their social superiority. The West, therefore, made it possible for British hunters to *prove* that a merit-based society and a hierarchical, class-based society were the same because members of the upper class were so evidently more intelligent and superior to any other class. They deserved to be regarded as superior. Hunter-writers could claim to be part of the upper class because their actions in the wild illustrated that

they were the lower classes' and Westerners' "betters." Their tales had the added benefit of lifting up their country as well, as they intended to make a mockery of Western notions of egalitarianism and the American social and political systems, which did not champion and reward refinement, morality, and statesmanship.

Native men presented a direct racial, gender, and economic threat because they were capable of astounding physical feats and they often rejected sedentary lifeways. To counter this alternative ideal of manliness, the hunter-writers made demonstrations of modernity in agriculture, gender relations, and hunting prerequisites for claiming manhood. These criteria allowed hunter-writers to ignore Native hunters' skills and claim that Native civilization had not reached the same evolutionary stage as it had in Britain. Native lifeways were subjected to withering judgments, and Native civilizations were marked out not only for conquest, but extinction. These conclusions reaffirmed not only British racial superiority and masculinity but also the capitalist system and the British imperial project. The vehemence of the discourse, however, betrays a deep-seated anxiousness about industrialization, commercialization, and imperialism, as well as the disappearance of Native Americans. The British hunters seem to have understood the moral bankruptcy of scientific racism and Social Darwinism, which is why professions of sympathy often preceded statements about Natives' inevitable destruction. Ultimately, the hunter-writers adopted a scientific framework and worldview in order to psychologically come to terms with the destruction of an entire people and to exonerate themselves from any culpability.

In sum, these accounts allowed hunter-writers to craft an unassailable identity that showed them to be the natural elite of an evolutionarily-fit British nation, and they are a powerful demonstration of how in the late nineteenth century upper-class writers successfully attempted to manipulate structural social change to their purposes through discourse. Of course, hunting accounts were just one piece of the cultural edifice that the upper class employed in order to stave off full democratization and class warfare, but they are nevertheless important. Scholars who analyze British hunting accounts have privileged African hunting accounts in trying to understand British masculinity and racial attitudes, but no hunting accounts better reflect the totality of the *domestic and imperial* concerns of the upper class than these hunting accounts of the American West. Furthermore, since there was such a large range of unique challenges and threats to be overcome, the accounts offered powerful vindications of upper-class superiority. Thus, the American West served as a crucial arena where hunter-writers could reconcile themselves to a changing domestic and geo-political order, and articulate a powerful cultural message that had reverberations beyond self-representation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
Chapter	Page
1. INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT.....	1
2. CONTEXT(S), 1865 TO 1914.....	34
3. NO PLACE FOR YOUR “FEATHER-BED SPORTSMAN”: IMAGINING AND OVERCOMING THE WESTERN LANDSCAPE.....	89
4. NATIVE AMERICANS UNDER THE IMPERIAL GAZE.....	151
5. MILITARY ASSURANCE AND WESTERN GUIDES.....	197
6. NON-MILITARY HUNTER-WRITERS AND WESTERN GUIDES.....	232
7. CONCLUSION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMERICAN WEST TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH HUNTER-WRITERS.....	288
8. EPILOGUE: THE CONSEQUENCES OF IMPERIAL THINKING.....	304
APPENDIX	
A. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON WRITERS.....	315
REFERENCES.....	322
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION.....	337

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

By the nineteenth century, hunting in Britain had become an exclusive and artificial social activity. Under Roman law, wild animals might be hunted by anyone so long as the hunter was not trespassing on anyone's land. The Normans, however, implemented new laws in order to make hunting an elite activity. These laws led to perpetual animosity between poachers and the ruling class. Large and expansive royal forests were created and all animals, in effect, became property of the King. Those people still living within and around these new royal forests were also forced to abide by stringent laws, including the practice of "lawing," which entailed having their large dogs' toes removed in order to prevent them from disturbing the King's deer. Even after the noble class wrested some control of the royal forests from King Edward II in 1327, nobles behaved in a similar manner as the King had. Some restrictions on smaller game were lifted and the worst practices such as "lawing" were discontinued, but nobles jealously guarded their forests and animals, and the hunt remained an important social event and a training ground for young men.

Once the nation's population began to rebound after the Black Death and animal stocks began to decline, there was a move to bring deer into managed parks, and by the mid-sixteenth century most deer were in parks. Game laws were also introduced to protect small game, which were now being hunted for sport by the noble class. Despite

efforts to keep hunting exclusive – in short, basically handing the aristocracy unlimited power to protect their parks and forests against poachers – game populations dwindled so that by the mid-nineteenth century deer parks were in serious decline, and breeding programs for foxes and game birds were undertaken in order to ensure there were animals for sport. While foxhunting replaced the deer hunt by the mid-eighteenth century and was “open” to all who wished to participate, the minimum £100 financial outlay to participate clearly limited the field to those with means. Furthermore, the sport of shooting game birds was even more exclusive and artificial with its battues.¹ In sum, by the mid-nineteenth century the domestic opportunities for hunting in England were severely curtailed and artificial. There was, however, no shortage of men and women looking to participate because of the cachet associated with such sport. Such dire conditions led many hunters to look overseas for opportunities to continue their craft and bring back trophies that would testify to their manliness, virility, and social station.

This dissertation will investigate hunting books and long articles authored by twenty-six different British hunters about their experiences in the American West from 1865 to 1914. As noted above, hunting in Britain had long been an activity with major social and cultural implications. In the wake of the social struggles in the mid-nineteenth century, adventure writers and hunters emerged – in some ways – as the new men of letters who wrote for young men and a society beset by gender, class, and geo-political anxieties. British historians emphasize that the men and women of letters were influential because they identified with middle-class values, which were increasingly pervasive. For instance, many middle-class fiction writers struggled to fully reconcile or

¹ Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

come to terms with the increasing influence of middle-class values in their works, in particular, the entrepreneurial ethos of controlling capital. Those writers that tried to offer alternative identities for middle-class protagonists, who renounced the entrepreneurial ethos, also eventually ended up inadvertently legitimating middle-class entrepreneurial values. This inescapability of entrepreneurial values in fiction speaks to their pervasiveness.²

The key to the hunter-writers of the American West's success (and hunting's success) was that they were able to reconcile middle-class values and aristocratic values for a society that was – in so many ways – defined by class. Society was experiencing a melding of the wealthier middle class, the plutocracy, and the traditional aristocracy to create a larger, more generalized, upper class. In sum, the hunter-writers offered a believable masculine image and identity that especially appealed to all upper-class men – including the so-called “redundant gentlemen,”³ those public-school-educated young men who were squeezed out of a competitive job market and seeking a way to remain relevant in a society increasingly dominated by entrepreneurial values and the marketplace. The powerfully nationalistic flavor of the accounts would have also appealed to this class of men as they were, almost uniformly, steeped in imperial values from elementary school through university.

I have chosen the year 1865 as the starting date of my dissertation because two major events converged within a two-year period that had a major cultural impact in

² Greg Howard, “The Odd Men: Masculinity and Economics in British Literature, 1862-1907” (PhD diss., Tufts University, 1999), 12.

³ I borrow this phrase from Anne Windholz's article about the discourse surrounding the emigration prospects of young upper-middle class struggling to find employment in Britain during the “long depression.” Anne M. Windholz, “An Emigrant and a Gentleman: Imperial Masculinity, British Magazines, and the Colony That Got Away,” *Victorian Studies* 42 (1999): 635.

Britain. The U.S. Civil War was successfully concluded (for the North) and the country kept intact. For some, though not all, the discussion about whether or not the democratic experiment sans slavery would survive was now over. The upper classes, though, had a difficult time avoiding the subject of democracy's future. The end of the conflict also opened up a serious conversation about the economic future of the newly re-stitched America, especially in regards to the West and its incalculable resources. Moreover, the termination of fighting simply made it easier to travel inside the United States. The second important event that forms the front bookend to this dissertation is the Second Reform Act of 1867, which extended the franchise in Britain and raised the specter that the nation was now being led down the road toward democratization and Americanization. Understandably, such a future was chilling for those with aristocratic values. The next half century was filled with real and perceived threats to British patriarchy, social exclusivity, traditional social values, and international economic, cultural, and military dominance.

The beginning of World War I marks the back bookend to this project because attitudes toward big-game hunting and hunting in general, but especially amongst the middle classes, began to change more rapidly after the conflict. In the 1920s, the conservative magazine, *The Field*, even began to question the utility of shooting for science. Indeed, the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire came out against all hunting. Ironically, while these influential institutions were changing their stances on hunting, the number of animals being killed continued to grow.⁴ The

⁴ J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: 'Blooding' the Martial Male* (London: Routledge, 2010), 202, 205, 207.

pioneering image of hunting also began to lose favor amongst hunter-writers for various reasons, and a more elitist image came to dominate the discourse. This evolution toward a more aristocratic image did not bode well for the future mass popularity of the sport. Many readers could no longer identify with these values and found such behavior increasingly unacceptable. Furthermore, the conclusion of World War I saw true democratization and full enfranchisement take hold in Britain. In sum, this era was filled with important challenges as well as transformations and transitions in British society that especially impinged on aristocratic privileges and increasingly offended elite sensibilities. By examining hunting accounts penned by members of the upper class, one gains insight into how the hunter-writers psychologically coped with the various forces changing traditional social life and values as well as Britain's place in the world.

The Accounts

The hunters' accounts I have chosen to investigate are important for several fundamental reasons. The books unabashedly reveal the hunter-writers' sentiments toward issues of race, class, nation, and gender. With remarkable candor and clarity, the hunters articulated their ideas and conveyed their worldviews. Furthermore, during this era, the American West remained an important region in the British psyche. This malleable space was critical not just for Owen Wister, Theodore Roosevelt, and George Bird Grinnell, but for several generations of British men coming of age in this era, many of whom eagerly gobbled up James Fennimore Cooper's and Mayne Reid's books and pretended to be "Red Indians" when growing up. For these children, the West represented a site of unparalleled adventure and danger. Upon becoming young men,

though, the region came to represent an important “field” of challenges for British hunters, men who were accustomed to the social deference and relative safety when hunting in Britain and many areas of the British Empire. These young hunters sought out these challenging conditions in order to prove their manhood and social standing. Certainly, conditions in the West evolved and changed as the postbellum era progressed and Native Americans were forced onto reservations and the hunting guide industry became institutionalized beginning in the 1890s. Yet the racial, social, national, and gender questions that the West broached continued to entice many hunters to *test* their manliness in this space, despite becoming increasingly settled, or to recall their experiences before the “closing” of the frontier.⁵ Since so much of what Americanization stood for was thought to be exaggerated in the West, the region offered a space where all of the social and international tensions of British society and Anglo-American rivalry could be revealed and sorted out.

Hunting accounts revolved around the construction of the hunter-writers’ masculinity and their claim-right to upper-class status. Any attempt to establish superiority would have been unthinkable without confirmations of manhood. The hunting book genre demanded that the author exhibit competent marksmanship, at the very least, to show that he was a manly hunter. The construction of a plausible masculinity, therefore, was *the* essential ingredient to each of these accounts. Without

⁵ Monica Rico has noted that British hunters “hope[d] that the American West could be a testing ground on which they could prove their own courage, endurance, and manhood,” yet this testing ground was increasingly developed and some of the hunters themselves contributed to the economic development through their travel and investments. Since the hunters were after an “authentic” experience to differentiate themselves from mere middle-class “tourists” the hunters often presented an idealized version of the American landscape, which allowed them to claim that they were “self-sufficient” when taking these trips. Monica Rico, “Culture and Capital: British Travel in the Nineteenth-Century American West,” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000), 1-77.

confirmation that one was a man, there would have been no account. The accounts, therefore, betray the individual author's attitudes toward masculinity (and sometimes about femininity). These views about gender will be used as an entrée into understanding the writers' identities and worldviews.

This dissertation argues that hunting accounts set in the American West, where egalitarianism and nationalism ran strong, allowed upper-class hunters to reconcile themselves to the democratization, professionalization, and commercialization of Britain and the emergence of a multi-polar global power structure by crafting an upper-class identity and reaffirming British class values. In constructing their masculinity, hunter-writers staked out a sort of middle ground balanced between the middle-class image of a pioneer frontiersman hunter and an "aristo-military" hunter. The middle-class values that a frontiersman symbolized – such as "courage," "endurance," "self-reliance," "hard work," and "manly independence"⁶ – and the upper-class values propagated by the aristo-military hunter, who embraced "character building"⁷ and "fair play,"⁸ were all necessary

⁶ For the best description of the imperial frontiersman see: John M. MacKenzie, "The imperial pioneer and hunter and the British masculine stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 176-177.

⁷ J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie have sketched out the attributes that were part of "character training" and propagated by aristomilitary literature. Foremost among the attributes was *self-control*. Self-control was necessary in chaotic and difficult situations and key to imperial control over the colonized. Another critical dimension of "character training" was imbuing *stoicism* in the face of personal injury and death. Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism*, 14-15.

⁸ J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie have concluded that the public school-educated middle classes were predisposed to accepting the aristocratic "hunting ethic" because it bore immense similarities to the principle of "fair play" that was part and parcel of the all-encompassing "games ethic," which pervaded public schools by the second half of the nineteenth century. They contend

Hunting at some period public schools and universities was an extension of the 'games ethic', and viewed as part of the upbringing necessary for confident imperial control. Crucial to the ethic, of course, was 'fair play', which was advanced in the period public school mostly but not exclusively by means of games after 1850, and permeated the public school culture by the late nineteenth century. The new middle classes were now part of a school vanguard of 'fair players, who joined with the old landed classes for whom the hunting ethic was an earlier form of fair play.'

back in a modern capitalistic Britain, but even more so in a country and region that positively *venerated* “self-reliance” in men. This amalgamation of middle-class and aristocratic values was acceptable to both the new upper-class authors and to an increasingly middle-class readership. These values contributed to hunting’s popularity for two major reasons. First, hunting was a traditionally elite activity in which the middle classes aspired to partake and emulate.⁹ Second, the values espoused by the pioneer and aristo-military hunters were *complementary*, a fact that is often overlooked in the debate over the development of middle-class sport.¹⁰ Increasingly during this era, the merit of any “true” hunter, no matter the class, was based on his ability to engage in “fair play” by tracking and killing wild game in a space that gave the prey a chance of escape.¹¹ Furthermore, only by stoically enduring harsh physical conditions and transcending bodily discomfort and pain could a hunter consistently kill game in such a difficult environment. Enduring such difficult conditions was essential to both upper-class and middle-class notions of manliness. The values lauded in “character training”

Ibid., 13-14. I would contend that the aristocratic “hunting ethic” can be traced back to the introduction of the *par force* hunt by the Normans in the eleventh century. Emma Griffin explains, “The *par force* hunt pitted a small band of hunters against one solitary wild animal.” Griffin continues on and explains that point of such a hunt was not to ensure a kill. Rather, one wanted to select “a fine, strong animal – one likely to provide the hunting party with an exhilarating chase... In contrast to the drive hunt... no one could know where a *par force* hunt would end, and the mounted huntsmen needed a firm seat and a steely nerve if they were to keep on terms with the hounds to till the kill.” Griffin, *Blood Sport*, 8.

⁹ Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism*, 62-63.

¹⁰ Mike Huggins has rightly pointed out that “competitiveness” and “rational administration” were not the only values to characterize middle-class sport, just as “honour” and “chivalry” were not the only aristocratic values associated with sport. Huggins has called on historians to use “greater subtlety” when examining sporting values. Mike Huggins “Prologue – setting the scene: second-class citizens? English middle-class culture and sport, 1850-1910 – a reconsideration,” in *A Sport-Loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian middle-class England at play*, ed. J.A. Mangan (London: Routledge, 2006), 14.

¹¹ “The most ‘sporting’ way to hunt game was to stalk it; to use, paradoxically enough, all the techniques of the ‘primitive’ hunter to ‘spoor’ the game, understand its habits, and attempt by stealth to approach to a range at which a shot had a good chance of producing an instantaneous kill.” MacKenzie, “The imperial pioneer and hunter” in *Manliness and Morality*, 183. The upper-class Shikar Club prided itself – at least in its rhetoric – in their members’ adherence to “fair play.” Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism*, 172-173.

demonstrated the upper-class commitment to stoicism in the face of great physical challenges. Similarly, the moral imperatives of “courage” and “endurance” were a crucial part of the middle-class “games ethic,”¹² and “hard work” and “self-reliance” were preeminent middle-class entrepreneurial mantras.¹³ These upper-class hunters wanted to prove they possessed the work ethic preached to the British working class, embraced by the middle class, and exemplified by America’s Western frontiersmen to show that they could if necessary succeed in any environment or social circumstance, including the marketplace. Thus, hunting in the American West was about more than just reconciling middle-class and aristocratic sporting values; it was an attempt to demonstrate that the hunters were fit to succeed in *any* endeavor. That said, these men chose to confirm their manliness and social superiority through a traditionally aristocratic activity because it was untainted by the sordidness of commercialization and avariciousness, left no doubt as to their social position, and had the added benefit of often taking them to exotic locales. In short, America’s trans-Mississippi Western Hunt allowed these hunter-writers “to have their cake and eat it too.”

Hunting accounts of the West also provided the authors with an opportunity to assert their racial, social, and national superiority not only by demonstrating their own refinement, intelligence, leadership, and humanity, but also by bearing witness to displays of American political dysfunction/immaturity, social absurdity, and greed. Moreover, benighted Native civilizations and hunters were shown to be at a lower evolutionary stage and, therefore, marked out for conquest and extinction – precluding

¹² J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: the emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 7-9, 122.

¹³ John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), 92-93.

any meaningful comparison between Native and British manliness and reaffirming the capitalist system and the British imperial project.

The questions of social and national superiority were intimately intertwined. Many of the pejorative traits associated with Americanization – such as greed, meritocracy, crassness, egalitarianism, and democracy – were thought to be *amplified* in the West. By demonstrating their superior intelligence through scientific knowledge of natural history and geology, as well as their humaneness in hunting, the hunter-writers were able to establish their social superiority and craft an upper-class identity. The West made it possible for British hunters to *prove* that a merit-based society and a hierarchical, class-based society were the same because the upper class was so evidently more intelligent and, therefore, superior to any other class. Hunter-writers could claim to be part of the upper class because they had established that they were the lower classes’ and Westerners’ “betters.” Perhaps the hunter-writer Horace A. Vachell provided the most explicit articulation of this impulse by discussing his wealthy English émigré friends in California. He argued,

It [isolation from neighbors] is not justifiable on the plea that we are intrinsically better. The Anglo-Franco-Californians are accused, perhaps unjustly, of posing as being better than the people who are not upon their visiting lists. Only Omniscience can determine so nice a question; *but if they claim to be better, the onus of proving it lies on them*; when they have done so, it is probable that the people will cheerfully admit the supremacy. As Professor Peck pointed out, Colonel Roosevelt may be considered an aristocrat, because he has proved himself to be more patriotic, more unselfish, more courageous – better, in fine, than the average citizen.¹⁴

¹⁴ Horace Annesley Vachell, *Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1901), 150, my emphasis.

Such indisputable proof of superiority was intended to make a mockery of frontier notions of egalitarianism and an American political system that did not reward statesmanship and sound judgment. The British hunters' accounts accepted and defended capitalism and imperialism, as well as middle-class values and meritocracy, all of which were coming to dominate British society. These accounts, however, also condemned how Americans and radical republicans in Britain unquestioningly and absolutely embraced egalitarianism. These accounts allowed the upper-middle-class hunters to embrace middle-class values and yet craft an upper-class identity. For the aristocratic hunters, these accounts provided them with an opportunity to prove they were still fit to rule and lead in an increasingly meritocratic world.

Methodology

Above all, this dissertation is a work of discourse analysis and interpretive cultural history. It seeks to understand the meaning of the accounts to their individual authors as well as the overall significance of these accounts to British society during this era. I employ a social constructionist methodology.¹⁵ Social classes are always in the process of fashioning and refashioning themselves through lived expressions of culture; of course, the British upper class in the second half of the nineteenth century was no exception to this rule.¹⁶ This dissertation will not be essentially concerned with the

¹⁵ I borrow the term "social constructionist" from Walter Licht. Douglas Booth, "Theory," in *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, eds. S.W. Pope and John Nauright (New York: Routledge, 2010), 19.

¹⁶ I subscribe to a Wolfian notion of culture, meaning that I believe cultures are in constant construction and reconstruction and that this perpetual construction is a social process. Wolf argued,

The development of an overall hegemonic pattern or 'design for living' is not so much the victory of a collective cognitive logic or aesthetic impulse as the development of redundancy – the

veracity of the hunting accounts to be examined. The work of historian Ray Allen Billington is instructive on this point. Billington's research on the European image of the American West demonstrates the need to consider the role of fictional accounts in shaping popular perceptions. In fact, Billington makes the case that nineteenth-century European and American *novelists* were the most important people to shape images and perceptions regarding the American West. Attempting to tease out fact from fiction in the hunting accounts would be a futile and counter-productive enterprise. Exaggeration most likely slipped into every account and, as Billington has shown, fabrications can be just as influential as "facts" when it comes to creating an image and popular perception.¹⁷

When examining the discourse used in crafting their self-image, my emphasis will be on the intended image/identity that the hunter-authors wished to convey. I argue that these images were carefully constructing self-representations that reflected the hunter-writers' perceived self-image and what they *believed* about themselves. In short, the writers were linguistically constructing their identity, which was represented in sometimes truthful and sometimes idealized language, but which always portrayed an image/identity they wished to represent about themselves. Paradoxes occurred in many of the identities that the hunters constructed. The most glaring and recurring instance of cognitive dissonance would have to be when the hunters claimed to be "humane" hunters. Many of those who claimed to be humane often killed male specimens for their trophy

continuous repetition, in diverse instrumental domains, of the same basic propositions regarding the nature of constructed reality.
Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 388.

¹⁷ See Chapter Two: "The Image Makers: Land of Savagery" in Ray A. Billington, *Land of Savagery/Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 1981).

heads even though they well knew that the meat was completely inedible. This cognitive disconnect does not mean that these hunters were confused about their identity, nor that they no longer believed themselves to be humane. I would argue just the opposite: the hunters wrote to convince themselves, as well as the reading audience, of their own benevolence.

Another important methodological note is that this dissertation seeks to distinguish between manliness and masculinity, manliness being a societal ideal with variations depending on one's class and religion, and masculinity being an individual, personal construct of the hunter-writer.¹⁸ The focus of this study will be on analyzing the construction of individual hunter-writers' masculinity and the overarching discourse created collectively by their accounts. Different chapters on the natural environment (i.e. – the landscape, game), the human environment (i.e. – Native war parties, thieves), as well as their inter-personal relationships with Native Americans and white Americans will reveal not only certain attributes that the individual authors wish to *commend*, but also other traits that they wish to *condemn*. The broad contours of the discourse will be fleshed out in the process of analyzing these individual accounts.

While analyzing the hunters' discourse is my primary preoccupation in this dissertation, the immediate socio-economic position of the hunter-authors will be examined as sources allow. Furthermore, the broader social milieu of late nineteenth-century Britain will be examined in order to provide a proper overarching context. In other words, I will not be taking a purely Foucauldian approach to these hunting accounts and insisting that the authors' words were their reality. Foucault's theories are

¹⁸ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 2-3.

simply too rigid in that they mistake discourse for history,¹⁹ and Christopher Mulvey has rightly pointed out that the nineteenth-century publishing world demanded gentility from its travel writers – no matter their actual social station.²⁰ Rather, I believe that while language assists in shaping manners and behavior, it does not necessarily determine behavior and certainly does not determine social status. Language works synergistically with socio-economic realities to create manners and identity. I contend the hunting accounts worked not only to solidify the authors' perceptions of their own identities, but also to convince readers of the writers' social superiority. Yet, I also believe that solidifying one's identity would have been impossible without real tangible wealth and privilege. Thus, the accounts are simultaneously products of wealth and symbols of social belonging produced amidst an increasingly confusing social situation.

Embedded class messages, inherent and explicit in the accounts, add another layer of meaning to the accounts. Again, the hunters' interactions with the different environments and the various interpersonal encounters were the basis for remarks that were intended to assert the authors' social status and superiority. The reader should also remember that from a class perspective, publishing a travel account brought social merit and distinction. Even with the growth of the middle class, few were able to afford extended transatlantic sojourns, or the time and learning necessary to craft an account of such a trip. Furthermore, formal hunting trips certainly were associated in the British psyche with those who could traditionally afford such a costly leisure pursuit. Thus, the act of hunting was a powerful expression of what one thought or wished one's social

¹⁹ Douglas Booth, "Theory," in *Routledge Companion to Sports History*, eds. S.W. Pope and John Nauright (New York: Routledge, 2010), 21.

²⁰ Christopher Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners: Social patterns in nineteenth-century Anglo-American travel literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 7-9.

position to be. Indeed, only one of the authors was an actual member of the aristocracy. These class messages along with the aforementioned gender messages of hunting narratives were powerful ideological statements. In sum, the accounts contain not only meritorious exhibitions of masculinity but also the fiscal and intellectual badges of membership in the upper class.

Since this dissertation interrogates the meaning of the American West for British hunters and their readership, it will be inherently transatlantic and transnational in orientation. In a globally conscious and increasingly literate nation such as nineteenth-century Britain, one must recognize that British travellers' interpersonal interactions and British readers' engagement with the rest of the world played a key role in defining and shaping British identity.²¹ The attitudes of Britain's upper and upper-middle classes' attitude toward the Western region were infused with geo-political and social meanings.

Historiography of a Transnational Project

This dissertation is interdisciplinary in nature as it borrows its methodology from literary studies and attempts to ground its findings in the historical narratives regarding British travel writing, sport, masculinity, class, and national identity.

First and foremost, since the documents I am working with are travel accounts it is necessary to say a few words about the development of scholarship in travel writing. In the last forty years pioneering efforts have made significant contributions to our understanding of literary discourse, power, and identity. As formal European empires

²¹ Members of the upper-middle class and the upper class would certainly have been literate long before the nineteenth century, but because of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, which made school compulsory children from five to ten years old, an increasing percentage of the British public became literate after this date. Billington, *Land of Savagery Land of Promise*, 47.

began crumbling in the post-World War II era, a flurry of books began to question Eurocentrism's truisms and to shift the focus of inquiry from the political and military facets of empire to the colonizers' methods of intellectual colonization and native reactions. Perhaps Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) was most important as he demonstrated that stereotypes and assumptions about Middle Eastern society were repeated over and over, creating an aura of certitude about them, which influenced those that read or saw these representations. Said contended that literary texts were so influential that they affected real geo-political decisions – demonstrating the salience of discourse to historical studies.²² In short, Said's work demonstrated that the discourse of institutional racism became the intellectual and psychological justification for Western colonization and imperialism. Said's work prompted academics to continue investigating the ways in which Westerners created knowledge and used it as a means of economic and intellectual subordination.

While Said was and continues to be incredibly influential, there has been no shortage of works on travel writing that have built upon Said's insights and brought more complexity to travel writing and cultural studies more generally. Marie Louise Pratt acknowledged the power of discourse, but she also raised questions about the agency of the objectified and conquered to select the elements of dominant culture that they would like to absorb.²³ This process, known as "transculturation," is critical because Native Americans' willingness to partially integrate into the global capitalist marketplace demonstrates both the power and the limits of Western culture. Those very real limits

²² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 94-95.

²³ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

will become critical to understanding British hunters' reactions and descriptions of Native Americans. Dennis Porter has also shown how some travel writings may be read as efforts to transgress repressive social norms. While I think that Porter might go too far in some of his conclusions, his work is a necessary corrective to Said's work because it reminds us that travel was often undertaken as a form of escapism or in a wish to transform or revitalize oneself through engagement with different peoples/cultures.²⁴ This latter insight will also be critical to understanding how the British hunters perceived Native Americans. Representations of Natives were not completely condemnatory. Some authors were more willing to exhibit Native attributes than others.

Historians of the British Empire and British identity have also engaged travel writing and literary approaches in order to understand "Britishness." This engagement with the cultural aspects of empire is part of a larger dynamic at work in the historiography of empire. The "new" imperial history stresses social and cultural aspects of empire, especially the racial, gender, sexual, and class aspects of British identity, over the "old" emphasis on the political, economic, and military facets of empire. For instance, in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (2006), two chapters use a distinctly literary approach to investigate aspects of imperial identity. More importantly, editors Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose articulate a very global stance toward understanding British identity. Obviously, since their volume is about the British Empire, they stress the importance of the colonies to understanding

²⁴ Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

British identity, but they do not reject out of hand the notion that the rest of the world is critical to understanding British identity. They explicitly argue

that empire was [not] the sole influence on the constitution of ‘Britishness’, which was always an unstable form of national belonging or identity. Influences from the Continent and after the late eighteenth century from the United States, Russia, Turkey and Japan were felt at home in Great Britain.²⁵

In their historiography, Hall and Rose cite Linda Colley’s book *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (1992) as an example of the importance of taking a global perspective when it comes to understanding British identity.²⁶

While British historians have been taking a broader perspective regarding British identity, I believe one major problem remains. Overall, not enough work is being done on the influence of Germany and the United States in forging British identity in the late nineteenth century.²⁷ This dissertation attempts to show that in order to fully understand the identity of the British upper class in the late nineteenth century, one must engage British accounts of the United States and, in particular, the American West.²⁸

²⁵ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, “Introduction: being at home with the Empire,” in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 21.

²⁶ Colley details the centrality of France and Protestantism to British identity in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century when the contest for geo-political supremacy between Britain and France constantly simmered and smoldered. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Yale University Press, 1992).

²⁷ Literary historian Brook Miller’s most recent book investigates the importance of the United States for British fictional authors at the turn-of-the-twentieth century. The relational constructions of difference allowed British writers to couch themselves in a reassuring cloak of superiority. Brook Miller, *America and the British imaginary in the turn-of-the-twentieth-century literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

²⁸ Literary historian Paul Giles has raised questions about the implicit nationalism involved in establishing national canons of works. He has suggested that transnational studies of countries’ and regions’ relationships to one another is a meaningful way to re-examine works and add a layer of understanding and brings us closer to how contemporaneous readers may have interpreted the meaning of different geographical places. Paul Giles, *Atlantic Republic: The American Tradition in English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 5-9.

For American historians who worked on British travel writing about the United States before Said's seminal works and before the intellectual trends of postcolonialism began to flourish, there was a lack of sustained concern about the motivations of the British visitors. Rather, historians such as Allan Nevins, author of *America Through British Eyes* (1948), which was originally published in 1923 as *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers*, and Robert G. Athearn, *Westward the Briton: The Far West, 1865-1900* (1953) were more concerned with what British travel writers had to say about Americans and their manners and customs. In other words, their preoccupation was with what could be gleaned about the American national character rather than what the accounts meant to or told us about the British writers or audience. The intellectual historian David M. Wrobel concluded:

Works in these fields [touching on American cultural history] sought to chart the sources of the nation's distinctiveness, and they generally emphasized the positive nature of the American national character and its democratic institutions. In short, they shored up the foundations of American exceptionalism.²⁹

American scholars have moved away from these exceptionalist preoccupations and have come to focus more on the images created in the accounts.³⁰ Ray Allan Billington's *Land of Savagery Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier* (1981) is an important work. Billington's focus was on detailing the images and perceptions of the American frontier and its peoples. He concludes that novelists were the most important image-makers because of the ease with which their material was able

²⁹ David M. Wrobel, "Exceptionalism and globalism: travel writers and the nineteenth-century American West," *The Historian* 68 (Fall 2006): 430-460.

³⁰ One book that I will not be considering here is M.H. Dunlop's *Sixty Miles from Contentment*, which focused on British travel writing in the trans-Appalachian West as opposed to the trans-Mississippian West. M.H. Dunlop, *Sixty Miles from Contentment: traveling the nineteenth-century American interior* (New York: Basic Books, 1995).

to enter the *Zeitgeist* through penny dreadfuls and dime novels. Due to his broad focus, Billington notes that in the 1870s and 1880s there was an overall shift toward novels about plainsmen and cowboys, which is indisputable,³¹ but he effectively ignores the fact that James Fennimore Cooper's works (reprinted of course) remained highly popular during the era and hunting accounts set in the Rocky Mountains continued to be produced and sold.³² So, while Billington makes a large contribution to our understanding of European images of the frontier, he does not concentrate on travel accounts, nor does he overly concern himself with the domestic situations of the individual writers that he examines. Thus, when reading *Land of Savagery Land of Promise* it is difficult to fully appreciate *why* the images of the West took the shape that they did, and, to a lesser extent, why some of these accounts resonated with certain segments of the domestic readership more than others.

³¹ Not only were the dime novels flying off the shelves in Europe, but Buffalo Bill and his Wild West show were criss-crossing England and the Continent between 1887 and 1890. In England demand to see the troupe was so great that "[t]hey organized twice-a-day performances that played to crowds that averaged around 30,000." Not only did the Prince of Wales and Queen Victoria both attend shows, but visiting dignitaries also attended. On the eve of the Queen's Jubilee,

[T]he kings of Belgium, Greece, Saxony, and Denmark, as well as an assortment of Europe's princes and princesses, including the future German kaiser William II, joined England's royal family to take in the Wild West performance and show their subjects that they too could delight in ordinary pleasures. The highlight of the show came when several monarchs, including the Prince of Wales and the kings of Denmark, Greece, Belgium, and Saxony, hopped aboard the Deadwood Stagecoach with Buffalo Bill in the driver's seat and rode around the arena while the assembled Indians engaged in a mock attack.

Robert W. Rydell and Bob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 108.

³² Billington, *Land of Savagery Land of Promise*, 47-52. Regarding the continued popularity of frontiersmen hunters, John MacKenzie notes,

There was a long tradition of highlighting hunting as a wellspring of the pioneering and adventure tradition in juvenile literature. From America, the works of Fenimore Cooper, like *The Deerslayer* or *The Pioneers* perfectly reflected it. They date from the 1820s and 30s and were invariably set in the eighteenth century but by the end of the nineteenth century they embarked on a new period of immense popularity. There were cheap editions of Fenimore Cooper from a variety of publishers and they became a favourite staple of the prize and present market.

MacKenzie, "The imperial pioneer and hunter" in *Manliness and Morality*, 190. See also: Windholz, "An Emigrant and a Gentleman": 638.

Billington opened up an entire field revolving around European perceptions of the West. Scholars of British travel writing began to ask questions about image-makers' intentions in crafting their books about the West. By implication, these scholars began to examine and question writers' anxieties and identities. Christopher Mulvey's *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (1990) is a step in this direction,³³ as is Anne Windholz's article "An Emigrant and a Gentleman: Imperial Masculinity, British Magazines, and the Colony That Got Away," (1999) and Monica Rico's dissertation, "Culture and Capital: British Travel in the Nineteenth-Century American West" (2000). Mulvey's book deals only superficially with the West and Western men, while Windholz's article offers a much more nuanced perspective. She investigates the perceptions of the frontier as it was presented in popular late Victorian magazines. Her article teases out the various economic, social, and cultural threats that the American West came to represent to the authors and their reading audience by the late nineteenth century. These magazines became highly contested cultural sites where cautionary emigrant tales dueled with romantic hunting accounts. Windholz concludes that the West came to represent not only a chance at revitalization, wealth, and a civilizing mission, but also a threat to British manhood.³⁴ Emigrant tales

³³ Mulvey made some important observations about nineteenth-century travel writing in general. For example, he theorized that not only was gentility a crucial axis around which inter-personal interactions took place between British travellers and Americans, but also that – on both sides of the Atlantic – it was crucial that an air of gentility be used by the writers in order to appeal to the publishers and the readership. These are valuable observations, but Mulvey's analysis of the "Western man" leaves something to be desired. Not extending his examination past the Civil War and only taking two different accounts into consideration on the matter, Mulvey concludes that British visitors found frontiersmen and subsistence hunters to be part of a racial degeneration and a reversion to savagery taking place on the frontier. Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners*, 59.

³⁴ In this dissertation I agree with John Tosh's two major arguments. "Manliness was fundamentally a set of values by which men judged other men, and it is a mistake to suppose that those values were exclusively – or even mainly – to do with maintaining control over women." Secondly, Tosh offers a convincing

warned of good British men being dragged into an egalitarian culture and the potential for failure in America's West, which carried with it the specter of racial degeneration. To resolve these threats, the West was portrayed through an "imperial rhetoric" that emphasized the savagery of the West and its similarity to the other "white" colonies. Over time, solidarity was sought through a discourse more focused on race. Windholz outlines competing discourses, discusses their evolution over time, and shows the crucial role that hunters played in creating a popular perception about the West.³⁵ Her article also clearly reveals that the American West was a critical and threatening space for British men.

Monica Rico's dissertation reiterated many of Windholz's findings. Rico outlines the major purposes that the American West served British "elite" travel writers between 1815 and 1914. She finds that the West became an escapist antidote to an increasingly industrialized Britain, as well as a region "where investment and emigration could revitalize the fortunes of declining families while providing surplus gentlemen with

argument that men's masculinity was determined by their participation in three different spheres (home, work, and all male associations) and the balance they struck between them. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 5. Tosh's work is particularly important to the late nineteenth century because he shows how the allure of domesticity for middle-class men wore thin for a variety of reasons – not the least of which was increasing female assertion into socio-political affairs. Ibid., 103-128.

³⁵ "An Emigrant and a Gentleman": 631-658. Another writer that examined hunters accounts of the West was John I. Merritt. His book was an attempt to reconstruct the visits of British sportsmen to the West through the extant records and accounts left by British hunters and their American guides. While his efforts have certainly helped corroborate some valuable information in the accounts, there was no effort to analyze the accounts' meaning(s). John I. Merritt, *Baronets and Buffalo: The British Sportsman in the American West, 1833-1881* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1985). Monica Rico's article, "Sir William Drummond Stewart: Aristocratic Masculinity in the American West," published in the *Pacific Historical Review*, has shed significant light on the actual relationship that existed between one early hunter, Sir William Drummond Stewart, and his guide, Antoine Clement. Merritt portrayed Stewart as a man who "the men [on the expedition] would have followed him into any danger regardless of consequences." By examining several other accounts of the expedition in question, Rico unquestionably demonstrates that "[p]eople may have been willing to travel with Drummond Stewart, but he did not automatically command their deference." Monica Rico, "Sir William Drummond Stewart: Aristocratic Masculinity in the American West," *Pacific Historical Review* 76 (2007): 175.

occupations and a gentlemanly life no longer viable in Britain.” Rico also notes the irony involved in the accounts’ romanticized views of nature and the landscape amidst economic development with which these elites were often implicated. Lastly, the economic growth of the American West broached many questions for the elites. Rico concludes the writers were able to reconcile America’s economic rise by drawing on reassuring racial ideologies.³⁶ My dissertation seeks to complement the findings of Mulvey, Windholz, and Rico by showing how the economic concerns that the American West represented to British writers of the late nineteenth century were played out in interpersonal relationships between British hunters and Westerners.

Just as scholarly work on travel writing developed and came to focus more on identity formation so, too, has the literature on hunter-writers. Since big-game hunting was overwhelmingly the preserve of men, most of the literature has focused on hunter’s constructions of their masculinity.³⁷ Not only does this work examine hunting in an imperial context, but some of the works broach the issue of hunting in frontier environments within and outside of the empire. The imperial historian John M. MacKenzie contributed an important chapter entitled, “The imperial pioneer and hunter and the British masculine stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times,” to J.A. Mangan and James Walvin’s *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in*

³⁶ Rico, “Culture and Capital,” 1-2.

³⁷ The literature is definitely focused squarely on men and their identities, but several writers have used the insights of feminist historians to show how important male-female relations are to constructing gender even in the hunting field. The sport historian Callum McKenzie has published an insightful article about the marginalization of women from hunting through literary means and women’s attempts to contest the situation. McKenzie demonstrated how hunters discredited female hunters and thereby constructed a gendered identity and a legitimation for female exclusion. Justifications for excluding females ranged from the “unfeminizing” aspects of the hunt, to bringing mediocrity into the field, to the deleterious social effects of destroying the deference between women and men. Callum McKenzie, “‘Sadly Neglected’ – Hunting and Gendered Identities: A Study in Gender Construction,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 22 (2005): 557.

Britain and America, 1800-1940 (1987). MacKenzie begins the chapter by claiming that the training regimen for Baden-Powell's boy scouts emanated almost exclusively from "the imperial frontier" and the values associated with frontiersmen. He then examines the importance of hunting to Britain's empire in Africa and India and how hunting ritual and code evolved as the Empire expanded.³⁸ African hunters often claimed that the "true" hunter always hunted alone. The imperial overtones and meanings of the hunt, MacKenzie observes, were brought to the youth of the nation through literature, education, and boys' organizations in an effort to stoke the lower classes' interest in hunting and ingrain "elite" moral codes. MacKenzie closes by noting:

In the British tradition the confusion between hunting as the pioneering archetype of freedom and the role of the Hunt as an elite ritual with an elaborate code was never fully resolved. There can be no doubt that between the 1870s and the 1920s there was a shift from the former to the latter and popular culture found it difficult to accommodate that shift. The increased elitism of the British imperial hunt helped to destroy its effectiveness in the 'romance and adventure' tradition, while the gore and violence it symbolised became hard to stomach in the post-Great War years.³⁹

Overall, the article calls attention to the importance of frontier values in legitimating masculinity and pinpointed the reasons for the increasing by widespread disaffection with hunting after the Great War.

MacKenzie's major arguments regarding class revolved around how the values propagated in hunting accounts, organizations, and the educational system were spread downward from elites and diffused to the middle class. In short, elite moral codes, which

³⁸ Stalking, shooting for an instantaneous kill, taking only males for trophies, cleaning and preparing the trophies by oneself were all crucial to confirming the hunter's masculinity. Behaviors that increasingly became taboo, such as indiscriminate slaughter, using motor vehicles to aid the hunt, or baiting quarry were also important to hunters' identities. All of these latter techniques were derided (in print) and differentiated the civilized from the colonized. MacKenzie, "The imperial pioneer and hunter," in *Manliness and Morality*.

³⁹ MacKenzie, "The imperial pioneer and hunter," in *Manliness and Morality*, 193.

blended aristocratic traditions with frontier values, were being spread to the middle class. Yet, the question remained: What did hunting in these frontier environments mean for the identities of the upper-class hunters themselves? Why were they searching out these areas? What did they hope to prove? There have been several major contributions to this question. Callum McKenzie has developed an argument about the class values inherent in big-game hunting. McKenzie's article, "The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to 'The Shikar Club'" (2000), focuses on understanding the social aspects of hunting and upper-class values. In order to emphasize the social meaning of hunting, McKenzie shows The Shikar Club to be an integral aspect of big-game hunters' lives and worldviews. To join the club one had to have hunted on several different continents. The club took official stances on certain types of hunting and engaged in trophy competitions with clubs from other nations. While there were disagreements between members, the association functioned as an important means of male bonding and a "symbol of public patriarchy." Regarding the social nature of the club, he concludes,

The collective consciousness of those men who made up the Shikar Club viewed hunting as [a] [sic] way of transcending the mediocrity of artificial, bourgeois values. This elite was not to be bound by the work ethic or subservient to the laws of the market, and consequently sought the dignity of manhood and personal worth through leisure and the natural world.⁴⁰

In effect, the hunters sought out the social/psychic support the club offered, and the club itself acted as a public sanctioning and defense of these men's upper-class identity and their transcendence of quotidian concerns.

⁴⁰ Callum McKenzie, "The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to 'The Shikar Club,'" *The Sports Historian* 20 (2000): 87.

Monica Rico's dissertation "Culture and Capital: British Travel in the Nineteenth-Century American West" contains an entire chapter devoted to British big-game hunters in the American West, and she comes to virtually the same conclusion about class as McKenzie. She investigates the hunter-writers' use of boys' adventure fiction writers (Cooper, Reid, Henty, etc.), guides, work, camaraderie, and animals in their accounts. Rico theorizes that hunting trips to the West were part of an attempt to reclaim a primitive masculinity in the face of modernization, especially the terrifying trends of commercialization and feminization. She states that class was "destabilized" by the experience on the frontier. She notes that the hunters would laud their ability to do base work – such as cleaning guns, sewing, or cooking – to demonstrate their ability to travel independently and to confirm their "elite" masculinity. The hunters, however, also hired subordinates to do these tasks. By hiring men to do these tasks, Rico surmises that the hunters were effeminizing them by doing so. Overall, she concludes that in the accounts guides were written out or marginalized. From time to time, guides were integrated into the accounts, but she claims this was done merely to demonstrate the hunter's ability to engage in ritualistic camaraderie around the campfire. Rico is very clear that the hunters were constructing an "elite" masculinity by either performing or not performing this work, but she is less clear about what kind of values were being propagated in the accounts. She notes that "independence" was "the defining word of Victorian masculinity," but does not mention whether or not this was predominantly a middle-class or elite mantra.⁴¹ In short, as did McKenzie, Rico concludes that these accounts were

⁴¹ Rico, "Culture and Capital," 57-65.

attempts to establish one's masculinity and reassert or defend one's class status and remain above the marketplace.

The latest contribution to this debate over hunter-writers' intentions in writing accounts of hunting in harsh conditions is Callum McKenzie and J.A. Mangan's new book *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: 'Blooding' the Martial Male* (2010). The authors lay out a thesis about late nineteenth-century hunting that resembles the one in this dissertation. They argue that newer middle-class notions of "fair play," which emanated from the "games ethic," mingled with older aristocratic notions of "fair play" and forged a new meaning for the hunt. The increasingly popular team sports of the Victorian era, notably cricket and rugby, coexisted with hunting at public schools. This fusion of ethics gave the hunt

[a]n updated chivalric code that merged middle-class ideals of the game field – 'success, aggression and ruthlessness yet victory within the rules, courtesy in triumph and compassion for the defeated' with the older ideals of the aristocratic gentleman shot: clean kills and moderation.⁴²

Hunting was justified by hunter-writers by claiming that hunting was necessary training for combat and that hunting contributed to our "scientific" knowledge of natural history. These books and museums contributed to the escalating martiality of the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, and hunting and field sports' clubs also perpetuated the ideals of "imperial martial masculinity."

The most important chapter in the book is devoted to the Shikar Club. The authors emphasize the importance of the "pioneering" hunter image⁴³ that many members

⁴² Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism*, 14.

⁴³ For instance, they state that

Like all Shikar hunting men, [Abel] Chapman basked in the glory of the pioneer 'frontiersman' image. His self-respect became dependent on it. His trophies represented, for him, a 'long-series of

co-opted as their identity, but they conclude that the importance of the club ultimately resided in its support of “temperate hunting” (i.e. – restraint, small bags), the male bonding it facilitated, and the “clear gender identity” it provided.

In essence... the Shikar Club was a self-perpetuating *elite* dedicated to the killing of wildlife in the interests not simply of hedonism but of idealism and pragmatism – an exclusive institutionalized male cult pledged to the longevity of a crucial masculinity, the transcendence of modern degeneracy and the survival of sound order.⁴⁴

The survival of a sound order meant preserving “the meritorious dignity of ‘true’ ‘manhood’ obtained through experience of the hard natural world and the rejection of soft urban ‘excess.’”⁴⁵ Thus, while McKenzie and Mangan pinpoint the fusion of middle-class and aristocratic values in the new hunting code, they do not assert that the hunters were trying to make a commentary about their competence. Rather, they theorize that the hunters wished to show they were demonstrating their “transcendence of modern degeneracy.”

While the latest scholarship on hunter-writers and hunters acknowledges the important social nature of hunting, none of the authors discussed above feature hunters’ interpersonal interactions with guides and natives as the central axis around which to focus their analyses. A few scholars have chosen to focus on these relationships in the hunting field. For instance, Elizabeth Vibert’s article, “Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders’ Narratives,” demonstrates how fur traders constructed their masculinity through their interpersonal and group-level

the most strenuous endeavour, of tremendous hard work, plus the risk of adventuring into unknown regions, where we had no certainty of success or failure.’

Ibid., 178.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 184-185, my emphasis.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 185.

interactions with Native American men in their narratives.⁴⁶ Tina Loo's article, "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939" shows how crucial interactions with aboriginal guides were in hunters' constructions of their masculinity. Even though the hunter-writers were able to control these constructions, Loo illustrates how Native guides were able continually to turn the tables on their employers. Through a combination of tactics – such as speaking in Native languages, getting drunk, slowing down, running hunters into the ground, making bets on the hunters' success or lack of success – guides retained a measure of control over their own experiences and identity. Loo's article makes a serious contribution to understanding the importance of social interactions to constructions of masculinity and the real nature of hunter-guide relationships.⁴⁷

In sum, scholars studying hunter-writers in frontier-like environments stress that elite hunters constructed their masculinity out of a melding of frontier and aristocratic values. Historians have also posited that the hunters were not out to prove themselves to be the equals of frontiersmen, but rather they believe the hunters were out to demonstrate their "transcendence of modern degeneracy" and the "laws of the market." In short, historians believe that these hunters wished to prove themselves *above* everyday concerns and the marketplace. As far as social interactions are concerned, McKenzie and Mangan have downplayed the importance of guides in their consideration of hunter's accounts and their lived social experiences. They have chosen to focus their efforts on elucidating the interpersonal relationships forged by members of an elite club. In analyzing British

⁴⁶ Elizabeth Vibert, "Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race, and Class in British Fur Traders' Narratives," *Gender & History* 8 (1996): 12-14.

⁴⁷ Tina Loo, "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 32 (2001): 279-319.

hunters' accounts of the American West, Monica Rico also did not find that guides were integral to the construction of hunters' identities. This dissertation will attempt to offer a slightly different interpretation of hunter-writers' accounts of the American West.

Introducing the Documents

Considering the financial burden entailed in outfitting a hunting expedition in relatively remote quarters, it is not surprising that the overwhelming majority of British hunting accounts of the American West were penned by members of the upper class. Twenty-three of the twenty-six authors examined were either military officers (eight) and/or men of the upper-middle or upper class (fifteen). The ex-officers were the following: John Boddam-Whetham, Edward Pennell-Elmhirst, John Parker Gillmore, Henry A. Leveson, Heywood Walter Seton-Karr, William Shepherd, and Frederick Trench Townshend. Both Pollock's and Shepherd's accounts were primarily about ranching, but they included enough hunting episodes for consideration here. The men of the upper-middle or upper class were the following: William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, Thomas Allnut Brassey, Edward North Buxton, Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, Granville Armyne Gordon, Mrs. John Beveridge Jebb, who prepared her husband's memoirs, Charles Alston Messiter, W. Mullen, John Mortimer Murphy, Rose Lambart Price, Henry Seton-Karr, Samuel Nugent Townshend, Arthur Pendarves Vivian, John Turner-Turner, Horace Annesley Vachell. Dunraven and Jebb both had military experience as well. Only one of these men was a member of the aristocracy, yet each of them attempted to craft an upper-class identity.

There were four authors who I have deemed middle class. I based this determination on the values that they displayed as well as their financial situation. Of their accounts, only one, Percy Selous's *Travel and Big Game* (1897), was solely devoted to hunting; however, the other three I have chosen for inclusion in this study. J.M. Pollock's *The Unvarnished West* (1911), Thomas Carson's *Ranching, Sport and Travel* (1912) and Paul Fountain's *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America* (1901) have been included because they feature multiple accounts of hunting within their pages – even if they are not primarily about hunting. J.M. Pollock was also a military officer, but the reason his account has been characterized as middle class and none of the other military accounts has been is because Pollock was an officer in a volunteer battalion and he clearly had no substantial financial support for his ventures in the West.⁴⁸ Selous, Pollock, Carson, and Fountain were either salaried men or entrepreneurs (or both) during their experiences in the West. Selous mixed trapping for profit with hunting, Fountain was an itinerant merchant, and Pollock had worked as a farmhand before getting into ranching. Carson, too, was in the employ of others before beginning his own ranch. One other author, William Shepherd, wrote about his experiences working, but he was able to purchase a large number of sheep in order to try his hand at driving them. In short, it seems that Shepherd did not have to try working and learning the ropes of ranching; therefore, I have not included him in the “middle class” category.

Some of the accounts investigated only comprise a chapter in a book, or sometimes only an article, making it rather significant that oftentimes limited space would be used to touch upon matters not directly related to the hunt. By examining the

⁴⁸ For more on the individual backgrounds of each author see Appendix A.

entirety of the accounts as they relate the West, not just the portions devoted to hunting, one can come to understand not merely what British hunter-writers expected to find and what they experienced in the West, but, more importantly, why they were motivated to hunt there and, ultimately, what they expected to prove while in the West. So far as the total number of publications per decade is concerned, the breakdown is as follows: in the 1860s six accounts were published; in the 1870s, seventeen; in the 1880s, eight; in the 1890s, eight; in the 1900s, six; in the 1910s, two (both of which were primarily accounts of ranching in the West). Also, of the total eight accounts from the nineteenth aughts and teens, six of them were reminiscence pieces harkening back to the 1860s, 70s, or 80s – a period of less intense economic development. Thus, the number of men attracted to the West diminished as the twentieth century dawned, and those that did write often recounted their experiences twenty or thirty years beforehand in a West that had vanished.

One could conclude that the numbers relating to class are simply a reflection of the different leisure pursuits of different classes, coupled with the varying financial capacity of different classes for transatlantic sporting adventures, and nothing more. Another possibility is one that the literary historian Christopher Mulvey has broached; namely, that authors had to write above their station in order to satisfy publishers and consumers.⁴⁹ In and of itself, this is an instructive observation about British and American culture because British audiences expected and demanded a certain tone and attitude from travel writers. As I hope to show through a close reading of the accounts and the available biographical information, one can learn much about the writers' actual

⁴⁹ *Transatlantic Manners*, 7-9.

social class and worldviews. Some of these men aspired to be upper class, but they were defending what they thought to be their class status and setting forth their ideologies regarding race, class, gender, and nationalism. Taken together, these accounts provide a window into the concerns and anxieties of the writers, and demonstrate how a growing British upper class began to react to the increasing threats of the second half of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEXT(S), 1865 TO 1914

The period under examination (1865-1914) witnessed the slow erosion of patriarchy and privilege of and the deference to the traditional elite (i.e. – the aristocracy and the landed gentry).⁵⁰ Elite influence had declined throughout the nineteenth century, but the process and pace of change intensified after 1865. These changes took place in official and unofficial ways. Legally-speaking, reform of voting laws, landed estates, hunting laws, the Civil Service, the purchase system in the Army, and the creation of more peerages posed a direct assault on the privileges and exclusivity of the grandees. The rise of women’s rights activists and animal rights activists also asked questions that often put elite men in uncomfortable defensive postures. Complicating the social situation were economic factors, such as the rise of an international plutocracy based on American and British industrial and banking fortunes, an agricultural depression in the 1880s, and increasing American, German, Russian, French, and Belgian competitiveness in a spate of industries. From a cultural perspective, noble ideals and *mentalités* – such as libertinism, paternalism, status, honor, etiquette, and politeness – were displaced by middle-class and plutocratic values – such as domesticity, globetrotting, merit, character, brazenness, entrepreneurialism, and manly independence and simplicity. Increasing claims to “respectability” by working and middle-class families supplemented these

⁵⁰ I construe the elite to be those with a peerage or baronetcy as well as the landed gentry. In short, the upper-class elite – for the purposes of this dissertation – were the landed elite whose families formed the “warrior class” and were governed by the principle of primogeniture.

unofficial challenges to traditional British high society, and it was suspected that American culture was at the root of many of these changes. This transformation in British society does not mean that the newly merging upper class completely accepted middle-class or plutocratic values or even Britain's supersession as the world's dominant economic and cultural superpower. In short, the traditional elite class was undergoing a structural transformation whereby a new and more inclusive upper class was forming in order to accommodate the upper-middle class and plutocracy. Traditional values were under assault and being slowly replaced by a mix of traditional, middle-class, and plutocratic values.⁵¹ Elite British men felt the reverberations of these changes and threats to their positions in society and some of them used hunting trips to the American West to reconcile themselves to a society that was in flux amid an evolving global order.⁵²

⁵¹ This mix of values should not be surprising since there was certainly no coherent project ever undertaken by the "middle class" to define itself as a class and its values. Greg Howard, "The Odd Men: Masculinity and Economics in British Literature, 1862-1907" (PhD diss., Tufts University, 1999), 7.

⁵² While masculinity is always in a state of "crisis," the confluence of domestic and international threats in the late nineteenth century made this period particularly stressful for upper-class British men. The accounts from the late nineteenth century exhibit increased signs of anxiety and a marked need for validation. It seems upper-class confidence was more pronounced earlier in nineteenth century. Alexander Mackay's remarks on the assuredness of Englishmen in his incredibly popular 1849 account of America are instructive. In describing Americans' hyper-sensitivity to criticism from Englishmen, Mackay noted that Americans were simply opposed to ridicule and then he made the following observation about Englishmen:

In this country [England] it is difficult to understand this sensitiveness on the part of the American people. England has her fixed position in the great family of nations, and at the head of civilization—a position which she has long occupied, and from which it will be some time ere she is driven. We care not, therefore, what the foreigner says or thinks of us. He may look or express contempt as he walks our streets, or frequents our public places. His praise cannot exalt, nor can his contempt debase us, as a people. The desire of America is to be at least abreast of England in the career of nations; and every expression which falls from the Englishman showing that in his opinion she is yet far behind his own country, grates harshly upon what is after all but a pardonable vanity, spring from a laudable ambition.

In short, it seems this unquestioned confidence begins ebbing away bit-by-bit the further along one proceeds in the nineteenth century. Alexander MacKay, *The Western World; or, Travels in the United States in 1846-1847: Exhibiting them in their Latest Development, Social, Political, and Industrial; Including a Chapter on California* vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1849), 285. For more on the fragility of aristocratic masculinity even in the early nineteenth century see: Monica Rico, "Sir William Drummond Stewart: Aristocratic Masculinity in the American West," *Pacific Historical Review* 76 (2007): 163-191.

Similarly, writers who were newly upper class (upper-middle class or plutocrats) sought to emulate their social superiors, solidify their identity, assert their social status, and preempt whispers of being arriviste. In addition, it seems members of this new composite upper class believed that these trips would provide them with the perfect opportunity to validate the hierarchical British class system. In other words, by going into the cradle of democracy, meritocracy, and republicanism the hunters hoped to confront and grapple with middle-class values and emerge vindicated in their beliefs regarding their own personal fitness, inherent manliness, and social rank.

Domestic Context

The period 1865 to 1914 encompasses a period of social, political, economic, and cultural transformation for the world's supreme geopolitical power, Great Britain. We must consider these developments from the perspective of the new composite upper class. The long nineteenth century (1789-1914) witnessed the continued growth of the middle classes and working classes amidst ever increasing industrialization, urbanization, and commercialization. Gains for the middle and working classes did not necessarily mean a diminution of wealth or power for the traditional elite. In fact, the landed classes continued to do quite well for themselves up until the 1880s when a multitude of factors coalesced to undermine their economic position. As agricultural methods improved throughout the period, increasing numbers of landless peasants headed into the cities to join the urban working class, or to perish. This trend when combined with overall population growth made the political system seem increasingly less representative of the overall population and less reflective of the realities of a modern and commercially- and

urban-oriented economy and society. Whether or not the “working” and “middle” classes developed a class consciousness and lobbied for political concessions, the overall political trend of the long nineteenth century was, unquestionably, one of political democratization (albeit slow and incremental democratization). The economic and social realities of the nineteenth century precipitated a series of Reform Acts in 1832, 1867, and 1884-85 that expanded the electorate and altered representation in Parliament.

In the midst of economic troubles, Parliament passed the First Reform Act of 1832, which improved the situation regarding the reputed “rotten boroughs.” Even more importantly, they loosened the stipulations for enfranchisement allowing some tenant farmers to vote, and bringing the percentage of those who could vote to one out of six males.⁵³ While this reform did broaden the franchise, the elite still dominated politics. Marked change, occurred only in the 1860s, when a clear shift took place after the passing of Prime Minister Lord Palmerston, who was implacably opposed to voting reform, and political agitation led to the Second and Third Reform Acts. Amidst popular political agitation,⁵⁴ the conservative government of Tory Benjamin Disraeli (later Lord Beaconsfield) passed the Second Reform Act of 1867, which gave more real and proportional representation to the boroughs (i.e. – urban areas) and also expanded the electorate once again, thus extending the franchise to a substantial portion of the urban working classes. These were rather sweeping measures that Disraeli, initially, did not

⁵³ In 1861, it was estimated that because of the First Reform Act of 1832 one out of six males (16.6%) could vote. Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland, and Jane Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-2.

⁵⁴ The future Earl of Dunraven was a member of the 1st Life Guards in July 1866 and was part of the military response to one of the Reform League’s demonstrations where the members forced their way into Hyde Park. Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *Past Times and Pastimes* vol. 1 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922), 209.

support and thought he would be able to forestall. In fact, Disraeli made his position and *his fears* very clear during the debate over the reform. He said,

The question is... have the working classes or have they not a fair proportion of that estate of the Commons of which they are entitled to be members? I do not say they have. I say that you should inquire – that you should pause – that you should obtain sufficient information, before you make a change; but, above all, that you should act in the spirit of the English constitution. I think that this House should remain a House of Commons, and not become a House of the People, the House of a mere indiscriminate multitude, devoid of any definite character, and not responsible to society, and having no duties and no privileges under the constitution. *Are we to consider this subject in the spirit of the English constitution, or are we to meet it in the spirit of the American constitution?*

Disraeli finished his speech by declaring, “And if a dominant multitude were to succeed in bringing the land of England into the condition of... America... the great element of our civilization would disappear, and England, from being a first rate kingdom, would become a third-rate republic.”⁵⁵ Clearly, in the Tories’ view, the United States represented a dangerous example because it posed a threat to England’s political culture that rewarded statesmanship and privilege.

Once again, Parliament passed the Third Reform Act amidst popular agitation over the House of Lords’ rejection of a Franchise Bill in 1884. The Third Reform Act of 1884-85, which was actually two bills, built on the two previous major voting reform acts, but went further toward democratizing British society than both of them combined. The electorate doubled from around 30% to 60% of the adult white male population and for the first time the majority of voters belonged of the working classes. The trend of better proportional representation for urban areas over rural areas continued as well,

⁵⁵ Benjamin Disraeli quoted in Alexander Charles Ewald, *The Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G., and his times* vol. 2 (London: William MacKenzie, 1882), 12, my emphasis.

diminishing aristocratic influence in politics.⁵⁶ All of these pieces of legislation had serious class implications and they certainly were not being made to further disenfranchise and oppress the middle and working classes. In short, the traditional elites felt their privilege was under attack while members of the upper-middle class most likely welcomed the reforms as they gained the franchise during the nineteenth century. Of course, many in the upper-middle class most likely did not wish to see the electorate grow too much.

While the House of Commons was still very much dominated by patricians, a conservative government had been forced by popular demand to consider the issue of women's suffrage and take concrete steps toward democratization, which, psychologically-speaking, must have been chilling for the elite.⁵⁷ Furthermore, the Liberal William Gladstone's subsequent ascendance to Prime Minister portended a very different direction for the country. In quick succession, the government protected unions, made elementary education compulsory for children of all classes, abolished the purchase system, reformed the Civil Service and legal profession, and disestablished the Irish Church (i.e. – no more tithes were due to the Anglican Church and the Church forfeited its representation in the House of Lords). Even modest efforts to protect Irish tenants and promote land sales were pushed through Parliament.

These trends led historian David Cannadine to remark:

⁵⁶ There was considerable anger over the House of Lords' opposition to the Franchise Bill and "between May and October 1884 there was an outbreak of popular agitation against the Lords unprecedented in its scope and intensity since the 'days of May' in 1832." David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 39-41.

⁵⁷ In the House of Commons, John Stuart Mill presented a petition to grant women's suffrage in June 1867. Hall, McClelland, and Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867*, x. Cannadine notes that "Reactionary aristocrats like Lord Eustace Cecil and Lord Salisbury believed that 'the full tide of democracy' had been flowing unabated since the passing of the Second Reform Act in 1867." Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 37.

For even while Prime Ministers continued to come from a landed background [from the 1860s to the 1900s], they had already ceased to rule in what might be called the interests of their class, and were increasingly reacting to *alien forces* over which there was no control. In this period, even the most patrician premiers were something of an anomaly. And they soon became an anachronism.⁵⁸

Cannadine could not be more correct. The “alien forces” of popular opinion and popular demonstration had already horned their way into the political process and precipitated fundamental changes that were making British society more meritocratic. Already, by 1872, the power of popular persuasion was very clear to all those who studied English politics. For instance, in that year, Walter Bagehot stated,

Indeed, the dangers arising from a party spirit in Parliament exceeding that of the nation, and of a selfishness in Parliament contradicting the true interest of the nation, are not great dangers in a country where the mind of the nation is steadily political, and where its control over its representatives is constant. A steady opposition to a formed public opinion is hardly possible in our House of Commons, so incessant is the national attention to politics, and so keen the fear in the mind of each member that he may lose his valued seat.⁵⁹

Where this deference to public pressure came from, and where it could lead, was not a mystery to political commentators of the era. Consider the words of James Bryce, perhaps the most famous travel writer to cover the United States after the American Civil War: “We shall have frequent occasion to observe that nowhere is the rule of public opinion so complete as in America, or so direct; that is to say, so independent of the ordinary machinery of government.”⁶⁰ Indeed, America had traditionally been associated with democratization and the *tyranny* of public opinion.⁶¹ Perhaps Mark Twain

⁵⁸ Ibid., 222, my emphasis.

⁵⁹ Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* revised ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1873), 302.

⁶⁰ James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* vol. 1 (London: MacMillan and Co., 1888), 67.

⁶¹ An exemplary characterization of popular opinion in American can be found in the hunting account of John Boddam-Whetham. He quipped,

A Californian politician has no opinion of his own, but depends on that of the newspapers of his party. Whatever the majority says must be right. But then that is the opinion of the Americans

characterized public opinion in America the best by saying, “We [Americans] all do no end of feeling, and we mistake it for thinking. And out of it we get an aggregation which we consider a Boon. Its name is Public Opinion. It is held in reverence. It settles everything. Some think it the Voice of God.”⁶²

If democratization and the “indiscriminate multitude” represented a grave threat to the political control of the upper class, there were also a myriad of factors that contributed to the actual (and perceived) economic and social decline of the elite and their privileged lifestyles. Of particular import were the aforementioned abolition of the purchase system, the reform of landed estates and Civil Service, and the professionalization of the law. All of these areas were traditional bastions of aristocratic control, but by the 1870s and 1880s privilege was decidedly on its way out in favor of a wider landownership and professionalization via education. These legal reforms occurred alongside economic, demographic and social changes that sped up the process of stripping privileges from the elite class. Trends such as low crop prices, the growth of the middle class and plutocracy, the reform of hunting laws, and even the emergence of female and animal activists were critical to breaking the vice grip of *exclusivity* that the elite classes had held in the most highly regarded professions and leisure activities.

generally; they much prefer being tyrannised over by a hundred to being quietly ruled by one. With them ‘the majority’ can do no wrong.
John Whetham Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings: A Record of Travel in the Evening Land* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1874), 177. At the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, Horace Vachell said, “Public Opinion in the West, while it has tolerated and *even cherished a certain absolutism verging on tyranny* in regard to the conduct of Western affairs, has also been quick to profit by the mistakes of those who live in the East.” Horace Annesley Vachell, *Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1901), 222-223, my emphasis.
⁶² While this was published in the 1920s after Twain’s death, I feel it captures the sentiment that so many British harbored toward their American “cousins.” Mark Twain, *Europe and Elsewhere*, ed. Albert Bigelow Paine (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1923), 406.

Members of the upper-middle class and plutocracy began entering occupations and hunting fields that had traditionally been reserved for aristocrats.

In the case of the Army, the mismanagement of the Crimean War had prompted insistent calls for reform of the officer corps. While the aristocracy was able to postpone real change for a decade and a half, in 1871, the Cardwell reforms finally ended the purchase system. Even after these reforms, David Cannadine notes that

The majority of army officers were still recruited from the aristocracy and the gentry; their claims to command were based on character and social standing rather than expertise and professional training; they were at ease leading troops who were mostly from rural and humble backgrounds; and they regarded their occupation as the natural extension of familiar country pursuits.

Cannadine nevertheless warns that even though the aristocracy still represented a majority of recruits “there can be no doubt that from the 1870s onwards, the close connection between the landowning class and the warrior class was being inexorably uncoupled.”⁶³ With the rise of middle-class fortunes, and the proliferation of juvenile literature about the empire⁶⁴ and increasing attendance in an educational system that reified athleticism and the empire at all levels,⁶⁵ it is not hard to see why more and more

⁶³ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 264-265, 273.

⁶⁴ “Popular juvenile literature... exemplifies... a basic shift in the concept of manliness during the second half of the nineteenth century and after, moving away from the strenuous moral earnestness and religion of Dr. Thomas Arnold... to a much greater emphasis on athleticism and patriotism.” John Springhall, “Building character in the British boy: the attempt to extend Christian manliness to working-class adolescents, 1880-1914,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1880-1940*, eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 61. See also: John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), 199.

⁶⁵ Not only was the empire naturalized through the curriculum, but certain aspects of hegemonic masculinity were also reified to the very youngest students. For instance, British primary schools taught children to read with readers that featured “racial others” and imperial adventures. Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000). J.A. Mangan and Hamad S. Ndee’s also show the importance and centrality of military drill in state-run elementary schools from its inception in the wake of the Franco-Prussian War to drill being made compulsory in the 1890s amidst mounting tensions with Germany. J.A. Mangan and Hamad S. Ndee, “Military Drill – Rather more than ‘Brief and Basic’: English

upper middle-class young men opted out of domesticity and let their fathers pay their expenses in the clubby atmosphere of the Army or colonial administration.⁶⁶ The aristocratic stranglehold on military commissions, while not completely released, had been relaxed and the middle classes were squeezing their way into the command structure.

On top of the exoticism and freedom that may have attracted young middle-class men to the Army and empire, increasing female activism may have exacerbated this trend and the consequent erosion of the domestic ideal. Women attacked prostitution in the late 1870s and early 1880s culminating in the Contagious Diseases Acts and finally the more definitive Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, which “raised the age of consent to sixteen and outlawed brothel-keeping, leading to a massive increase in prosecutions against brothels.” Women also secured more rights in marriage in the second half of the nineteenth century by gaining greater access and lower costs at Divorce Court in the

Elementary Schools and English Militarism,” in *Militarism, Sport, Europe*, ed. J.A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 65-96. As far as public schools are concerned, John Tosh notes that in 1800 there were seven and by 1890 there were “some seventy-two, and they attracted boys from the professional classes and a rising number from the business classes.” By the 1880s, under the sway of Darwinian thinking, public schools also sought to indulge boys “animal spirits, their testing of physical limits, their primitive loyalties and their presumed sexual innocence.” Tosh eventually links these trends directly to the imperial project. He states that

When public-school headmasters (and chaplains) spoke of the games field as a preparation for the battlefield, it [frontier guerilla warfare] was this kind of warfare they had in mind. School magazines in the 1890s regularly itemized the military achievements of men who had once excelled on the playing field; no greater honour could be brought on the school than death in action – the epitome of imperial ‘sacrifice’. A heroic, sanitized death was both the ultimate duty and the final chapter in a life of adventure.

Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 111-112, 200.

⁶⁶ Other homosocial outlets for young boys steeped in a public school education were the “settlement houses and Anglican celibate orders [which] were entirely new.” Tosh adds that “this was also the golden age of the gentleman’s club.” In short, domesticity near the end of the century, while in no way marginalized, was simply a bit less appealing than it had been earlier in the century, which was reflected in the increasing age of those married, the increasing numbers of bachelors, and the smaller size of families. *Ibid.*, 105-108, 114. For Tosh’s book-length treatment of domesticity in the nineteenth century and its diminution in appeal at the end of the century see: John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), esp. 170-194.

1850s and the right to “separate property” in marriage in 1882. Lastly, in the 1890s, the rise of the “New Woman,” an image that reflected the increasing numbers of women who secured their living through labor and refused to abide by strict traditional notions of single-female propriety, drew the ire of traditionalists.⁶⁷ For instance, Emma Griffin notes that in the highly traditional pastime of foxhunting,

The feminist reformer Lady Florence Caroline Dixie had caused something of a scandal in the 1880s when she had taken to wearing breeches and riding astride [with the cross-saddle as opposed to the side-saddle] – though her advocacy came to an abrupt end a few years later when she turned against hunting on ethical grounds...⁶⁸

In fact, Lady Florence’s scandalous dress while foxhunting was indicative of the overall pattern of increasing female participation in riding to hounds during the second half of the nineteenth century. Generally-speaking, in writing, men did not take this female participation seriously, scoffed at female mediocrity, and issued pedantic diatribes about the “appropriateness” of certain activities and how hunting “unfeminized” women.⁶⁹ Increased female participation with hounds elicited not just literary ripostes but more strenuous efforts to draw boundaries between male and female spheres. While “more and more women followed the hounds... at the same time, other forms of hunting became more exclusively male.”⁷⁰ Furthermore, female intrusion into male activities may have been a reason why middle-class men – steeped in elementary and public school teachings – flocked to the supportive and homosocial atmospheres of Sandhurst, Woolwich, and the colonial administration, which in turn made them more competitive to enter. Elite

⁶⁷ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 115-118.

⁶⁸ Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 178.

⁶⁹ Callum McKenzie, “‘Sadly Neglected’ – Hunting and Gendered Identities: A Study in Gender Construction,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22 (2005): 548-558, esp. 554.

⁷⁰ MacKenzie, “The imperial pioneer and hunter” in *Manliness and Morality*, 179.

men, and those who wished to be considered elite, actively sought out bastions of homosociality.

Another very important privileged niche for the aristocracy was the Civil Service, whose departments ranged from the Home Office to the Treasury to the Foreign Office to the Department of Agriculture to the Education Department. While open competition in the Civil Service was legislated and incorporated in the 1870s, it remained the exception rather than the rule. At the beginning of the twentieth century, patronage and amateurism were still the order of the day in many agencies. Yet, by the 1890s “only 7 per cent of new civil service recruits came from a landed background, and by the 1930s, the figure was less than 3 per cent.” Thus, “by the inter-war years, this genteel presence in the civil service was very much a minority phenomenon.”⁷¹ Again, while this transformation took place over a long period of time, the legislative impetus in the 1870s foreshadowed the changes and signaled a new direction for the civil service and the entrance of middle-class competition.

The practice of law was an important outlet for younger sons and relatively impoverished landowners as well, but it too underwent major changes from the 1870s to the turn of the century. Increasingly, the law became a specialty at university (Oxford and Cambridge set up law schools in the 1870s) and the occupation was professionalized. In 1872, final exams were made compulsory for admittance to the bar. If these changes were not symbolic enough of the bourgeoisification of the law, the Appellate Jurisdiction Act of 1876 spoke volumes. The Act created a Court of Appeal that shared powers with

⁷¹ Historians have established clear pivot points for different branches of the civil service that marked the end of patronage and amateurism and the beginning of meritocracy and professionalism: “1900 (very early) in the Colonial Office, 1908 in the Home Office, and 1911 in the Treasury.” Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 243.

the House of Lords and was dominated by Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, who were only peers for life. These developments broke down the barriers to entry into the profession and the resulting influx of middle-class talent meant that “less than two-fifths of those who had qualified [passed the bar] were able to earn their livings by advocacy.”⁷² With such intense competition for a finite number of positions and opportunities, it is no wonder that William Stamer, author of a popular 1870s book that discussed emigration amongst the genteel classes, proclaimed, “Dame Britannia is at the present time pretty much in the same predicament as was the celebrated old lady who lived in a shoe – she ‘has so many children, that she doesn’t know what to do.’” He noted, “If you can’t find work for them at home, assist them to emigrate.”⁷³

In Prime Minister William Gladstone’s second administration, the Ground Game Act (1880) reformed hunting laws. As far back as the 1320s, the English nobility had taken control over large swaths of formerly royal hunting grounds and forests and had long attempted to restrict hunting to the elite classes even though poaching by the working classes continued. In fact, as recently as the ten-year period from 1833 to 1843, forty-one gamekeepers had been killed in conflicts with armed poachers. The Ground Game Act made some concessions to tenants in order to stave off depredations and animus. Most importantly, tenants were given the inalienable right to kill hares and rabbits, which were a nuisance to farmers. Even though winged game remained off limits to tenants and continued to eat away at crops, this compromise was acceptable to farmers

⁷² Ibid., 254.

⁷³ William Stamer, *The Gentleman Emigrant: His Daily Life, Sports, and Pastimes in Canada, Australia, and the United States* vol. 1 (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1874), 1. For an excellent treatment of this discourse as it was carried out in popular nineteenth-century magazines see: Anne M. Windholz, “An Emigrant and a Gentleman: Imperial Masculinity, British Magazines, and the Colony That Got Away,” *Victorian Studies* 42 (1999): 631-658.

and rural antagonism quickly melted away. In fact, this law is still on the books and seems to have been integral in sustaining rural support for hunting to the present day.⁷⁴

Another important trend taking place in the second half of the nineteenth century was that members of the plutocracy and rising middle class attempted to integrate into the emerging upper class by participating in traditional country field sports, such as foxhunting and shooting.⁷⁵ These pastimes were preeminent examples of conspicuous consumption and aspiring members of the upper class embraced them.

Perhaps the aristocracy could have weathered all of these changes if it were not for two other developments that coalesced in the 1880s that began eating away at the very foundations of grandee status: agricultural depression and landed estate reforms. Most importantly, increased international production and technological advances such as cheap steam transportation and refrigeration subjected Great Britain's farmers to withering competition, especially from Russia, the Americas, and the Antipodes. The increased

⁷⁴ For instance, the year 1389 saw the creation of the first game law, which stated that only the wealthy could own hunting dogs and ferrets and snares were outlawed to prevent poaching. The crucial Game Act of 1671 protected more types of smaller game from poaching (partridges, pheasants, hares, and moorfowl) and "radically raised the bar for qualification" to hunt. Furthermore, "only owners of land worth £100 a year or the eldest sons of esquires, knights and nobles (and their gamekeepers) were eligible to kill game." Griffin, *Blood Sport*, 40, 62, 110-111, 157-162.

⁷⁵ While Griffin does not explicitly state what class those entering field sports in the second half of the nineteenth century came from, the only people that could afford to outfit themselves and expend such a vast amount of time on leisure were from the new upper class. Griffin stated,

Along with a growing number of female converts in the second half of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of men were participating in hunting, contributing to a further expansion in the size of fields. The development of the railways helped to fuel this growth by making it easier and cheaper to travel to distant meets.

Ibid., 168. Cannadine confirms who these men were saying, "In hunting as in housing, the new men [plutocrats] moved in as the old guard [aristocracy] moved out. As early as the 1870s, a fashionable hunt like the Quorn had a Liverpool shipping merchant as Master, and many businessmen and manufacturers from Leicester were found in the field." Regarding shooting, he states,

Despite the extensive participation by landowners, both as hosts and guns, the shooting party was a quintessentially plutocratic affair – 'smart' society transferred from the town to the country. It was easier for middle-aged parvenus to take up than hunting, and it could be enjoyed at such fashionable houses as Tring, Elveden, and West Dean.

Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 361, 364-365.

supply of goods on the market led to steep declines in agricultural crop and livestock prices – not to mention land prices. As Cannadine points out, this was a European-wide phenomenon and the noble classes across Europe were similarly struck by such precipitous losses. “Land was no longer the safest or securest form in which to hold wealth,” Cannadine contends, “and this was to remain so for the next seventy years – a long time, even for aristocrats conditioned to take the long view.”⁷⁶ Secondly, the *Return of the Owners of Land*, which clearly demonstrated the extent of aristocratic domination of landholding, was published in 1876. This report stoked outrage, prompting reformers to stage significant and sustained demands for the extinction of landlordism in Great Britain. From 1879 to 1882, Ireland and Scotland saw the most widespread disaffection. In Ireland, where calls for reform and agitation had long been going on, the Land League was constituted and prosecuted its Land War in order to secure the “three F’s” – fair rents, fixity of tenure, and free sale. Later in the 1880s, violence and agitation flared up after Parliament tried to ameliorate the situation. Scottish reformers, inspired by Irish agitators, exercised similar violence and refusal to pay rents beginning in 1882 and this boycott lasted through the rest of the decade. The Land Act of 1881 granted the “three F’s” in Ireland and began the process of selling lands to tenants. This process would be sped up over the years, ultimately culminating with the Wyndham Act (1903), which made the government fund the difference between the bid and ask prices for land and extended credit to the tenants on favorable terms. In Scotland, the Crofters Act in 1886 set up a commission to “adjust rentals and reduce arrears.” These benefits that the Highlanders experienced were eventually granted to the

⁷⁶ These financial pressures led many to liquidate their landed holdings. *Ibid.*, 26-27.

rest of Scotland with the 1911 Pentland Act. There was little comparable violence in Wales and England and obviously no commensurate legislative gains – albeit there were some small concessions that were made and popular opinion seemed to be arrayed against landowners over the whole of Great Britain. This overt hostility induced many of the great landowners to voluntarily sell their lands by 1914.⁷⁷

By the 1880s, amidst increasing competition in the traditional aristocratic professions such as politics, the military, law, and the Civil Service and the erosion of aristocratic wealth, it was not uncommon to see the sons of the aristocracy taking jobs in merchant houses, writing autobiographies, working as journalists, selling cars, “going into the City,” or emigrating to the American West or the Antipodes to engage in sheep farming or cattle ranching while others tried their hand at farming plantations in the colonies. After the speculative booms of the 1880s in Australia and the American West, East Africa, especially Kenya, began to attract respectable émigrés. Furthermore, many of the titled themselves were forced by their decreasing incomes to seek out directorships of companies in the 1880s. While many of these offices were merely ornamental in character, some gentlemen ultimately succeeded in business and diversifying their family’s wealth. Some were even driven to seeking advantageous marriages with the gauche, grasping, and *nouveau riche* daughters of American industrial plutocrats, who seemed to hedonistically enjoy society for society’s sake. Those not lucky enough to marry into more money sometimes resorted to traveling or living abroad, which could often be done more cheaply.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 54-71.

This trend of constant movement contrasted sharply with the traditional lifestyle of a landowner and was a function of decreasing incomes and of the plutocracy's growing influence. The plutocracy began to take advantage of its wealth and the new transportation opportunities of the second half of the nineteenth century to travel more broadly and frequently than the aristocracy ever had. Furthermore, even as many plutocrats took over former estates, most pared down their overall landholdings and eschewed the traditional social obligations that came with being a country gentleman, thus transforming the character of rural life.⁷⁸ Travel – even under the ignominious circumstances of letting out one's properties back in Britain – could be carried out without overt shame (and might be considered fashionable) if those particulars were never owned up to.

The relative decrease in aristocratic political, economic, and social power and influence led to elites' inability to maintain social protocol at their high society soirées in London as well. Therefore, the fundamental character of rural and urban life was changing for those in the aristocracy. Overall, by the inter-war period, Cannadine notes that "in a sense they [the aristocracy] became working class: not an aristocracy of labour, but a labouring aristocracy."⁷⁹ In short, the aristocracy, the plutocracy, and the upper-middle class began to meld into one upper class – each with its own psychological insecurities to deal with. The aristocracy was dealing with its loss of wealth and privilege in society while the rising middle class and the plutocracy were trying their best to join the emerging upper class and prove they belonged.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 353-359. See also, Maureen E. Montgomery, *Gilded Prostitution: Status, Money, and Transatlantic Marriages, 1870-1914* (London: Routledge, 1989).

⁷⁹ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 420.

International Context: Americanization and its Discontents

The region where Americans differed most from British travelers – and displayed the greatest rejections of Northeastern/British notions of civilization and manhood – was undoubtedly the American West. The British journalist Thomas Gladstone noted this rejection of Eastern “conventionalism” in his characterization of Western men right before the Civil War. He said, “Open-hearted, hospitable, manly, enterprising, reckless of danger, careless of comfort, full of cool courage and determination as the Western pathfinder is, it may readily be supposed he holds in most hearty contempt the delicately raised Yankee, that is, inhabitant of the North-eastern States.”⁸⁰ Many of the concepts and characteristics that defined Americanization – greed, meritocracy, crassness, egalitarianism, and democracy – were thought to be *amplified* in the West.⁸¹ Historian Robert G. Athearn observed “[t]he *major* adjustment that any upper class Englishman in

⁸⁰ Thomas H. Gladstone, *Kansas; or, Squatter Life and Border Warfare in the Far West* (London: G. Routledge & Co., 1857), 98-101, 103-104. According to historian Jimmy Bryan Jr., American masculinity, as it was realized in the West in the early period of Western expansion (1815-1848), was centered on and shaped by the phenomenon of adventurism, which was the simultaneous embrace of “Romantic savagery” and rejection of “Jacksonian restraint.” In short, American men located the source of their manhood in the West and in-part on the savagery and unrestraint of Native Americans – albeit their embrace of savagism was not complete. Bryan Jr. concludes that “They [adventurers] traveled the frontiers not to escape fear, but to confront fear. They also traveled to escape societal constraints and so doing, demonstrated that adventurism represented an anti-domestic impulse.” Obviously, Western manhood differed from Eastern manhood to a large degree. While I agree with this interpretation in the main (and believe that American historians have wrongly relegated adventurism to myth and marginal to the development of the West), I would point out that Bryan Jr. does not delve too deeply into the notion of “Jacksonian restraint” and fully explicate the term. This oversight is understandable as it is merely the backdrop for his study. That said, while this may be a tiny quibble, it is critical to my study. I would argue that “Jacksonian restraint” had very heavy transatlantic overtones, which Bryan Jr. gives relatively short shrift. The major reason for Americans conscious and existential rejection of such restraint was precisely because of these overtones. The Northeast had discredited itself so badly during the War of 1812 and – unsurprisingly – it also had the most economic and cultural ties back to Albion. The rationalism and self-restraint associated with the East, and especially the Northeast and Britain, was consciously rejected in favor of the opportunity represented by the West. Jimmy Bryan Jr. “The American Elsewhere: Adventurism and Manliness in the Age of Expansion, 1814-1848” (Ph.D. diss., Southern Methodist University, 2006), 1-22.

⁸¹ Ray Allen Billington, *Land of Savagery Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981), 195.

the West had to make was to accept absolute social equality.”⁸² A vast literature supporting these characterizations about the West flourished beginning in the early nineteenth century and lasted through the outbreak of World War I.

British travel literature on the American West, going back to the early nineteenth century when the Northwest Territories comprised the West, had piqued the British public’s curiosity, and interest in the region continued unabated with American expansion. In fact, by the dawn of America’s postbellum era, the British public most likely had a view of the West which overstated its “roughness,” “independence,” and “egalitarianism” based on the combination of travel literature, fiction, and immigrant accounts of the region. In her study of British travel writing, literary historian M.H. Dunlop summed up the general mid-Victorian discourse relating to the trans-Appalachian West by saying, “The American assumption of equality that caused so much cross-cultural discomfort rose in the interior to an intensity that was unmatched anywhere on the East Coast.”⁸³

While British travelers bemoaned the gruffness of the backwoodsmen they encountered in the late 1820s, the entrance of James Fenimore Cooper meant American woodsmen would be romanticized as “the salt of the earth.”⁸⁴ In the 1830s travelers began penetrating into the trans-Mississippian West and the first accounts about the area emerged. In 1839, Charles A. Murray published *Travels in North America*, which was

⁸² Robert G. Athearn, *Westward the Briton: The Far West, 1865-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953; reprint, Whitefish: Kessinger, 2009), 91-101 (page citations are to the reprint edition), 79, my emphasis.

⁸³ M.H. Dunlop, *Sixty Miles from Contentment: Traveling the Nineteenth-Century American Interior* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 50.

⁸⁴ Christopher Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners: Social patterns in nineteenth-century Anglo-American travel literature*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 57.

his account of living and roughing it amongst the Pawnees on the plains.⁸⁵ If Murray's account did not exactly uphold Cooperian notions of noble savages,⁸⁶ Captain William Drummond Stewart, author of two romantic novels in 1846 and 1854, articulated an incredibly romantic portrayal of Rocky Mountain trappers. The novels described his acquaintances and experiences from multiple hunting excursions with the famous mountain men of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. In 1855, George Frederick Ruxton published the seminal *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains*, depicting his harrowing journey through a lawless area that had descended into anarchy, and describing the trappers he met in the Rockies as "White Indians" and "belong[ing] to a 'genus' more approximating to the primitive savage than perhaps any other class of civilized man." These primitives were "[s]trong, active, hardy as bears, daring, expert in the use of their weapons, they are just what uncivilized white man might be supposed to be in a brute state, depending upon his instinct for the support of life."⁸⁷ John Palliser also published his account of the Dakotas and the Montana area in 1853. He emphasized the harshness of the climate, the complete isolation of the area, and some of the excesses of the native warfare in his account.⁸⁸ While certain aspects of these accounts were romantic glorifications, especially regarding the lives of trappers, the accounts did not ignore the harshness of the environment, the violence, or the isolation of the West.

⁸⁵ Murray went on to publish a novel about his experiences in the West, entitled *The Prairie Bird* (1844). John I. Merritt, *Baronets and Buffalo: The British Sportsman in the American West* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Co., 1985), 18, 23, 25.

⁸⁶ By the 1850s the image of the noble savage was being torn down by travel writers and the like. That said, noble savages were replaced in many fictional accounts with Europeanized red men, whose bad characteristics were due to their closeness to nature and their good characteristics were "traceable to civilization." Billington, *Land of Savagery Land of Promise*, 110.

⁸⁷ George Frederick Augustus Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1848), 233-234.

⁸⁸ Merritt, *Baronets and Buffalo*, 72-84.

The literary historian Christopher Mulvey notes that by the 1860s a Western “type” of man was emerging from the pens of Cooper and Ruxton and, as settlement grew apace, the image of the trans-Mississippian West as a lawless and dangerous place came to shape the discourse about the region.⁸⁹ This Western “type” of man harkened back to the West’s glory days of trapping. This construction helped readers situate the Western “type” in relation to similar types that had been established by travel writers in the North and South. Only two classes of men seemed to inhabit the West: independent hunters and the refuse from Eastern cities. Mulvey observes that in mid-nineteenth-century travel literature

[t]he myth [of a dangerous and primitive West] required heroes and it began to find them in figures on the margins of the society which required the myth. Burton called them ‘Mountaineers’, ‘pikes’, ‘roughs’, ‘Western men’. And he like others exploited the individuality that mountain and wilderness areas promoted to fashion heroes which would allow Eastern men to live with the reality of an urbanised, mass-produced, unindividualised life.⁹⁰

While Mulvey is correct that Burton’s heroes served to ease Eastern and British men’s frustration, psychologically-speaking, over their increasingly confined existences, he misses the larger point. These “heroes” also served as a backdrop and a human setting to dramas that would play out in British adventurers’ travel accounts and hunters’ narratives

⁸⁹ It should be noted that the fiction of Mayne Reid also contributed a great deal to establishing this discourse of a socially fluid and violent West in the 1850s and 1860s. Reid began publishing his popular novels beginning in 1849. Historian Ray Allen Billington notes that “Reid’s western tales picture the frontier as a land of opportunity where the humble could achieve affluence, but as a land also of strife, cruelty, and constant violence.” Billington, *Land of Savagery Land of Promise*, 43. The Earl of Dunraven directly alluded to Mayne Reid’s novels and he even compared his guides to characters in the novels. Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *Hunting in the Yellowstone* (New York: Outing Pub. Co., 1917) 12. See his autobiography on this score as well, *Past Times and Pastimes* vol. 1, 76. W. Mullen also mentioned the influence of Mayne Reid and James Fenimore Cooper’s novels in allowing himself to be initially duped by a guide that looked very much like a character from one of these novels. W. Mullen, *Rambles After Sport; or Travels and Adventures in the Americans and at Home* (London: “The Field” Office, 1874) 73. J.M. Pollock remarked on the fact that he had read James Fenimore Cooper when growing up. J.M. Pollock, *The Unvarnished West: Ranching as I Found It* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Dent & Co., 1911), 31.

⁹⁰ Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners*, 52.

and they provided an incalculably valuable point of comparison for British men out West, as did Native Americans. The way in which these “heroes” were depicted by the hunter-writers tells us a lot about the writers themselves. Murray, Stewart, Ruxton, Palliser, and Burton all helped to fashion the image of self-reliant and independent mountain men who relied on nothing but their wits to survive in an unforgiving and harsh environment.

Thus, when they also showed themselves as being able to keep up with the Jim Bridgers of the West, they were proving their ability to walk successfully in both the civilized and uncivilized world.

America’s Postbellum West

On the bookshelves of many young British men, travel and fictional literature on the antebellum West was interspersed with immigrant accounts and immigration guide books. In fact, before the smoke had barely cleared from the American Revolution, one can find publications debating the issue of emigration to the new country.⁹¹ Immigrant tales about the West proliferated after the conclusion of the American Civil War. While some émigrés who were scions of wealth may have taken up the prospect of emigration and transplantation with youthful insouciance, the realities of the harshness of the land and the difficulty in establishing a competency filtered back to Britain rather quickly.⁹²

⁹¹ See for example: Anonymous, *Look Before You Leap*. (London: W. Row, 1796). Or, Thomas Clio Rickman, *Emigration to America Candidly Considered* (London: by the author, 1798).

⁹² Edward Marston of the publishing company Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington published the very popular *Frank’s Ranche* in 1886. The book was such a success that it went through at the very least four editions by the end of the year. The account sympathetically and evenhandedly detailed Marston’s son’s efforts to make a living and start a life in the West, his perpetual failures, and seemingly inexhaustible appetite for more capital. Edward S. Marston, *Frank’s Ranche; or, My Holidays in the Rockies* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886). For another account of the harsh realities of a young couple’s efforts to make a living in California. The account offers an excellent example

On top of the immigrant accounts of the West an entire debate about what to do with Britain's young upper-class men was unleashed in the second half of the nineteenth century as competition increased for coveted positions in the Army, law, and Civil Service.⁹³ While emigration was often looked to as a solution to this problem, many were fearful that the West would variously drain Britain of valuable racial stocks, turn British émigrés against their cultural home, or demonstrate British men's inability to succeed and prosper. This situation was, psychologically-speaking, a "lose-lose" for many Britons and, therefore, the prevailing discourse established by authors writing about emigration represented the West as a threat.⁹⁴

In the most comprehensive summary of British travel accounts in the trans-Mississippi West from 1865 to 1900, historian Robert G. Athearn has uncovered three hundred accounts.⁹⁵ While not all of these accounts served Athearn's purposes (as he only listed 130 books in his bibliography),⁹⁶ the sheer volume of literature devoted to the West underscores one important thing. The intense antebellum interest in the West

of the gendered division of labor that prevailed in British émigrés homes. Evelyn M. Hertslet, *Ranch Life in California* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1886).

⁹³ Perhaps the best primary source account that pulls together the discourse of the post-Civil War era, analyzes it, and puts together suggestions about how the country should best deal with the problem of an exploding population is William Stamer, *The Gentleman Emigrant*. Stamer made the argument that Britain must encourage immigration in order to find outlets for their growing population, and to scrap the government's current approach to supporting émigrés. He advocated taxes on sports and land in order to raise money to fund transportation costs for émigrés, as well as changing the education system to accommodate the younger sons of gentlemen. Basically, Stamer pointed out that if young men become accustomed to a certain lifestyle, and grow up without a pragmatic education, skill, or trade they are doomed to be leeches and inevitable disappointments to their families. This concern over the prospects of young scions of wealth continued into the 1880s. Stamer, *The Gentleman Emigrant*.

⁹⁴ Windholz, "An Emigrant and a Gentleman": 631-658.

⁹⁵ Athearn, *Westward the Briton*, 185-202.

⁹⁶ Books by Thomas Brassey, Edward North Buxton, Captain Edward Pennell-Elmhirst, Captain Flack, Granville A. Gordon, Mrs. John Beveridge Jebb, Henry A. Leveson, J.P. Maud, W. Mullen, J.M. Pollock, Percy Selous, Henry Seton-Karr, Heywood Walter Seton-Karr, John Turner-Turner, and Horace Vachell all of whom published accounts of hunting in the West do not appear in the bibliography and while John Parker Gillmore and Samuel Nugent Townshend both appear in the bibliography not all of their accounts do.

continued unabated into the postbellum era and Britons remained both intrigued and threatened by the region and its people. If American history and geography were ignored and marginalized in favor of British Imperial history in British schools,⁹⁷ there was certainly a robust discourse not just about America but specifically about the American West. For instance, a reviewer for *The Academy*, Robert Brown, began his 1879 review of John Mortimer Murphy's *Sporting Adventures in the Far West* by bemoaning the sheer volume of books about the West saying,

Of late years, we have had a plethora of books on Western America, the final purpose of which has yet to be discovered. They do not make or add to the writers' reputation, and assuredly, though they familiarise a limited number of readers with certain geographical names, it cannot, speaking charitably but with a due regard to veracity, be affirmed that they have contributed anything to the sum of knowledge.⁹⁸

Since American history was not systematically taught in British schools, the public would have relied inordinately on travel accounts, immigrant literature, and fictional literature for information on the area. This skewed representation of the West might explain the fact that many British writers were sorely disappointed with the reality of the “noble savage” that had been ingrained from popular literature,⁹⁹ or the lack of a “Wild West.”¹⁰⁰ For our purposes, though, the reality of the situation is quite unimportant; what *is*

⁹⁷ Paul Giles, *Atlantic Republic: The American Tradition in English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 137.

⁹⁸ Robert Brown, “Review” review of *Sporting Adventures in the Far West* by John M. Murphy, *The Academy* (London: Robert Scott Walker, November 8, 1879): 334.

⁹⁹ See “Chapter 5: Native Americans: From Noble to Ignoble Savagery” in Billington, *Land of Savagery Land of Promise*, 105-129.

¹⁰⁰ Athearn said

In reading the accounts of the British who came to look at the high plains and mountain country between 1865 and the turn of the century, one finds little of the ‘Wild West.’ If those at home continued to believe in the western legend, it was because they had not read the reports of their countrymen who had come to investigate, or if they had, they chose simply to retain the Cooper-Buntline myth as stubbornly as their American cousins.

Athearn, *Westward the Briton*, 10. Perhaps one of the more influential accounts creating this image of a lawless West was Richard Burton's account. Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners*, 51-52.

important was the perception of the West and what the hunter-authors had come to expect and *believe* about the West. As noted before, the West came to be seen as a region apart.

Historian Ray Allen Billington noted:

The image-makers might argue over the state of culture along the frontiers, but they agreed on one thing: that the westerners were a race apart, as different from easterners as they were from Londoners or Parisians. They agreed, too, that the characteristics that set them apart were exactly those that distinguished Americans from Europeans, appearing now in exaggerated form.¹⁰¹

The discourse built up around this idea of Western separateness continued to emphasize the independence and egalitarianism of Western men as well as the harsh isolation and lack of refinement that typified life in the West.

In short, America's Western environment provided a perfect stage for these hunters to prove their manliness and shore up their social and national identity. In this "egalitarian" and "savage" West, British hunters were *forced* to fuse middle-class values – such as courage, endurance, self-reliance, and manly independence and simplicity – with the traditional martial values of character building and "fair play" from the aristocracy. Failure to adapt to the social and environmental conditions of the West was a recipe for a ruined outing, humiliation, or worse, death. Perhaps Edward North Buxton summarized the social situation out West best by declaring,

In the struggle for existence, which is the necessary condition of life in a new country, every man is expected to 'boss his own portmanteau,' and if he comes to grief it is not the business of those about him to help him out. It is at first a little startling when this principle is observed by your own servants, whom you pay to look after you; but an Englishman who wishes to enjoy himself out West had better fall in with this view of life, treat his men on equal terms, and expect no personal service. His clumsy efforts to fend for himself will be openly ridiculed, but secretly respected.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Billington, *Land of Savagery Land of Promise*, 195.

¹⁰² Edward North Buxton. *Short Stalks; or, Hunting Camps, North, South, East, and West* (London: E. Stanford, 1892), 77-78.

John Parker Gillmore (aka – Ubuque) struck a similar refrain by warning that North America, in particular the West, was no place for the “feather-bed sportsman” and he noted the extremes and harshness of the climate and environment. Ultimately, Gillmore laid down the gauntlet about hunting in the West:

Knowing what you have to be prepared for, provided you have the constitution and pluck, make a try, and I am certain, on your return, you will be in ecstasies with your trip, recalling with pleasure the hardships you have gone through, and laughing at the little misadventures that chequered... the tenor of your path.¹⁰³

Both Buxton and Gillmore’s comments provide a solid context for understanding British hunters’ views of America’s postbellum West.

With the increase in steamship travel in the 1880s, any number of destinations in the British Empire could have been easily reached, but many continued to come to the United States and – in particular – the West. An outing in India or East Africa would have offered a chance to indulge in big-game hunting,¹⁰⁴ reaffirm one’s racial beliefs about Anglo-Saxon superiority,¹⁰⁵ and precluded the chances that he or she would have to

¹⁰³ Parker Gillmore, *Accessible Field Sports: The Experiences of a Sportsman in North America* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1869), 2.

¹⁰⁴ India and Africa both offered accessible big-game hunting to British sportsmen. See: John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

¹⁰⁵ And British hunters did travel to all corners of the earth in order to down big-game. Many saw a direct correlation with the number and bravery of British hunters and British global influence. In the preface to his *Sport in Many Lands*, while discussing British hunters Henry Leveson declared that “It is such as he who by the influence of their deeds, and the emulation excited by their example, have endowed the nation with that tone of manly vigour, than moral ozone, which has contributed so much to the prestige and reputation of England.” Later on in the account Leveson contrasts Anglo-Saxon vigour with Native’s laziness and says that “... it is by a very wise dispensation of Providence that they [Native Americans] are gradually disappearing from the face of the earth before the advancing strides of civilization.” Henry Astbury Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), xxxi, 238. Callum McKenzie has noted that

[Henry] Seton-Karr, like many others from his class, held that masculine identity was bound to nation-hood, and that ‘no race of men possess this desire more strongly than the Anglo-Saxons of the British Isles. This passion is an inherited instinct, which civilisation cannot eradicate, of a

deal with an uppity American guide. In fact, more hunters did visit hunting destinations inside the empire than outside it, and the number of accounts written about hunting in Africa and India are staggering, which suggests that many chose not to confront directly the source of social change. Yet the uncompromising atmosphere of the American West did attract upper-class hunters who wished to *overcome* the harsh landscape and threats from hostile Native Americas, as well as *confront* willful American guides in order to win their approval and respect or to expose their lack of manliness and learning. The hunter-writers wished to construct their masculinity and find a way to establish their national and social superiority.

The Specter of Americanization and British Identity

In the second half of the nineteenth century, British men were aware of the geopolitical threats that were facing Britain, and were extremely anxious about maintaining their superior place in the world as Germany, the United States, Russia, and France were all rapidly industrializing.¹⁰⁶ Since the British understood the link between economic and cultural dominance,¹⁰⁷ the ruling upper class consciously strove to combat these

virile and dominant race, and it forms a healthy natural antidote to the enervating refinements of modern life.'

Callum McKenzie, "The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to the 'The Shikar Club'," *The Sports Historian* 20 (2000): 72-73. For an explanation of the link between the study of natural history, hunting, and colonialism see: MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 36-37.

¹⁰⁶ David Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture: Perceptions and Introspections in an Age of Change* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 117-118, 122, 134. Russia was also seen as integral because of its position as the decisive power in the "balance of power." William Thomas Stead, *Truth about Russia* (London: Cassell & Company, 1888), 1-4.

¹⁰⁷ Historian David Newsome quoted the *Annual Register* in the wake of the Paris Exhibition in 1867 as saying,

'She [England] ... owes her great influence, not to military successes, but to her commanding position in the arena of industry and commerce. If she forgets this, she is lost: not perhaps to the extent of being conquered and reduced to a province, but undoubtedly to the extent of having to

developments through empire building, which consisted of the creation of export markets.¹⁰⁸ Making money and exporting raw materials were not the only preoccupations of empire building though. Emigration¹⁰⁹ and civilizing projects were integral aspects of empire.¹¹⁰ Creating, extending, administering, and protecting this empire was decidedly a man's job and therefore it was not only a purported solution to decreasing upper-class unemployment, but also an outlet where the masses could display their manliness, or, as John Tosh has put it, "secure adult masculine status."¹¹¹ Most importantly, empire building was in service of the state, and because it was less overtly avaricious than trade it appealed to an upper class steeped in elementary and public school education that demanded service to the flag and empire.

This empire building project and simultaneous quest to confirm the manliness of Britain's men could not control the rise of a multi-polar world order where Germany and the United States would play pivotal roles, or make the American West, described earlier, any less "egalitarian." In his recent *Atlantic Republic: The American Tradition in English Literature* (2006) literary historian Paul Giles explores the salience of nationality to the British literary discourse of the second half of the nineteenth century, focusing especially on the importance of the United States to the *Zeitgeist*. He argues the United

give up the lead, and ceasing to be a first-rate power. The signs, for those who can read, are present, and can be plainly seen.'

Newsome, *The Victorian World Picture*, 117.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁰⁹ A. James Hammerton, "Gender and Migration," in *Gender and Empire*, ed. Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 156-161.

¹¹⁰ Catherine Hall, "Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century," in *Gender and Empire*, ed. Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 58-59. Brian Stoddart, "Sport, Cultural Imperialism, and Colonial Response in the British Empire," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30 (1988): 650-652.

¹¹¹ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 177. Female emigration was also encouraged see Windholz, "An Emigrant and a Gentleman": 635.

States represented a political, social, cultural, and gender threat to Britain, and this holistic threat became a major factor in shaping British identity in the second half of the nineteenth century. According to Giles, the American threat surpassed the threat of French decadence and degeneration during this era.

After noting Disraeli's denunciation of American political influence during the Second Reform Act debate, Giles notes the perfidious economic consequences associated with America's rise. The United States became synonymous with greed, profit-seeking, and base, vulgar attachment to the market.¹¹² By the second half of the nineteenth century America was being viewed as a growing economic threat, and the term

¹¹² Giles is correct about this aversion to American greed and concern with the market, but his documentation was rather thin and anecdotal, which is why I have provided more here. Many British writers throughout the nineteenth century levied this charge of greediness against Americans, even those that enjoyed the United States and Americans generally. James Epstein has argued persuasively that Charles Dickens' *American Notes for General Circulation* (1842) expressed angst over American commercialization not only because of his disappointment about what he found in the West, but also because it bore "an uncanny resemblance" to Britain's developing urban areas. James Epstein, "'America' in the Victorian Cultural Imagination," in *Anglo-American Attitudes: From Revolution to Partnership*, eds. Fred M. Leventhal and Roland Quinault (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 111. Alexander MacKay, who was generally positive about the rise of the United States, noted that

The unremitting attention which they [American men] pay to business ever afterwards precludes them from, if it does not indispose them to, making any effort at improvement; and society, exacting no very high standard of excellence from them, wears a rough garb, and what is worse, exhibits an unprogressive aspect.

MacKay, *The Western World*, vol. 1, 136. A little later in the century, Anthony Trollope noted, "Every man can vote, and values the privilege. Every man can read, and uses the privilege. Every man worships the dollar, and is down before his shrine from morning to night." Anthony Trollope, *North America* vol. 1 (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1862), 291. Even James Bryce, who was sanguine about the United States' future, was critical saying, "The national inventiveness, active in the spheres of mechanics and money-making, spends little of its force on the details of governmental methods." Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* vol. 1, 175. Not to be outdone Isabella Bird chimed in with her appraisal of new Western towns saying, "These new settlements are altogether revolting, entirely utilitarian, given up to talk of dollars as well as to making them, with coarse speech, coarse food, coarse everything, nothing wherewith to satisfy the higher cravings if they exist, nothing on which the eye can rest with pleasure." Later she continued the assault saying "One of the most painful things in the western States and Territories is the extinction of childhood. I have never seen any children, only debased imitations of men and women, cankered by greed and selfishness, and ascertain and gaining complete independence of their parents at ten years old." Isabella L. Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1900), 34, 77. The historian Robert G. Athearn also noted British visitors' aversion to Westerners' greediness. He described the experiences of Isabella Bird, Colon South, and Rudyard Kipling with Western avariciousness. Athearn, *Westward the Briton*, 93-94. It is important to note that *fictional* European writers also attributed greed to Westerners throughout the nineteenth century. Billington, *Land of Savagery Land of Promise*, 36, 40, 129-130, 136, 139, 144, 147, 148.

“Americanization” – and the corresponding cultural concept – became “increasingly commonplace.”¹¹³ He concludes, “The most compelling reason for British distrust of America in the second half of the nineteenth century centred [sic] upon the ever-expanding commercial power of the United States.”¹¹⁴ Extrapolating, he theorizes that since America was associated so intimately with the market, the United States would have also represented a threat to British masculinity because “the fashionable world of the metropolis was thought to induce among men a fatal feminization and softness, a weakness for the fripperies of luxury and art.” Unchecked indulgence in the market was perceived to lead to a sapping of “vigour” and emasculation. These deleterious

¹¹³ Giles is also correct in his assertion that the concept of “Americanization” became more popular during the second half of the nineteenth century. The term “Americanization” had its roots in the 1830s and the problem of the United States began to manifest itself in some rather telling ways in British culture. The issue of Americanization simmered throughout the era as Benjamin Disraeli’s comments during the Second Reform Act debate in the 1860s. During the 1880s and 1890s American plutocrats began buying up estates prompting cries that an “American invasion” had begun. Americans entrance into high society and the marriage market were also met with disdain in aristocratic circles. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 347-355, 358. See also, David Cannadine, *Class in Britain* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), 120. The issue reached a boiling point by 1901 when the English journalist W.T. Stead published *The Americanization of the World*. While Stead’s account was positive about America’s ascendancy and had hopes of reunification on the strength of racial solidarity, the account – overall – spoke to the inevitability of U.S. dominance in the twentieth century – a dominance that was going to have to be dealt with one way or another. Stead’s account made these choices very clear. He stated,

If they decide to merge the existence of the British Empire in the United States of the English-speaking World, they may continue for all time to be an integral part of the greatest of all World-Powers, supreme on sea and unassailable on land, permanently delivered from all fear of hostile attack, and capable of wielding irresistible influence in all parts of this planet.

Or, Stead deadpans, “The other [choice] is the acceptance of our supersession by the United States as the centre of gravity in the English-speaking world, the loss one by one of our great colonies, and our ultimate reduction to the status of an English-speaking Belgium.” William Thomas Stead, *The Americanization of the World: or, The Trend of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Horace Markley, 1901), esp. 396, 418-438. Another less favorable book regarding America’s increasing economic might and trade was published nearly simultaneously with Stead’s book. See: Frederick Arthur MacKenzie, *The American Invaders* (London: Grant Richards, 1902). The threat of American culture and values continued to rankle many in Britain into the twentieth century. For instance, in the 1920s, the film *America*, which dealt with the sore subject of the Revolutionary War, was considered too offensive for British audiences and banned from some theatres. Giles also quotes a man’s memoir recalling his experience at boarding school in the 1900s, as saying the study of geography was ““confined to the British Empire”” and the ““American War of Independence, indeed the existence of the United States of America, was hushed up.”” Frederick Willis quoted in Giles, *Atlantic Republic*, 135-138.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 137.

tendencies, Giles argues, drove Britons to react and adopt a less avaricious and greedy ethos centered on imperialism and patriotism. This ethos was captured in Lord Alfred Tennyson's verse from the 1850s to the 1880s, which berated American influence on British businessmen and offered "instead a vision of [the British] empire that took as its source 'the manly strain of Runnymede.'"¹¹⁵ Thus, profit-seeking and the effeminized marketplace were cast aside for the manly task of building a global empire, which became an expression of British manliness, identity, and superiority.¹¹⁶ Giles also cites Lawrence Levine's cultural studies to demonstrate that outside of the older and more urbane Northeastern cities, American culture "tended to conceive of itself as a forum for participatory democracy, a place where highbrow and lowbrow cultures became intermingled."¹¹⁷ Thus, throughout the nineteenth century, the United States represented a holistic threat to the political, social, cultural, and gender orders in Britain.

In the main, Giles' argument is correct, but his evidence is a bit thin because he is not dealing with popular literature as much as high brow novels. He does not consider travel writing, which is why I have provided documentation in my footnotes demonstrating that his arguments hold true for middle-brow popular culture. I believe that the level of interest in the United States after the Civil War, which is reflected in the number of travel accounts about America, attests to the increased importance Britons attached to the former colony in defining themselves. There were more aristocratic

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 137-138.

¹¹⁶ I would also add that besides the urban threats of luxury and art certain white collar professions were increasingly being associated with female laborers. Typist and clerk positions were opening up to women in the late nineteenth century. Tosh notes that "by 1901 women comprised 11 per cent of clerks, and in some cities like Birmingham the proportion was as high as 20 per cent by 1891." Tosh points to this infringement into the job marketplace as a major reason many lower middle-class men sought to emigrate. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 204.

¹¹⁷ Giles, *Atlantic Republic*, 138.

visitors to the United States after the conflict,¹¹⁸ and over three hundred accounts were published regarding the American West in just the thirty-five years from 1865 to 1900.¹¹⁹

Racial Solidarity & Social Discord

Giles' work provides a point of departure, but it is important to make some clarifications about race, social class and region, issues which do not receive as much attention in his work. Race and racial fitness were critical lenses through which the hunter-writers conceived of the American West. Twenty-five of twenty-six hunter-writers directly or indirectly used white Americans to reaffirm their masculinity, or validate their social superiority.¹²⁰ In short, due to the success of the American political system and the country's economic fortunes, Anglo-American guides and Westerners, in general, came to represent British hunters' racial equals. Racially-speaking, South American countries' populations were mongrelized,¹²¹ and the Canadian West was crawling with natives,¹²² "half breeds," and métis guides,¹²³ none of whom, in this period

¹¹⁸ Paul Langford, "Manners and Character in Anglo-American Perceptions, 1750-1850," in *Anglo-American Attitudes: From Revolution to Partnership*, eds. Fred M. Leventhal and Roland Quinault (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 86.

¹¹⁹ Athearn, *Westward the Briton*, 185.

¹²⁰ The young Thomas Brassey's account of the West is quite sparse and does not make up the bulk of his travel account – just the first thirty pages or so. In those pages he uses the Western landscape and his internal struggle to prove his masculinity. Brassey continually refers to the "hard work" it is not to shoot does and to shoot indiscriminately. He also uses self-deprecation to neutralize his poor performance. Thomas Allnut Brassey, *Sixteen Months Travel, 1886-1887* (London: Spottiswoode, 1888).

¹²¹ Rose Lambart Price, *The Two Americas: An Account of Sport and Travel* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1877), 34, 65.

¹²² "I think the Indians – or 'Si-washes,' as they are called here, a name derived from the French *sauvage* – of Vancouver's Island are, with the exception of the Diggers, dirtier and wilder-looking than any I have seen; but they give very little trouble, and are quiet and contented, so long as they have a coloured blanket to dress in." Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, 294. See also Heywood Walter Seton-Karr, *Bear-hunting in the White Mountains* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1891). For a scholarly treatment of this subject see: Tina Loo, "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939," *Western Historical Quarterly* 32 (2001): 296-319.

of scientific racism and Social Darwinism, measured up to an Anglo-Saxon.¹²⁴ As will be seen in Chapter 4, Native Americans were mostly seen as unfit and, indeed, on the cusp of extinction. In contrast, white Americans, in this era of rampant Social Darwinism, were seen as a people on the rise and capable of (and therefore justified in) conquering lesser races, settling land, and prospering. Parker Gillmore, for instance, expressed this racial connection clearly by declaring that Americans had “sprung” from British “loins.”¹²⁵

In all, fifteen of the twenty-six writers made explicit their view that Anglo-Saxons or white Americans were the superior race on the North American continent.¹²⁶ Most of the authors professed their racial ideologies when discussing Native Americans. One author who did not broach the issue of Native Americans was Horace A. Vachell. The issue that preoccupied Vachell, who was writing in the wake of the Spanish-American War, was international imperialism – not internal imperialism. That said, Vachell does address the situation in California. He said, “Fifty years ago this [California] was the

¹²³ Parker Gillmore, who was less harsh in his views regarding Native Americans was perpetually critical of half-breeds. While ruminating about being lost and stranded in a forest he said, “Thus the bastard half-breed Frenchman [who abandoned Gillmore’s hunting camp earlier in the year] was a greater scoundrel than the bastard colley [who abandoned Gillmore in the forest]; if either had been of pure strain, I doubt that their conscience would have permitted such ingratitude, so your hybrids of all kinds, unless it be between the horse and ass, are to be repudiated.” Parker Gillmore, *Lone Life: A Year in the Wilderness* vol. 2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875), 117.

¹²⁴ For good examples in regular travel accounts see: William A. Bell, *New Tracks in North America: A Journal of Travel and Adventure whilst engaged in the survey for a southern railroad to the Pacific Ocean during 1867-8* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1870), viii. Stamer, *The Gentleman Emigrant*, 85. For examples of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon in hunting accounts see: Charles Alston Messiter, *Sport and Adventures Among the North-American Indians* (London: R.H. Porter, 1890), 9. Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *The Great Divide* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), 117. Henry Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays* (London: Edward Arnold, 1904), 177. Edward North Buxton, *Short Stalks: or, Hunting Camps, North, South, East, and West* (London: Edward Stanford, 1892), 109.

¹²⁵ Parker Gillmore, *A Hunter’s Adventures in the Great West* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871), 4.

¹²⁶ This statistic is based on the research presented in my chapter on Native Americans. The one additional author who explicitly made clear Anglo-Saxons’ or whites’ supremacy, but did not do so in the context of discussing Native Americans, was Horace A. Vachell and I will examine his racial views here.

Lotos Land, where life was essentially Arcadian, pastoral and patriarchal. Another race dwelt upon the shores of the Pacific, the Hispano-Californians, who ate and drank and made merry.” These Hispano-Californians, he believed, were “simple, primitive people” who yielded “to the all-conquering Anglo-Saxon.” He also continually refers to the evolution of Californian society from being ruled by “ignorance and indolence” to one governed by “activity and intelligence.”¹²⁷

Even those who did not explicitly state their belief in the racial supremacy of Anglo-Saxons did so indirectly because not one author suggested that white Americans were unworthy of self-government.¹²⁸ Perhaps Sir Rose Lambart Price summed up the prevailing opinion regarding American men by saying, “I do not think at this period there is a single man in England, unless he happens to be a lunatic, who begrudges the Americans their independence, or who would have them otherwise than what they are – prosperous and powerful....”¹²⁹ Americans, even if their democracy was flawed, were not a racially inferior people that the British felt they should re-colonize; instead, they were people they should be comparing themselves to, competing with, and measuring themselves against. While meaningful diplomatic squabbles between Britain and the United States did not end until the 1890s, and many Britons found American pretensions to equality galling, Sir Rose Price’s sentiments of respect toward American independence are representative of all the authors’ opinions.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Vachell, *Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope*, 3-5.

¹²⁸ Vachell also made it clear that he supported America’s emergence as an imperial power in the Philippines. *Ibid.*, 14.

¹²⁹ Price, *The Two Americas*, 207.

¹³⁰ Even authors that are critical of Westerners do not seem to question the rightness of American independence and this respect seems to have been mutual. British hunters constantly refer to the gracious

The American West provided British Nimrods with guides who, they felt, were equipped to succeed in the Darwinian struggle for fitness. This fitness qualified them as people whom the hunters could judge themselves against. Africans and Indians certainly did not play as significant a role in hunting narratives within the Empire because they were simply and automatically regarded as racial inferiors. The landscape and the animals of Africa and the subcontinent played the most important role in testing hunters' masculinity; whereas, in America's West, by contrast, keeping up with ones' white guides was most crucial. These guides were representative of the overall threat to British hegemony because they were linked, in the minds of the hunters, with the political, social, economic, and cultural threat that the U.S. represented.

The threat of Americanization broached issues of social class which were interpreted by individuals in the upper class in different ways. To members of the old aristocracy and arch-conservatives, the word "Americanization" encapsulated everything they loathed from the introduction of democratic and meritocratic principles into governance and administration to the bloated plutocratic fortunes that drove the dilution

hospitality shown to them at the Western Army Forts and one American Army officer's recently published diary specifically comments on his feelings toward Sir Rose.

Well, as Sir Rose Price, to all outward appearances, was a perfect gentleman, we quietly determined to treat him as such and let him feel that he was one of ourselves. Sir Rose... entered heartily into our companionship and we all talked, joked, told stories and tales of adventure.... This was exactly as it should be[.] Sir Rose was just as good as we were, but no better.
John Gregory Bourke and Charles M. Robinson. *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke. Volume 3, June 1, 1878 - June 22, 1880* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2005), 219. Another hunter, Horace Vachell, had this to say about American independence:

It is significant that the Anglophobia which discolours the judgment of so many Americans has failed to inspire a similar sentiment upon this side of the Atlantic. The people of England grudge America none of her triumphs. The Stars and Stripes provoke the most enthusiastic cheers whenever they are unfurled. According to the Western Press, this is cupboard love... But let it be noted that I am not speaking of English statesmen who may or may not have an axe to grind. I am speaking of the masses, who do not care a rush about politics, but who do honestly profess a kindly affection for a great nation speaking a common tongue.
Vachell, *Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope*, 213-214.

of the peerage. Therefore, elite and conservative members of the aristocracy were predisposed to anti-American and anti-democratic tendencies, and tended to be unwilling to visit the most democratic and egalitarian region of England's former colony. In the case of the upper-middle class or the plutocracy, it seems they were able to separate and differentiate the threats emanating from America because some of the changes wrought to British society, especially since changes like professionalization benefited their overall influence and position. This is why so few of the hunter-writers in this study were titled and landowning gentlemen (Dunraven and Price) and, yet, the vast majority of hunter-writers were – in fact – upper-middle class or upper class. Moreover, I believe this fact of social origin explains why all of the hunters used frontier values to partially construct their masculinity and image.

A contradiction Giles does not explain is that the martial imperialism of Tennyson was anti-capitalistic and institutionalized in public school curricula and its games fields. Both the middle class and plutocracy *embraced* public schools and this anti-capitalist ethos, which fostered a militant and nationalistic identity that stressed empire and athleticism over science and research.¹³¹ Embracing imperialist and anti-capitalistic values and imbuing their children with them was counterintuitive and counterproductive for many businessmen and industrialists; yet, they continued to send their young boys to public schools even as they found a way to continue making profits.¹³² This paradox was

¹³¹ In this light, Cannadine's assertion that imperialism was perhaps the manifestation and outlet for an increasingly beleaguered aristocracy is convincing. It is not that racism was not integral to the imperial project. Rather, the impetus for building an extended empire had mostly to do with what was happening back in Britain, especially to an increasingly frustrated aristocracy and a plutocracy and a rising middle class that still took some cues from the "warrior class."

¹³² Obviously empire-building was not completely counter-productive, especially since the middle class eventually opened up colonial administration to competition by 1900. That said, in the midst of

reconciled in travel accounts by consciously denying the importance of profit-seeking to the rise of Britain while demonizing American greed. The new composite upper class was able to forge a new identity that rejected the excesses of American capitalism but partially accepted its meritocratic principles, all the while retaining traditional hierarchical notions of class from the aristocracy. In short, British efforts to gain profits were justifiable under the guise that they were made in a nobler cause: the perpetuation of the world's most effective civilizing force, the British Empire. In discrediting unprincipled American greed and reactionary egalitarianism, the British upper class opted instead for values that would legitimate the prevailing social order in Britain.

The Holistic Threat: Democracy & Economic Potential

While Britons and Americans shared an Anglo-Saxon bond, Giles is correct that the United States represented an increasingly urgent economic, political, and social threat to Britain. The following examination of economic and political issues in the hunter-writers' accounts will provide a broad context for understanding British perceptions of the United States, the West, and its future.

The reason why American economic growth and the West were salient to British identity was because American national identity was inextricably tied to the success of democracy and the West was associated with the economic future and geo-political ascendance of the nation. In short, the American political system offered a very real

technological advances taking place in Germany and the U.S., building a sprawling empire was – from a sheer economic standpoint – not as important as investing in Research & Development (i.e. – the “invention of the art of invention”), which the Germans pioneered in the 1870s and the Americans emulated and then took to the next level after World War I. David C. Mowery and Nathan Rosenberg, *Paths of Innovation: Technological Change in 20th Century America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 11-12.

alternative to the British system and the West and its vast resources heralded a bright economic and geo-political future, which would sustain the democratic government of the United States and strengthen it.

Prior to the U.S. Civil War, travel accounts seemed to revolve around political issues, especially the issue of democracy, and, in particular, the all-important issue of whether or not the democratic experiment would succeed. Alexander MacKay noted that Americans were invested in the success of democracy.

He [an American] is proud of it [American political system], not so much for itself as because it is the scene in which an experiment is being tried which engages the anxious attention of the world. The American feels himself much more interested in the success of his scheme of government, if not more identified with it, than the European does in regard to his. The Englishman, for instance, does not feel himself particularly committed to the success of monarchy as a political scheme... It is very different, however, with the American. He feels himself to be implicated not only in the honour and independence of his country, but also in the success of democracy... He feels himself, therefore, to be directly interested in the success of the political system under which he lives, and all the more so because he is conscious that in looking to its working mankind are divided into two great classes – those who are interested in its failure, and those who yearn for its success.¹³³

This issue centering on the success or failure of the democratic experiment was addressed in all manner of travel accounts – even hunting accounts.¹³⁴

When one considers what was at stake for Britons, psychologically-speaking, in the wake of the American War for Independence and Britain's failed attempt to

¹³³ MacKay, *The Western World*, vol. 2, 289.

¹³⁴ Charles Murray's account was mostly concerned with his travels amongst the Pawnee and hunting and he pauses to devote a chapter (chapter 13 "Institutions of America") to consider American institutions and peoples. He stated,

This foul stain [slavery] upon the honour, humanity, and justice of the United States cannot long continue; the disease is deeply rooted, its ramifications extend even to the vitals of the body-politic, and the remedies to be applied are proportionably [sic] difficult and dangerous [abolition and civil war]; but they must be applied, and that too at no distant date, or the gangrene will have spread beyond the reach of medicine.

Charles Augustus Murray, *Travels in North America during the years 1834, 1835, & 1836* vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1839), esp. 201-204.

economically dominate America in the War of 1812, it is not surprising that many accounts dealt rather flippantly and dismissively with Americans and their fledgling “democracy.”¹³⁵ Of course, Americans’ strident anti-British nationalism/identity, sentiments, and increasingly democratic society after the Second War for Independence certainly would not have served to ingratiate British visitors either.¹³⁶

Many British commentators became convinced that America would not survive, and democracy would crumble, even as the nineteenth century wore on and America expanded. For instance, in the 1840s, George Drought Warburton prophesized that during a civil war the Southern states would naturally turn to a monarch and – similarly – because of social discontent the North would also turn to monarchy to solve its problems.¹³⁷ Historian Allan Nevins has argued that from 1840 to 1870 the discourse in British travel accounts was optimistic in regards to America’s economic and political future. However, he also states that there were still travel accounts that conditionally accepted or doubted the inevitability of success for America. In fact, even Alexander

¹³⁵ While the defeat of Napoleon was certainly the shining moment for the British in the Napoleonic era, the British – to this day – continue to ignore their failures in the War of 1812. The War is still viewed as a “side-show” to British historians. American historian Donald Hickey has noted that this willful ignorance exists “[e]ven though there were as many British troops in North America in 1814 (48,000) as at any time in the Peninsula, and far more than at Waterloo in 1815....” Donald R. Hickey, “The War of 1812: Still a Forgotten Conflict?,” *The Journal of Military History* 65 (2001): 765. Perhaps there will be a resurgence of interest in the war like the one that American historians experienced over the past two decades as a new volume by Jon Latimer has been fairly well received. Jon Latimer, *1812: War with America* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009). One recent reviewer stated that “the overall impression [of Latimer’s book] is that this is one of the most important studies of the War of 1812 yet produced, and it complements very nicely the current standard history of the war by Donald Hickey.” C. Edward Skeen, “Review,” review of *1812: War with America*, by Jon Latimer, *Louisiana History* L (2009): 121-123. For an example of a rather flippant travel account see: Frances Milton Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, 1832).

¹³⁶ American identity in the wake of Andrew Jackson’s victory at New Orleans was built upon anti-British sentiment. Places that Americans gathered, such as theatres, were festooned with reminders of America’s proud defeat of the invading British Army. See: Sam W. Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early American Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010).

¹³⁷ George Drought Warburton, *Hochelaga; or, England in the New World*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), 257-258.

Mackay found reason to worry. In 1849, Mackay published the most laudatory and most popular travel account about America during this period.¹³⁸ He claimed that the U.S. had unbounded economic potential, albeit his characterization of American culture was less than laudatory.¹³⁹ Mackay summed up his overarching views by saying: “When they [Americans] look to the future, they have no reason to doubt the prominence of the position, social, political, and economical, which they will assume.”¹⁴⁰ He took especial pleasure in ridiculing fellow countrymen who speculated America would turn to monarchy in a crisis.¹⁴¹ Yet, even this honorary American booster thought that a civil war was possible and had the potential to derail America’s ascendance.¹⁴² In the 1840s, it was socially acceptable and psychically possible for British travelers to predict the long-term economic ascendance of the United States because the prospects for a civil war were great. Such a position meant that the United States did not pose an *immediate* threat to the stability of Britain’s position in the world or its social order. Even though travel writers were able to reconcile these immediate fears, throughout the mid-nineteenth

¹³⁸ Allan Nevins, *America Through British Eyes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948), 210-211.

¹³⁹ MacKay noted how men and women of “intellectual tastes” were generally shunned from society. He continued, “It is seldom, therefore, that conversation in a social assembly takes a sober, rational turn. Dreary common-places, jokes and vapid compliments, form the staple of conversation, all which is attended by a never-ceasing accompaniment of laughter, which is frequently too boisterous for all tastes.” After going on to note the leveling aspects of American society, he comments that women should be at the forefront of improving this atmosphere since men from their very earliest years are occupied and consumed with business and making money. MacKay, *The Western World*, vol. 1, 136-137.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 284.

¹⁴¹ MacKay concluded,

It is a common thing for Europeans to speculate upon the disintegration of the Union, and the consequent establishment, in some part or parts of it, of the monarchical principle. These speculations are generally based upon precedents, but upon precedents which have in reality no application to America. The republics of old are pointed to as affording illustrations of the tendencies of republicanism. But the republics of old afford no criterion by which to judge of republicanism in America. Not only are the political principles established different from those which have heretofore been practically recognized, but the people are also in a better state of preparation for the successful development of the experiment.

MacKay, *The Western World*, vol. 2, 290.

¹⁴² Nevins, *America Through British Eyes*, 216.

century there continued to be a sustained preoccupation with the long-term economic potential of a united democratic republic.

During the Civil War, William H. Russell thought the United States' predicament was particularly grim and did not think the U.S. could ever recover and reconstitute itself.¹⁴³ Grantley F. Berkeley's hunting account *The English Sportsman in the Western Prairies*, published just as the war had broken out in 1861, was laden with his musings on the future of the American political system as well as pedantic dissertations on the evils of democracy. Berkeley began his ranting before even stepping foot on American soil. He found the piloting of coasting vessels in New York harbor dangerously democratic and impudent.¹⁴⁴ Literary historian Christopher Mulvey concludes

The absence of masters in the American nation, at least among white men and in the free states, remained for a large body of English opinion the central *flaw* of both the American political as well as the social system. In 1861, Walter Bagehot was led to identify this as the root cause of the American Civil War.¹⁴⁵

During that conflict, the survival of this subversive nation was very much in doubt and therefore so was its future economic might.

Once the internecine conflict was over, it seems the British resigned themselves to the growth of the United States and the geo-political challenge it represented. The questions regarding the viability of a democratic republic, which had shaped the

¹⁴³ William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South* (Boston: T.O.H.P. Burnham, 1863), ix-x. Thomas Gladstone's account of the "Bleeding Kansas" episode did not exactly strike a hopeful tone either. Gladstone, *Kansas; or, Squatter Life and Border Warfare in the Far West*.

¹⁴⁴ "In our way up the Bay of New York, merchant vessels... were steering in all directions, and even these, with comparatively speaking the colossal bows of an English ship above them, and water enough to annihilate below, in the event of collision, every sail and wheel of them, seemed to illustrate a democratically childish desire at the risk of self-destruction to proclaim, 'I'm as good as you, Master Englisher, we're all equal here, yas sir; so we reckon, Capting Shannon, those two thousand five hundred tons o' your'n shan't make our half-deckers get out o' the way, no how, yas sir!'" Grantley Fitzhardinge Berkeley, *The English Sportsman in the Western Prairies* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1861), 18.

¹⁴⁵ Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners*, 164, my emphasis.

discourse over the first-half of the century, were now receding, but many upper-class writers refused to let go of them altogether. The successful conclusion of the American Civil War (1865) and the Second Reform Act in Britain (1867) were the reasons for the *increased* consciousness of the *political, economic, cultural, and social threat* represented by the re-sutured nation. And the British had reason to be worried because the American economy was now primed to expand.¹⁴⁶ In the preface of his 1866 book regarding the economic prospects for the newly re-united nation, the British railroad magnate Sir Samuel Morton Peto¹⁴⁷ told his fellow countrymen that because of the “progress, means, and probable future of the great nation on the other side of the Atlantic,” they should endeavor to ally themselves with America. In his conclusion he methodically laid out a case for its massive economic potential. After noting how the United States improbably continued to expand into new Western territories even during the war effort, he stated,

The nation, moreover, will henceforward be consolidated. Orators have been accustomed to speak of America as extending ‘from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific.’ But the idea was unreal until the conclusion of the War. Now, for the first time in American history, it can be said with truth, that the nationality of the United States does extend from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from one ocean to the other. And I believe that all that is now needed to give absolute reality to so vast an empire, is that development of intercommunication [railroads and telegraphs] which I have recommended. When such communications are completed... *we shall be called upon to regard America as the greatest nation of the world.*¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Even historians, who downplay the significance of the American Civil War toward promoting industrialization, seeing it as more of a manifestation of industrialization rather than being a catalyst, do not deny the incredible expansion of the economy after the conflict. See for instance: Walter Licht, *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 97, 102.

¹⁴⁷ Samuel Morton Peto (1809-1889) is the subject of a new biography that charts his financial rise and fall and his political life – he was a pioneer in articulating the case for Free Trade. Adrian Vaughan, *Samuel Morton Peto: A Victorian Entrepreneur* (Hersham: Ian Allan, 2009).

¹⁴⁸ Samuel Morton Peto, *Resources and Prospects of America* (New York: Alexander Strahan & Co., 1866), viii & 388-389, my emphasis.

Once the possibility of disunion had abated, the immense economic potential of the country, and especially of the West, could be harnessed and it seems British businessmen intuitively understood that they were now going to have to deal with an increasingly powerful United States.

Testifying to the correctness of Giles' conclusions, hunting accounts also broached the issue that Britain might be challenged by the United States for global economic supremacy. The vast majority of the narratives were penned by members of the upper class and they demonstrated a persistent psychological need to find flaws in American politics and society in order to justify the British political and class system, as well as cast doubt on the eventual economic hegemony of the United States. The accounts that did broach the subject of America's future, generally acknowledged the staggering potential of its economy, but found arguments for its inevitable supremacy wanting. Most of the authors cited an inadequate political apparatus as a major potential hindrance to its internal stability and global influence. Thus, one does *not* find, even now, resignation to American economic dominance in the accounts, but rather contingency and doubt. It was very difficult for the hunters to conceive of a global order that did not revolve around the values propagated by the British Empire. The British political system was used to demonstrate Britain's more reasoned approach to structuring society and the major reason for Britain's continued geo-political dominance. Of the authors examined in this study, nine of twenty-six addressed the threat that America's political and economic future posed to Britain.

Not long after Peto's account, Parker Gillmore, an ex-military officer from a military family,¹⁴⁹ articulated his perspective regarding the future economic dominance of the United States. After retiring from the Army as a Lieutenant in 1862,¹⁵⁰ Gillmore lived in the United States from 1862 to 1867 because he had married British actress Emily Thorne.¹⁵¹ Emily was working all over the United States at the time and Gillmore was accompanying her.¹⁵² Gillmore wrote the two-volume travel account *Prairie Farms and Prairie Folk* when he was residing on the Indiana prairies. This work was eventually published after the couple returned to live in London.

While not strictly a hunting book,¹⁵³ there are several hunting adventures related in the narrative. Gillmore was also the author of seven other hunting accounts that took place in the West, which is why his opinions are important. Never a master of brevity,

¹⁴⁹ Parker Gillmore, *All Round the World: Adventures in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1871), 4.

¹⁵⁰ Gillmore was gazetted a Lieutenant on August 17th 1855 in the 1st (The Royal) Regiment of Foot. H.G. Hart, *Hart's Annual Army List, Militia List, and Imperial Yeomanry List* (London: John Murray, 1857), 162. Between 1855 and 1862 he served in Crimea, Malta, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, and England. Colonel R.P. Mason, Regimental Secretary for the Royal Scots, e-mail message to author, May 13, 2009. Gillmore retired on April 1st 1862. T.L. Behan, *Bulletins and Other State Intelligence* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1862), 684. While he seems to have been known to people alternatively as Captain Cavendish and Captain Parker Gillmore, it seems he retired a Lieutenant. For a review of his 1878 book, *The Great Thirst Land* where he is continually referred to as Captain Gillmore see: *The Literary World: Choice Readings from the Best New Books, and Critical Reviews* vol. XVII (London: James Clarke & Co., 1878), 145.

¹⁵¹ Gillmore and Thorne's marriage was eventually declared null and void when both agreed in divorce court that Gillmore had married Mariane Carbone in Malta in 1857 and that Thorne had known about those nuptials. British National Archives, Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, J 77/149/3418.

¹⁵² Gillmore alludes to his accompanying Emily in the account. Parker Gillmore, *Prairie Farms and Prairie Folk* vol. 2 (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1872), 268.

¹⁵³ Other books that were not strictly hunting accounts, but nevertheless included hunting passages in them and remarked on the promise of the American economy were the following: John Mortimer Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), v-vi. Murphy had little comment on the politics and social systems of the West, other than to hint at their inferiority to British systems. Samuel Townshend alludes to the vast riches of the West, but also notes that British claims to mines and deposits were constantly under legal and sometimes physical assault by predatory locals and that state law was simply inadequate to properly allow foreign direct investment to flow into developing Colorado mines at the present moment. Samuel Nugent Townshend, *Colorado: its agriculture, stockfeeding, scenery, and shooting* (London: "The Field" Office, 1879), 63-64, 71. Mrs. Jebb's biography of her husband also alludes to the mineral wealth of the West and details her late husband's investments in Western mines. Mrs. John Beveridge Gladwyn Jebb, *A Strange Career: Life and Adventures of John Gladwyn Jebb* (London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1894), 115-116.

Gillmore was however an incredibly detailed and captivating raconteur. His opinions must be quoted at length because they provide an entrée into the psyche of a member of the upper class struggling to reconcile himself and his status to the rise of an apparent challenger:

The wisdom of such a policy [mass and inexpensive education] will be proved by the future history of this great and prosperous people, which, if I mistake not, is destined to reach an elevation never previously attained by any nation of the world. I do not say this with the view of disparaging my own land, but with the impression that, if I stated otherwise, I should be expressing a belief which in my heart I felt to be untrue. Of course, it is difficult to convince one who is born, bred, and has lived all his life in his native land, that there is another country equally beautiful, prosperous, and productive with [sic] his own. Fearlessly I say there is, and more, if comparisons are made, that the new land will have advantage of the old. But as my simple statement to this effect may only be accepted as a desire to give prominence to what is distant, and thus difficult of comparison, it possibly may be desirable to point out on what grounds I claim this equality, and even advantage, viz., in height of mountains, magnitude of rivers, frequency of lakes and streams; variety, size, and abundance of timber, mineral wealth, and productions of the soil. If we Englishmen pride ourselves upon our lake scenery in Cumberland, the Americans have quite as beautiful, and much more extensive, in several of their Northern and Western States.... Iron almost ready for the forge, copper in virgin purity, lead in abundance, gold and silver in unheard of quantities, are all to be found, while coal, that inestimable source of wealth, can be quarried upon the surface or excavated from the bowels of the earth in sufficient abundance to supply the whole world. With these advantages, what can be the ultimate fate of a great, good, and universally educated people? – unexampled prosperity. In their own hands lies their destiny, and if it be not what I predict the blame can rest only upon their shoulders.¹⁵⁴

Gillmore understood how galling the assertion that the United States would rise to a level of wealth never before seen might be to his countrymen, which is why he provided a profusion of examples to make his case. This American affront to British sensibilities was also, perhaps, why he spent the next six hundred pages of his tome trying to *reassert* British political and cultural supremacy.

¹⁵⁴ Gillmore, *Prairie Farms and Prairie Folk* vol. 1, 14-15.

Later in volume one, Gillmore appeared to convince himself that the democratic nature of American politics would eventually be its downfall, because it lacked a properly detached and unassailable ruling class. He alluded to the egalitarian nature of society, especially that of the West, earlier on in the narrative and then stated:

It has long been known as a fact that those politicians who desire to be successful here have to propitiate the lowest classes and gain their influence. To do this, the misdeeds of persons in authority are too often winked at; otherwise, on the termination of the public man's period in office, he would stand no chance of re-election, for the transgressors of the laws (and here such characters have much influence) would never leave a stone unturned to induce all to whom they were known to vote on the other side of the platform in antagonism to him who had given offence. This is the element of disease in Republican Government, that ever keeps gnawing at its vitals, and is destined sooner or later to cause its destruction. The straightforward and uncompromising man of principle, who is above compassing popularity by such means, who steadfastly upholds what is right, and rigidly and impartially deals with the dishonest, would never succeed in retaining office; for, where universal suffrage is tolerated, the illiterate, unprincipled, weak-minded, and criminal portion of the community outnumber the good, reliable, and responsible members of society.¹⁵⁵

Gillmore's vindication of British society was not yet complete, though. In the second volume, he noted that his conversations with a visiting fellow countryman "generally ended by the statement of our belief that England was the greatest and best country under the sun, and that Englishmen were the bravest, most generous, and most hospitable people on the face of the earth." Then, Gillmore made the following observation:

The distinction of classes is not known here as at home, and tradespeople occupy the highest standing in society; but if your baker, grocer, and upholsterer are good fellows, gentlemanly in their deportment, and possessed of such qualities as you appreciate in a companion, why, in the name of goodness, should you not associate with them? Because they manufacture the bread you eat, import the teas or coffees you drink, or make the chairs and sofas you lounge upon, do not appear to me sufficient reasons why you should deny yourself the pleasure of associating with those who probably may be mentally your superiors. *In circumstances of difficulty, danger, or hardship, it is wonderful how soon rank is sunk, and the best*

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 306-307.

*man obtains supremacy; not that for a moment I wish to suggest that the best-bred person is not also the one who shines preeminently in adversity.*¹⁵⁶

While this comment might lead one to believe that Gillmore was praising American society, this statement – more than anything else – was an attempt to demonstrate the superiority of British values. Proper breeding, an aristocratic concept, was only available to the members of the upper class steeped in a public school and Oxbridge education, and it was thought to have made the upper class fit to lead, especially in government and the military. Thus, those who eventually came to lead in America in “circumstances of difficulty, danger, or hardship” would be members of the American upper class, persons who no doubt were invariably educated at Harvard or Yale. Thus, the “meritocracy” that prevailed in American society was no different from the hierarchical social order in Britain because it too allowed the “best-bred” to rise to the top, to command, and to lead. In other words, the Americans were deferring to their own upper class, which was an admission that the upper class *should* lead. Therefore, British societal values were superior since deference to the upper class was part of traditional British culture. Since Americans did not wholeheartedly embrace British values and extend these values into the political sphere, there was still the possibility of the United States failing to fulfill her destiny.

By highlighting British superiority in political and class systems, as well as in cultural matters such as theatre and theatre appreciation,¹⁵⁷ Gillmore wanted to make it clear that although he saw America’s economic potential as unlimited, there was still a chance that American democratic institutions would crack under the tyranny of

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. vol. 2, 148, 242-243, my emphasis.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 268-269.

republican corruption. These conclusions allowed him to maintain that there were still ways in which British civilization remained superior to that of its American cousin and would remain the benchmark for the height of civilization.

Since the vast majority of hunters were members of the upper class, it is not surprising that many of them chose to emphasize the same things that Gillmore did in order to claim British superiority. For instance, Sir Rose Lambart Price, an ex-military officer who succeeded his uncle to the Baronetcy of Trengwainton in 1872, emphasized very similar things in order to discredit American society. He explained from his perch as an “impartial witness” that

[I]t has almost been a source of satisfaction to find, on inspection, inquiry, and diligent investigation, that the institutions of the country are very far indeed from being perfect; that bribery and corruption is reported common in both Senate and Congress; and that the suppositious virtues which, according to the reiterated statements of our leading Radicals in England, appertain to all republics in general, and the United States in particular, only really exist in their own over-imaginative and highly wrought conceptions of a modern Utopia based on republican principles.

After listing a litany of charges of corruption that were wracking the country in the late 1870s, he continued his assault on American democracy saying

Universal suffrage, unaccompanied by either an educational or property qualification, is the fundamental root of all these evils; and to universal suffrage all the existing ills, in all existing republics, distinctly can be traced.

No one but a mule in stupid obstinate perversity, or a mole in blindness, can fail to see these glaring evils in the Constitution, or can help noticing that, in consequence of them, men of the highest social and hereditary rank are conspicuous by their absence from the legislative councils of their country....

Sir Rose was also much less willing to credit America’s future economic greatness to any *American* institutions. After noting how republicans in Britain touted the economic rise of the United States as a symbol of the superiority of their political views, he countered

The future greatness of the American nation will undoubtedly come from the West; and, without having been West, an individual, no matter how far-sighted... will fail, not only in grasping whence the real wealth and prosperity of the nation must eventually be derived, but where also already much of the primary causes of success and contentment exist in a degree not to be met with in Europe.

A boundless extent of territory teeming with agricultural and mineral wealth is still entirely unoccupied. Crop after crop can be raised for many years to come of the very finest grain, simply by scratching the earth and dropping in seed.... The mineral wealth of the Pacific States is simply incalculable, and will assuredly cause a revolution in the value of precious metals which will make itself felt with startling severity ere very many years go by.

While natural resources might provide economic growth, Sir Rose concluded his remarks regarding the future of the country by saying that democracy gave rise to too many conflicting individual interests and therefore another civil war was likely as “the conflicting interests of the east and west must eventually rise to the surface....”¹⁵⁸ Much like Gillmore, Sir Rose envisioned the economic rise of America, but also predicted the country’s political dissolution. If Britain was incapable of keeping up with the American economy, the hunters rationalized that the economic shift did not necessarily have to reflect poorly on British civilization.¹⁵⁹

John Boddam-Whetham, who was also an ex-military officer from a military family,¹⁶⁰ recognized the potential of the American economy when he testified to the rebirth of Chicago after the famous fire of 1871 and the potential of the plains to provide wealth. “So rapid a growth of a city is unprecedented in the history of any nation in the

¹⁵⁸ Price, *The Two Americas*, 343-347. Another British traveler, Colon South, came to the same conclusions. He prophesized, “There will come a great national upheaval, and a division of the continent into two separate Eastern and Western Republics. The huge partition wall of the Rocky Mountains will become the natural line of demarcation.” Colon South, *Out West: Or, From London to Salt Lake City and Back* (London: Wyman & Sons, 1884), 240.

¹⁵⁹ By the time Sir Rose sat down to write another volume about the West, he was much more praiseworthy of American ingenuity and society. See: Rose Lambart Price, *A Summer on the Rockies* (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., 1898).

¹⁶⁰ Leonard Jacks, “Kirklington Hall” excerpt from *The Great Houses of Nottinghamshire and the County Families* (1881), Nottinghamshire History, <http://www.nottshistory.org.uk/Jacks1881/kirklington.htm> (accessed August 22, 2010).

world,” he stated, “and equally unprecedented are the energy and pluck to which it was due, as evinced by a people who had just witnessed such an enormous destruction of their property by fire.”¹⁶¹ Upon seeing the plains for the first time, Boddam-Whetham was so awed his reflections were mixed,

The vastness of the immense unconfined plain is oppressive, stretching onward for miles and miles with a silvery mist in the distance, which might be the sea; but still it stretches onward and onward – repaying with wealth and comfort thousands of toilers, gathered to it out of poverty and dependence in other lands.¹⁶²

He noted the social importance of the plains by saying “[t]he sight of, and the possession of these boundless seas of wealth give a sense of power and freedom hardly to be estimated by the inhabitants of the city.”¹⁶³

While the burgeoning country boasted these positive geographical and personal attributes, Boddam-Whetham made sure to note that there was still an appalling lack of civility in the West – from a lack of good bathing facilities in American hotels, to saucy porters on trains, to a lack of restraint in hunting.¹⁶⁴ Most important, this lack of sophistication was also manifesting itself in the politics of the day. He stated

The best men in America stand aloof from politics. And no wonder, if the ignorant gabble of many political speeches is a sample of the quality of the men who direct the fortunes of the nation. Ignorance in rags may be tolerable, but ignorance in broadcloth... is unendurable. Fortunately, the American people have acquired the art of governing themselves, and that is the only true road to a successful Republic.¹⁶⁵

In this one paragraph, Boddam-Whetham was able to convey skepticism about the leadership of the United States yet, also, grudgingly acknowledge the political system

¹⁶¹ Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, 33.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 40, 83, 213.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 178.

was functioning. The overall impression that one is left with from the account, however, is that from politics to social intercourse mediocrity and a lack of sophistication was the rule of the day. In order to make his own predilections clear, he narrated an interesting exchange with a candidate for Congress in Virginia City, Nevada:

One of the politicians asked me how we would like a republic in England, and seemed quite astonished when I answered that very few would like it at all; but that, if such a calamity ever should happen, the red-hot republicans would probably like it least of all, as we had too many great and well educated men – men of position and good feeling – who would come forward, as they do now, to see that the country was properly governed.¹⁶⁶

Clearly, Boddam-Whetham held reservations about America's future and did not think the country was being governed as effectively as it could be. Another observation made by Boddam-Whetham demonstrated what he thought about America's future leaders. He found that American sport was not strenuous enough to instill toughness in youths. "The Harvard men may row on for years," he declared, "row on for centuries, but they will never win a race from English University crews, until American habits accustom the youth of the country to downright hard work long before the time arrives for entering the college-gates."¹⁶⁷ This scathing assessment of Americans' toughness was leveled in order to call into question the character of the American upper class and demonstrate the superiority of the British upper class. To Boddam-Whetham, not only was the British political system superior to that of the United States', so too was the British upper class, which would never be surpassed.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 90.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 341-342.

Frederick Townshend, a career military man from a prestigious family,¹⁶⁸ visited the United States when he was on leave in 1868. He also was impressed with the economic potential of the United States, but like Gillmore and Boddam-Whetham, he sought to raise doubts about the future of the country.

When the traveller [sic] sees chains of lakes which are fresh-water seas – rivers which are broad as lakes, and navigable for thousands of miles – and then travels day by day over prairies which only want the hand of man to make them gardens, or crosses successive chains of mountains higher than the Alps, rich in gold, silver, iron, and coal, he cannot but be struck with the conviction that such a country must have a glorious future before her. But can she ever hold together when these vast uninhabited regions become thickly populated with various races of Anglo-Saxon, Indian, Negro, and Chinese origin? If she does, then America will indeed become powerful enough to ‘whip all creation.’¹⁶⁹

After listing the reasons for America’s “glorious future,” Townshend divulged his skepticism regarding the feasibility of a multi-ethnic republic. Similarly, the Earl of Dunraven casually noted that the West was destined to “be one of the most populous places on earth.” Yet, he also compared Radical Reconstruction to the medicine administered by a quack doctor and said “[b]itterly will the nation some day repent the short-sighted policy that induced their rulers to harass and despoil the richest provinces of the Union... sacrificing the future of the community to the present of their friends.”¹⁷⁰ Perhaps moved by his personal failings in Irish politics, Dunraven even more forcefully condemned party politics and increasing democratization in a later work, *Canadian Nights* (1914). In that account he linked party hacks with tyrants and despots and a

¹⁶⁸ By the time Townshend was writing his account he had risen to become a Captain in the 2nd Life Guards. For a detailed biography of Townshend see: Colonel John Townsend, “Colonel Frederick Trench Townshend,” The Townsend (Townshend) Family Records, <http://shayol.bartol.udel.edu/townsend-tree/php/record.php?ref=524> (accessed August 23, 2010).

¹⁶⁹ Frederick Trench Townshend, *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport and Adventure* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1869), 228-229.

¹⁷⁰ Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 300, 310.

character, Willie Whisper, who was a stand-in for Dunraven himself,¹⁷¹ made the following query: “What were considered the most useful qualities in a public man? Statesmanship, sound judgment, intuitive insight? Not at all. Mob oratory; the dramatic instinct, the power so to identify self momentarily with an assumed part as to move great audiences.”¹⁷² Again, Townsend and Dunraven could comment favorably on the economic prospects of the United States, but remained highly skeptical that its political system would prove capable of keeping the republic stable in the future.

Horace A. Vachell’s *Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope* (1901) struck a slightly different tone from the above hunters’ accounts, which were all authored in the 1860s and 1870s. Also a former military officer, Vachell had emigrated to California in the early 1880s, married a native, and lived there off and on for seventeen years from 1883 to 1899. By the time he published this account he had moved back to England and begun his literary career.¹⁷³ At this point, Vachell could be more confident in America’s rise to prominence. There were several reasons he was more confident than Gillmore, who had written in the 1860s. In the 1890s the United States was able to avoid revolutionary social upheaval in the wake of the most widespread labor activism the country had ever seen, industrial production had boomed, and the country had fought a successful war to

¹⁷¹ Dunraven never seemed to be averse to a bit of artistic license. In *The Great Divide* he stated, “At Stirling we found a most extraordinary little Irishman. He was very diminutive, could drink six or eight quarts of milk at a sitting, called himself Mr. Mahogany Bogstick, never touched beer, spirits or tobacco, was partial to petticoats, and held that if only England would legislate justly for the Sister Isle, all the Irishmen in the world could reside comfortably and happily at home with plenty to eat and drink, lots of land to live upon, and not a hand’s turn of work to do.

Ibid., 50.

¹⁷² Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *Canadian Nights: being sketches and reminiscences of life and sport in the Rockies, the Prairies, and the Canadian Woods* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914), 10.

¹⁷³ L.A.G. Strong, rev. Annette Peach, “Horace Annesley Vachell (1861-1955),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36620?docPos=2>, (Accessed August 23, 2010).

acquire colonies and protectorates. “Democracy” was clearly not on the wane and America’s economic potential was beginning to be realized. In this context, Vachell believed that California was the future of American prosperity:

This Land of To-morrow includes within itself the material resources of all the nations. It has a great seaboard, rich valleys, mountains of minerals, vast forests, rivers, lakes, reservoirs of oil (the fuel of tomorrow), and a people not to be matched in energy, patience, pluck, and executive ability.¹⁷⁴

Vachell also noted that Americans had become overconfident during the 1880s, which was a source of weakness and led in part to the depression of the 1890s. Overall, he struck an incredibly optimistic tone about the future of the West and America: “When California begins to laugh again the world will laugh with her.” After noting several auspicious economic developments of the 1890s, he continued, “these [economic developments], to name only a few, are the heralds of a progress and prosperity that must prove radical and enduring.”¹⁷⁵ After giving reasons for America’s continued rise, Vachell, similar to Rudyard Kipling in “White Man’s Burden” (1899), exhorted Americans to embrace “expansion” (Vachell did not approve of the term “imperialism”) and international engagement. He explained “it does seem absolutely certain – if the testimony of the past is to be accepted – that with nations as with individuals a policy of self-sufficiency, of restriction, and of isolation, is demoralising, and in the end disintegrating.”¹⁷⁶ Continuing his plea to Americans, he added, “It is time for us [Western Americans] to put aside childish things, the swaddling-clothes of conceit and ignorance, and assume instead the toga of manly modesty. Then, and not till then, we can

¹⁷⁴ Vachell, *Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope*, 2.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

take our rightful place in the senate-house of the world.”¹⁷⁷ Thus, while Vachell’s account captured the feverish hopes and expectations that imperialism provided, and he was proud to be an honorary member of the newly imperialist nation (notice the usage of the word “us”), much like the other accounts, this account was not an *unqualified* endorsement of the United States’ future. Britain donned the “toga of manly modesty” while the United States was still simply an adolescent aspirant.

What all these accounts demonstrate is that British hunter-writers were concerned with American political and economic success because they represented very real challenges and threats to British society and influence around the world. The writers raised what they thought to be legitimate concerns about the future of the United States in order to psychologically reconcile the economic rise of a competitor. If doubt could be cast upon eventual American hegemony, then British supremacy could be maintained – at least psychically. Then, as the century came to a close, Vachell’s account demonstrates that Britain was acknowledging the United States’ power and imperial pretensions, but the young, reunited nation was, in effect, still a junior member of the imperial club headed by the British father figure. Some historians have characterized the use of such kinship rhetoric as “ideological colonization” and argued that these strategies were simply a way for British writers to take credit for America’s ascendance.¹⁷⁸ From the 1860s to the end of the century, British writers found different ways to reconcile the growth of the United States with British supremacy.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 17-18.

¹⁷⁸ Windholz, “An Emigrant and a Gentleman”: 650-653.

CHAPTER 3

NO PLACE FOR YOUR “FEATHER-BED SPORTSMAN”:

IMAGINING AND OVERCOMING THE WESTERN LANDSCAPE

In producing this Work, I am actuated by the hope that many of our English Sportsmen may be induced to cross the Atlantic; for well I know they will be amply rewarded for their trouble, provided they are of the right stamp, and do not mind roughing it, in search of sport with “Gun, Rod, and Saddle.”

Parker Gillmore from the Preface of *Gun, Rod, and Saddle*

The clothing worn should be made loose, so as to give freedom of movement, and the older it is, consistent with comfort and appearance, the better it is; for one does not care for it then so much, and he “roughs” it without any compunctions of conscience about a tailor’s bill; and if it should get torn into shreds he feels that he has not lost much.

John Mortimer Murphy from *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*

At numerous points in hunting trips to the West, the environment presented challenges and hardships to be overcome. By overcoming and mastering the natural and human environment the hunter-writers were able to demonstrate their masculinity and establish their social superiority. There were several interlocking issues that the Western environment broached. The physical hardships, wild game, and Native American security threats were in turn dealt with as part of a natural environment that had to be successfully negotiated in order to hunt. Fully twenty-five of twenty-six authors saw fit

to discuss some aspect of the dangerousness or difficulty of the natural environment (only Thomas Brassey excepted).¹⁷⁹

Many of the authors either indirectly alluded to the “rough” conditions and people they were about to encounter at the beginning of their narratives, or mentioned the immense sacrifices that they were about to make in pursuit of game and adventure. When combining these trends, it seems the hunters knew what they were getting into by heading West. For instance, John Whetham Boddam-Whetham recounted an amusing and noteworthy story about the indiarubber bath that he brought with him. He had taken the “precaution” of bringing it and found it very helpful throughout his stay. When one hotel worker near Omaha, however, failed to intuitively grasp how the bath needed to be drained, the bath flooded his entire room and caused considerable damage to the hotel. After noting how baths were now indefinitely banned in this hotel, he expressed his hope that “[p]erhaps the day will come when baths, large and small will be considered as necessary an adjunct to every hotel in America, as they are in every other civilized country.”¹⁸⁰ From this story, it seems that Boddam-Whetham knew something about the

¹⁷⁹ I base these determinations on whether or not there is at least one section in the accounts that discussed the natural threats encountered, which, for methodological purposes, I did include the threat posed by hostile Natives and Native thieves. Thomas Brassey, a young Eton graduate and future Earl, penned an account that featured a short hunting trip to the West that was nothing more than a reproduction of the notes in his diary. It is certainly the least polished of the accounts examined, and offered nothing more than an unaffected recitation of his very brief hunting trip to North Park, Colorado. The closest Brassey came to introducing any kind of emotion or flourish into the account was when he described himself as “terrified” upon his first day hunting on his own. As far as Brassey’s relations with those he encountered in the West, there was precious little said. The nearest comments that might be construed as a comment on inter-personal relations was that he was “very envious” of another hunter’s wapiti heads, and that he and his English companion (a young man by the name of Barclay) needed six rounds to bring down one wapiti, which they took some chaffing from their guides about. Brassey even went so far to call himself a bad shot in his account; however, the very next chapter began with a rowing race between old Eton acquaintances on the way to Ceylon, in which Brassey was victorious and redeemed himself. Thomas Brassey. *Sixteen month’s travel, 1886-1887* (London: Spottiswoode, 1888).

¹⁸⁰ John Whetham Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings: A Record of Travel in the Evening Land* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1874), 45-46.

West and had a good idea of the primitive bathing accommodations available in the area, so he took the necessary precautions.¹⁸¹

Other writers hinted at their reasons for seeking out the West. William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, who grew up living in a castle and hunting in the Alps, noted that he had “long wished to make the acquaintance of the great Mountain System of the New World, the home of such lordly game as the grizzly, the bighorn, and the wapiti – the latter our own stag, produced on a wholly magnified, one might say *American*, scale.”¹⁸² From his experience in the Alps, Baillie-Grohman would have had an excellent idea of the environmental obstacles to hunting big-game in the Rockies. The Earl of Dunraven directly alluded to the fact that he had already been to the West to hunt before he picked up his pen to describe his latest journey to the continental divide. He began this new book with a description of the savagery of the landscape. Then, when addressing his efforts to induce his friend Texas Jack to accompany his second trek into the West, he questioned “whether he could be induced to leave his wife and comfortable home, and to brave the hardships and dangers of a hunting or exploring trip to the far West....”¹⁸³ The perils of the West were definitely understood and something that Dunraven was looking

¹⁸¹ For another droll story about a British aristocrat who took a tin tub out on a Western hunting trip only to have an indignant servant empty his revolver into the bottom of it, see William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies: being a narrative of life on the frontier, and sport in the Rocky Mountains, with an account of the cattle ranches of the West*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882), 4-5.

¹⁸² Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, v-vi.

¹⁸³ Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), 2-3, 31-32. In a later accounts the Earl also notes that he had grown up dreaming about hunting in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, “a dream of schoolboy days which seemed at one time so little likely to be realised, and yet which is at length fulfilled.” Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, “Wapiti Running on the Plains,” *Nineteenth Century*, VIII (October 1880): 454. See also, Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *Canadian Nights* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914), 42-43.

forward to. Another hunter, Frederick Trench Townshend, made tacit assumptions about visiting the untamed West explicit:

We were often told that we should enjoy ourselves much more... by spending the winter season at New York; and as to buffalo hunting, we were generally assured that, if we went into a farmyard and shot so many bulls and cows, we might have about as much excitement and danger, with far less trouble, as if we were galloping after buffalo on the plains. On further inquiry, however, we always found that our informants [New Yorkers] had never themselves tried which was the best sport. In fact, a love of sport, with a willingness to undergo the hardships which are inseparable from a wild life, is a feeling which they could not understand.¹⁸⁴

Townshend obviously understood that hunting in the West was not going to be akin to a comfortable jaunt to the Lake District in northwest England.¹⁸⁵ His tone indicated that he was excited to get a glimpse of this “wild life” as well as the opportunity to lecture Americans about the proper manner in which to spend their leisure time.

In sum, these hunters were well aware of the environment they were about to enter, and they were looking forward to the challenges it presented to their hunting parties. In investigating British and American hunting narratives during the same time period as this dissertation, historian Tara Kelly argues that

As Americans came to the British narratives, then, they found themselves engaging with a story of the hunt almost diametrically opposed to the discourse of the still-hunt. The British celebrated leisure, aristocracy, and the imperial hunt, all associations that Americans worked hard to distance from their hunting.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Frederick Trench Townshend. *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport and Adventure* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1869), 16.

¹⁸⁵ The Lake District became an important tourist destination when travel was cut off to the Continent during the Napoleonic Wars. The area became popular just as the notion of the “picturesque,” which incorporated the ideas of beauty and sublimity, was becoming popular and a motivation for travel. James Buzard, “The Grand Tour and after (1660-184),” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 45-46.

¹⁸⁶ Tara K. Kelly, “The Hunter Elite: Americans, Wilderness, and the Rise of the Big-Game Hunt” (PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2006), 221.

Kelly's point is well taken for understanding British hunting narratives as a whole, especially since British hunting accounts touched every continent during this period and the accounts within the empire certainly glorified the imperial hunt, and "the Hunt as an elite ritual with an elaborate code" became increasingly popular toward the end of this period.¹⁸⁷ Her argument lacks nuance, though, and a few indiarubber tubs certainly did not turn the American West into the Lake District. Specifically, she does not investigate in a systematic manner *any* of the British accounts of hunting in the American West. She mentions in passing Edward North Buxton's trip to the Rockies and cites William Adolph Baillie-Grohman's work in her footnotes, but there is no serious engagement with British hunting narratives in the West. So, while the overall discourse that British hunters forged in their hunting escapades around the world may have been one that "celebrated leisure, aristocracy, and the imperial hunt," the reality of the situation for British hunters in the West – *and the discourse they constructed about this space* – was different. They did *not* emphasize the traditional values associated with the imperial hunt in their narratives. Hunting and killing could be done against equally dangerous or elusive prey elsewhere in the world,¹⁸⁸ and while being able to kill consistently was something that was important to all hunting narratives regardless of their geographical location, traveling to the West simply to demonstrate one's ability to kill was not the motivation for these men. If that

¹⁸⁷ John M. MacKenzie, "The imperial pioneer and hunter and the British masculine stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times," in *Manliness and morality: Middle-class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 193.

¹⁸⁸ For a taste of the dangerousness of hunting in Africa see John Henry Patterson. *The man-eaters of Tsavo and other East African adventures* (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1908). To get an idea of the cool calculations, quick reactions, and teamwork necessitated by hunting wild boar in India see: J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie. "Pig Sticking is the Greatest Fun: Martial Conditioning on the Hunting Fields of Empire," in *Militarism, Sport, Europe War Without Weapons*, European sports history review, ed. J.A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 102.

were the mission, they would have been better off at battues or deer parks in Britain. Rather, British hunters sought out the West precisely because it offered foreign and difficult conditions where they could display their character, perseverance, marksmanship, and knowledge. The natural environment and prey also tested the hunter-writers' knowledge of natural history and geology. The hunters quoted above give us an idea of what these men were expecting and what they were seeking out as they made their way into the West. They were hoping to master and overcome the dangerously unpredictable landscape and some of the most prized and terrifying big-game animals in the world.

Once the hunter-writers actually arrived in the West, the environmental challenges lived up to their expectations and became crucial to their accounts and demonstrating their masculinity and superiority. There were no guarantees that game would be plentiful on any given trip. Innumerable reasons might conspire to sully a trip: getting lost or incurring an accident,¹⁸⁹ the weather or climate, poor information,¹⁹⁰ the

¹⁸⁹ John Turner-Turner, *Three years' hunting and trapping in American and the great North-west* (New York: Arno Press, 1967) 36-37. While out hunting in the West, Turner-Turner received word that his friend, hunting nearby, suffered a fall and died.

¹⁹⁰ One author in particular, who took a vehement dislike to the propagation of bad or misleading information in hunting accounts, was William Adolph Baillie-Grohman. For Baillie-Grohman, bad geographical information in regards to hunting grounds was especially vexing. In his *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia*, this pet peeve takes on a life of its own. In fact, the entire volume is strewn with corrections to mistakes about the precise locations of hunting grounds. One representative section reads as follows:

The instance before us is as good an illustration of what I mean, as could be cited. X---, a keen sportsman, who has shot in the mountains of India the various Asiatic ovis, is now bitten with the desire to slay a really good specimen of the American sheep. He turns to 'Records of Big Game,' and there finds that by far the largest head has been killed in 'The Selkirks, British Columbia, 1885'... 'By Jove!' says X---, 'that's the very place I'll go to next August,' and go he does.... Six weeks or two months will probably be sacrificed to what I am positive will prove a bootless search, for so convinced am I that bighorn will not be killed there by X---, or any other man, that I shall be glad to make a suitable donation to a hospital or charitable object if it can be proved that a bighorn has ever been shot in the Selkirks proper.

premature or late migration of animals,¹⁹¹ inaccessibility of animals,¹⁹² or a conflict with hostile Natives or thieves. Overcoming these harsh and fickle environmental conditions provided a perfect setting for British hunters to demonstrate their manifold skills.

The natural environment, therefore, played a critical role in these narratives. Like everything else about the West, the landscape demanded that the hunters exhibit physical and mental toughness. The landscape allowed the authors to construct a narrative that would allow them to exhibit a certain set of characteristics that would confer the upper-class ideals associated with “character-building”¹⁹³ and demonstrate the middle-class and frontier/Western ideal of self-reliance. Part of the reason the West attracted a cross-

Baillie-Grohman concludes that “... as I have shown, misleading information in edition after edition (when not corrected in the columns of the *Field and Land and Water*) is not the best way to increase the fair fame of British sportsmanship.” William Adolph Baillie-Grohman and Florence Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years’ Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia* 2nd ed. (London: Horace Cox, 1907), 147-148.

¹⁹¹ “Where at other times of the year wapiti and bighorn roamed in great numbers, there was not a single animal left.” This was probably due to a rather harsh drought that had affected the area. Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, 46.

¹⁹² “I have enjoyed pretty good sport occasionally myself, it is true: but it is difficult to get; besides, it requires patience and perseverance, and entails hard work, and even then success is very uncertain; and as there is nothing I so much dislike as being misled by accounts of the capabilities of a country in a hunting point of view...” Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 6.

¹⁹³ Recently, J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie noted the importance of “character” to indoctrinating notions of British manliness after 1850. They said,

Captain John Colquhoun was one who used up a great deal of ink over the years lauding the value of hunting for character-formation, contending that ordinary exercise failed to test the ‘strong man’. Character training, of course, came into its own after 1850 as British imperial and military imperatives intensified. In empire, more often than not, ‘character’ distinguished the ruler – in his own eyes – from the ruled, [sic] Indeed, the character of non-whites in the empire was increasingly questioned as a result of various crises, especially the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the Jamaican insurrection of 1865. Character, of course was incomplete without an ample injection of ‘fair play’. Colquhoun asserted that hunting was distinguished by both qualities. Hunting was the moral pinnacle of higher sport and ‘favourable to higher moral sentiments’.

Later on in their examination of martial masculinity, they noted that the aristocracy had bought into these notions of enduring harsh conditions in order to form character. One particular aristocratic boy’s training was especially impressive.

In Scottish winters [Gilbert John] Elliot was forced by his father to hunt without hat, gloves or coat. It was a Lacedaemonian training known to others of his background. Elliot’s contemporary A.I.R. Glasfurd, for example, similarly endured childhood hunting, fishing and shooting through Scottish winters – essential, in his later view, for a successful military career.

J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: ‘Blooding’ the Martial Male* (London: Routledge, 2010), 14-15, 96.

section of the upper-class is because the aristocratic stoicism and self-control necessary for “character building” perfectly complemented the middle-class and frontier values of courage, hard work, and self-reliance. Aristocratic and middle-class values were hardly incompatible; indeed, they sometimes worked together to construct the hunters’ masculinity.

In studying big-game hunting more generally, Callum McKenzie identified the importance of the Americas for British hunters, especially those of the upper-class, out to prove their masculinity in difficult circumstances remarking that “[t]oughening sports in the New World fitted into prevailing notions of upper-middle class masculinity...” McKenzie investigates several accounts of the American West and shows how big-game hunting and overseas venues provided a forum where hunters could indulge in “fair play” against their prey. This notion of “fair play” was critical since it dictated that hunters pursue animals in their wild, natural environs, allowing for a reasonable chance of escape and pitting the hunter’s knowledge of animals against the wild instincts of the prey. In addition, hunters were supposed to exercise restraint in their killing, as large, excessive bags were considered a capital offense. Upholding this code was considered sportsmanlike and something that was “a peculiarly British invention.” Others, especially colonized peoples or rebellious groups, such as South Africa’s Boers, simply did not understand the British ideal of “sport.” McKenzie concludes, “Given the emasculation of fox-hunting and the rise of driven-game shooting in Britain at this time,

the United States, Africa, India and parts of Asia provided new and testing locations for British sportsmen after the 1850s.”¹⁹⁴

McKenzie is absolutely correct that environs all across the New World provided ideal locations for hunters to experience hunting wild animals.¹⁹⁵ The West provided a space where the sportsman could pursue wild animals on their own playing field, and display their ability as a “true” hunter. The region was no game park. The principles of “fair play” when combined with the relative isolation most parties experienced meant that if one could not bring their prey to bag, there might not be fresh meat over the campfire for a long time. Since game was spread out over such a vast area, one was never guaranteed opportunities to kill, all of which put a premium on marksmanship.

McKenzie is also onto something else when he notes that the harsh conditions played into “prevailing notions of upper-middle class masculinity.” The hunters used their experiences and narratives to prove that they were capable of not only measuring up to upper-middle class notions of manliness, but that they could still remain the middle classes’ social “betters.” In short, the hunters were hoping to hone an image that showed they could play by the middle-classes’ rules, attain self-reliance, and yet retain their

¹⁹⁴ Callum McKenzie, “The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to the ‘The Shikar Club’,” *The Sports Historian* 20 (2000): 71-77. For more on the Shikar Club see “Chapter Nine: Imperial Masculinity Institutionalized: The Shikar Club” in Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism*.

¹⁹⁵ Sir Rose Price’s *The Two Americas* is particularly instructive in this instance. Sir Rose, whose painstakingly long and tedious eight-month journey around the southern tip of South America was made in the ironically named ship H.M.S. *Rocket*, was able to hunt in some of the harshest environments on the West coast of the Americas. For instance, while hunting birds and alligators in the mangrove swamps outside of “Manzanilla” (Manzanillo), Sir Rose waded through waters suffused with alligators. Besides the dangerousness of hunting in certain areas, there were other similarities to the American West. Sir Rose even found that, “It is the custom of the country... in Mexico a man must do everything for himself.” Certain areas also abounded in lawlessness and Sir Rose nearly had a shooting match with a “ruffian.” Rose Lambert Price, *The Two Americas; An Account of Sport and Travel* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington) 169. See chapters six through nine for Sir Rose’s experiences in Peru and Mexico.

superiority. I intend to show that through their scientific knowledge of natural history and animals' habits the hunter-writers were seeking to prove their social and national superiority. The issue of humanity towards prey and animals will be discussed in a later chapter on the hunters' interactions with their guides and Westerners, as those two issues are intimately interconnected.

What all of the accounts have in common is that the authors showed their ability to overcome the landscape and they demonstrated their composure in order to kill game. Both of these feats validated their masculinity. In fact, these were the essential building blocks of their masculinity. Without these cornerstones, the authors truly would not have had a claim to masculinity. Obviously, in the accounts, overcoming physical impediments – such as the harsh mountainous terrain of the Rockies, the arid prairies, and the unpredictable climate – and mastering the mental challenges that killing game presented overlapped to a significant degree. For analytical purposes, the rest of this chapter will examine these tests of manhood separately in order to demonstrate that the hunters *did not necessarily have to be in the act of killing* in order to demonstrate their masculinity.

Character Building in Harsh Conditions

The physical topography of the Western landscape was daunting and the climate posed an ever-present threat that could plunge or surge at any moment; therefore, the writers relied on their abilities of description to convey the difficulty, dangerousness, vastness, and isolation of the Western environment. Each account covered different geographical areas, and each featured varying degrees of emphasis on the physical

environment and climate. W. Mullen's *Rambles After Sport* was the outlier of the bunch in that he did not overly concern himself with the environment, which may have resulted from the fact that most of his hunting was done in the picturesque valleys of California.¹⁹⁶ The overwhelming trend in the accounts, regardless of class or occupation, was toward descriptive accounts of the landscape and the difficulty in overcoming it either in traveling, camping, surviving, or hunting.

Parker Gillmore's *Adventures in the Great West* (1871); the Earl of Dunraven, Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven's *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874* (1876); William Adolph Baillie-Grohman's *Camps in the Rockies* (1882); Charles Alston Messiter's *Sport and Adventures among the North-American Indians* (1890); and Paul Fountain's *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America* (1890) will each be examined in order to show how the environment was used to construct each author's masculinity. The landscape was central to all of the accounts because there were very real difficulties to be negotiated; and failure to surmount them could have meant death in certain situations. Several factors could have conspired to kill a person hunting or camping in the West, especially if one were alone or lost. The West's weapons – hallucination and disorientation,¹⁹⁷ exposure and starvation,¹⁹⁸ hostile

¹⁹⁶ W. Mullen, *Rambles After Sport; or, Travels and Adventures in the Americans and at Home* (London: "The Field" Office, 1874). Throughout the account Mullen has nothing but praise for the California climate and landscape, but when hunting bears in Oregon he did mention his aversion to the problems of civilization and his persistent wish to return to the woods and hunt, as well as the difficulty of stalking in a dense forest. 75, 91.

¹⁹⁷ Most of the authors mention the debilitating mental effects of being "turned around." Immediately after chronicling his own trepidation after losing his bearings twice in the forests of the Pacific Northwest, John Mortimer Murphy lectured, "If one thinks he is lost, he should retrace his steps as carefully as possible... and if night overtakes him ere he can reach camp, he should not get alarmed, but make himself as comfortable as he can under the circumstances, and wait for daylight to continue his work." John Mortimer Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879), 35-36. Dunraven recounted the story of a surveyor lost in the Yellowstone for five pages taking the

Natives¹⁹⁹ or Mexicans,²⁰⁰ or thieves – all could have individually or combined killed the hunters.

By explicitly broaching the dire consequences of being alone or lost, the authors wished to demonstrate that their hunting trips were *not* vacations and the area they were hunting required – as Townshend stated – an ability to endure “hardships.” Thus, by successfully navigating their way through this harsh landscape, the writers were able to demonstrate their stamina, stoicism, courage, endurance, resourcefulness, and self-control/composure, thereby validating their self-reliance and masculinity. In order to drive these facts home, most authors made sure to begin their narratives with an account of the inhospitable landscape. A short examination of some of the most descriptive accounts will show how skillfully the environment was used in order to portray the

reader through the accidental mishaps whereby he twice lost all of his belongings, and the physical privations of near starvation and the accompanying mental breakdown that left him a mere shell of the man who had gotten lost. Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 242-247.

¹⁹⁸ All of the authors traveling in the Rockies were acutely aware of the prospects of frostbite or freezing to death in the unforgiving mountains. And some cautioned to never spend the winter in the mountains – even though they did. See for example Horace Annesley Vachell, *Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900), 255-256.

¹⁹⁹ While all of the accounts mention or make allusions to the threat posed by Natives, the accounts that chronicle actual fighting are written by Henry Astbury Leveson, Charles Alston Messiter, John Mortimer Murphy, and Paul Fountain. These accounts of fighting with Natives will be examined in a systematic manner later on. Charles Alston Messiter, *Sport and Adventures among the North American Indians* (London: R.H. Porter, 1890), 216-227. Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 280-287. Henry Astbury Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), 249-257. Paul Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North American* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), 137-138, 146.

²⁰⁰ Most of the writers harbored a deep-seated racist view of Mexicans as well and their penchant to kill for trifling reasons, which made them an unpredictable threat. Messiter said that Mexicans were just as cordial as Spaniards, “... though it did not mean much more than it does in Spain, most of them being ready to knife you for a very small sum.” Messiter, *Sport and Adventures among the North American Indians*, 196. Recounting his experiences at a death match between a grizzly and a bull in Northern Mexico, W. Mullen noted the exorbitant bets made on the match and the intensity of the betting. “Knives were frequently drawn; but happily no bloodshed took place. I had in my breeches pocket a pair of Derringer ½ oz. pistols, with which I had made up my mind to shoot anyone instantly who tried his hand on me.” Mullen went on to recount a story of an altercation between he and a Mexican, who mistook him for a Yankee and drew a knife and demand to know when Mullen thought the U.S. was going to take over Mexico. “Don Miguel [his host], however, who had seen him, without the slightest ceremony took up my carbine and instantly knocked him down with it from behind, and I verily believe would have shot him for a pin’s head.” W. Mullen, *Rambles After Sport*, 52-53.

author's masculinity in overcoming its force and unpredictability, and it should demonstrate how different writers emphasized different aspects of the challenges in order to craft their own individual identity and masculinity.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ For a look at some of the authors' accounts that will not be detailed here and their reliance on utilizing the landscape to demonstrate their masculinity see the following. Mullen, *Western Wanderings*, 59-60 (on the expanse of the Great Plains, he said "Those who have seen the never-ending sweep of the Great Plains can understand the feeling of – well – call it self-sufficiency, that Western men have been accused of displaying," 206 (on his discomfort in camping out without a pillow), 215-216 (on the difficulty of the terrain surrounding Castle Lake; the heat of California and their hunger), 219 (on the impenetrability of brush and hard walking surrounding their camp), 230-231 (on the chapparal congested mountain-sides and thorny-shrub infested ravines that he was perpetually falling down in his quest to bag a sheep. Even with these conditions he finally did bag his sheep). Edward North Buxton, *Short Stalks; or, Hunting Camps, North, South, East, and West* (London: E. Stanford, 1892), 87 (on the difficulty of their journey through a "maze of snags and fallen stems" toward the continental divide), 90 (on frigid climate), 94 (snow changing their plans), 104 (on being snowed in for eight days), 121 (on being up to his neck in powdery snow to secure a rams head). Thomas Carson, *Ranching, Sport and Travel* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1912), 38-40 (on the climactic extremes in Arizona), 49-51 (on the extreme isolation and wild nature of the environment where Carson worked, lived, and hunted). "Wapiti Running on the Plains": 593-612., 594 (on how the Wyoming plains resembled and felt like the Egyptian desert), 598-599 (on the manifold perils of the sandy hills which he was traversing), 600 (on the quicksand in rivers), 600-601 (on the intense cold in Wyoming). Edward Pennell Elmhirst, *Fox-Hound, Forest, and Prairie* (London: George Rutledge, 1892), 350-351 (on the searing cold of the Montana winter of 1884), 352 (on the slipperiness of the conditions), 353-354 (difficulty in keeping oil in guns from freezing up during the winter). Granville Armyne Gordon, *Sporting Reminiscences* (London: G. Richards, 1902), 5-8 (on being lost in rough terrain while stalking a big wapiti). Mrs. John Beveridge Gladwyn Jebb, *A Strange Career: Life and Adventures of John Gladwyn Jebb* (London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1894), 122-148 (these pages are filled with Jebb's adventures in the Rockies, from his nearly fatal loss of a snowshoe down a mountain, through his getting frostbite while ascending a mountain, and his near starvation in the Colorado winter). Henry Astbury Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), 214-215 (on the harshness of the plains), 220-221 (on the dangers of prairie dog holes when hunting buffalo), 262 (on the difficulty of hunting in an alpine region). Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 89-92 (a chronicle of Murphy's rollicking adventure in hunting black bear in an Oregon forest complete with several near fatal mishaps caused by a dense forest and a river that had several whirlpools), 329-330 (on the difficulty of hunting deer in the dense forests of the Northwest), 343 (on the difficulty of hunting deer in dense shrubbery and running in a forest where the ground was strewn with "the tropical luxuriance of the salmon and whortleberries which were entwined together in thick, tangled masses"). J.M. Pollock, *The Unvarnished West: Ranching as I Found It* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Dent & Co., 1911), 51 (on the difficulty of stalking wild duck), 110-119 (a description of how difficult it was to fix a windmill on a ranch in the middle of the plains), 195-205 (a description of a hunting trip taken by Pollock and his neighbor that almost went badly as they were lost without proper supplies). Price, *The Two Americas*, 217-218 (on the danger of hunting a salt lick at night in a "primæval forest" that also happened to be in grizzly and rattler country), 289-291 (description of losing his bearings in Wyoming since the terrain was "intersected with cañons"). Percy Selous, *Travel and big game* (London: E. Arnold, 1904), 68 (mentions the "hardships and privations" that trappers undergo to procure pelts), 72-73 (difficulty in stalking bear in snowshoes on rugged ground). Henry Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays* (London: E. Arnold, 1904), 189 (to underscore his courage he noted that the Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming were "practically a *terra incognita* to all but a few adventurous trappers and prospectors..." in the early 1870s), 197 (rough country), 203-204 (had to overcome "every variety of Rocky Mountain fauna" to bag several big horn rams. Heywood Walter Seton-Karr, *Ten Years' Wild Sports in Foreign Lands* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1889), 289-293 (excellent description of the difficult terrain

From the opening pages of *A Hunter's Adventures in the Great West* (1871), Gillmore painted a vivid picture of a harsh and unforgiving landscape, which he was navigating alone. The narrative began with a description of his dirty and isolated team on a craggy and treacherous Montana mountain-side. Gillmore noted that the slightest misstep could result in death. In order to drive home how the brutal environment reeked havoc with his appearance and hygiene, he quipped “[w]e three [Gillmore, his mare, and mule] were, indeed, in a sorry plight... could we have been transplanted to the fashionable precincts of Rotten Row in the state in which we then were, we should have doubtlessly caused curiosity, possibly contempt.”²⁰² Most of the accounts displayed a marked concern over the issue of cleanliness and hunters’ inability to remain clean in a remote, harsh, and uncivilized place such as the West. This concern did not mean they were obsessively disgusted with their appearances. The writers reveled in their hardscrabble looks and often took unabashed joy in relating the fact that their families would barely recognize them with their scraggly garb and unkempt visages. These ragged

he braved in order to secure a mountain goat. He noted, “A place more inaccessible by nature could scarcely be imagined.”). William Shepherd. *Prairie Experiences in Handling Cattle and Sheep with Illustrations from Sketches* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1884), 29-30 (climate hardens one’s constitution), 92 (traveling in a cold snap dangerous). Townshend, *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport and Adventure*, 16 (remarks how true sportsmen relish hardships), 154-155 (recounts the difficulty of traveling through two feet of snow in a forest up toward a pass to enter North Park, Colorado). Samuel Nugent Townshend, *Colorado: Its Agriculture, Stockfeeding, Scenery, and Shooting* (London: “The Field” Office, 1879), 33 (remark on how one has to work hard for sport in Colorado as the terrain is difficult and the game elusive). *Three years’ hunting and trapping in America and the great North-west*, 33-40 (an important sequence where Turner-Turner discusses the harsh living conditions out west, his getting lost, his friend dying in a tragic fall, and harsh traveling conditions in getting out of the mountains). Vachell, *Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope*, 255-256 (Vachell warns that Western forests are no place for amateur hunters), 260-262 (death a possible outcome if hunting in areas with little water). Arthur Pendarves Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879), 40 (Vivian found mosquitoes unbearable), 149-150 (camping and stalking difficult with harsh climate and rough terrain), 196-197 (on frostbite that resulted in the loss of skin and pain for months on end), 197-200 (story of securing his first wapiti stag overcoming rocky ground, snowy hillsides, and a sudden storm. “How it came on to storm just at this momentous crisis! the keen wind blew the frozen snow into my eyes and face until they smarted again with pain, but the excitement was too intense to think of such trifles at the time.”).

²⁰² Parker Gillmore, *A Hunter's Adventures in the Great West* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871), 6.

appearances testified to the fact that they had been engaged in some manly exertions. The writers deliberately wished the readers to know what kind of work they were doing. Thus, withered habiliments were worn as a sort of badge of honor and manliness,²⁰³ but the hunters also reassured their readers that they systematically washed away that dirt at the first opportunity.²⁰⁴ High standards of cleanliness were so crucial to British notions as to what defined civilization that the authors could never have professed a wish to live such a life indefinitely.²⁰⁵ Those who did not enjoy passing into a liminal Western state simply bemoaned standards of cleanliness out in America's West.²⁰⁶

Gillmore, however, was not so dainty and clearly enjoyed transgressing British social norms. Gillmore told the reader how he found his way to that mountainside, explaining that he was forced out of his initial hunting camp by prowling natives. With few options and Gillmore had decided to flee, and locate a new camping ground. The environment, however, was unforgiving. He noted:

In the lapse of a week I expected to accomplish this purpose, but the further I advanced the less inviting became the country, vegetation became scarcer, and

²⁰³ An amusing scenario played out in one of the Earl of Dunraven's accounts where he and a companion are given a gruff reception at a fort because one person told them they looked like a "most horrid set of scoundrels" and the Earl had to agree as their beards were untended and they were covered with dirt. Dunraven, *Canadian Nights*, 170-171.

²⁰⁴ One of the middle-class writers, J.M. Pollock, made it expressly clear that the first thing he did at the conclusion of a trip from Wisconsin to Abilene, Texas via a train and stage was wash up. Pollock, *The Unvarnished West*, 27.

²⁰⁵ Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978). For another excellent account of how closely the British wished to regulate bodies in their Empire see: Phillipa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

²⁰⁶ Sir Rose Lambart Price said,

Cleanliness out of England, or away from hotels frequented and chiefly patronized by Englishmen, is simply not to be had in the world. I have been in many parts of it, entirely round, and in most of its corners, but have never yet met cleanliness of habits, person, and habitations combined, away from our egotistical selves.

Price, *The Two Americas*, 34.

snow more abundant; while from the rugged nature of the surface of the land, travelling was monotonous, arduous, and fatiguing in the extreme.²⁰⁷

Gillmore remarked on the lack of game in the area and the pitiful and deteriorating condition of his mare and mule. Their ribs were protruding, their coats growing bedraggled, and Gillmore himself increasingly concerned for their health and his. At this point, Natives seemed to be the least of his concerns, as this team was engaged in a fight for their lives with the environment. The next day, however, Gillmore entered a hospitable valley, their prospects improved, and he seemed to have shaken his pursuers. He declared, “*Fortuna favet fortibus,*” and then rhetorically asked the reader, “Can I be egotistical enough to accredit myself with bravery, for fortune has certainly turned, and is favouring me with unexpected kindness?”²⁰⁸ Shortly after entering this valley, a hungry and tired Gillmore espied the handiwork of some beavers close to a river bank, and “[p]ractising every caution of which I was cognisant, I made an essay to reach the water’s margin, and succeeded after much difficulty.” His patience and work were repaid as he reached the river bank and found himself less than thirty feet from a brace of beavers. Gillmore dined well that night.

In order to emphasize his intrepid nature, he also called attention to the fact that few – if any – people had previously wandered through the country he was now exploring, and how little shelter he needed in these harsh conditions. These strategies were used by several of the hunters. Throughout the account, Gillmore wished to be seen as capable of stoically enduring harsh privations to negotiate the environment and hunt successfully. For instance, in this same valley, he informed his readers that he was

²⁰⁷ Gillmore, *A Hunter’s Adventures in the Great West*, 11.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

traveling without a tent or any kind of shelter as a mountain-storm was closing in on his campsite. Manfully noting the superfluity of shelter, Gillmore declared

Not possessing a tent, it was not incumbent on me to rush to the storm-rope and see that it was secure. I was far more independent. I only pulled my blanket more tightly around me, kicked the balance of fuel upon the glowing embers, squeezed myself into the smallest possible compass, in order that the diminutive log to windward of my position should not be overtaxed in its efforts to ward off the coming deluge, and waited the issue.²⁰⁹

Gillmore was not yet finished demonstrating his manifold attributes and skills in this wild valley. At another camp, he was forced to sew some of his garments, which had been torn by the wear and tear of trekking across Montana. To underscore the overarching message of his narrative to this point he editorialized, “I would not give a fig for a man who is deterred from undertaking a task because there are obstacles to prevent its accomplishment.”²¹⁰

Gillmore portrayed himself as a moral, instinctual, and intellectual hunter. He made many numerous appeals to his countrymen to check their impulses that leaned toward slaughter, and to partake in a more restrained hunt – oriented toward filling the larder. A crucial part of the intellectual identity that he constructed was to demonstrate a thorough and rational understanding of prey – and their actions. One particular hunt provides the best excellent example of his intellectual and instinctual attributes working together to overcome the conspiratorial prey and environment. After a hard walk across a cold and windy open plain, Gillmore entered a copse to find game. He slowly reconnoitered the area and found a place that was literally trampled by deer and wapiti tracks. He had stumbled upon a salt-lick and reasoned that deer and their enemies were

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 23.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 26-27.

likely to be around the area. Proceeding very slowly and deliberately through the area, knowing that he might find something large and dangerous in the area, he explained:

Whether it was the result of animal magnetism or not, I cannot say; but I felt convinced that I was not far distant from animals of some sort. Acting under this impression, I moved cautiously and slowly, making the most careful scrutiny of every object within vision, and employing my ears to the utmost of their abilities. But although I could not observe anything that warranted this precaution, I did not discontinue, but rather redoubled it. Peering into the labyrinth of limbs, and looking well before me, I saw something move. The smallest glimpse of a portion of the sky, which I had noted, was for a moment obscured; but although I was aware this could not be without a cause, for some time I could not discover what it was. After turning my eyes frequently in the same direction, however, I perceived on a limb twenty feet from the ground, and which traversed exactly the course I was taking, a panther (*puma*), his head over his left leg, his eye fixed on me, the whole body, save a few inches of the tail, perfectly still. The brute's colour was so thoroughly assimilated to that of the surrounding trees, that it no longer appeared to me a matter of wonder that I had not distinguished it when fifty yards further off.²¹¹

Gillmore took immense satisfaction in this kill because it showed him to possess all the right attributes of a cerebral and instinctive hunter, and he posited that had he not killed this puma he would have been attacked and potentially killed by it. He never doubted his instincts and only through his super-human *patience* and *eye sight* was he able to spot his prey in difficult circumstances. Self-doubt was simply not part of Gillmore's character, and, overall, the account oozes with self-assurance. For our purposes, though, it is most important to recognize that the environment proved to be a real difficulty to be overcome in this particular stalk, and it could even have cost Gillmore his life.

Throughout the rest of his account, the terrain and rainy climate proved problematic for Gillmore, laying him down in ague and sickness, slowing his progress, and often denying him a full stomach. But Gillmore was able to rely on his incredible

²¹¹ Ibid., 193-194.

constitution to endure these conditions and, at one particularly trying point, he stated, “There are very few persons that I have met whom fortune has more favoured with the power of enduring fatigue than myself...”²¹² Naturally, he was able to demonstrate stamina and strength through all of these hardships, kill desperately needed game for sustenance, and eventually make his way to safety. At times, Gillmore was able to demonstrate his courage and endurance by evading Natives and overcoming a harsh terrain, and at others, he used the challenges of the environment synergistically with those posed by fearsome predators to demonstrate his self-control and intelligence. He effectively utilized his difficult environmental surroundings to display his survivalist skills.

The Earl of Dunraven began his work, *The Great Divide*, with a picturesque comparison of the Rockies in relation to the Alps. After complaining of the Rockies’ comparative aesthetic shortcomings, he countered, “But the one attribute peculiar to the continent is that of vastness. Everything is huge and stupendous. Nature is formed in a larger mould than in other lands.” He goes on the detail the savagery of nature in the West saying

Storms are fearful and violent, floods rise and sweep the country like seas. Mighty rivers, with fierce ungovernable tide, in a night scoop out fresh beds for themselves and laugh at man’s shackles and restraints, or, in their struggles to break the chains that winter has bound around them, burst free and carry off, like cobwebs, the toilsome results of engineering skill. Lakes are seas. There are great deserts almost unknown and unmarked on any map.

He summed up his analysis by noting that one can only truly appreciate America’s vastness “...in the western wilds or far away territories; where Nature is strong and man is

²¹² Ibid., 216.

very weak, and where the powers of science have not yet been called into play, to supplement and make up for his feebleness.”²¹³ So isolated was the West that the “powers of science” had yet to take hold and provide the comforts of civilization that many took for granted. The self-deprecating Dunraven complained that he never yet had any “adventures” to relate, but his party certainly had some very tense moments. These near catastrophes served to underscore the very real dangers that the entire group was encountering and overcoming on their way to the continental divide.

Dunraven made it clear these were conditions that would make any ordinary human being shudder and that few had even dared to confront these harsh conditions. To do so would require a certain amount of reckless courage. Perhaps the best expression of this attitude came in the penultimate chapter, whose section is here quoted at length:

Four years ago the white world knew absolutely nothing of the country we were leaving. The few legends of Indian tribes, and the vague rumours of hunters that occasionally came to the surface and were wafted out from the wilderness to the ears of civilised men, were entirely disbelieved, or were looked upon as fables built on the very smallest foundation of truth; and its wonders were covered with a mystery as profound as that which broods over the sources of the Nile. And even now scarcely anything is known about it. A few parties go in from Virginia City and out at Bozeman, all following the same trail, examining the same objects, halting at the same places. They never stray any distance from the usual route, and there are hundreds of valleys into which no human foot has ever burst, thousands of square miles of forest whose depths have never yet been penetrated by the eye of man.²¹⁴

Much like Gillmore, Dunraven clearly relished his ability to explore and wander around areas that few had, and he frequently mentioned his forays into hitherto unknown areas throughout the book.²¹⁵

²¹³ Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 2-3.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 294.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv, 2-3, 60, 168.

While Dunraven's florid style may be difficult for the modern reader, he was a skillful writer in that he was able to set a mood and evoke feeling quite effectively, especially by keeping the reader updated on his geographical position and the nature of his surroundings. On his outfit's journey across the plains, the Rockies were ever-present and forebodingly looming on the horizon. Once the party entered the mountains, descriptions of the environment filled page after page and quickly changed to threatening language to convey the increasing seriousness and dangerousness of the situation. The "cruel look" or "cruel jaggedness" and "savage grandeur"²¹⁶ of the mountain chain were emphasized. When a hunting expedition was eventually launched into the mountains, the difficulty of the terrain is constantly alluded to in recounting successful and unsuccessful stalks and chases after wounded game. In one particular chase, Dunraven and two guides, Campbell and Texas Jack, followed the trail of a grizzly that Campbell had wounded for a mile or two to a huge swamp where they "could not find any tracks going out." Dunraven joked about who would go into the swamp,

We were all most civil to each other. Such was our modesty that no one seemed anxious to put himself prominently forward, to claim the post of honour; and this diffidence continued until Jack, breaking the ice of restraint, volunteered for the forlorn hope, and taking off his coat... cautiously entered the swamp.

Yet, Jack did not find the beast and on the other side of the swamp they found the bear had stanch his wounds with mud and continued moving on. After tracking the bear another two or three miles, they found evidence that the bear had been stumbling and falling. Yet the bear had made it to another stream where it had once again used mud to stanch its wounds. With resignation Dunraven noted

²¹⁶ Ibid., 132 & 135.

The watercourse led into a large swamp, several miles long and a half a mile broad, made up of old beaver dams, full of deep holes and stagnant streams, and thickly covered with a tangled and almost impenetrable cover of willow and alder. There we lost our bear, and there we left him. A heavy shower came on and obliterated all trace and trail, and in the face of a blinding, pelting, pitiless rain we were forced to give up the search and make the best of our way home. I had on new buckskin trousers, too, and what misery those garments caused me! They stretched about twelve inches at least, got under my feet and threw me down, and hampered my legs with their cold, clammy stickiness to such an extent that I could scarcely walk.

After spending a wet night at camp, the men returned to the swamp the next day, but again could not find the grizzly, which they thought had surely died by this point.²¹⁷ This episode provides a good example of the difficulty and oftentimes the maddening nature of the Western environment and climate that tested the hunters' physical toughness and endurance.

The weather and climate continually proved to be a formidable barrier to be overcome. In stalking some big-horn sheep, Dunraven explained,

Patiently we followed their trail all day over the most infernal ground. The mountain was very steep, and naturally quite bad enough; but on this occasion it was rendered unusually dangerous by the loose wet snow which covered the smooth surfaces of rock, and filled up all the interstices between the broken fragments of cliff, hiding the untrustworthy places, deceiving the foot and eye, glossing over little chasms, giving a false appearance of stability to tottering stones, and converting a difficult but feasible hill-side into a most dangerous and well-nigh impracticable slope.²¹⁸

This particular stalk up a hillside ended in a failed attempt to locate game, but Dunraven seemed none-the-worse for the exertion and even awoke the next day "tolerably refreshed" showing that the environment would not get the best of him. The reason Dunraven had no problem admitting his failure this time was because he had already

²¹⁷ Ibid., 158-161.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 166.

proven that he was capable of overcoming very difficult alpine conditions in his efforts to kill wapiti.

As terrible weather conditions continued in the mountains, one of the men, Dr. Kingsley, faced a potentially life-threatening situation. Dr. Kingsley, Dunraven's personal physician, had wandered out of camp before dusk in search of dinner, but as the temperature dropped, fog descended and rain started falling so the doctor lost his way back to camp. Dunraven understood the gravity of the situation and noted "[t]o be left out on such a night might cost a man his life, for it would have been hard for even an old experienced mountain man to have found material dry enough to make a fire...."²¹⁹ The two guides set out to find Dr. Kingsley, and Dunraven was charged with staying in camp, tending the fire, and having to "occasionally emit a dismal yell to keep them [the guides] with the whereabouts of camp." The uncertainty of the situation was harrowing.

Dunraven recounted

There was not a star or gleam of moonlight. It was very gruesome sitting there all alone, and I began to feel, like David, 'horribly afraid.' I do not know how long I was alone; probably it was only for a short time – a couple of hours or so, at most – but the minutes were as hours to me. Most dismal was my condition; and I could not even resort to the Dutch expedient for importing courage, to supply my natural allowance of that quality which had quickly oozed out of my cold fingertips.²²⁰

Much like other portions of the account, this section allowed Dunraven to be self-deprecating and feign modesty while garnering esteem and validation. Even though Dunraven was terrified, he never gave in to his fear and broke down mentally, nor did any of his companions. The party returned safely and without incident as a testament to

²¹⁹ Ibid., 174.

²²⁰ Ibid., 175-176.

their composure and self-control. Each member of the group performed admirably and Dunraven was able to show he could remain composed even in stressful situations.

Dunraven would have more occasions to prove this, as later on in the account he related his own scare with being turned around near Fort Bridger. He explained, “It is a very mean feeling to be all alone and to fancy one’s self lost; nothing so quickly upsets a man’s mental equilibrium. I have been most fortunate... and have never yet got out of my reckoning without getting in again pretty soon.”²²¹ During this episode near Fort Bridger, Dunraven did temporarily lose his bearings. He described it in detail,

My head turned; my brain became quite bewildered; and an impulse to run straight ahead seized me. I was, to use the vernacular, for the moment completely ‘turned round.’ It seems to me most absurd, as I sit here writing, to suppose that one could be so easily thrown, even for an instant, off one’s balance; but all men, except those who by long custom have acquired habits of complete self-dependence and self-control, are liable to such temporary aberrations – for it almost amounts to that;– and I have even seen very old and experienced prairie men become quite ‘turned round’ after running elk, and so obstinate in their conviction that there were going right, when in reality the fact that they were moving in a totally wrong direction was clearly demonstrated by compass, that it required a strong effort on their part to force themselves to act according to the needle and not upon their own mistaken judgment.

However, I was not so stupid long; I had sense enough to know that I must on no account leave the water....²²²

There are several key elements to this story that allow Dunraven to tell it without it compromising his image and masculinity. Importantly, he prefaced the account by assuring the readers that his bewilderment was only a temporary state, and he mentioned in this passage that he had even seen “experienced prairie men” get “turned round.” By making it clear that his disorientation was only temporary, Dunraven demonstrated that his self-control was powerful for someone who obviously did not grow up in the West

²²¹ Ibid., 238.

²²² Ibid., 241.

and had a lot of experience in woodcraft. Adding the phrase about “experienced prairie men” was also important to this section because it was clear evidence that even people with tremendous experience could be “turned round” against their best judgment. If true plainsmen could struggle with this, a relative newcomer would have to be granted some room for a temporary lack of composure. To add credence to this claim, Dunraven used the next five pages to recount the story of an experienced U.S. surveyor who got lost in the Yellowstone country and nearly died after he began hallucinating. He concluded:

Altogether it is a wonderful history, and one worthy of notice, as exemplifying what an incredible amount of hardship, cold, and starvation the human frame is capable of enduring, and showing what apparently insurmountable obstacles and difficulties a man can overcome, if only he can manage to retain even a partial mastery over his mind and reason.²²³

Again, the unstated message was that Dunraven – even though he was a relative newcomer to the West – was able to demonstrate considerable mental resolve and composure in the midst of several trying and stressful situations – situations that experienced Westerners oftentimes had difficulty dealing with. The implication of all of these interactions with the natural environment was that while Dunraven was not a flawless hunter or woodsman, he could hold his own and survive in a perilous environment because of his character traits of persistence and composure.

Dunraven also used the natural environment to demonstrate his intelligence and social superiority. In his preface, Dunraven stated that he “did not undertake the expedition in the cause of Science,” and added that he did not have anything more than a “slight acquaintance with natural history, geology, and minerology.”²²⁴ This admission

²²³ Ibid., 247.

²²⁴ Ibid., xxiv.

did not stop him from offering several lengthy descriptions of the geological make-up of the mountain ranges he encountered, as well as his speculations about their formation.²²⁵

Showing off his keen eye for observation, Dunraven described the Yellowstone and Gallatin mountain ranges in fine detail. Here is his description:

Peaks of very hard limestone tower from 1,000 to 1,500 feet above the silurian deposits, which rest upon quartz, mica-schists, and gneiss. The variety in texture, form, and colour of the metamorphosed rocks is infinite. The West Gallatin Mountains, and those on the west bank of the Yellowstone, are largely composed of conglomerates and breccia, and the peaks are of volcanic origin... No doubt all these valleys have been scooped by the action of the water and weather out of originally homogeneous masses, for the signs of erosion and the effects of ice are universal; and there is abundant evidence that the entire country must have been under water, and subjected to the action of icebergs and glaciers for a very long period of time. Cretaceous and calcareous strata of considerable thickness are overlaid by vast deposits of clays, and every variety of tertiary formation; and the ranges are everywhere begirt with a fringe of foot-hills formed of drift, varying in size from large boulders to fine gravel.²²⁶

This passage with its specialized terminology clearly showed Dunraven's interest in geology and his ability to analyze the landscape before him. He also inserted several tables of various figures throughout *The Great Divide*. All of the tables that were included were pulled from the latest scientific publications about Yellowstone. The most important tables came from the well-regarded government survey report by Ferdinand Vandeverer Hayden detailing relevant information about springs and geysers.²²⁷ While Dunraven showed deference to these men's data collection, he was also keen to demonstrate his knowledge of the latest theories regarding the operation of geysers put forth by other geologists. After explaining two of the latest theories he affirmed their ability to explain a short violent "explosion," but questioned their ability to adequately

²²⁵ To see his theory of the process of formation see: Ibid., 131-133, 185-186.

²²⁶ Ibid., 192.

²²⁷ A.C. Peale, a contributor to Hayden's report, was the author of several passages and a few of the tables that Dunraven included in his account. Ibid., 249-251.

explain the sustained “eruption” of one of the larger geysers (Castle Geysir) that he observed in Yellowstone.²²⁸ Dunraven was able to show the versatility of his knowledge in his account in order to demonstrate his social superiority.

William Adolph Baillie-Grohman’s *Camps in the Rockies* (1882) also emphasized the grandeur and primitiveness of the Far West. While the focus of this account was on the guides and trappers encountered in the mountains, Baillie-Grohman by no means disregarded the environment. To begin his narrative, he described the last expedition he took into the Rocky Mountains in the dead of winter and how he emerged looking thoroughly uncivilized. The goal of his new trip was yet another voyage away from “civilization.” In order to give the reader an idea of the environment, he detailed the extremes in the Western climate and environment. For instance, he bemoaned the fact that

... for a week at a time we would suffer from want of water; whereas the next week we would be camped for several days on the banks of a great river such as the Platte or Big Wind River, while waiting for the waters to subside so as to allow us to ford or swim the foaming torrents twenty feet deep and a quarter of a mile broad, which at other seasons of the year would be scarce four feet deep, and fifty or sixty yards across.²²⁹

Later on in the account, to drive home the frustrations involved with these rivers, he devoted many pages to the risks involved in fording rivers, including his own brush with quicksand. The logistical difficulties in traversing a river with a wagon and two young colts were also covered in painstaking detail to show the almost superhuman efforts and

²²⁸ Ibid., 289-291.

²²⁹ Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, 35.

patience that was needed in moving an outfit across the Plains, as well as some of the creativity necessary.²³⁰

Their outfit was nearly driven mad from thirst and hunger at different points and Baillie-Grohman described the difficulty in procuring even a modicum of water on bad days. Often they resorted to digging mini-wells of three or four feet or “cattle or buffalo-wallow water.” A prairie fire also threatened to consume them at one point. Baillie-Grohman related the story of putting it out, which featured three failed controlled counter-burns before it was finally contained, and by the end of the day the men were charred to the bone and had to endure a waterless camp-site. Next, he pointed out that the Plains are a finicky place and that their journey was almost completely devoid of game. At one point, “... for sixteen days – endlessly long days they seemed – we lived exclusively, or as the phrase is, ‘grubbed straight,’ on bread and coffee.”²³¹

Once inside the Rockies, Baillie-Grohman’s descriptions of the landscape changed dramatically and he recorded the joys of picturesque scenery and the natural harmony of his surroundings. Even when addressing potentially deadly situations that befell him when telescoping camps out from his outfit with little gear, he glossed over them in one paragraph concluding that these were “... days that were not as pleasant to live through as they are now in the retrospect.”²³² After abruptly wrapping up these unpleasant recollections, Baillie-Grohman spent the next nine pages romanticizing the mountain landscape and rhapsodizing about his ability to move about unfettered in places that few or no whites had ever done so and stoically endure the harsh mountain

²³⁰ Ibid., 41-44.

²³¹ Ibid., 36-38.

²³² Ibid., 75.

conditions without so much as a tent. “But it is only in ‘real mean’ weather,” Baillie-Grohman noted,

when the snow or frozen sleet beats down upon your devoted head, unprotected by tent or other shelter – for our outfit was singularly bare of your luxurious camp paraphernalia of Nimrods who travel in the Adirondacks with tent, camp-stools, and camp-bed – and the wind... whirling your flour from the pan, that you realize what baking really is.²³³

The reason Baillie-Grohman downplayed the difficulties of the mountain landscape was that he clearly thought of himself, and depicted himself, as an experienced mountain hunter. In his preface, he noted that he shot his first elk in the Alps when he was barely ten years old;²³⁴ moreover, after describing the different types of accommodations one might make out to the West for a hunting expedition, he recommended that one should attach themselves to a trapper outfit so that the “most remote districts” could be hunted. According to Baillie-Grohman, such an arrangement was the best method of hunting in the Rockies because

...you... can roam about at your own free will, gradually extending your expeditions as you become versed in the necessary art of woodcraft. Of course, for the newly arrived ‘tenderfoot’ this roaming about, and not losing himself or getting into other more awkward dilemmas, necessitates some preliminary experience in woodcraft. But this, under the tuition of the very capable trapper-masters, is, if he has had previous training in other parts of the world, soon acquired; and when once mastered, the pleasure of knowing himself perfectly independent will vastly enhance the charm of life in the woods.²³⁵

Baillie-Grohman did not think of himself as being a tenderfoot because of his experience in Europe and therefore he could not stress the difficulty in overcoming the mountainous environment. Overcoming such obstacles for such an experienced mountain hunter were simply a given. The need for Baillie-Grohman to maintain his image of an experienced

²³³ Ibid., 57.

²³⁴ Ibid., v-vi.

²³⁵ Ibid., 11-12.

mountain hunter meant his account never stressed the elements in the Rockies as he did on the Plains. Baillie-Grohman nevertheless did mention his brushes with mortality in the Rockies and, even though dismissive of the threats, he was still able to garner esteem by demonstrating indifference toward circumstances that would have made most readers shudder. In other words, Baillie-Grohman was having his cake and eating it too: he could at one moment demonstrate his masculinity by overcoming harsh conditions on the plains and, in another, could pretend to ignore the harsh conditions in the mountains because his experience had inured him to the climatic and environmental difficulties of the mountains. Either way, he had demonstrated his resourcefulness and survival skills.

Charles Alston Messiter's *Sport and Adventures among the North American Indians* (1890) is yet another good example of the account that relies on the difficulties of overcoming various landscapes to demonstrate the writer's masculinity. The book was penned in the 1890s and it recalled his experiences all over the West and United States-Canadian borderland in the 1860s. For instance, Messiter's first trip to the West actually occurred during the Civil War while the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 was being prosecuted. Messiter arrived in the wake of the "Minnesota Massacre." This was a tension-packed period for whites on the frontier and instead of using prudence and discretion, Messiter set out to hunt beyond the frontier and winter amongst the Cree Indians. Messiter travelled north to Saskatchewan and spent the winter amongst some Native trappers.²³⁶ This trip proved to be anything but safe and predictable. Messiter had several conflicts with individual Natives and he also struggled mightily against the environment. At one

²³⁶ Messiter was about ninety miles Northwest of Fort Carlton in an area known as Thickwood Hill.

point, he lost a portion of his toe to frostbite²³⁷ and had to outrun an angry Sioux, who held a grudge against him. This chase, which ended with Messiter shooting his pursuer, took place in a punishing snow storm as the two men scampered through a forest on snowshoes.²³⁸ His trip back to St. Paul was also fraught with all sorts of difficulty – including dangerous river crossings where he could easily have been killed.²³⁹ Messiter’s strength, perseverance, and toughness were clearly on display here.

Paul Fountain’s narrative *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America* (1901) was not a typical hunting or adventure account; rather, it was more of a natural history of the West. Since his book was one of the very few accounts written by someone not of the upper class, it is of interest to this study. Fountain worked as an itinerant trader for many years in the West and he drew on his experiences and journal for this book. The book began with a description of the Great Plains whose environment promoted manliness. He declared that “[i]t is a common thing for a hunter or a cowboy to eat a dozen pounds of meat per day (some eat twenty pounds), and *feel the better for it*,” and he added that the bracing air increased his strength “twenty or thirty per cent.” However, he quickly tempered this enthusiasm by describing as well the hazards of the environment, especially prairie fires, ravines, fissures, and quicksands. He cautioned, “The climate of the prairies is remarkable for extremes of heat and cold. In summer the heat in the daytime is often killing, the nights bitterly cold; but it is in winter, with the wind northerly, that you realise what excessive cold means.”²⁴⁰ If the hazards were not clear enough, he pointed out that entire teams of horses, oxen, and men had frozen to death in

²³⁷ Messiter, *Sport and Adventures among the North American Indians*, 81.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 93-104.

²⁴⁰ Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America*, 22-24, 29-30.

blizzards on the prairie. To demonstrate his toughness, he noted that he had been a trader in this region of the country for many years and *in all seasons*. To add to these manly feats, he had done much of his work when the area was infested with Native thieves.

In introducing his adventures in the Arizona desert Fountain described the desert as “the territory of Death,” and he noted that certain areas were completely devoid of water and life.

Men travelling in this region require ten or twelve pounds of solid food per day; but as at first we met with no game, we had to eat sparingly of the provender we carried on pack-mules. Man and beast suffered greatly from lack of water. On one occasion we were forty hours without it.²⁴¹

The climate was simply punishing as well. To underscore the treacherousness of this trip, Fountain related that, “At night we searched in vain for the dried ordure of horses and cattle with which to make a fire, a sufficient proof that these [desert] plains were never crossed except by chance passengers like ourselves.”²⁴² After a run-in with a party of hostile Apaches and some extensive remarks on the reptiles of Arizona, Fountain reiterated, “I regret, also, that I have no means of fixing the precise locality of any of our discoveries. The whole country, at the time of this journey, was almost a *terra incognita*, except to a few wild hunters and mining prospectors.”²⁴³ Fountain enjoyed going where few had ever chanced to venture. Much like those authors who took delight in pointing out how few people had preceded their travels, Fountain also enjoyed the distinction of being a relative pioneer.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 133.

²⁴² Ibid., 134.

²⁴³ Ibid., 160-161.

For his next trip, Fountain decided on traveling from the Dakota Territory to Utah to Yosemite. In defiance of nature, Fountain decided upon beginning the journey in the winter. He recalled,

The year 1874 was closing when I commenced the longest and most trying journey that I have ever made. If surprise is expressed that I should choose the month of December for starting on such a journey as that now to be described, I can only say that having completed my arrangements at this unpropitious time of year, I did not feel inclined to remain idle for some months, and though I commenced my journey in a violent snowstorm, I enjoyed it none the less on that account. Alas! Those are bygone days of youth, when I gloried in hardship and suffering, and sought them rather than feared them. But all things come and all things go, yet I have a joy in the memory of the past that I would not part with for all the gold in California.²⁴⁴

The areas Fountain traversed were varied and dangerous and what made his narrative particularly compelling was that from his childhood he had suffered from a chronic injury to his legs. Only in one of the closing chapters did he reveal that he had to wear iron supports to compensate for the injury, all of which added to the drama of the narrative and testified to his character and his fearlessness.²⁴⁵

Unlike the other authors, Fountain did not integrate the environment into his hunting episodes. In fact, oftentimes, instead of offering a narrative of his hunts, he simply recorded the type and the number of animals he killed during certain trips. At other times, he narrated his killing of animals, but failed to describe anything but the moment of confrontation between man and beast. Fountain mentioned several times his disapproval of wanton slaughter and provided several examples of his own restraint to show his manful self-control. Perhaps Fountain did not emphasize his ability to overcome environmental obstacles during his hunting expeditions because his claim to

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 164.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 243.

masculinity did not rest on his aptitude as a hunter. In fact, hunting was an afterthought in his account, but it also seemed that he felt compelled to include the episodes because that was an expected component of adventure accounts.

Fountain cultivated his masculinity and identity based on his ability to negotiate the environment and his inquisitiveness. For example, in discussing his plan to go from Salt Lake City to Yosemite, he observed,

I had been advised beforehand as to the best route to take, the spots where I was likely to find water, &c., but I must... go adventuring and striking out a path for myself. I was travelling for the express purpose of seeing the country, and see it I would at all costs.²⁴⁶

This insatiable curiosity, when coupled with his long exposés on varied animals and insects, were designed to show him to possess excellent powers of observation and establish his credentials as an authority on natural history – even though he had no training in science.²⁴⁷ One example of the detailed nature of his descriptions of natural environment should suffice. In a chapter entitled “Spiders and Flies” Fountain offered the following description:

Among the insects found in this gully were three kinds of plant-lice, two large moths, over a hundred species of diptera, fourteen caterpillars, eleven butterflies, fourteen beetles, and thirty-seven arachnida. One of the moths was a hawk-moth, grey with black and cream markings. It was nearly an inch and a half long, and harboured in the rocks. The other moth was an inch long, and only one was found on the trunk of one of the pine trees. It was a sort of cinnamon-brown colour, much like the trunk on which it rested. Several of the butterflies were beautifully marked with black, brown, orange, crimson, and yellow, and one kind had its wings shaped like the swallow-tailed butterfly... Of the species found in our gully nothing remarkable can be recorded. The largest was a geometrical spider... I saw it sometimes feeding on flies of at least three times its own bulk. It was very courageous, and fought frequently with the black ants it met. On one occasion I saw one of these little spiders seize a black ant twice its own size and drop it clean

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 231.

²⁴⁷ W.H. Hudson, preface to *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America* by Paul Fountain (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), v.

from the face of the rock on which they had met. This is very remarkable, seeing that, as a rule, the tribe of ants prey on spiders and attack and destroy some of the very large size, though it is true that in this case the ants attack in swarms. The spiders and other creatures are aware of the power of the ants, and often fly before them terror-struck.²⁴⁸

Fountain's accounts were packed with descriptions such as this one, and he delighted in sharing his knowledge even when he was a trader. He kept different collections of specimens with him and he delighted in showing them and delivering lectures to people when asked.²⁴⁹

Thus, even though Fountain was not a member of the upper class, his "expertise" gave him the authority to publish his account. Whereas other authors used their knowledge to establish their social superiority, Fountain simply used it to verify his credibility – albeit most reviewers questioned these credentials.²⁵⁰ Throughout the account there are no pretensions to social superiority as he generally sings the praises of America's middle class. Fountain wished to assert and validate his masculinity through overcoming the environment, mastering his impulses, and through his intelligence and knowledge of natural history.

While each author's account was different, they used the environment in similar ways, and, overall, the environment played a critical role in allowing all these men to

²⁴⁸ Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America*, 197-198.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 96.

²⁵⁰ In an article pertaining to the Okefinokee swamp, which Fountain claimed to have visited in *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America*, one expert questioned whether Fountain had ever been there at all based on his descriptions of the area. Roland M. Harper, "Okefinokee Swamp," *The Popular Science Monthly* 74 (New York: The Science Press, 1909): 598. Another reviewer for a later book summed up the prevailing view on Fountain's "observations" by saying, "As in his other works, so in this one, Paul Fountain stoutly stands by the truth and accuracy of his own observations, however contrary they may be to what has been observed and recorded by others whose names are known and justly esteemed as authoritative on questions of Natural History." Anonymous, "Review," review of *The Great North-West and the Great Lake Region of North America*, by Paul Fountain, *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 20 (1904): 274.

validate and craft their masculinity and identity, respectively. Perhaps the most important function that the environment played was in the realm of hunting itself. The hunters had to prove that they were capable of overcoming serious impediments and climatic extremes in order to kill. Overcoming the environment was the most fundamental challenge in proving their character and self-reliance. Just as important though, the hunters had to prove their ability to overcome harsh conditions in order to simply survive – whether it was by safely scaling treacherous mountains, putting out prairie fires, being able to remain calm when “turned ’round,” or outrunning a Native in a snowstorm – the environment tested these men’s essential survival skills. Both hunting and surviving necessitated mental toughness and perseverance. These characteristics were truly indispensable in overcoming the Western environment. Fountain’s work is important here because he was the one writer examined who was not bent on crafting his identity around hunting yet the ultimate goal of his account was similar to the hunting narratives, and, therefore, he also played up his ability to overcome the environment in order to legitimate his masculinity. The environment played a major role in how several of the authors demonstrated their social superiority and established their credentials in geology and natural history.

Marksmanship, Composure, and Fitness

The environment and animals of the West provided daunting challenges for the hunters. Hunting big-game was officially and unofficially the domain of men,²⁵¹ and the

²⁵¹ McKenzie, “The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to the ‘The Shikar Club’”: 80. McKenzie notes in another article the fact that some women do resist male’s domination of the hunt, and that some even publish their accounts. However, he also notes

West certainly had plenty of big-game to test these men, but even more fundamentally important was the process of killing. Hunters' motivations for seeking out the West were not solely to exhibit their ability to kill; what each account did place a large emphasis on was the hunter-writer's ability to consistently kill wild game, especially large males that would make symbolic statements when adorned to the hunters' walls or those of jingoistic museums.²⁵² The ability to kill consistently was *indispensable* in validating one's masculinity. Consistent ability to hunt to a kill demonstrated that a hunter possessed composure and self-control and therefore had the ability to attain self-reliance. Survival and self-reliance would not be possible in any environment without composure – never mind in the incredibly harsh, isolated, and unforgiving Western landscape that offered game a chance to escape the hunters. Thus, the two values most associated with “character training,” self-control and stoicism were prerequisites to survival in this harsh land.

Something that corroborates the importance of shooting is that ridicule and derision awaited the poor hunter, and every hunter was *well* aware of this, which is why they took missed shots so hard.²⁵³ Hunters' reactions from missed shots alternated

that these efforts did not flourish into a substantial literature, and they were unable to change societal constructions of gender and identity for young boys and girls. Callum McKenzie, “‘Sadly Neglected’ – Hunting and Gendered Identities: A Study in Gender Construction,” *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22 (2005): 551-552.

²⁵² For an excellent meditation on the reason why male heads are sought out for trophies see. Simon J. Bronner “‘This is Why We Hunt’: Social-Psychological Meanings of the Traditions and Rituals of Deer Camp,” in *Wild Games: Hunting and Fishing Traditions in North America*, eds. Dennis Cutchins and Eric A. Eliason (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2009). On this same topic see: MacKenzie, “The imperial pioneer and hunter” in *Manliness and Morality*, 179-181. For a wonderful examination of the explosion of natural history museums in Britain and around the empire see, Chapter 5 “Publicist and Proselytizer: The Officer-Hunter as Scientist and Naturalist” in Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism*.

²⁵³ One hunter seethed, “After that [a missed shot] I seriously considered the propriety of shooting myself. Life seemed worthless after such a misfortune.” Vachell, *Sport and Life on the Pacific Slope*, 259-260. John M. MacKenzie noted that marksmanship became the most important virtue to be inculcated in the Boy

between disbelief, anger, and embarrassment. This range of emotion was usually quickly followed by redemption or a convenient excuse because missed shots reflected poorly upon one's skills as a hunter.²⁵⁴ John Mortimer Murphy's account provides some fine examples of how missed shots were dealt with by the authors. "Unsportsmanlike" killing and excessive killing were also looked down upon by the vast majority of hunter-authors because traditional and newer notions of "fair play" dictated that prey be given a "sporting chance" in the encounter and self-control dictated that no more animals than necessary should be killed. Murphy's first run with stampeding buffaloes was instructive in all these facets. After several missed shots, "I was so furious that I felt like killing him [his horse who had swerved away from the buffaloes]; but I thought better of it, and turned back toward my party with feelings of shame and disgust." After returning to his party without having killed any buffalo, he found that the leader of the outfit had cornered a wounded cow. He told Murphy to kill it, lest he would have no future luck in hunting buffalo. After killing the corralled buffalo, Murphy descried,

I had killed my buffalo to be sure; but, by Jove, in what a manner! I actually felt ashamed of myself; and this feeling was not allayed when I heard that she really belonged to the negro, he having wounded her first, but that she was taken away from him by my companion, on the ground that he did not belong to our party, and he wished to reserve her for me. 'But how did you know that I would not be successful?' said I. 'Because,' said he, emphatically, 'that wretched mustang you ride can't overtake a buffalo, and, if he did, he would run away from it. I know what he can do; but as there was no other horse left in town, I thought you could not do better than take him if you wished to join in the hunt; yet I had a hope he would prove better than he has. I know now what he can do, so you may have my spare runner for the next hunt.' This assuaged my feelings of abashment

Scouts by R.S.S. Baden-Powell. John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 49.

²⁵⁴ For another example of redemption see: Parker Gillmore, *Gun, Rod, and Saddle* (New York: Geo. E. Woodward, 1871), 187-188.

somewhat, as it caused me to think that my ill-luck was not entirely my own fault; hence I took the brush at his suggestion, and left the remainder to the negro.²⁵⁵

The voice of the leader is so very articulate in this passage and when one contrasts it with the more phonetic depiction of other Westerners' speech in the account it is clear that Murphy did not want there to be *any* ambiguity about the fact that his miss was *not* due to his own faults as a hunter, and that the man explaining his failure was beyond reproach because of his obviously superior education vis-à-vis the other hunters. For instance, just a few pages before this incident, one fellow member of the outfit, who was the butt of a practical joke, is quoted as saying "'The d—n fool did it on purpose to skeer me,' said he, 'for he pulled out a whole handful of hair, and I thought my head would be histed off my neck backward.'"²⁵⁶ The superstition of bad luck also absolved Murphy from his violation of the principles of "fair play." That said, Murphy had – of all the hunters – the most aristocratic notions of "fair play" as he enjoyed running hounds in the West. Later on in the account, in another instance of a missed shot, he noted that

I was of course much piqued at my bad shooting, and still more so when I was rejoined by my companions, who commenced chaffing me most unmercifully, and predicted that we should have no luck that day, as I had missed the first deer. The feeling of chagrin was bad enough; but to be taunted good-naturedly with spoiling the day's amusement was the acme of depressing pride.²⁵⁷

This time Murphy was quickly redeemed as the men found the deer lying dead shortly after the alleged missed shot. The Earl of Dunraven related his own humorous story about a misfire at close range, and he made it clear that his guide should have rationalized the miss:

²⁵⁵ Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 218-224.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 218.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 342.

How I missed that antelope I cannot even now make out. I must have fired clear over his back, I suppose. Campbell *ought* to have consoled me after the manner of stalkers, and made excuses, and said the beast was five yards further than he had guessed him to be, or that a puff of wind had come just as I pulled...; but he merely observed that it was ‘most extraordinary, a great peety, and a vara bad shot’; and I relieved my feelings by asserting that it was all his fault, as he had loaded ‘Twilight’ [his gun], and he must have put in too much powder. And so we went home, and were laughed at and chaffed by our own folk and by the whole family of Botelers.²⁵⁸

In several of the accounts, hunters’ companions who were poor shots were simply ridiculed. For example, in Granville Gordon’s account, Gordon mocked his companion, Horace Flower, who happened to be a dead man!²⁵⁹ Even in death one could not escape their reputation as a bad shot. Why was there such a stigma?

Two characteristics were closely linked with bad shooting: lack of composure and racial inferiority. Furthermore, bad shooting often put a greater onus on others in a hunting party to shoot for the larder, rather than shooting for trophies, which was resented by some. No author more clearly explicated the link between lack of composure and bad shooting than Parker Gillmore. He observed that bad shots tend to shoot too quickly and haphazardly. Gillmore also noticed that those that started off as bad shots, often remained poor shots. He explained,

... many are so fearfully nervous [of shooting] that for the moment they have no control of their actions, or that they are so timid that firing off their gun they consider a duty, and the sooner it is got through with the better; neither of such pupils are ever likely to become crack shots.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 137-138.

²⁵⁹ Gordon, *Sporting Reminiscences*, vi-vii, 16.

²⁶⁰ Gillmore, *Gun, Rod, and Saddle*, 187. Another aspect to this is that bad shooters often had poor etiquette. Hunters resented other hunters claiming their kills, and if bad shots began claiming their companion’s kills they had crossed the line of propriety. After describing his friend’s inability to shoot well, Gillmore stated, “Another peculiarity this gentleman possessed was, that although he might have discharged the entire contents of his shot-pouch without bagging a single head, as soon as we both shot over the same point, one or other of the birds knocked down was due to his skill....” Ibid., 188.

Lack of composure and self-control as well as timidity and an inability to master modern technology were all unmanly and thought to be the traits of inferior (i.e. – colonized) peoples, be they in Asia, Africa or in the Americas. Historian Callum McKenzie has noted that safaris were popular, in part, because they offered an opportunity to imbue “racial and sporting values” onto inferior peoples. Many British hunters noted the moral and physical deficiencies of Africans. A common refrain became that they were “lazy,” which meant that they “slaughtered” large numbers of game for sustenance and therefore they did not engage in “proper sport.” These indictments also carried the connotation of racial inferiority. These beliefs, as McKenzie has noted, were “subsequently woven into the fabric of colonial ideology, and given an aura of respectability.”²⁶¹ Similarly, Native Americans were supposedly lazy and lacked self-control. Not only did they also kill large numbers of game from time to time, but they were reputedly also poor marksmen.

One hunter, John Turner-Turner, was embarrassed to recount that, in a state of excitement, he had poured several rounds into his first wapiti. He justified his actions by saying, “Perhaps I am not the first who has lost his head under such trying circumstances, it was truly a magnificent sight to one who beheld so majestic a creature for the first time.”²⁶² Turner-Turner’s effort to justify his misdeed is enough to testify to the importance British hunters attached to self-control. Similarly, Arthur Pendarves Vivian was upset with himself for firing at a hind after he had already brought down a stag. His narration of the event is telling:

Fortune favoured us, and my nerves did not desert me; some friendly cedar bushes allowed us to get within about ninety yards of the stag, and by kneeling as high as

²⁶¹ McKenzie, “The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to the ‘The Shikar Club’”: 78-79.

²⁶² Turner-Turner, *Three Years’ Hunting and Trapping in America and the Great North-west*, 28.

I could, I was able to see about half the depth of his body. Taking him low behind the shoulder, I pulled. Off he went at a gallop, but I soon saw that he was badly wounded... within about 150 yards he fell dead. A sudden impulse made me snap at the hind with my second barrel as she galloped away, but fortunately – as I thought afterwards – I missed her.²⁶³

While Vivian held his “nerves” in check to get the stag, an “impulse” seized him and “made” him take a snap shot at the hind. Again, this struggle for self-control was critical for all the hunters, but especially so for those who, like Vivian, did not wish to engage in what they saw as reckless killing. Lack of restraint was considered beneath civilized hunters.

Stifling any misgivings about killing was also a feat of self-control. Most of the accounts are silent on this issue. Real men did not have to rationalize killing because it was part of the natural order of things. Only two of the hunter-writers registered any remorse, and only one of the hunters actually stopped hunting big-game because of their experiences. John Turner-Turner recalled

I had also learnt that day, that each noble beast I had killed caused immediately afterwards, a pang I fain would have been rid of, a dying wapiti (perhaps few would have noticed it) gives with its expiring breath a long wailing sigh, sweet and soft, which I am not ashamed to own, has proved on more than one occasion beyond what I could stand unmoved, and I now, rather than risk a repetition of this, never spare my second barrel, for another such appeal might prove the last I could find it in my heart to bring about.²⁶⁴

While Turner-Turner acknowledged that he was moved by wapitis’ “wailing sigh,” he also implied that he continued on hunting wapiti and overcame these “pangs” of remorse.

Thomas Carson explained that

Big game shooting never appealed to me much. My last bear, through lack of cartridges to finish him, went off with a broken back, dragging himself some

²⁶³ Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land*, 69-70.

²⁶⁴ Turner-Turner, *Three Years' Hunting and Trapping in America and the Great North-west*, 29.

miles to where I found him again [the] next morning. It so disgusted me as to put me off wishing to kill for killing's sake ever afterwards. A wounded deer or antelope, or a young motherless fawn, is a most pitiable sight.²⁶⁵

Carson was the only hunter of the group to take a stand against killing for killing's sake. Since his identity and masculinity was based on more than just hunting, this stance is understandable. Carson used his interactions with cowboys and thieves, as well as his success at ranching as the basis for his masculinity.

Since marksmanship and self-control were so important none of the writers actually portrayed themselves as poor shots, even though some of them were probably not the greatest hunters. Nor do any of the writers portray themselves as having a completely fruitless outing, or having doubts about the ethical nature of hunting (with one exception). Overall, it almost goes without saying that each kill was evidence of the hunters' self-control and composure.

Game, Self-Reliance, and Social Superiority

Just as the harsh environment was not unique to the West, neither was the diversity in game or the difficulty in bagging it. However, these conditions do not discount the importance of the animals to validating the hunters' masculinity. The West featured a variety of game for the prospective hunter and each animal necessitated a set of skills to bring them to bag, which meant that hunters' various skills were put to the test by the wild animals operating in a natural environment. All of the hunters sought to establish their masculinity by demonstrating their ability to kill these different animals.

²⁶⁵ Carson, *Ranching, Sport, Travel*, 70.

The hunters were of one mind as far as the most important virtues necessary for killing and sheer survival: composure and instinct.

Parker Gillmore provided the most explicit articulations of the necessity for these virtues. Gillmore's account of a close encounter with a bear invading his campsite is an excellent example of how composure and instinct were evidently indispensable if one were to survive in a region like the Rockies. Woken by noise around his campfire,

I sprang to my feet, gun in hand. A movement behind me attracted my attention in that direction. Not five yards off stood the bear, his upper lip curled up so as to show his tusks...In a moment I comprehended the situation, and intuitively cocked both barrels, so that in an instant my gun could be employed. Well it was that I was thus prepared, for, with wonderful suddenness, the aggressor reared himself on his hind legs, and rushed upon me. There was no use in delaying hostilities longer, so I aimed the right barrel at his chest, and fired. With the report he staggered, but only for an instant. In a moment more I should have been within reach of his formidable claws, but I took aim with the left barrel, and lodged its contents in a vulnerable spot.²⁶⁶

Gillmore's many accounts are sprinkled with such close encounters. Another similar situation was recounted with the same ostensible precept. After falling asleep under the shade of a tree, he was rudely woken by his English terriers' growls. About twenty yards off was a black bear feeding from the same bunch that Gillmore had consumed before nodding off to sleep. He confidently stated, "Men become cool in such situations, either from association or the power of controlling their feelings." To ward off any skepticism of his coolness, he stated, "Many may laugh when I say I did not feel nervous, but I did not, and remained watching with special pleasure the enjoyment that my foe appeared to take in crunching up whole bunches of the luscious fruit." Then, calmly Gillmore changed out his number six bird shot for heavier bullets, and, when reloaded, urged his

²⁶⁶ *A Hunter's Adventures in the Great West*, 29-30.

terrier on to harass the bear. The bear was treed and he quickly “brought him to the ground.”²⁶⁷ In the first encounter, if he were unable to “comprehend the situation” so instantaneously and “intuitively” cock his gun, he most certainly would have been killed. Similarly, during the second encounter with a bear, if he had not remained “cool” he might have panicked and gone into a state of paralysis, or impetuously taken on the bear with little more than number six bird shot in his gun. However, there was absolutely no panic in his reactions to either situation and consequently he emerged unscathed and well stocked with bear hams.

Composure and instinct were necessary for survival and hunting bears, but a host of other attributes – marksmanship, sharp eyesight, patience, and stamina – were also critical to proving oneself as a sportsman. To be recognized as a “true hunter,” a man had to stalk his prey using knowledge of the game’s tendencies and habits. Trapping and lying in wait at watering holes were considered “unsportsmanlike” because neither involved stalking and there was no confrontation between the hunter and animal in trapping.²⁶⁸ The prized values of “fair play” were not honored with these two methods of hunting, which were generally carried out for business or subsistence purposes and therefore had a negative connotation attached to them as they were connected to the uncivilized lifeways of professional skin hunters and Native Americans. The hunters used self-control and knowledge of game to distinguish themselves as selective and humane hunters, as well as the vessels and guardians of “true sport.” Thus, demonstrating that

²⁶⁷ Gillmore, *Gun, Rod, and Saddle*, 139-140.

²⁶⁸ “The most ‘sporting’ way to hunt game was to stalk it; to use, paradoxically enough, all the techniques of the ‘primitive’ hunter to ‘spoor’ the game, understand its habits, and attempt by stealth to approach to a range at which a shot had a good chance of producing an instantaneous kill.” John M. MacKenzie, “The imperial pioneer and hunter” in *Manliness and Morality*, 183.

one was either a cerebral or humane hunter was a popular strategy in establishing social superiority.

True “sport” demanded an understanding and also a certain appreciation for the prey’s tendencies and defense mechanisms, which allowed the hunters to carefully stalk and pursue the animals in a wild and open environment. The emphasis in most of the accounts is on the method of getting to a kill shot – not the end result of the shot itself. In fact, while gralloching and the taking of heads for trophies was mentioned throughout many of the accounts,²⁶⁹ there were *no* accounts that revealed in the bloodiness of the kill. The gore of the hunt is not overtly glorified in any of the accounts, and some even considered hunting buffalo unsportsmanlike because of its ease.²⁷⁰ Historian Tara K. Kelly contends that this lack of goriness was indicative of the overall nature of British hunting accounts that stressed empire over all else,²⁷¹ whereas Callum McKenzie believes that the primitive aspects of hunting were repressed in hunting narratives because of hunters’ wishes to insulate their sport from humanitarian criticism.²⁷² While Kelly is not altogether wrong in her assessment, a thorough reading of all the accounts leaves the reader feeling that the hunters sought, simultaneously, to justify their participation in hunting and demonstrate their social superiority by characterizing the hunt as more of a chess match than a slaughter. Since buffalo hunting did not necessitate as much canniness, some of the hunters found it to be unsavory and unsportsmanlike.

²⁶⁹ Hunters gralloched and took heads themselves because it was integral to their image. *Ibid.*, 185-186.

²⁷⁰ Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 7. *Sport in Many Lands*, 236. *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America*, 8-9.

²⁷¹ Kelly, “The Hunter Elite”: 236.

²⁷² McKenzie, “The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to the ‘The Shikar Club’”: 76.

The one animal that required all of the hunters' physical and mental attributes in the stalk was the big-horn sheep. These animals roamed the highest altitudes and the most inaccessible places in the Rockies and reputedly could even climb mountain cliffs with ease. Moreover, they were excessively wary and had an especially acute sense of smell. All of these attributes made the big-horn the most celebrated big-game in the West and were widely considered the biggest prize amongst hunters. Paul Fountain put it best when he said, "... for to shoot a big-horn is something to boast of, and stamps you a hunter indeed."²⁷³

Making a Superior Man

One compelling account was the Earl of Dunraven's *Canadian Nights: being Sketches and Reminiscences of Life and Sport in the Rockies, the Prairies, and the Canadian Woods* (1914). At this point in his life Dunraven was a disaffected Irish politician. He used his text as a soap box for his views on human nature, politics, and leadership. The book consists of a series of flashbacks to his time hunting in Colorado and Wyoming. While he had a few axes to grind, he was also in his 70s and chose to display the vast store of knowledge he had accumulated over his many years of hunting. While Dunraven eventually expressed some regrets over the extent of time he had spent hunting,²⁷⁴ he still felt the wilderness and hunting had instructional value and offered perspective on modern life as well as insight into an individual's character.

²⁷³ Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America*, 228.

²⁷⁴ Wyndham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *Past Times and Pastimes* vol. 1 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922), 167.

From the beginning of the text, Dunraven made it clear that he despised amateurs both in politics and in hunting. He laid out his vision of what hunting should be:

I have not included hunting among the sciences, but in reality I might have done so. It is a very exact science, and one in which excellence is rarely obtained. Many men never become, never can become, good hunters. They are not endowed with the necessary faculties; and those who are gifted with them require years of study and hard work before they can be entitled to call themselves masters of the art. I hope no one labors under the delusion that hunting is a mere barbarous, bloodthirsty sport.

He went on to say that killing, in and of itself, did not give pleasure. Instead

The charm lies in overcoming difficulties – in matching your natural intelligence and acquired knowledge and skill against the instinct, cunning, intellect, and reason of the animal you are endeavoring to outwit. The reward of the hunter is the same as that of the student of languages, of the archeologist, of the geologist... His triumph is the triumph of unraveling a mystery, tracing and discovering a hidden fact, grappling with and overcoming a difficulty.²⁷⁵

Real sport did not consist of pot hunters flushing deer into a lake, or of lying in wait at a watering hole or salt lick and then murdering the helpless animal. Hunting was not supposed to be some sophomoric exercise in slaughter. By learning and applying hard-earned knowledge of games' habits, a "true" hunter could expect to engage any prey in its own habitat and come away with a kill. Acquiring these skills and knowledge was a demonstration of a hunter's rational capacities, intellect, and commitment to "fair play."

After ably providing these justifications for hunting, Dunraven related the story of his stalk of a deer in Estes Park, Colorado in which he brought all of his considerable skill as a hunter to bear on his quarry. One day after observing sign and unsuccessfully stalking a massive buck, the next day Dunraven and his hunting companion, Sandie, who was a Scotch gillie, went to the area they believed the deer had moved to and hatched a

²⁷⁵ Dunraven, *Canadian Nights*, 26-27.

plan to get down wind of the suspected game. To execute the plan they had to make “a long circuit” over difficult ground. Dunraven explained,

The ground to which I am referring is very rough. It slopes precipitously towards the river. Huge masses of rock lie littered about on a surface pierced by many perpendicular jagged crags, hundreds of feet high, and long ridges and spurs strike downward from a sheer scarp that crowns the cañon of the river, forming beautiful little glades – sheltered, sunny, clothed with sweet grass – on which the deer love to feed.²⁷⁶

Along the way Dunraven made sure to pass on several tips that showed his maturity and considerable knowledge of the “science” of hunting. Dunraven included all sorts of didactic information for hunters right down to headwear. He condescended, “I have often laughed to see great hunters (great in their own estimation) raising their heads most carefully, forgetting that a tall felt hat, some six inches above their eyes, had already been for some time in view of the deer.” He also noted that even when in physical repose, eating and day-dreaming during an afternoon break, he was so finely attuned to any slight movement or change in his surroundings that he was actually on high alert – mentally-speaking. Dunraven then offered up this aphorism, as he and Sandie recommenced their stalk: “The sportsman cannot go too slowly, and it is better to hunt out one little gully thoroughly than to cover miles of ground in a day.” During the stalk Dunraven was not through with demonstrating his knowledge and skills, and he pointed out that he was especially careful hunting out the north side of all gulches because “for, strange to say, deer prefer lying on the north side of valleys in the snow, even during the coldest weather, to resting on the warm sunny grass on the southern slopes.”²⁷⁷ Finally, he

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 40.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 41.

narrated the culmination of the stalk after a buck had been sighted. Sandie had been the first to sight the deer and slowly

... and then, almost imperceptibly, a hair's-breadth at a time, stooped his head and sank down. If you come suddenly in sight of game, you should remain perfectly motionless for a time, and sink out of sight gradually; for if you drop down quickly, the movement will startle it. Deer seem to be short-sighted... I never saw a man so excited at the sight of game, and yet so quiet, as Sandie.²⁷⁸

Dunraven methodically pulled himself into position, “drew a long breath” and calmly administered the kill shot. By bringing all their considerable knowledge and experience to bear and by maintaining their composure, Sandie and Dunraven showed that they could engage a deer in broken country and successfully stalk and kill it.²⁷⁹ The importance of understanding game was emphasized throughout the book, as is the fact that Western game are very worthy adversaries.²⁸⁰ For instance, he described the uncanny ability of moose to discern between innocent sounds of civilization and the nefarious sounds of “danger” – not to mention their ability to abscond at top speed through dense forests. Big horns’ elusiveness and amazing ability to climb were also featured.²⁸¹

Dunraven pointed out that an isolated life in the wilderness also made a man “patient, and able to bear constant disappointments; it enables him to endure hardship with indifference, and it produces a feeling of self-reliance which is both pleasant and serviceable.”²⁸² Self-reliance was important because he knew that when hunting difficult

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 43-44.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 41-47.

²⁸⁰ Dunraven’s section on moose is nearly identical as far as structure goes. There is an analysis of the prey and its attributes and means of defense, as well as the necessary skills one needs to successfully stalk moose. Ibid., 114-145, 96.

²⁸¹ Ibid., 115, 152, 185-187.

²⁸² Ibid., 100.

game in harsh conditions, there were bound to be many disappointing days and one simply had to persevere. To demonstrate this resolve he addressed an unsuccessful stalk that he carried out in pursuit of a big horn. To preface the stalk, though, Dunraven noted that he had oftentimes simply observed big horns in order to better understand their behaviors. Since most other descriptions of big-horns hit upon the same themes as Dunraven's I will quote him at length.

The mountain sheep is a magnificent animal, and the ram carries a splendid head. He is wild-looking and picturesque, and exactly suits the character of the country in which he is found. I know nothing finer in nature than the massive form of a big old ram standing on some jutting point of a precipitous cliff amidst the grandeur of the mountains which are his home. It requires a good deal of patience and perseverance to hunt the mountain sheep successfully. As a rule they are to be found on the highest peaks and the most inaccessible positions of the range, though in the rutting season, if you are fortunate enough to find a locality inhabited by sheep and undisturbed by man, they will come down and may be met with and killed with comparative ease. To hunt the animal with success, you must have a tolerably accurate idea of his manners and customs.²⁸³

Dunraven went on to point out the migratory patterns of the sheep throughout the year and their feeding patterns – noting their particular attraction to alkali (i.e. – salt).

Dunraven's stalk of a massive old ram was replete with considerable environmental hurdles and strategic decisions. At one point, he recounted that “[h]e had no doubt caught sight of me, for he had started off on a dead jump straight down a very steep ravine, at least a thousand feet deep and equally precipitous on the other side.” Not being able to see the sheep ascend the other side, Dunraven went down the ravine only to find tracks leading back upward and he decided to follow. He explained, “It was a terribly hard mountain to climb. It had once been clothed with a thick covering of pine trees which had all been burnt and blown down, and the ground was completely strewn with

²⁸³ Ibid., 186.

trunks of trees, smooth and slippery.” The ground was also a bit icy. Thinking that he had finally caught up to the big horn on the other side of the ravine, it turned out the crafty sheep had laid a trap for Dunraven leading him down a notch where he lost the rams tracks because the ram had leapt to one side, double-backed, and then climbed up to a rocky ridge overlooking the notch. Dunraven understood the actions of the ram he was stalking and was able to track it tolerably well, but he was simply unable to get a shot at him and had to give up.²⁸⁴ For Dunraven, to become a man one had to possess persistence. If one exhibited an implacable wish to move forward in the face of defeat, a man could ultimately survive in the West. If one wished to become a great hunter, he would have to revel in the chess match of scientifically stalking prey. In both accounts, Dunraven successfully cultivated this image of an indefatigable and thinking man’s hunter that would rather use knowledge than dubious methods to secure kills and attain self-reliance. Near the end of the account, he summed these messages up by saying, “Disappointed we were, but not unhappy, for the first duty of the hunter is to drill himself into that peculiar frame of mind which enables a man to exult when he is successful, and to accept ill-luck and defeat without giving in to despondency.”²⁸⁵ To drive home how important self-reliance was for Dunraven, a few years later in his autobiography he said,

Oh, the joy of going out by yourself alone in the wilderness or woods, with your rifle, hatchet, knife, a box of matches, a tin pannikin, a little tea and sugar, and a biscuit, complete and independent. The delight of searching for and finding the sign of your quarry, the scientific stalk, the kill. Then to prepare and hang up the carcase, to build a little fire, boil a pannikin of tea, eat a biscuit, smoke a pipe, find your way back to camp, and lead your Indians out next morning to pack in the meat. Then you feel a man – *a real man*, free of the free woods, and, after all, is not the freedom, the liberty of self-dependence the one essential in life?²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 188-193.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 263.

²⁸⁶ Dunraven, *Past Times and Pastimes* vol. 1, 164, my emphasis.

John Mortimer Murphy was a professional journalist who had spent considerable time in the Pacific Northwest and penned several encyclopedic and descriptive accounts of the region. His *Sporting Adventures in the Far West* began with the author's claim that he had "... no desire to pose as a Nimrod."²⁸⁷ This disclaimer was meant to preemptively explain some of Murphy's disappointing hunts, and simultaneously allowed him to craft an identity based on his ability to learn the craft of hunting and ultimately succeed as a Nimrod in the West. Since Murphy did not have the same kind of hunting experience as Dunraven did by the time he wrote *Canadian Nights*, Murphy was a bit more sensitive to failure and tried to compensate for most of his failures by blaming them on others' mistakes. With those justifications out of the way, he was able to describe his ideal hunter thusly:

To be a successful Nimrod, one must be patient, cautious, and persevering; mere dash is of little avail, except under favorable circumstances, and they are not common in hunting large wild animals. The best hunters that I have known were exceedingly keen in sight and hearing, and were close observers of the ground and the haunts and habits of animals; not that they possessed these qualities in any extraordinary degree naturally, but that their constant exercise developed them to the fullest extent.²⁸⁸

This is precisely the image that Murphy carved out for himself in his account and it becomes clear at the outset of his narrative that knowledge of game was key in a hunter proving his masculinity and attesting to his social superiority.

In developing his chapter on the grizzly, for instance, Murphy brought a variety of experiences and anecdotes to bear on the subject. Climbing a tree and yelling at the top of one's lungs was noted to be an effective means of warding off grizzly advances, and

²⁸⁷ Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 5.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

Murphy contextualized the seriousness of meeting a hostile grizzly and desperately tried to make climbing a tree and screaming seem less cowardly. He warned,

A person should not attack the animal [grizzly] with impunity, however, unless he is in company with others, and is well armed, for it is as fierce as the lion when aroused, and is far more dangerous; as it will pursue a hunter vigorously, if it can run, should he wound it, whereas the other is content with a bound, and, if it misses its object, to wait and crouch for another.²⁸⁹

Murphy followed this practical advice with excellent anecdotes to illustrate his points about the seriousness of dealing with the grizzlies and their destructive capabilities to humans and their campsites. He related a story about being treed by a grizzly after hitting it twice. After several Indians came to his rescue, Murphy descended from his perch and began to follow the retreating bear. At this point an Indian hunter, who was accompanying the party, was severely mauled by the wounded and enraged bear before Murphy and another Indian could deliver the coup de grâce at a few paces' distance.²⁹⁰ It went without saying that it took quite a bit of courage to approach the enraged bear at such a close distance. Furthermore, Murphy was truly saved by knowing he could escape the wrath of a grizzly by climbing a tree and having the presence of mind to act on his knowledge whereas the foolhardy, irrationally courageous, and flustered Native was mauled. In the next chapter on black bears, Murphy systematically noted the bear's habitat, taste in food, mating patterns, variation and length of fur at different times of year, the relative dangerousness of the black bear, differences between the sexes, as well as the preferred methods of pursuit. A good example at Murphy's attempts to establish his expertise came in his very detailed explanation of mating patterns. He said,

²⁸⁹ Ibid., 44.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 60-61.

The female brings forth her young late in December or early in January, the period of gestation commencing in October, and lasting generally about one hundred and twelve days. When in this condition she retires to a tree-top or a cavern, and there remains until the cubs are able to move about briskly enough to flee to her if attacked by wolves or other foes.²⁹¹

Murphy showed himself to be a veritable encyclopedia relating to the game he stalked – or so the reader must have thought.²⁹²

Murphy recounted another exhilarating story that once again demonstrated how knowledge of game could mean life or death in certain situations. While visiting California, he and a friend hatched a plan to bait two pumas, which had been victimizing the pigs and sheep on his friend's farm. Initially, the plan went according to plan. The men split up taking different positions on a hill, the bait attracted the predators, and Murphy killed the first puma. Off in the distance, Murphy heard shots and presumed his friend had killed the other puma. After waiting for his friend, he went off to find him near where he had heard the shots. He did not find his friend or the bait that they had left to attract the pumas. Once again, Murphy waited for his friend to reappear, believing that he had gone after the puma. After another wait, Murphy started off looking for his companion. The moon came out from behind some clouds and Murphy knew that if he

²⁹¹ Ibid., 78.

²⁹² While some other writers, especially the middle-class Paul Fountain, had their knowledge questioned by reviewers, to my knowledge Murphy's "facts" were never called into question because of his obvious erudition. For a representative review of Murphy's work see the following review which begins with a diatribe against the shallowness of travel literature and ends up singing the praises of Murphy's oeuvre. Robert Brown, "Review," review of *Sporting Adventures in the Far West* by John Mortimer Murphy, *The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science, and Art* 16 (1879): 334. Murphy's estimate of black bears' gestation period was off a bit. The state of Massachusetts' wildlife webpage notes bears on the East Coast vary from 6 to 7¾ months and the state of Alaska's Department of Fish and Game webpage asserts that the average gestation period is around 7 months. "Black Bear Biology, Status and Management in North America," Mass Wildlife: Massachusetts Division of Fisheries & Wildlife, http://www.mass.gov/dfwele/dfw/wildlife/facts/mammals/bear/black_bear_biology_faq.htm, (Accessed on August 24, 2010). See also, "Black Bear," Alaska Department of Fish & Game, <http://www.adfg.state.ak.us/pubs/notebook/biggame/blkbear.php> Accessed 2/20/10.

was going to track his friend he needed the light of the moon. He found his friend's tracks and could tell that he was running through the forest. Then, applying his knowledge, Murphy declared, "As cats in flight generally keep a direct course, I concluded to follow a straight line; so I tore through the forest at a headlong pace, and called every now and then."²⁹³ Eventually, he stumbled upon his friend, who had been badly mauled. Luckily, Murphy was able to successfully get him home, help him get bandaged up, and recover from the attack. Knowing the puma's habit of fleeing in a straight line allowed Murphy to quickly locate his friend and save him. Throughout the account Murphy also remarked on the tendencies of coyotes when being pursued on horseback,²⁹⁴ and strategies of white-tailed deer when pursued by hounds. Regarding deer, he observed,

When pursued with hounds, it [a white-tailed deer] does not head for the hills, and double and twist, as its black-tailed congener does, but dashes straight for rivers or lakes, let them be even several miles distant. It always follows one of the numerous trails which leads to its watering-places; and should it be checked on its route, it will sometimes turn back and run until it is caught by the hounds. Its jumps are shorter and quicker than those of the black-tail, and it also seems to tire more readily, for I have known it to be captured by rather slow dogs in a run of three or four hours.²⁹⁵

This knowledge gave the appearance that Murphy had observed and analyzed the habits and tendencies of the game he was pursuing in order to better understand it and hunt it. None of the other hunters advocated using hounds to hunt in the West, making this an interesting case. Using hounds was frowned upon because it was reminiscent of the increasingly artificial conditions of hunting back in Britain, and it did not necessitate as much work on the part of the hunter. In *Canadian Nights* Dunraven grumbled, "I don't

²⁹³ Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 132.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 168.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 331.

think I care for hunting big-game with hounds. I'd rather pit my intelligence and cunning and senses against those of my quarry in a solitary stalk."²⁹⁶ It seems Murphy understood that some might question these methods, which is why he was so careful to show that using dogs did not necessarily mean that a hunter's skills and knowledge were superfluous in the run. One could still apply his knowledge making hunting with dogs more akin to "sport" than "slaughter." In fact, one American reviewer praised Murphy for his humane style.²⁹⁷

Hunting buffalo was also discussed at length in Murphy's account and demanded the hunter coordinate their shooting and riding to be successful. After a wretched first run with buffalo, which was explained away by a bad mount, and a missed shot in his second run, which was justified by some bad advice that was given to him, the remaining portion of his second run was much more effective. This second run did not start out auspiciously as Murphy was thrown from his mount and seemed to have sustained a mild concussion in the process. "I learned from that accident to keep my balance," he noted in a didactic manner, "and not to touch the mustang with my feet – as his training had taught him to be guided by them, and to wheel to whichever side he felt their pressure."²⁹⁸ After learning this hard lesson, he was able to quickly remount, keep his wits about him, avoid several charges by a wounded buffalo, and kill five of them in one run. Murphy had earned his stripes and his mettle had been tested by this particularly grueling buffalo run.

Murphy also went after big horns and spared no praise for the animal saying,

²⁹⁶ Dunraven, *Canadian Nights*, 96. See also, Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia*, 90.

²⁹⁷ Anonymous, "Review" review of *Sporting Adventures in the Far West* by John Mortimer Murphy, *The Literary World: Choice Readings from the Best New Books, and Critical Reviews* 11 (1880): 155.

²⁹⁸ Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 231.

Few creatures are more difficult of approach than the big-horn, for, like all mountain animals, it is exceedingly keen of scent, unusually vigilant, and so cautious that it carefully reconnoitres a country from an elevated stand-point ere it presumes to advance toward it. The Nimrod who would, therefore, place the heads of many among his trophies of the chase, must be not only of an active and vigorous form to bear steep mountain climbing and a rarified atmosphere, but he must also possess the qualities of patience, perseverance, and hardihood; for its pursuit may lead him through deep and gloomy precipices, over ground so stony and rough as to seem impassable, and amidst pinnacles whose towering altitudes and craggy sides make their ascent almost as difficult as many of the famous peaks of the Alps.

Following Murphy's description of the big-horn he detailed everything he knew about the animal. Their migratory patterns, eating patterns, method of surveilling new feeding grounds, forms of communication, method of moving as a group, keen sense of scent, method of flight, use of horns in combat, average size and coloration, mating and gestation, all were addressed in detail. Finally, he covered the best manners of hunting big-horns and related his first personal stalk of one in the Klamath Basin. He stated, "I felt prouder of the first one I killed than I did of all that has since fallen to my lot." Rising at 3 AM, Murphy and his friend headed out and about an hour after sunrise, the pair stumbled upon quite a bit of "sign." They advanced tentatively, "so slowly, in fact, that it was painful to me, as my heart seemed heavy with suppressed excitement, and my breathing was short and labored." After crawling to the windward for a half-hour, Murphy caught sight of five big-horns casually enjoying their morning repast. At the same time, the big-horns sighted Murphy; after firing a snap shot, he did not think he hit any of them. Following up the group, though, they found bloody tracks and Murphy had the pleasure of finishing off his first ram.²⁹⁹ With this kill Murphy demonstrated that he was able to apply his knowledge not just when riding to hounds. While this account is

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 395-407.

more aristocratic in tone and form than Dunraven's, especially in regards to the use of hounds, Murphy was able to meld the consummate frontier values of endurance, perseverance, and hard work into his image.

Murphy's strategies for illustrating his social superiority when combined with his profession and later endeavors provide us a little insight into Murphy's background and bolster the thesis of this dissertation. Murphy was obviously a very well-educated man – and it is highly probable that he attended a reputable public school and then university. Later on in life Murphy retired to Florida and became an officer of the “Florida Field Sports Association,” which made the Duke of Sutherland its Honorary President. The stated goal of the organization was “to preserve the game and fish of the State, see that the game laws are enforced, develop a taste for field sports and all manly outdoor recreation, and try to acclimate such game as may be found suitable for this climate.”³⁰⁰ Murphy's penchant for riding to hounds, his profession, and his desire to make the Duke of Sutherland the Honorary President of his field sports club in Florida indicate that he was most likely of the upper-middle class and sought to be accepted into the upper class.

Percy Selous's *Travel and Big Game* features several chapters on hunting in the Bighorn Mountains of Wyoming. Unlike most of the other authors discussed, Selous was middle class. After losing an allowance, he worked as a professional trapper, as artist, a herpetologist, and a schoolmaster³⁰¹ and his overall his writing style is sparse in comparison to the other authors. The account is not filled with long asides about human

³⁰⁰ Our Monthly Record, “Fishing and Shooting,” *Outing: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Sport, Travel and Recreation* 14 (May, 1889): 22.

³⁰¹ In the 1891 census, Percy listed his profession as “professor.” He emigrated to Greenville, Michigan in the 1890s to become a schoolmaster there. “Snakes as Companions: Prof. Percy Selous Sacrificed His Wife and Children for the Deadly Reptiles,” (Greenville, MI., 1900). Article from a local Greenville newspaper in the author's possession.

nature like Parker Gillmore's volumes, or about politics like the Earl of Dunraven's accounts, or about military matters like Sir Rose Price's books, or really anything other than a clear recounting of the facts of his hunts and prices of different skins and furs. While this does make for rather dull reading, the account is also infused with a flavor of unquestioned superiority and gives the reader a good idea of the intentions of the author. The superiority that Selous is after is similar to the social superiority that the upper-class authors were striving to project.

Trapping grizzlies was shown to be a harsh business, filled with freezing and spartan conditions, as well as risks to one's life in extricating bears from traps.³⁰² "Nevertheless," Selous stated, "it is an excited and fascinating life, and one seldom entirely given up whilst health lasts."³⁰³ Trapping was a difficult business and one that the author clearly knew well. He related a story about a grizzly he and his two companions had trapped that clearly demonstrated not only his composure and leadership, but also his knowledge of the grizzly's anatomy. In approaching the bear none of the men could secure a good shot at the target, and Selous then remarked that "[t]he brain-pan in a bear is very small and is furthermore surrounded by so much bone that it is difficult to sight it, whilst a good deal of risk is attached to blazing into the huge carcass."³⁰⁴ As the men came within firing distance, one of them fired and the bear freed himself from one of the two chains that secured the trap to a log. The other man fired without effect, and, disapprovingly, Selous stated,

³⁰² Selous relates the story of his friend who had been killed in Northern Michigan by a grizzly. Percy Selous, *Travel and Big Game* (London: Bellairs and Co., 1897), 69.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, 68.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

This sort of thing would never do; so exhorting Fawcett to stop his fooling, and reserve his firing for a steadier shot, and telling Gerard to hold himself in readiness behind me, I walked straight up to the bear, which had got itself and the log into a narrow streamlet at the tail of the lake, and would I feared soon buckle up the single chain if he could get a firm purchase upon it.

At this point, Selous passed on a good shot. “As it was,” he said, “I went right on, put my carbine almost within a yard of his head, and gave him a bullet in the eye before he could recover himself, effectually laying him out.”³⁰⁵ While Selous admits some of his trepidation during the encounter, his composure and ability to lead his fellow trappers shines through and demonstrates his masculinity and his knowledge demonstrated his utilitarian mastery over the grizzly. Selous’ account provides a nice counterpoint to Dunraven’s and Murphy’s accounts because there was no pretense to uphold the aristocratic ideal of “fair play.” This trend was also apparent in Fountain’s work. He often took his game however he could attain it and was not above lying in wait at a watering hole for unsuspecting deer.³⁰⁶ All in all, then, Selous’ and Fountain’s accounts demonstrate that while middle-class writers wanted to show themselves to be superior to those they were leading and exhibit knowledge about the natural environment, they did not endorse “fair play” as their means to an end.

In sum, America’s Western environment allowed the upper-middle-class (i.e. – Gillmore, Murphy) and upper-class hunters (i.e. – Baillie-Grohman and Dunraven) to blend frontier and aristocratic values to overcome the harsh environment and vanquish terrifying and elusive prey. The climate and terrain demanded that the hunters exhibit the aristocratic ideals encapsulated in “character-building,” especially stoicism, and the

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 71.

³⁰⁶ Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America*, 176-177.

middle-class ideals of endurance and persistence. Similarly, when it came to hunting prey in the West, hunters often had to display a mix of aristocratic and middle-class values. Instinct and courage were necessary when put into a tight spot, but application of knowledge through stalking remained a way that the hunters could distinguish themselves as “true” hunters, ones superior to your average huntsman.

CHAPTER 4

NATIVE AMERICANS UNDER THE IMPERIAL GAZE

I have always regarded the Red Indian tribes of the Rockies with some compassion. They, the rightful and hereditary owners of the North American continent, have been conquered and supplanted by the Anglo-Saxon race by right only of the stronger hand and of the higher intelligence. It is, we must presume, the inevitable and fore-ordained result of the survival of the fittest – of the operation of the Divine law that has decreed that man shall subdue and replenish the earth.

Sir Henry Seton Karr from *My Sporting Holidays*

Another unique factor to the British experience in America's West were Native Americans, who also played a critical role in establishing the writers' masculinity. For analytical purposes, in this dissertation I will differentiate between Native Americans that the hunters encountered in their hunting parties and forged personal relationships with, such as porters and guides, and those that, experientially-speaking, were part of the human environment that had to be negotiated and overcome, such as hostile natives. The first section of this chapter will examine several depictions of conflict between the hunters and Natives, which were used by the hunters to demonstrate their self-reliance, and therefore, their masculinity. The second section will deal with the personal relations and interactions between the hunters and Natives, and examine how these interactions were critical to upholding notions of Anglo-Saxon racial fitness and Native inferiority.

Warriors, Thieves, and Mobility

There were two major threats that Natives presented to the hunting expeditions out West. First and foremost, there was the danger that a hunting party might haphazardly run across a war party bent on the destruction of whites.³⁰⁷ Quite naturally, this prospect was one of the most terrifying aspects of any trip to the West. The second major threat that Natives posed was that of thievery. Both of these threats had the potential to stop a hunting party in its tracks and prohibit the unfettered movement of the parties. By physically confronting hostile Natives and taking the proper precautions to defend themselves and ward off any assault, hunting parties were able to assert their independence and their ability to move through the landscape freely. Winning this mobility demonstrated the hunters' masculinity.

While some Native groups were portrayed as feeble, effeminate, and lower on the evolutionary scale, those Native Americans that posed a threat to the safety of hunting expeditions were often described as merciless savages bent on mutilation and destruction. Even though these Native groups were feared the writers approached the subject of Natives through the lens of Social Darwinism and empire. Most of the authors stated that they believed Natives were doomed to extinction; however, since that day had, unfortunately, not come to pass, marauding and bloodthirsty natives remained an *immediate* and *perpetual* threat that loomed in the background of the accounts. Several

³⁰⁷ John Whetham Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings: A Record of Travel in the Evening Land* (London: R. Bentley, 1874), 234. William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882), 376, 401. Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), 56, 295. Henry Astbury Leveson, *Sport in many Lands* vol. 2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), 240, 242-245. William Shepherd, *Prairie Experiences in Handling Cattle and Sheep* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1884), 56-57. Frederick Trench Townshend, *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport and Adventure* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1869), 139.

of the accounts did detail violent engagements with Natives and used those confrontations as an opportunity to compare Anglo and Native manliness and to demonstrate Anglos' superior courage and marksmanship – thus legitimating their participation in divesting the Natives of their land. Many of the accounts that did not feature hostile actions still found it important to highlight the differences between Native and Anglo fighting styles. As a rule, not many large-scale engagements took place between Natives and whites on the Plains – even during the peak years of military intervention on the Great Plains after the Civil War. Plains Indians were more comfortable with small-scale guerilla-style actions. Historian Paul H. Carlson notes “[v]ery little formal combat took place. For Indian people, engagements with the army were often a series of fighting retreats as they moved their families from one campsite to another.” Furthermore, intertribal Native conflict, even during the 1860s and 70s, was widespread and it seemed Natives “remained more interested in raiding other Indian villages and stealing horses than in fighting whites.”³⁰⁸

Only as the nineteenth century wore on and Natives were increasingly relegated to reservations did the indigenous threat become less and less pronounced in the accounts. Indeed, other brigands often filled the vacated role of Native Americans as the century drew to a close.³⁰⁹ Some later accounts also sought to recall the more romantic era of the 1860s and 1870s in order to give their accounts a bit of dash and excitement.

³⁰⁸ Paul H. Carlson, *The Plains Indians* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 143-146.

³⁰⁹ As the 1870s turned into the 1880s and more and more bands of Natives were relegated to reservations the prospect of white or brown brigands escalated. For a musing of the prospect of white thieves see, Arthur Pendarves Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879), 109. Even Sir Henry Seton-Karr, who portrayed himself as a completely fearless person, mentioned the ubiquity of thieves and the dangerousness of the West when he was there in the 1880s. In fact, he devoted an entire chapter entitled “On the Fringe” to it. Henry Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*

Several of the hunters – Henry Astbury Leveson, Charles Alston Messiter, John Mortimer Murphy, and Paul Fountain – were actually forced into combat in order to defend themselves. Leveson recounted an engagement with the Sioux in his *Sport in Many Lands*. His buffalo hunting party of just over thirty men had run into a hostile band of “Sioux, Rapahoes, and Suchangu Dacotas,” and they resolved to attack in order to clear a path for retreat. “[I]n the face of a desultory but ineffective fire that was opened upon us, and sundry flights of arrows,” Leveson narrated, “we rode up to within five hundred yards, and, dismounting, knelt down and took several steady pot-shots at the group.” They had laid down some effective fire and killed several of the enemy warriors and, at this point, even though the Sioux had completely surrounded them as they retreated, Leveson explained “they took good care not to come within range of our rifles, and we cared but little for their war-whoops.” Demonstrating coolness and shrewd calculation, the hunting party continued their retreat toward a canyon where they could hole up overnight. In the meantime, the Sioux war party had received reinforcements so that they now numbered about two hundred. Leveson defiantly noted that their party was composed of “seven whites, four half-breeds and about a score of Blackfoot scouts, but our superior armament put us upon pretty equal terms.” One of Leveson’s companions, “who was up to every move in Indian warfare, proposed that we should have one more brush with the enemy whilst the daylight lasted....” Accordingly, three of the four whites

(London: Edward Arnold, 1904), 308-337. Perhaps the most serious run-ins with actual thieves occurred in Mrs. Jebb’s account of her husband’s adventures in the Wild West. After narrowly escaping a threat posed by fellow white campers who wished to rob him, Jebb then participated in a manhunt after two serial murderers, who turned out to be Mexicans. See Mrs. John Beveridge Gladwyn Jebb, *A Strange Career: Life and Adventures of John Gladwyn Jebb* (London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1894), 84-100. For more on white thieves see: Rose Lambart Price, *A Summer on the Rockies* (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., 1898), 78-79.

decided to ambush a scouting party of the Sioux in order to dissuade them from attacking during the night. Once again, the men successfully engaged the growing and circling war party. Then, inside the sheltered canyon the party made extensive preparations for any action – including the erection of an *abatis* and the concealment of “cooking fires in a hollow, so that light would give the enemy no advantage...” Their marksmanship, courage, and savvy precautions saved them, and, he concluded, “[I]t was only because our party were known to be well armed, and always upon the alert, that we were not attacked.”³¹⁰ This same scenario of whites’ superior shooting, courageous fighting, and knowledge of Native tactics replayed itself in the other accounts.

In Wyoming, John Mortimer Murphy was in the midst of a coyote hunt on horseback when a Sioux raid broke out and he was conscripted into the local defense force. A mounted force riding out to engage the Sioux encountered a very large force of Sioux warriors. Facing this considerable force, Murphy recalled that

as every man of our party seemed to be actually mad for revenge, their numerical superiority availed them little, and they were pushed backward gradually, notwithstanding the fact that they took advantage of every bit of cover, and seemed to rise out of the ground like grasshoppers. They tried to surround us two or three times inside of an hour, but a vigorous charge scattered them like chaff, and the survivors were glad to beat a hasty retreat to their own lines.

The Sioux were driven back to a wooded hill where an intense engagement took place. Several men had to use their downed horses as breastworks, but they “kept up the fight with a vigor and determination that only Western pioneers can display...” Eventually, Murphy participated in a flanking action that sent the Sioux into a panicked and precipitous retreat. He concluded, “Our loss in this affair was two men killed and eight

³¹⁰ Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands*, 249-252, 293.

wounded, while that of the Indians must have been four or five times as much, as our rifles were far superior to theirs, and our shooting was certainly far more accurate.”³¹¹

Nearly a week later Murphy participated in another engagement and helped ambush a force of Sioux that was accompanied by a stolen herd of horses. Murphy received a flesh wound as he fought alongside the vigorous and determined pioneers and miners.

Paul Fountain also had a dangerous experience with the Apaches in Arizona. While out collecting insect samples, twenty Apaches surrounded Fountain and his assistant. The rest of the outfit, upon spotting the Apaches from their campsite, came to their rescue and laid down some fire. “They killed a mule and slightly wounded one of my hired men,” Fountain recalled, “but we shot one of their horses and three of their men.” He then triumphantly noted, “After this taste of our quality they rode away....” The Apaches continued in pursuit, but each time they met with effective fire from Fountain’s men. Only after falling in with a large surveying party did the Apaches break off their pursuit. Fountain credited another man, George Golding, with their survival amongst the Apaches. According to Fountain, “He was also an ex-soldier and a splendid shot. It was undoubtedly to his magnificent marksmanship that we were so successful in holding the Apaches at bay.”³¹² Fountain’s willingness to ascribe their survival to another man needs to be explained. First, Fountain himself never claimed to be an excellent shot and therefore to take credit would have been not only ungentlemanly but lacking credibility. Secondly, the account was more of a natural history and adventure book; therefore, his masculinity was predicated on his powers of observation, knowledge

³¹¹ John Mortimer Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington), 179-180.

³¹² Paul Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), 138.

of nature, and his ability to endure harsh conditions in spite of a lame leg. Lastly, Golding was English and such an unqualified endorsement of an ex-military Englishman would have been more than acceptable to the reading audience – albeit any solid representative of Anglo-Saxon stock would have served Fountain’s purpose here.³¹³

Charles Messiter’s account of the United States-Canadian borderland was laden with his experiences amongst Native Americans and aptly titled, *Sport and Adventures Among the North-American Indians*. His account was slightly different in that he was highly critical of most of the settlers and men he encountered out on the Kansas frontier. Most Westerners, in Messiter’s estimation, did not have the stomach for a fight against the Sioux. Upon his hunting outfit’s first sighting of Sioux, some of the men Messiter had hired to accompany him hunting wanted to flee even though nothing untoward had taken place. One of the men was so insistent that Messiter ultimately had to fire him because he refused to stop advocating a hasty retreat to everyone else in camp. On his second trip to the same area, locals continually advised him to stay away from the area because of the Sioux. Stubbornly, and demonstrating foolhardy courage, he forged on with his trip – encountering some settlers in the area who expressed their desire to stay and fight the Sioux for the land if necessary. But, on his way back to town for provisions, Messiter encountered these same settlers holed up in a blockhouse after a Sioux raiding party had killed one of their men. Apparently the man killed was within firing distance of the blockhouse when he was assailed by the Sioux; yet, none of the settlers made even an attempt to rescue their fellow settler. At this point, Messiter exploded, saying,

³¹³ Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America*, 138.

I am afraid we spoke our minds very freely as to what we thought of them, and we cannot be said to have parted friends. A few shots would have been quite enough to have saved the poor fellow, and there was not the slightest fear of the blockhouse being attacked.³¹⁴

Messiter made it very plain that these cowardly settlers lacked the mettle necessary to truly command the situation and take the Sioux's land. After another raid on the same settlement, the men of the town approached Messiter and his men to help them attack the Sioux, but after thinking it over, the settlers once again backed down. Messiter was now simply disgusted. In spite of this galling pusillanimity, he was thoroughly enjoying his camping grounds. He proclaimed, "I do not think I was ever in a more perfect hunting-ground than this was in those days – the danger from Indians giving it that dash of excitement which is always needed to make any life really perfect."³¹⁵

To this point in the narrative Messiter had not had any real engagement with the Sioux other than on one occasion being pursued by seventeen Sioux while on a hunt. He was able to wrangle himself out of that predicament with some good riding astride a magnificent horse. However, on his third trip to the West, Messiter wanted to go from Fredericksburg, Texas to Denver, Colorado, and this route just so happened to cut right through the heart of the Comanche empire.³¹⁶ A promising looking frontiersman was approached to guide the expedition. Messiter recalled the guide was "the best-looking specimen of a frontiersman I had yet seen." He gushed, "He stood over six feet high in his moccasins, and was dressed in a buckskin suit and a fur cap. His face was handsome and he had a short beard." At the last moment the buckskin clad guide disappointed

³¹⁴ Charles Alston Messiter, *Sport and Adventures Among the North-American Indians* (London: R.H. Porter, 1890), 131.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 133.

³¹⁶ For a revisionist take on the Comanche not as passive victims of American expansion, but imperialists themselves see, Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

Messiter though and refused to lead the expedition when he found out their entire party consisted of seven men claiming that “no smaller party than fifty men could hope to get through.”³¹⁷ Messiter was about to do something – yet again – that every American around him thought was ludicrous, and survive, albeit barely.

In Texas, between Buffalo Spring and Fort Belknap, Messiter was pursued by seven Sioux and since he was on an exceptionally slow horse he had to stop and fight. Firing at the lead Sioux, he had his horse shot out from under him and was able to extricate himself from the situation. After reaching Fort Belknap, the expedition encountered even more danger. A Comanche guide was engaged at the Fort and the men started north toward Fort Cobb, Oklahoma Territory about 140 miles away. About eight days into the journey, their Comanche scout absconded and returned with about 40 warriors to confront the hunting party. He came into their camp and spoke to them them “with the air of a superior addressing his inferiors.” He demanded the surrender of their wagon and guns. Knowing that the Comanche would have eventually killed all of them had they met their terms, the men refused the offer and “told him we would give him two minutes to leave our camp... and that if his tribe wanted our outfit, they must come and take it, but that so long as we had a cartridge left they should have nothing.”³¹⁸ This remark embodies – more than any other – Messiter’s attitude and identity. He relished confrontation and conflict and seems to have been “sporting for a row,” especially with this insolent Native who had treated them in such a disrespectful manner.

³¹⁷ Messiter, *Sport and Adventures Among the North-American Indians*, 198-199.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 216.

During that afternoon and night, there was some desultory exchange of gunfire as the Comanche tailed the hunting party. The next day a Comanche warrior fell to their combined efforts, at which time a large reinforcement of warriors arrived, bringing the war party total to about 200. That night the hunters were lucky in that they were able to select a wooded hill with no other cover around it as a campsite. They erected some breastworks, Messiter noting that “they did not care to attack a fortified position....”³¹⁹ Several U.S.-allied Caddo Indians arrived on the scene and were able to make a successful run to the nearest fort for reinforcements, but the Comanches, knowing that their window for success was closing, stepped up their efforts to overtake the outfit. Each attack, however, was deftly turned back by Messiter and company as they continued to kill Comanches and their horses with accurate shooting. The group sustained several injuries, one death, and Messiter himself had received “a bullet in the right shoulder, which F---- that evening cut out with a razor, and an arrow under the knee.”³²⁰ After the first major push by the Comanches, “we soon got out of shot of where the Indians had posted themselves, and they seemed to have had a lesson and left us alone.”³²¹ At the conclusion of the fire-fight one man, Halliday, had gone missing, and was found under some flour sacks shaking uncontrollably. Halliday’s unmanly reaction was all the more annoying to Messiter because “[h]e was one of those men who were always saying what they would do if we met any Indians....”³²² Contrarily, Messiter, while wounded, had fought coolly and admirably helping to hold off the numerically superior force of Comanches. While Halliday’s pronouncements turned out to be mere bluster, Messiter

³¹⁹ Ibid., 220.

³²⁰ Ibid., 225.

³²¹ Ibid., 226.

³²² Ibid., 198.

had lived up to his tough talk. While Leveson, Murphy and Fountain sought to show themselves as the equals of the hearty and courageous pioneers, miners, and professional hunters that had to face down hostile natives, Messiter made it seem as if he were the only person in the West with the necessary courage to do such a thing.

Those authors who did not have any direct hostile engagement with Natives, and yet chose to address the fighting style or prowess of Native warriors, seemed to have been trying to appropriate the same frontier values that Leveson, Murphy, and Fountain sought to establish (i.e. – the superiority of white marksmanship, coolness under fire, and courageousness). Frederick Trench Townshend mentioned the fact that the men in his military escort all agreed on the superior strength of the white man, Rose Lambart Price noted that “it is only fools who get scalped,” John Turner-Turner found Natives to be terrible shots, and Arthur Pendarves Vivian offhandedly remarked on Natives’ unwillingness to attack any large body of whites.³²³

Dunraven also addressed the issue of Natives’ fighting prowess during his visit with the Crow nation. Characteristically, he presented the most thoughtful cogitation on the matter of differences between Anglos’ and Natives’ martial and societal values. While his lengthy treatise on the differences between Native and Anglo methods of approaching the struggle for supremacy on the Plains reflected a thorough understanding of the situation, his conclusions, predictably, turned out to be a powerful vindication of imperialism and civilization. The passage he devoted to this subject was incredibly lengthy, but it must be examined fully because it was representative of Dunraven’s

³²³ Townshend, *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport and Adventure*, 108. Rose Lambart Price, *The Two Americas: An Account of Sport and Travel* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1877), 318. John Turner-Turner, *Three years’ hunting trapping in America and the Great North-West* (London: Maclure & Co., 1888), 103, 163.

perspective on both the pregnant issue of class and the clash of cultures taking place in the American West. Dunraven began by addressing the differences in fighting styles and noted that Anglo methods of engagement were regarded as “folly” by Natives. He correctly noted that Native tribes were continually fighting each other for hunting-grounds,³²⁴ and that

A life is very valuable to them. Hence it is that they admire the man who can creep, and watch, and lay out for days and nights in bitter cold and snow without food or warmth, and who, by infinite patience, cool courage, and a nice calculation of chances, secures a scalp or a lot of horses without risk to himself, but who, if he found circumstances unfavourable and the odds against him, would return without striking a blow. That is the man they look up to.³²⁵

Regarding trade, Dunraven also accurately noted that Natives found whites valuable as traders and manufacturers, but did not equate that with superiority.³²⁶ Importantly, Dunraven also mentioned that the whites whom Natives come in contact with were not “as a rule, the best specimens of the race, and the Indian sees that we are lacking in many virtues that rule his actions and guide his life.” For Dunraven, the implication was that degraded whites did nothing to convince Natives of white superiority; whereas, those of a higher class would be able to better convince Natives of white superiority because of their ability to hunt better than Natives since hunting was so central to Native life.

³²⁴ The historian Paul H. Carlson’s work corroborates Dunraven’s conclusions. In his work on Plains Indians, Carlson concludes that “[t]he Plains Indians believed that to return [from a raid] without the loss of a man was vital, and their concept of fighting contained little in the way of deliberately accepting losses for strategic ends.” As for reasons for prosecuting wars, Carlson states, “War, often characterized by horse stealing and small, quick raids, was the principal occupation of the men; they conducted it for economic gain, for expanding tribal territory, and for personal honor and glory.” Later on, to substantiate the claims about intertribal conflict, Carlson states that “during the nineteenth century Indian casualties in battles with other Indian groups probably reached numbers higher than losses in campaigns with white soldiers.” Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, 45, 81, 146.

³²⁵ Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 107-108.

³²⁶ Paul H. Carlson asserts that “[t]he soldier-Indian wars... represent a tragic culture clash. Both the Indians and the soldiers held exalted images of themselves, and neither seemed interested in understanding the attitudes and thoughts of the other.” with other Indian groups probably reached numbers higher than losses in campaigns with white soldiers.” Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, 145.

Furthermore, he added the few Natives brought back to big cities to overawe them “see the worst only – the squalor, the wretchedness, the dirt, the crowding together of the population, and they are startled at the discordant life of a great town.” This parochial view, which took no account for the “future benefits” of white civilization, was fundamentally flawed. Dunraven concluded,

We hope and trust that we are on the right path; they say that we are hopelessly off the trail. They consider our lives altogether wrong, and look upon us with contempt, perhaps with a little pity. While fully acknowledging the fact of our preponderating strength, while seeing plainly before them the extermination of their race, and bowing their heads to sad necessity, they yet will not admit that we are in any respect their equals, man to man.³²⁷

His message was quite clear and accurate. Even though Natives had adopted a fighting style uniquely attuned to their needs, just as all Native and pan-Indian resistance movements before them, they were inevitably going to be incapable of competing with the complex civilization of the whites, which could sustain a war of attrition. Further, since there was a lack of high-bred and civilized men in contact with Natives, Native civilizations must submit to their inevitable extermination at the hands of degraded whites. This passage, at once, allowed Dunraven to elide the core issue over manliness by asserting the superiority of white civilization – including the capitalist system – and the superiority of the upper class.

While the threat of military engagement was always lurking, another peril, in the form of thievery, cast a shadow over hunting expeditions. Hunters’ horses were such a powerful attraction to Plains Indians that they often took great risks in order to secure the

³²⁷ Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 108-109.

equines for the purposes of prestige and gift giving. Historian Paul H. Carlson sums up the centrality of the horse in Plains Indians' culture saying,

In short, the horse became the most important vehicle of transportation, medium of exchange, and regulator of economic values and social status. It came to exercise considerable influence over the minds of the people, altering their world views, religious practices, subsistence patterns, and even traditional nature and ideology of warfare.³²⁸

By far, thieves stealing horses was the most frequently cited and universally dreaded plot³²⁹ because to be without one's horse in the West was oftentimes as good as a death sentence.³³⁰ Thus, Native, Mexican, and white thieves³³¹ presented a very serious barrier to mobility. A different state of affairs existed in Africa where unfettered and safe mobility was available. Historian Tara Kelly noted:

A book like C.J. Melliss' rather scattered *Lion-Hunting in Somali-Land*, for example, seems at first glance free of imperial ambitions, a simple report of animals hunted and slain on a soldier's vacation; but even so innocuous an image as Melliss leaping up in the middle of the night on hearing a hyena's laugh and riding out after it in his pajamas, rifle clutched in one eager hand, was in fact telling a story that depended for its very existence on the imperial power that

³²⁸ Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, 39.

³²⁹ Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2, 208, 245, 252-253. Parker Gillmore, *Gun, Rod, and Saddle: Personal Experiences* (New York: W.A. Townsend & Adams, 1869), 273-274. Parker Gillmore, *A Hunter's Adventures in the Great West* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871), 116. Townshend, *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport and Adventure*, 98. Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, 62. Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 30. Shepherd, *Prairie Experiences in Handling Cattle and Sheep with Illustrations from Sketches*, 26. Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 295. Price, *The Two Americas*, 319. Percy Selous, *Travel and Big Game* (London: Bellairs and Co., 1897), 29.

³³⁰ Fountain said,

A man who would without hesitation lead a party of cow or horse stealers would be the first to put a rope round the neck of the fellow who should rob a traveller of his purse or horse. To take a man's horse may be tantamount to taking his life: to take a dozen horses from a ranche, or a herd of cows from a run, is quite another matter.

Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America*, 44. "[T]o steal all our horses would have been an irresistible temptation and an easy feat for a redskin marauding band, and to compel a westerner to travel home 200 miles on foot was almost as bad as taking his scalp or his life." Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*, 214.

³³¹ For detailed accounts of precautions that most expeditions took from thieves in questionable territories see: Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 29-31. Price, *The Two Americas*, 316-318.

allowed Melliss to venture out without a second thought to either his safety or his right to hunt game in a foreign land.³³²

This kind of unquestioned assurance was not available to hunters in the West, which is a major reason why the American West proved to be an important place for many of the hunters. Lawlessness with its attendant violence presented a major hurdle to overcome and seemed to be part of the attraction for many of the hunters. While most regular tourists were disappointed at the low level of bawdiness and rawness,³³³ the hunters nevertheless noted the importance of constant vigilance when out camping and prudence when in towns and cities.

In order to counter this threat, the authors conceived of thieves, but Natives especially, as game to be outwitted: pitting their knowledge of Natives' methods against the nefarious machinations of the hostiles. The ubiquity of the menace of thieving Natives meant that one's utmost and uninterrupted vigilance was necessary in order to make sure that hunting parties were simply able to move and hunt in safety. Being able to participate in establishing security and facilitating mobility was a powerful attraction for some because it was akin to laying the foundations of empire and the rule of law.

Most of the authors went to great lengths to detail the precautions they made in order to move about freely. Some took immense and undisguised satisfaction from taking part in organizing a party that could move about hostile territories with impunity. Unfettered mobility was, and continues to be, an essential building block of empire, and

³³² Tara Kathleen Kelly, "The Hunter Elite: Americans, Wilderness, and the Rise of the Big-Game Hunt" (PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2006), 236.

³³³ "Nearly all [British traveler writers of the West] were surprised to find a society quite different from that which they had expected and in almost every report there is the comment that western America was something of a disappointment in that the bawdiness and rawness they had come to expect were missing." Robert G. Athearn, *Westward the Briton: The Far West, 1865-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953; reprint, Whitefish: Kessinger, 2009), 7.

it seems all of the hunters enjoyed being able to participate as a spearhead of civilization in the heart of hostile territory by depicting their actual combat experiences or their efforts to forestall Native thievery. Henry Astbury Leveson, who did not convey any contentment about carrying out his hunting exploits in *Sport in Many Lands*,³³⁴ expressed immense pleasure with the autonomy of his hunting party in dangerous and contested territory on the Great Plains. In describing his dozen-strong hunting party, he said the group was “equal to any emergency, and *were perfectly independent of external aid, either for maintenance or protection*” (my emphasis).³³⁵ Leveson thought that “we should have proved awkward customers to tackle even for a large force of Indians.”³³⁶ In meeting with some unidentified Natives, Leveson explained that “[o]ur march was always conducted with certain precautions, so as to be prepared for eventualities, the baggage being in the centre in charge of the negroes, whilst the rest of the people were told off as scouts, flanking parties, and rear-guards.”³³⁷ In Leveson’s mind, their party was akin to a roving bastion of civilization and order that could assert its dominance whenever and wherever it pleased. This exercise in dominance over the entire landscape demonstrated the writers’ self-reliance.

³³⁴ Leveson described hunting buffalo in the following terms:

I consider it very tame sport, and felt somewhat disgusted with myself at having taken part in the shooting of cows; but the herds only pass twice in a year, and the Indian tribe near whom we were encamped had travelled some hundreds of miles in a southerly direction to kill the meat and make pemmican for winter consumption.

Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2, 236.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 224.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 224.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 226.

Scientific Racism, Social Darwinism & An Imperial Straitjacket

Overall, twenty of the twenty-six writers examined in this dissertation discussed Natives in their narratives. Of the six that failed to mention Natives, five were published after 1892, a time period long after the end of the major conflicts that placed Natives on reservations.³³⁸ The one post-1892 account to mention Natives also happened to be a reminiscence of the hunter-writers' adventures in the West in the 1860s and 1870s.³³⁹ Those accounts that did not mention Natives ranged across the social spectrum from the middle to upper class. Thus, it seems that the time that the accounts were written had more to do with whether or not Natives were included in the account, not the social class of the authors. Basically, the "Red Indian question" was something that concerned authors across the social spectrum.

While the hunters did not make Natives the central characters to compare themselves to in their accounts, Native Americans were a direct racial, gender, and economic threat to the hunter-writers. Natives' presence presented difficult issues relating to manliness, morality, and modernity that could not be ignored even though Native Americans' dominance was quickly eroding in the West. Native hunters were perceived as a racial and gender threat because of their well-known strength and tolerance for pain. Dating back to the early contact period, Europeans were well aware of Native strength and endurance.³⁴⁰ Dunraven admitted as much when he said, "We

³³⁸ Those authors that did not mention Natives, or only mentioned Natives in passing, were the following: Edward Elmhirst (1892 & 1903), Granville Gordon (1898), W. Mullen (1874), J.M. Pollock (1911), Percy Selous (1897), and H.A. Vachell (1908).

³³⁹ Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*.

³⁴⁰ See for instance Captain John Smith's account of the Powhatans. "They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lie in the woods under a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in Ambuscado in the Sommer." Brett Rushforth and Paul W. Mapp, *Colonial North*

[Anglo-Saxons] cannot endure the tortures of physical pain or starve as they can.”

Baillie-Grohman concurred saying, “I will back a Kootenay to beat by miles in a long day’s climb the best white mountaineer that Switzerland or Tyrol ever turned out.”³⁴¹

Natives’ rejection of a sedentary lifestyle struck at the heart of modernity and represented a fundamental alternative to the industrializing and commercializing Western economies.

Dunraven aptly summarized the galling nature of this rejection by saying:

Even when poor, cold, half-starved, he would not change places with any white man. With enough to eat, tobacco to smoke, horses, guns, and hides to trade for beads and finery, he is the happiest man on earth, for he is thoroughly contented with his lot. He is free, and he knows it. We are slaves, bound by chains of our own forging, and he sees that it is so.³⁴²

Two different concerns gave these Native challenges particular urgency. First, British men wished to think of themselves as having reached the pinnacle of manhood, and therefore Native men became a significant threat. Secondly, as outlined in Chapter 2, many of the upper-class hunters were concerned about the direction of their society away from one centered around rural landowners and elite rule to one dominated urban professionals, industrialists, and governed by intense competition at all levels of society. The second half of the nineteenth century is often referred to as the “long depression” for a reason as the boom and bust cycle of capitalism was particularly severe and the developed economies everywhere suffered lasting depressions with particular damage

America and the Atlantic World: A History in Documents (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education, 2009), 91.

³⁴¹ Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 107. Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years’ Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia*, 301-303. Mrs. John Beveridge Gladwyn Jebb intimated Natives ability to withstand pain as well demonstrating astonishment that during the catastrophic winter of 1878 on the Plains “even Indians” were killed by the weather that froze buffalo and buffalo hunters. Jebb, *A Strange Career*, 165-166.

³⁴² Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 110.

being done to the agricultural sector in Great Britain in the 1880s.³⁴³ Thus, when one combines the degradation of the landowning class with the increasing insecurity of the era, one can readily understand why upper-middle-class and upper-class British hunters may have been anxious about the capitalist system.

These challenges to British manhood and the capitalist system clearly weighed on the hunter-writers and many resorted to scathing racial and Darwinistic arguments to reconcile these issues. Fifteen of the twenty accounts that mentioned Natives *explicitly* endorsed the belief that Native races would become extinct because they were racially inferior to Anglo-Saxons and could not adapt to modern Western culture.³⁴⁴ The idea of

³⁴³ British farmers were subjected to withering competition from American and Russian farmers in the 1880s because technological revolutions in shipping allowed bulk commodities to be cheaply shipped to Britain. Findlay and O'Rourke note that "real British land rents fell by over 50% between 1870 and 1913." During this era many European nations, especially the two most important France and Germany, adopted a protectionist stance toward agriculture that remains in place to this day. Ronald Findlay and Kevin H. O'Rourke, *Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 396-398.

³⁴⁴ Parker Gillmore was one of the few hunters with a rather sympathetic view of Natives. He thought that Natives were naturally good people as long as they had not been "contaminated" by traders. For an excellent summation of Gillmore's views on Natives see the following: Parker Gillmore, *Lone Life: A Year in the Wilderness* vol. 1 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875), 89-90. However, he also believed that Natives were bound to vanish from the earth. Parker Gillmore, *Accessible Field Sports: The Experiences of a Sportsman in North America* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1869), 12. Paul Fountain, a middle-class writer, had an even more sympathetic view on Native peoples. He found Natives highly intelligent and spent many pages in his book detailing the brutality which many Native tribes were treated by Americans. He characterized Natives by saying, "He is generous, hospitable, truthful to his friends, and industrious. He holds his womenfolk in much contempt, and woe betide the enemy who falls into his hands. He has other faults, but on the whole they are as well balanced by his virtues as in most men." This sympathy, however, did not stop Fountain from harboring a rather dour long-term outlook about Natives. Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America*, 112,116. For the standard view on the inevitability of Natives vanishing to make room for a superior race see the following: Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, 142, 287. Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2, 217, 238. Shepherd, *Prairie Experiences in Handling Cattle and Sheep with Illustrations from Sketches*, 28, 56-58. Townshend, *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport and Adventure*, 99. Edward North Buxton, *Short Stalks; or Hunting Camps, North, South, East, and West* (London: E. Stanford, 1892), 75-76. Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 109-111. John Mortimer Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America: From the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), 343, 359. Price, *The Two Americas*, 299. Price, *A Summer on the Rockies*, 127. Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*, 177-179. Heywood Walter Seton-Karr, *Bear Hunting in the White Mountains* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1891), 146. Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land*, 216-219. Turner-Turner and Boddam-Whetham were the most vehement in his wish to see the Natives die off. Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, 287. Turner-Turner, *Three years' hunting and trapping in America and*

inevitable extinction was laid out in the interwoven intellectual framework of scientific racism, Social Darwinism, and Muscular Christianity.³⁴⁵ Historian John MacKenzie draws the connection that the nineteenth-century urge to classify everything, especially the bounties of nature, also carried over into an impulse to categorize human societies in a racial hierarchy. He documents that characteristics such as an underdeveloped capacity to discriminate or analyze constituted scientific evidence of a “primitive mentality” and racial/genetic inferiority.³⁴⁶ This popular belief when fused with Social Darwinism led many to believe that primitive peoples would become extinct and be replaced by more civilized and fit races. This worldview is critical to understanding how the hunters perceived Natives.

Many believed that science had “proven” Western nations and races were more evolutionarily “fit” because they were expanding territorially while Native civilizations and races were being displaced. Since it was men that overwhelmingly composed the fighting forces of Western and Native civilizations, it was thought that what was true for a society writ large would be true for its citizens on an individual and physical level. Thus, it was believed that Western men had reached a higher evolutionary stage, and

the Great North-West, 78-90. Thomas Carson did not explicitly state that Native Americans were going to vanish from the earth, therefore he was not tallied into the number of authors who did so. In an Appendix, however, he noted that whites should be allowed to engage in polygamy because “[t]he Chinese, Japanese, Indians, and negroes are swarming all over the earth; while our race is almost stagnant, yet owning and claiming continents and islands practically unpeopled.” The reason I believe he was speaking about Indians rather than Native Americans is because he had visited India and said the following, “These Munipoories were a very fine race of people, much lighter of colour than their neighbouring tribes, very stately and dignified in their bearing, and thorough sportsmen. Many of their women were really handsome....” Whereas, when he referred to Native Americans he used the term “barbarian.” Thus, I think it is reasonable to conclude that he was *indirectly* forecasting the destruction of Native Americans. Thomas Carson, *Ranching, Sport and Travel* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1912), 41, 217.

³⁴⁵ This intellectual framework was common to British encounters with Native peoples all over the globe. John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 39-42.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

should therefore be stronger and more virile with guns and their penises than men from defeated races. Thus, there was a perpetual need for European men to continually prove and demonstrate that they were superior to Natives, especially in hunting and war, which were fundamental to expansion. Hunting carried strong Darwinian overtones with men out vanquishing wild beasts to clear land for settlement and demonstrating their willingness to enact the laws of “survival of the fittest.” If life was truly a struggle between civilizations and races, then the men who composed the nation must be ready to assert those laws in the name of the nation and race. Basically, hunting became a way to enact and prove the scientific and Darwinian theories, and a cold, precise verdict about the fitness of British civilization ultimately came down to whether or not British men were potent and manly enough to keep the race growing.

The tension between the cold, utilitarian, and deterministic framework of Social Darwinism and the brutal atrocities that would have to be visited upon Native Americans in order to carry out this “natural” law pervades the accounts. Many of the writers registered their sympathy with Native Americans, but eventually ended up endorsing the extinction of Amerindians saying that it was simply an inevitability. One can not simply dismiss the hunters’ sympathy. These empathetic statements are important because they demonstrate the power of scientific thought to overwhelm their more humane instincts during the second half of the nineteenth century. Since scientific racism also posited that races were arranged in a hierarchy, there was also a constant struggle to assert ones’ place amongst other Europeans. From this perspective, it is easier to appreciate why hunting was so popular and competitive in the late nineteenth century. All of these beliefs, anxieties, and intentions were sublimated into hunting. These concerns explain why

some British politicians used hunting to legitimize colonial rule,³⁴⁷ but also why the British Shikar Club often competed against German and Austrian hunting clubs to compare the size and quality of trophies³⁴⁸ and why many hunters wished to compare themselves to American frontiersmen.

Even with questions about the morality of scientific racism and Social Darwinism hovering over each account, the hunters set about constructing arguments that reflected the tenets of scientific racism and Social Darwinism and upheld their theories. By pointing out what science had proven was racially deficient with Native peoples, the hunter-writers were able to validate their *fitness* and *masculinity* and entwine these aspects of their own identities inextricably. To affect this inter-relational construction, the concept of civilization became a lynchpin for the hunters, and Western civilization could not be decoupled from Western standards of manliness – just as Native civilization could not be sundered from Native manliness. Thus, when Native civilization fell short of what the hunters deemed to be acceptable, the hunters could not only condemn Native civilization, but Native manliness. Similarly, if Native manliness failed to live up to Western standards, Native civilization was discredited. By setting the parameters and terms of what was civilized behavior, the hunters' masculinities and superiority were never in serious jeopardy. In sum, the hunter-writers placed the concept of civilization at the center of their appraisals of Native culture and manhood, and by concluding that Native civilization and manliness did not meet the standards of Western civilization, the

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 38.

³⁴⁸ J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: 'Blooding' the Martial Male* (London: Routledge, 2010), 176.

hunter-writers were able to *ignore* and *dismiss* Native men's physical superiority and discredit Native culture.

The hunter-writers sought to discredit Native civilization in an effort to validate their own racial fitness and masculinity. In this era of scientific racism and Social Darwinism, the hunters' worldviews could be baldly revealed. Consider John Mortimer Murphy's statement regarding the future of Natives. He confidently averred,

The cause of the small families is correctly attributed to their having a lower vital power than the whites, for they are in reality the vegetable race of this epoch, whose mission seems to be to represent humanity in certain quarters of the globe until it is supplanted by one more sturdy and vigorous.³⁴⁹

John Boddam-Whetham made an even more scathing case for the eventual extinction of Native Americans:

It is difficult to imagine for what end Indians were placed upon the earth. Perhaps they were merely intended to live with wild animals amidst wild vegetation and enjoy their wild life, until races of greater capacity were ready to occupy the soil. A succession of races, like a rotation of crops, may be necessary to turn the earth.³⁵⁰

Obviously, in the estimation of Murphy and Boddam-Whetham, the Native races had outlived their usefulness. Their "lower vital power" was a manifestation of their racial/genetic inferiority and doomed them to extinction as they were unfit in the struggle for life. To these hunters – and to most educated Europeans – this inability to reproduce and build larger and more complex societies was a consequence of their *racial inferiority*, which manifested itself in the Natives' *indolence and unintelligence*. While these negative attributes often worked together to explain Native backwardness, the most pervasive critique of various aspects of Native societies was that the people were indolent

³⁴⁹ Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America*, 343.

³⁵⁰ Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, 287.

and lazy.³⁵¹ This lethargy was thought to be a racial characteristic that was communicated through their sperm and manifested itself in Native behavior. Due to the serious threat Native men posed to British masculinity interpersonal relationships between them were conceived of through this stark framework.

As this dissertation has noted several times, marksmanship was the *essential* ingredient in establishing a hunters' masculinity, and it lay at the core of hunting. The hunters believed Native Americans to be "poor shots" compared to white men for one major reason: they lacked the intelligence to master European technology.³⁵² Sir Henry Seton-Karr lauded Natives' "virility," "courage," "honour," and "fidelity," but lamented their incapability "... of initiating and developing any of the mechanical and industrial arts and sciences...."³⁵³ This defect was something that made them unfit to live in the modern world. A story by Baillie-Grohman served to underscore this point. He recounted,

I never heard so much shooting and saw so little hitting as I did in the month we were right among these perfectly wild Indians. Often I have counted fifteen shots to one poor deer; and there would be more shouting and waving of arms, and riding at full split up and down the most amazingly steep slopes, than would supply an evening's entertainment at a circus.³⁵⁴

³⁵¹ The best explanation of British racial views related to "lazy" hunting and native peoples' lack of civilization is found in Callum McKenzie, "The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to the 'The Shikar Club'," *The Sports Historian* 20 (2000): 78-79. See also: Matt Cartmill, *A View to a Death in the Morning: Hunting and Nature through History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 134-136.

³⁵² For examples of Natives' poor shooting see: *Western Wanderings*, 251. *Camps in the Rockies*, 266-267. Even when Natives did prove to be good shots, and even defeated a white in a shooting contest, this still somehow proved whites' superiority, see: Turner-Turner, *Three years' hunting and trapping in American and the great North-west*, 163. British hunters also often derided Americans' shooting prowess, see: Paul Fountain, *The Great North-West and the Great Lake Region of North America* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), 200.

³⁵³ Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*, 177.

³⁵⁴ Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, 267.

In another story, Baillie-Grohman built on this same theme of lack of intelligence, using the humiliation of a Native hunter to make his point. After noting that Natives were always curious about his gun and anxious to shoot it, he said

I let them try it, for by a little artifice I managed it so that both barrels went off simultaneously, producing an immense recoil sufficient to knock down a grizzly; and to see a stoical straight-backed old *buck* sent a clean summersault backward was ludicrous a sight, and only to be likened to a pompous old alderman, clothed in a breech clout, and an old blanket tightly drawn about his back, shrouding, but not hiding his well-developed form, suddenly turning head over heels.³⁵⁵

These stories perfectly displayed what British hunters thought of their Native counterparts when it came to using modern technology. Due to their racial makeup, Natives were inept and unintelligent, which was symbolized by the acrobatics of the “old buck.”

Not only did Natives lack the intelligence to intuitively use modern weaponry, but they also demonstrated laziness by remaining poor marksmen over time and not developing skills through persistent practice. Henry Seton-Karr made it clear that practice was key in honing one’s skills. He said, “The art of rifle-shooting, whether on the range or in the field, is something that can only be effectually learnt by practical experience. An ounce of practice is worth a pound – I would even say a ton – of theory.”³⁵⁶ Theodore Roosevelt claimed that “[w]ith sufficient practice any man who possesses common-sense and is both hardy and persevering can become, to a certain extent, a still-hunter.”³⁵⁷ Since still-hunting was particularly difficult, this was a serious deficiency for Natives. John Mortimer Murphy intoned “[t]o be a successful hunter

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 270.

³⁵⁶ Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*, 354.

³⁵⁷ Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman: Sketches of Sport on the Northern Cattle Plains* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1886), 141.

requires practice more than anything else... I am free to say that any ordinary person can become a successful hunter in time, provided he has the ordinary five senses and sound limbs, if he has practice.”³⁵⁸ British and American hunter-writers were clear that with practice, any man could become proficient with a rifle. In sum, Natives did not demonstrate the commitment necessary to become good marksmen, and their perpetually poor marksmanship meant that they were either not intelligent enough to grasp the new technology or too lazy to devote enough time to learning the skill. Either way, they were becoming comically anachronistic in the modern, nineteenth-century world

Hunting was not all about marksmanship. Since all of the authors preferred to stalk animals, they sized up Natives’ abilities during such a “still-hunt.” John Boddam-Whetham encapsulated the overarching attitudes regarding Native hunters best by saying

I then returned to the camp, and found that my companions had killed a deer, greatly to the disgust of the Modocs; who had refused to accompany me [stalking sheep on a mountain], because, as they said, they did not like climbing after the sheep, but in reality [they refused] because they were too lazy to care for any shooting but that obtained by lying in ambush.³⁵⁹

This unwillingness to even participate in the still hunt was damning because it was the most celebrated method of hunting for the British. All of the authors engaged in stalking in their accounts – even John Mortimer Murphy who enjoyed running hounds and Percy Selous whose account was primarily about trapping. Contrarily, the Natives’ preferred method of lying in wait to ambush animals at watering holes and salt licks, the British considered taboo. It did not matter if these ambushes necessitated an incredible amount of endurance and patience because these attributes were being used to kill in a

³⁵⁸ Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 39.

³⁵⁹ Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, 230, 218.

questionable manner. As a consequence, there were very few mentions of Native hunters' attributes, such as strength and endurance, which were a prerequisite for their methods. When these attributes were addressed or mentioned they were not even acknowledged as positive character traits because they were used to kill in an "unsportsmanlike" manner. For the hunter-writers, then, the attributes of "patience" and "endurance" were semantically transformed into "laziness" because Natives' mode of hunting varied from that of the British hunters.³⁶⁰ In short, they were able to *elide or completely ignore* Native hunters' prowess and incredible feats because they failed to live up to British notions of "sport."

Heywood Walter Seton-Karr was able to assess Natives' abilities during still hunts. In his book about hunting bears in Alaska, Seton-Karr had some positive things to say about Natives and remarked several times on the strength and amazing eyesight of Natives. He even rode piggy back on the back of a "half breed" to cross a river and boasted of catching sight of game in advance of one of his Native guides; yet, he too criticized the Natives' lack of self-control and their inability to patiently stalk animals.³⁶¹ One day Seton-Karr was out after big horns, but after marching along a timber line for a while and seeing none he was alerted by one of his guides, Kilipoudken, of a deer in range that might be a good target. As he closed in the deer leapt away and Seton-Karr complained, "While I was creeping laboriously up into position for a shot, the Indians lost patience and advanced, scaring the deer away." He then instructed, "It is better to

³⁶⁰ For more instances of hunters utilizing the language of "laziness" and "indolence" see the following: Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2, 238-239. On expeditions in interior Africa, David Livingston did not allow his guides to hunt at water holes because of its unsportsmanlike character. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 103.

³⁶¹ Heywood W. Seton-Karr, *Bear Hunting in the White Mountains*, 148-151.

hunt alone when one once knows the ground, unless a man is afraid of being lost.”³⁶² To the hunters, Natives who continually scared off game were simply unable to control themselves and, therefore, demonstrated an *inability to learn* from their mistakes. This inability to properly stalk animals was due to a combination of a lack of patience and a lack of intelligence. None of the authors saw the absurdity of such remarks even as Native Americans possessed a tremendous amount of knowledge about their surroundings and consistently demonstrated superior patience in hunting, thievery, and warfare.

John Turner-Turner related a similar experience when hunting bear in British Columbia along the Skeena River. His Native guide, “Kishpyox [sic] Jim,”³⁶³ was apparently the only Native willing to hunt bears in the area; he proved to be a handful. Upon getting to their hunting ground, Turner-Turner made sure to point out that Jim’s eyesight was not perfect and consequently they had spent nearly an hour stalking a tree stump. Then, when Turner-Turner finally did spot a real bear, Jim boldly advanced on the animal seemingly wanting to take it for his own. Turner-Turner had to preempt Jim and fired before he would have liked, though he did successfully bring down the bear. Meanwhile, Jim began firing rapidly into an already dead bear. Turner-Turner commented,

Jim, who was now within a hundred yards of the already dead bear, commenced firing, and, I verily believe, had I not stopped him, would have pumped every one of the fifteen bullets, with which his new repeating rifle was loaded, into, or more probably round, the carcass [sic]; as it was, on my assurance that the animal was dead, he contented himself with keeping close behind me as we approached.

³⁶² Ibid., 151.

³⁶³ Turner-Turner misspelled “Kishpyox.” It should have been spelled Kishpiox.

These actions demonstrated Jim's inability to control himself as well as his lack of intelligence. When the two finally made it all the way up to the carcass, Turner-Turner said,

Of Jim's shot we could find no vestige, nor did I expect otherwise, for though when shooting at a mark he was fairly successful, like all Indians, he became utterly demoralised in the presence of game, while the effect of a repeating rifle is such that an Indian usually commences fire immediately on sighting anything, and keeps it up, probably running all the time, until his entire stock of amunition [sic] is exhausted.³⁶⁴

Turner-Turner minced no words in his estimation of Jim and of Native Americans in general in the above remarks. The combination of poor marksmanship when combined with their lack of self-control and penchant for moving while firing meant that Turner-Turner harbored absolutely no respect for them as hunters, and Turner-Turner's hunt with Jim left him no shortage of ammunition to rail against Jim's poor shooting.³⁶⁵

Another aspect of Native hunting that British hunters sought to disparage and blame on racial inferiority was related to this issue of self-control. British hunters often acknowledged that they too experienced urges and that they were motivated by primitive impulses just like Native hunters,³⁶⁶ but, as a testament to their civility, they constantly mentioned their ability to check their worst inclinations to slaughter game. Constant and vehement objections to slaughter served to highlight what the hunters saw as the enormous gap between real "sport" and Native hunting practices, which were supposedly uninhibited,³⁶⁷ haphazard, and cruel.³⁶⁸ Only one of the hunters, Sir Rose Price, engaged

³⁶⁴ Turner-Turner, *Three Years' Hunting and Trapping in America and the Great North-West*, 101-103.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 104.

³⁶⁶ Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 7. Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*, 145-146.

³⁶⁷ The myth about Plains Indians using every part of a slaughtered buffalo is not completely correct because often times more buffalo than could be used were killed in a hunt. This became the case as Plains Indians were increasingly engaged in the buffalo robe market and buffaloes were slaughtered for

in what would be considered slaughter. All of the other hunters were quite adamant that they detested wanton slaughter.³⁶⁹ These hunter-writers associated a lack of restraint with Natives or rapacious skin-hunters; therefore, none of the authors wished to depict themselves as “going native” when it came to hunting. This distinction was very fine because many of the authors emphasized that they were braving harsh conditions that would rip and tear their clothes, leaving them dirty and bedraggled, hiking in areas where few whites had ever done so, keeping up with a Native guide, or getting close to an animal. All of these feats demonstrated their masculinity; yet, none of the authors could be seen as wanting to be thought of as a Native, or having too thoroughly subsumed themselves into Native culture. In effect, by walking this tight line, the hunters were able to curry the esteem that would have come from appropriating Native strength in hunting, while maintaining enough distance to ward off censure. For the hunters, the distinction between self-control and civilization and indulgence/laziness and savagery was crucial to their claim-right to civility and therefore to manliness.

monetary/material gain. That said, Plains Indians were careful to use every part of the buffalo that they were able to skin and butcher. Andrew C. Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 10. See also, Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, 40. For a good synopsis of the various factors leading to the century-long decimation of the buffalo see: Daniel Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 205.

³⁶⁸ John M. MacKenzie, “The imperial pioneer and hunter and the British masculine stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times,” in *Manliness and morality: Middle-class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 184.

³⁶⁹ Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, 150. Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, 213. Gillmore, *Accessible Field Sports*, 38. Granville Armyne Gordon, *Sporting Reminiscences* (London: G. Richards, 1902), 4. Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2, 218. W. Mullen, *Rambles After Sport; or, Travels and Adventures in the Americas and at Home* (London: “The Field” Office, 1874), 86. Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 252. Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*, 201. Heywood W. Seton-Karr, *Bear Hunting in the White Mountains*, 148. Horace Annesley Vachell, *Sport and Life on the Pacific Slope* (London: E. Nash, 1908), 264. Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land*, 295-297.

Native hunters displayed laziness by often not taking responsibility to clean and bring in their game, relying, instead, on their wives to do so. The fact that Native men rarely brought in their own kills was yet another manifestation of their indolence, and this issue was often linked with the general incivility of gender roles within Native civilization. For instance, after a day of hunting near the Ute reservation, Henry Seton-Karr was returning to his camp when he encountered a Native hunter. He noted sarcastically:

Here was Fenimore Cooper's *noble* red man in the flesh. Alas for our ideals! I was completely disillusioned. The particular real article that I first saw was clothed in buckskin and moccasins certainly, but he was also small, somewhat mean-looking, and not too clean.

He then related his experience of hunting with a Native, saying

On one or two occasions an Indian accompanied us. Their eyesight is marvellous [sic]. I never knew an Indian fail to pick up deer before we did. But their shooting is indifferent. That, at least, was my experience of them. One day we met an Indian who had just killed three deer, regardless of age or sex. He had not even butchered them. This was a squaw's work. The Indian buck rode back to camp, and promptly despatched his squaw to find and bring the meat that he had killed.³⁷⁰

There were several points that Seton-Karr was trying to make in this one passage. Seton-Karr simply ignored the fact that the hunter was quite successful and – against all evidence to the contrary – asserted that he was a poor marksman. Then, he made the point that the Native hunter was lazy since he was “not too clean” and refused to bring in his own animals. Dressing one's kills was an important act for British hunters and demonstrated that the hunter was willing to work and “labour” for his trophy. Similar to the example above where Native physical prowess was completely ignored because it did

³⁷⁰ Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*, 182.

not perfectly conform to British notions of manliness, Seton-Karr was able to ignore this hunter's prowess because he did not conform to British notions of proper gender roles. This hunter demanded that his squaw perform the base work involved in processing the carcass, all of which offended Seton-Karr's modern sensibilities.³⁷¹ In case this point was lost on the reader, he immediately recounted another story about Natives' uncivilized manners and their penchant for drunkenness.³⁷²

Something that must be noted about this particular encounter with a Native hunter was that it was preceded by a three-page long diatribe against Native civilization; by contrast, the above passage about his experiences with the Native hunter comprised barely a half of page of text. To give a taste of the tenor of Seton-Karr's discussion of Native civilization he prefaced his three page diatribe by saying,

I have always regarded the Red Indian tribes of the Rockies with some compassion. They, the rightful and hereditary owners of the North American continent, have been conquered and supplanted by the Anglo-Saxon race by right only of the stronger hand and of the higher intelligence. It is, we must presume, the inevitable and fore-ordained result of the survival of the fittest – of the operation of the Divine law that has decreed that man shall subdue and replenish the earth.³⁷³

Then, he detailed Natives' inability to assimilate to American society, while calling attention to African and Asian peoples' ability to do so. After castigating Natives for their irrationality, he wrapped up his examination of Native society by concluding that

³⁷¹ British hunters found it reprehensible that women were forced to dress and retrieve kills. British travel writers, in general, thought that Native women were used in a capacity that approached servitude, which offended their modern sensibilities regarding the amount and type of work that a woman should undertake. For an excellent account of the evolution of the home from a site of work and domesticity to a refuge from work, see: John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 14-15, 47. In reality, among the Plains tribes, butchering game was a predominantly male activity. Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, 90. Among the Ute tribe, which is the one Sir Henry most likely encountered, women were responsible for processing and storing meat. Jan Pettit, *Utes, the mountain people* (Boulder: Johnson Printing Co., 1990), 30.

³⁷² Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*, 177-183.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, 177.

there was a lot of truth in the saying, “The only good Indian is a dead Indian.”³⁷⁴ The disparity in space used to critique Native society and that which was devoted to discussing Native hunters in Seton-Karr’s account is generally true for all the accounts, and I believe it to be fairly significant. This gap represents British anxiety about Native men’s bodies and physical prowess. Even though Seton-Karr’s account was a reminiscence of his trips to the West nearly thirty years before this, and by the end of the century Native Americans had been thoroughly defeated, the account demonstrates apprehensiveness over the issue of physicality. Perhaps since Seton-Karr was writing in the wake of the Boer War, there was a heightened sensitivity to the physical issue. A national debate about “degeneration” and the overall health of the nation’s male bodies was set off during this period as 40% of British men were officially declared unfit for combat during the Second Boer War.³⁷⁵ This apprehension over Native physicality, however, occurs throughout the period investigated and remains a constant concern of the hunter-writers. All of the writers cited so far devoted disproportionate space to discrediting Native civilization rather than comparing the merits of Native hunters against themselves.

Another hunter, Henry Leveson, made the same observations about Native men’s lack of industry and how it adversely affected women. His scathing analysis noted:

Hunting and smoking appear to be the only occupations of the men; for, naturally indolent and slothful – although they will go through great privation and fatigue when hunting or on the war path – they will not work, and look upon labour as a

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 179.

³⁷⁵ John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on gender, family and empire* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 196. Not only were “degenerates” considered physically weak, but they were also associated with crime. Daniel Bivona and Roger B. Henkle, *The imagination of class: Masculinity and the Victorian urban poor* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006), 145-146.

disgrace. Their women do all the drudgery, cultivate the maize and tobacco, and carry all the burdens and portable property from place to place.³⁷⁶

Lest anyone might interpret this as an endorsement of Native marksmanship, Leveson made sure to note that in a firefight he had participated in Natives were perfectly useless. For Leveson, Natives failed to live up to the hunter-writers' standards of manliness as warriors, hunters, and men. On the whole, Plains Indian women's lives were not terrible. The perceived cruelty toward women was a misrepresentation of reality. Plains Indian society was much more egalitarian than British or American society, even though men did control politics and war and male children were often given preferential treatment. Women were not, however, completely shunned from important activities. Plains women were often able exert power, over which men were able to rise and fall in power, and some even became warriors and had their own wives who would attend to household duties while they were off pursuing their duties as a warrior and hunter. Paul H. Carlson summed up women's role in Plains society by saying, "In tribal society women were equal participants with men. They took charge of the tipi, prepared meals, worked the fields, and fashioned the clothing."³⁷⁷

Yet, the words "miserable" and "drudgery" were constantly trumpeted by the hunters to describe the squaws' lives.³⁷⁸ Baillie-Grohman, for instance, related a story of

³⁷⁶ Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2, 238-240.

³⁷⁷ Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, 81-82, 84, 107. For an examination of how gender expectations were used against other minority groups in the American West see Karen Leong's essay "'A Distinct and Antagonistic Race.'" Her essay examines how Americans used their rigid "gender moral order" to show that Chinese men were "unassimilable" because they failed to protect their women's virtue. This strategy is eerily similar to the one used against Natives whereby men are shown to be exploitative and therefore "uncivilized." Karen J. Leong, "'A Distinct and Antagonistic Race': Constructions of Chinese Manhood in the Exclusionist Debates, 1869-1878," in *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West*, ed. Matthew Basso, Laura McCall, and Dee Garceau (Routledge: New York, 2001), 131-148.

³⁷⁸ Dunraven observed that men beautified themselves in trinkets and nice clothes while the women "poor drudges, have no time for these vanities." Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 62.

a “miserable” squaw with a newborn being forced by her husband to ford the half-frozen Wind River in the bone-chilling, early morning cold. The squaw and her newborn were prodded along by the “buck” and after entering an unfrozen portion of the river quickly fell and got swept away. After they finally got to the other side, the squaw’s husband did not tend to her or their newborn even though both were about to freeze to death; instead, he took off after the ponies and tended to them first.³⁷⁹ John Turner-Turner also noted how amongst a Pacific Northwest tribe the women were “treated with more equality than is the case with the Plains Indians,” but that women still bore a disproportionate brunt of the physical labor involved with fishing. “[I]f there is but one pack [of fish] between man and woman she will have to carry it, and if there be two hers will be by far the heavier.”³⁸⁰ Parker Gillmore made it clear that he found Native women sought out Anglo men because they treated women better. Historian Sylvia Van Kirk would agree with Gillmore on this point. She notes that “the succour available to the Indians at a fur-trade post was often of greater relevance to the women than to the men. Both the Hudson’s Bay Company traders and the Nor’Westers were moved to rescue Indian women from starvation or maltreatment.” Van Kirk recalls a representative tale where a battered Native woman sought assistance at a fur trade post and “was slowly nursed back to health and allowed to remain at the post when it became apparent that her relatives had abandoned her.”³⁸¹ Gillmore concurred, “This preference [for white men] most probably results from the fact that the red man expects all manual labour, it matters not how

³⁷⁹ Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, 273-275.

³⁸⁰ The Tribe was the Giatikshan tribe. Turner-Turner, *Three Years’ Hunting and Trapping in America and the Great North-West*, 87.

³⁸¹ Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 75-77, see also 6-7.

severe, to be performed by the women.”³⁸² Gillmore was at pains to demonstrate the *partial* “drudgery” of squaws in a half-breed trapper camp: “In this camp there were fourteen hunters, a few of whom had squaws. Although, in true Indian fashion, all the hard work devolved on these unfortunate women, they did not appear to murmur, but even looked happy, notwithstanding their excessive drudgery.”³⁸³ Since these trappers were partially white, their squaws could not be totally debased.

Instead of directly discussing Natives’ hunting skills or even broaching the issue of Natives’ appalling gender relations as an entrée to discredit Native hunters and Native civilization, John Mortimer Murphy chose to berate Native intelligence, superstitions, dances, and manners. By using this strategy he never directly addressed Natives’ hunting abilities even though he had hunted with Natives and at one point admitted he simply could not keep up with their pace on a hunt.³⁸⁴ In fact, after participating in a massive group hunt with Natives on the Skagit River in Washington, the Native men returned with an enormous amount of game, but Murphy casually explained away the Native hunters’ prowess. “The amount of game brought in was almost incredible for one day’s work,” he noted, “but when I considered that the forests were fairly alive with animals, and that no foes threatened them except an occasional red man, I could readily understand the success of the party.”³⁸⁵ This dismissal of Native hunters’ success was quite a leap in logic. First, Murphy admitted to being unable to keep up with a Native hunter; secondly, Murphy had committed a series of amateurish blunders throughout the hunt, two of which nearly killed him. On one occasion, displaying his own lack of

³⁸² Gillmore, *A Hunter’s Adventures in the Great West*, 46.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, 185.

³⁸⁴ Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 88.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 94.

intelligence, Murphy thought he could kill a fully grown black bear by splitting its head in two with a cimeter, which is a large knife. Anyone with rudimentary knowledge about bears would have known that accomplishing such a feat was impossible because of the strength of a bear's skull. Murphy's arm was badly ripped open during the encounter, and he was lucky that his torso escaped without a slashing. Thus, instead of acknowledging Natives' skill, Murphy simply ignored Natives' abilities and focused on criticizing Native customs and manners, which stemmed from their lack of intelligence and rationality. He noted the foolishness of Native dances, but one particular passage describing a feast demonstrated his detached and supercilious perspective best. At a feast following the massive group hunt, Murphy observed:

The lurid glare of the fires on their faces; the darkness that reigned about them; the scantiness and tawdriness of their costumes; the mingling of all ages and sexes; and the crunching of bones or tearing of meat between the fingers, made such a scene as could not be witnessed outside the United States, in all probability, and one which even there would be worth travelling far to behold... I went about among the groups, and enjoyed the romantic strangeness of the picture they presented so much that it was long past midnight ere I retired to rest.³⁸⁶

Murphy's evocative prose called attention to the primitive and romantic nature of this scene. So, while Murphy had proved to be rather inept and unintelligent in the field and Natives had proved to be formidable hunters, he was able to shift the focus from his own shortcomings by vividly demonstrating Natives' exotic savagery. Later he documented his participation in quelling a Sioux uprising, an event which gave him the opportunity to disparage Native marksmanship even though he had been wounded in the encounter.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 51, 84-86, 94, 96-98.

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 182.

Another interesting case is that of Edward North Buxton. Like Murphy, Buxton refused to discuss Native hunters and instead chose to concentrate at length on discrediting Native civilization. “The game is dying out,” he noted,

and all that the Indian is learning is to rely on eleemosynary aid, while the steam ploughs and other expensive implements, with which it is in vain sought to tempt him to scratch the teeming soil, are broken up for firewood in the first cold winter... Either a great and industrious nation must be content to have on its hands, in perpetuity, a weak and thriftless race as a pensioner at full wages, or when, as has recently happened at Pine Ridge, the pinch comes, there will be cattle-stealing, reprisals and a final massacre. Doubtless there have been pilfering, blunders, misunderstandings, and cruelty on the part of some of the American agents, but against these should be set the persevering efforts of the Government to reclaim a treacherous and untameable race.³⁸⁸

Buxton created a truly grim picture of “teeming soil” going uncultivated with disastrous consequences. The implication was that the perpetual conflict on the frontier would not cease until Natives were extinct and a new, industrious race of people was reaping the rewards of the fertile soil. Natives had been given the opportunity to begin a sedentary life and settle the land, but their refusal to do so would doom them and thus justified their hard fate. Their lack of intelligence and their indolence had produced their inevitable extinction.

Another issue that denoted Natives’ racial inferiority was a lack of cleanliness.³⁸⁹ General dirtiness was associated with laziness and poverty and cleanliness was associated with civilization.³⁹⁰ Natives’ unwillingness to adapt to a sedentary life and adopt

³⁸⁸ Buxton, *Short Stalks; or Hunting Camps, North, South, East, and West*, 75-76.

³⁸⁹ Here is a representative opinion: “They are besides disgustingly dirty, and generally well stocked with loathsome vermin.” Leveson, *Sport in many Lands* vol. 2, 240. See also: Townshend, *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport and Adventure*, 115. Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 113.

³⁹⁰ Dunraven put it rather comically,

Virginia City. Good Lord! What a name for the place! We had looked forward to it during the journey as to a sort of haven of rest, a lap of luxury; a Capua in which to forget our woes and weariness; an Elysium where we might be washed, clean-shirted, rubbed, shampooed, barbered, curled, cooled, and cock-tailed. Not a bit of it! Not a sign of Capua about the place!

agriculture was thought to be at the root of Native poverty. Baillie-Grohman summed up the prevailing view of the hunters best by saying,

This [poor trading and no sense of value] is the main reason why Indians, who often own a number of valuable horses, never seem to accumulate wealth in kind. Though the word *nomadic* Indian is... a grossly misapplied term for the Aborigines of North America, this getting rid, at a ruinous loss, of anything and everything when they no longer have immediate use for it, and paying exorbitantly for what, at the moment, they may happen to want, is yet a characteristic of all nomadic races, and is opposed to all principles of mature civilization.³⁹¹

Very few instances of clean-looking Natives were related in the hunters' accounts,³⁹² and since Natives' appearances were usually cause for comment, cleanliness was a crucial component of the images that the hunters constructed about Natives. For some, nothing quite destroyed their romantic notions of Native Americans like personal hygiene.

Dunraven said,

A practical though slight acquaintance with many tribes has sufficed to dispel the illusions and youthful fancies that a severe course of study of Fenimore Cooper's works, of 'Hiawatha,' and books of that description engendered in my mind. Under the strong light of personal observation of their filthiness, of their debasing habits and ideas, the halo of romance that at one period of my life enveloped them has faded considerably though it has not entirely disappeared.³⁹³

Notice that the first thing Dunraven associates with luxury is cleanliness (i.e. – to be “washed”). Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 43.

³⁹¹ Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, 272.

³⁹² William A. Bell said, “The Pueblo, or town Indians, are the most remarkable and important tribe to be found in any part of the United States or Canada; they are, in fact, the only native race whose presence on the soil is not a curse to the country.” Bell described the Moqui people in the following terms: “Great neatness is observable both in the household arrangements and personal habits of the people.” William Abraham Bell, *New Tracks in North America: A Journal of Travel and Adventure Whilst Engaged in the Survey for a Southern Railroad to the Pacific Ocean during 1867-8* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1869), 157-158, 167. One hunter-writer noted that the Christian Indian town of Metlakahla was “unique in the cleanliness of its houses....” Turner-Turner, *Three Years' Hunting and Trapping in America and the Great North-West*, 47. While Dunraven noted that tepees “make very comfortable, clean and airy houses, and are far preferable to any tent, being much warmer in winter and cooler in summer,” he also noted the presence of lice on the Crow he visited and made a blanket remark about Native “filthiness.” Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 94, 97, 113.

³⁹³ Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 113.

Sir Rose Lambart Price, who was never contented with the cleanliness of conditions anywhere outside of Britain, concurred with Dunraven's estimations:

As to cleanliness among the Pi-Utes, it does not exist even in name. Filth, morning noon and night, is always to be found. Their lodges are poorly constructed, and when a locality becomes so dirty as to be no longer endurable, the lodge poles are pulled up and the band moves off to some new and clean place.³⁹⁴

Dunraven and Price's comments were echoed in numerous other accounts and demonstrated how the concepts of dirtiness and laziness were intimately linked.

Other than Parker Gillmore and Percy Selous, the hunters did not exhibit a desire to emulate Native hunters.³⁹⁵ The hunters insistently inveighed against Native racial inferiority and civilization in order to elide or ignore Native hunters' skills and play up their own. Parker Gillmore thought that Natives who had come into contact with white men were especially depraved and found Native gender roles to be reprehensible, but also sought to emulate and compare himself to Native hunters.

In order to play up his superior abilities in stalking animals, Parker Gillmore observed, "Beavers (*Castor fiber*) are so excessively wary, that it is very seldom such a sight as that which I enjoyed has been gazed upon by white men, and then only in such remote and undisturbed districts as that in which I wandered."³⁹⁶ Gillmore revealed in the fact that he was the equal of a Native hunter because in an earlier work he noted that Natives were "excellent hunters and trappers."³⁹⁷ His reverence for Natives, however, was not unqualified. Shortly after this episode, Gillmore encountered a female Native

³⁹⁴ Price, *The Two Americas*, 296, 298.

³⁹⁵ Selous a middle-class hunter simply alluded to the difficulty of stalking in woods if one is not as silent and methodical as Indian hunters. Selous, *Travel and Big Game*, 23-24.

³⁹⁶ Gillmore, *A Hunter's Adventures in the Great West*, 17.

³⁹⁷ Gillmore, *Accessible Field Sports*, 4.

trapper and he noted female Natives' preference for marrying white men because of the way they treated their wives.³⁹⁸ This indictment of Native men was followed by an even more scathing account of the female trapper. While this woman was a fine trapper, Gillmore noted:

I regretted that so worthy and genuine a woman should possess so little regard for cleanliness and knowledge of those conventionalities of civilisation that are absolutely necessary to render feminine society attractive to a person of what may possibly be considered fastidious taste. A nigger is generally deemed, and not without justice, a very odorous specimen of the human family; but the effluvium of a squaw is more peculiar, indescribable, sickening – strongly impregnated with the odour produced from bruised limbs or foliage of dwarf cedar.³⁹⁹

Taken together, these accounts of Natives' life ways left no doubt as to their fitness, and Gillmore explicitly made it clear that he felt Native Americans would vanish from the earth.⁴⁰⁰ Here was a man who simultaneously co-opted Native attributes and condemned them to extinction!

Conclusion

Since validation of civility and civilization were prerequisites to establishing fitness and masculinity, the hunters spent much more time discussing Native laziness, irrationality, uncivilized gender relations, and dirtiness than they did analyzing the Natives' hunting abilities; in short, they did everything they could to discredit them. In the evolutionary battle for fitness, the hunter-writers took no chances. This process of

³⁹⁸ Gillmore, *A Hunter's Adventures in the Great West*, 46, 185.

³⁹⁹ Gillmore, *A Hunter's Adventures in the Great West*, 67. While the account does not mention any physical relationship between Gillmore and this woman trapper, Parker's wife, Emily, claimed to have been infected with a venereal disease by Parker in May 1871. This book was published in 1871. British National Archives, Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, J 77/149/3418.

⁴⁰⁰ Gillmore, *Accessible Field Sports*, 12.

documenting and demarcating inferiority was a necessity for a people with an empire.

On this score, historian Ray Allen Billington has stated,

This was understandable. England's empire was spreading across the world, usually at the expense of peoples whose color and culture differed from her own. Expansion could be justified only by extolling the virtues of the Anglo-Saxon race, and degrading the "lesser races" who stood in its way. To picture one such people – the Native Americans – as inferior was to justify imperialism everywhere.⁴⁰¹

To perpetrate the physical atrocities and impose the mental and socio-economic structures necessary to establish an empire,⁴⁰² the British had to convince themselves of their own superiority, and yet they had to continually reassure themselves about their civilization and their manliness in different cultural mediums.⁴⁰³ Over time, as historians Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose have observed, these assumptions were never fundamentally questioned and the empire and the mental structures that supported it became "a natural aspect of Britain's place in the world and its history." This naturalization of the empire in thought is critical because consciousness and press

⁴⁰¹ Ray Allen Billington, *Land of Savagery Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1981), 142.

⁴⁰² The genocide that took place in Tasmania in the late 1820s, or the similar ethnic cleansing perpetrated on the Aborigines in Australia throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are examples of British atrocities perpetrated in the name of empire. Jared Diamond, *The Third Chimpanzee: The Evolution and Future of the Human Animal* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1992), 278-279, 282-283.

⁴⁰³ I subscribe to a Wolfian notion of culture, meaning that I believe cultures are in constant construction and reconstruction and that this perpetual construction is a social process. Thus, the British Empire and the ideas that underpinned it had to be constantly created and reaffirmed. Wolf argued, "The development of an overall hegemonic pattern or 'design for living' is not so much the victory of a collective cognitive logic or aesthetic impulse as the development of redundancy – the continuous repetition, in diverse instrumental domains, of the same basic propositions regarding the nature of constructed reality." Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 388. Lastly, many authors have noted the sheer volume of colonial hunting accounts that were produced in the nineteenth century, which is a testament to the fact that the empire was a part of British culture that had to be continually constructed. See for example: Cartmill, *A View to a Death in the Morning*, 136.

coverage of the empire fluctuated throughout time.⁴⁰⁴ This worldview became woven into the fabric of British culture and it could not be conveniently discarded at will. Thus, when Native civilizations were discussed, the Natives were depicted as primitives that demonstrated certain laudable attributes but, ultimately, were guided and taken over by the basest instincts, which confirmed their racial and genetic inferiority.

When positive attributes were credited to Native civilization, they were immediately invalidated by the abundance of negative qualities that, overall, discredited their right to survival. This tendency to praise and condemn is part of the phenomenon that was pinpointed by cultural theorist Homi Bhabha. John MacKenzie has summarized Bhabha's argument by saying the imperialist's

relationship with the colonised operates like a fetish, vacillating between fear and desire, doubt and confidence. The indigenous of empire are portrayed as degenerate in order to justify conquest, but as redeemable in order to justify their continuing rule...⁴⁰⁵

John Tosh has also theorized that the demonization of colonized peoples is part of the psychological phenomenon of "projection" whereby the frustration of repression is focused on the "other."⁴⁰⁶ These two theories shed a significant amount of light on the psychological process that the hunter-writers were undergoing. While the hunter-writers were most likely curious about Native American civilizations, and some of them even willing to indulge in a little transgression, they were also anxious about their own society

⁴⁰⁴ Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, "Introduction: being at home with the Empire." in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 2.

⁴⁰⁵ John MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, theory and the arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 12. For a good example of this in the hunting accounts see Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia*, 306.

⁴⁰⁶ "Any identity, and especially an insecure one, is partly constructed in juxtaposition to a demonized 'other' – and imagined identity composed of all the relevant negatives, and pinned onto its nearest approximation in the real world." Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 49.

and economic situation and ended up projecting a lot of their frustrations and concerns onto Native peoples in order to discredit them and build up their own confidence.

Most of the authors who broached the “Red Indian question” attempted to ultimately justify Natives extinction by calling attention to racial defects that were insurmountable. Paul Fountain was the sole writer who showed what could be called genuine concern for the manner in which Native tribes had been treated, but even he thought they would vanish from the earth. John Boddam-Whetham was completely aware of the fraud perpetrated against the Great Plains tribes, citing U.S. Government reports that seven of every eight dollars appropriated for Natives went to contractors; however, he also thought the Native races had run their course. In regards to the Native character he stated, “The good qualities attributed to the red men are patient endurance, dignity of feeling, and self control. Yet as a rule, they are treacherous and proud, bloodthirsty, dirty, lazy, and ready to steal, beg, or scalp, as it may suit their purpose.”⁴⁰⁷ Dunraven also had a good grasp on how the Natives’ lifestyle was being subverted on the Plains. He pitied the Natives to a certain extent yet he also stated, “The tribes exclusively inhabiting the United States have suffered more than their brethren who partially or altogether live in British possessions, for they have come more into collision with *the* superior race.”⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁷ Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, 232.

⁴⁰⁸ Before this particular quote, the Earl made another statement that even more clearly exhibited the dualities inherent in his thinking. He said,

Indians, though sometimes mean and treacherous, yet often exhibit a grand simplicity and nobleness of character of which we should be envious. As a rule, they exercise great self-control, though now and then they break out in wild orgies and excesses of all kinds; and, if they are frequently unsavoury, they are always picturesque.

Dunraven, *The Great Divide*, 114, 117-119, my emphasis.

Even Sir Rose Lambart Price, who declared that the Sioux “are personally brave, and all the men are trained soldiers and hunters,” also stated that the Sioux belief that they could fight the United States was “absurd” and went on to say that the Sioux would eventually join the other dying tribes in their current “innocuous” state.⁴⁰⁹ Clearly, Price thought the Sioux’s inability to grasp the futility of waging a war of attrition against the U.S. government was indicative of their mental inferiority and irrationality. Once again, Price, in his next hunting account, which was written many years later, in order to underscore the superiority of Western civilization, noted that “[c]ivilization is, of course, the great panacea....” Only by adopting Western values, Price declared, would Natives be able to propagate their race and survive.⁴¹⁰ At another point, Price condescendingly noted how his Indian guide, Tigee, “[i]n a dozen different ways... showed good breeding....” Basically, Price was comparing Tigee’s breeding to that of horses or dogs.⁴¹¹ While Price saw more positive attributes than most of the other writers, he was unable to depart from the established discourse of racial inferiority and ultimate extinction. The discourse revolving around the inevitability of Native distinction was powerful enough to blunt these men’s instinctive compassion toward people in need. Dunraven, in particular, had been raised to become an Earl and a landowner, but that reputed “finer tone of feeling” that aristocrats were supposed to exhibit abandoned him in the American West.

In conclusion, the fragility of the hunter-writers’ psyche and bodies led them to embrace Social Darwinism with a vengeance. Yet, the hunters understood the moral

⁴⁰⁹ Price, *The Two Americas*, 301, 308.

⁴¹⁰ Price, *A Summer on the Rockies*, 65, 67.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, 127. I would like to thank Col. John Townsend for insight on the condescending nature of Sir Rose’s remarks on Tigee’s “breeding.”

bankruptcy of this elaborately constructed worldview, which is why professions of sympathy preceded statements about Natives' final destruction. Offering up empathy and couching ideas about "natural laws" in inevitability allowed the hunters to psychologically come to terms with the catastrophe of the destruction of an entire people, to exonerate themselves from any culpability, and to justify it. Natives' fate was their own making.

CHAPTER 5

MILITARY ASSURANCE AND WESTERN GUIDES

Perhaps the sportsman is the best type of Englishman who comes to the West, always excepting those distinguished travellers [sic]... who merely flit through the country on their way to Australia and the Far East. He belongs to the upper and upper-middle classes; and, as a rule, has the tall, slender, wiry figure of a man inured to hardships, the man who can ride, or shoot, or fish all day and every day, and be none the worse for it. These Nimrods acquire a knowledge of the West at first hand. They see many phases of life; they talk with rich and poor, with gentle and simple, with honest men and knaves. Living themselves the primal life for many months, facing coldly the perils of the wilderness, apprehending, as they must, the obstacles that confront the pioneer, they can and do assimilate the facts, those facts so indigestible to the traveller who sees a new country through the windows of a Pullman drawing-room car. More, leaving the wilderness they approach civilization by degrees, passing over the trackless forest, then the blazed trail, then the footpath, the rude country road, the highway, and lastly the shining rails.

--Horace Annesley Vachell, *Sport and Life on the Pacific Slope*

[T]here are few classes of men who are more willing to do their duty by the laws of the country they happen to be in than the British sportsman. It is born in him to respect the statute. He could no more shoot game out of season or dodge a license, than he could malign his own mother.

--Arthur Tysilio Johnson, *An Englishman's Impressions of the Golden State*

In America every man is a "gentleman," though, as we understand the word, no one is a "gentleman." I do not mean that the fine tone of feeling, the delicate instinct which we call good breeding, is altogether wanted; but the grain is coarser, and the insensibly expressed deference of a man in a lower station of life to one in a higher is here altogether unknown.

--J. Maurice Farrar, *Five Years in Minnesota. Sketches of Life in a Western State*

Historian Callum McKenzie notes that the social nature of hunting has been understudied, and in a recent article he calls particular attention to the role of fraternal associations and sporting clubs for men in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴¹²

Fraternal organizations and sporting clubs, like campsites, played an important social role

⁴¹² Callum McKenzie, "The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to the 'The Shikar Club'," *The Sports Historian* 20 (2000): 71.

for men. These clubs offered a place where men could recount their exploits and also tend to their psychic need to hear approbation from peers and other men whose skills they respected. Today, men might be less inclined to form and join similar organizations for fear that the open recognition of the need for other men's company and fraternity might be deemed improper; yet, men continue to engage in the same customs of socializing with other men and replaying the action involved in their hunting/sporting exploits and doling out praise or good-natured taunts as the situation merits. This truth explains the ubiquity of coolers being broken out after softball and baseball games, and even the President of the United States enjoying pick-up basketball or a round of golf with his friends.⁴¹³ These customs seem to be a universal trait of humans, but they are also more important than a simple source of strengthening individual relationships. I believe, evolutionarily-speaking, these bonding activities have also provided men an *opportunity and ultimately a basis* for dominance, leadership, and patriarchy. I am not arguing that women do not engage in bonding activities or that these activities – by themselves – produce dominance. Rather, it is my contention that the activities of warfare and hunting, which were more apt to be given to men because of their biological exclusion from carrying and delivering children,⁴¹⁴ provided men with the *opportunity* to dominate societies and – more often than not – they seized those chances. Furthermore, I believe

⁴¹³ Opinion columnist Maureen Dowd recently applauded the fact that U.S. President Barack Obama finally included a woman in one of his golf outings because it is clear that these diversions are not merely about “play,” but – in her opinion – they are about developing personal “bonds.” Maureen Dowd, “Oval Man Cave,” *New York Times*, October 27, 2009. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/10/28/opinion/28dowd.html>>

⁴¹⁴ For an explanation of why child rearing as it relates to economic production is the prime factor in creating a sexual division of labor and men take more of the “dangerous” tasks see: Michael L. Burton, Lilyan A. Brudner and Douglas R. White, “A Model of the Sexual Division of Labor,” *American Ethnologist* 4 (1977): 227-251.

that homosocial bonding activities continue to contribute to the perpetuation of patriarchy via the exclusion and objectification of women.⁴¹⁵

Due to the evolutionarily-determinative nature of group activities (i.e. – activities that have life and death implications for groups), such as warfare and hunting, men and a smaller number of women were able to rise to control the fate of small, middle-range, and large societies, by controlling group security and major food sources.⁴¹⁶ Even in the most

⁴¹⁵ Today, many male and female feminists rightly bemoan the fact that the Feminist Movement has not allowed men, and the women who participate in male culture, to change the social dynamics surrounding male culture, which continues to rely on “bonding” through the exclusion and/or objectification of women. Ariel Levy, *Female Chauvinist Pigs: Women and the Rise of Raunch Culture* (New York: Free Press, 2005), 117, 138. Sport is a crucial arena where women continue to be routinely marginalized via the mass media. In discussing the recent surge in women’s participation in sports at the high school, university, and professional levels, sociologist Michael Messner concludes,

The larger socioeconomic and political context will continue to shape and constrain the extent to which women can wage fundamental challenges to the ways that organized sports continue providing ideological legitimation for male dominance. And the media’s framing of male and female athletes will continue to present major obstacles for any fundamental challenge to the present commercialized and male-dominant structure of organized athletics. It remains for a critical feminist theory to recognize the emergent contradictions in this system in order to inform a liberating social practice.

Michael A. Messner, *Out of Play: Critical Essays on Gender and Sport* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 44.

⁴¹⁶ Evolutionary psychologist James Waller argues that for millennia, humans evolved in an environment where groups consisted of no more than one hundred people in kin-ordered societies and these groups engaged in competition for scarce resources amongst other human populations. Thus, to maintain that evolution has nothing to do with group-level adaptations is misleading. Waller explains,

After all, it is likely that the small social group has been one of the few constants in our evolutionary history. We have evolved in the context of group living. It would be irresponsible to simply assume that living in these groups has not somehow produced group-level adaptations in human behavioral evolution. Adaptation to group living promoted individual survival, particularly in settings where collective action *facilitated defense or the acquisition of food..* (my emphasis)

James Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 151. Behavioral ecologists correctly attack evolutionary psychologists for their inability to deal with the contingency and real life consequences of phenomena such as rape, as well as evolutionary psychologists inability to reconcile their deterministic findings with new research in genetics that show the human genome has been evolving faster than previously thought. That said, I believe that most human societies evolved in an environment where hunting and fighting had to be carried out at some point – even in larger and more complex/stratified agrarian-based societies. Obviously, the levels of violence and hunting varied due to environment, but the major point is that *men dominated these roles and leadership roles in societies across a wide-spectrum of environments and the vast majority of societies developed into patriarchal societies where men were in the positions of power*. Again, this is not to argue that women were not integral and had a large amount of input into certain decisions, but the fact is men retained the positions of authority. For a concise explanation of the debates between evolutionary psychologists and behavioral ecologists see: Sharon Begley, “Why Do We Rape, Kill and Sleep Around? The fault, dear Darwin, lies not in our ancestors, but in ourselves,” *Newsweek*, June 29, 2009. For a more

egalitarian pre-modern societies, such as those that prevailed in pre-contact Plains Indian or New England peoples, women rarely held influential political posts or participated in warfare.⁴¹⁷ Thus, the vital roles hunters and warriors held allowed them to elicit

academic rebuttal by a behavioral ecologist regarding evolutionary psychology's attempts to locate a "human nature" see: David J. Buller, *Adapting Minds: Evolutionary Psychology and the Persistent Quest for Human Nature* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006). In addition to these gender considerations there are also multiple important issues surrounding the issue of how societies were able to provide security and maintain cultural cohesion at the same time. How were societies able to reconcile the need for violence in order to protect the community and mitigate that violence in order to stave off internecine struggles that could disintegrate internal cohesion? Waller believes that humans have evolved with behavioral traits for "darker ultimate motives that people sometimes have – intergroup competition for dominance, boundary definition, and fear of social exclusion. These behavioral traits foster a hostility to other groups that often tears society apart." He theorizes that

there are three innate, evolution-produced tendencies of human nature that are most relevant to understanding our capacity for extraordinary evil – ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and the desire for social dominance. Studies worldwide show not only that these tendencies are universal in people, but also that they start in infancy.

Thus, Waller believes dark traits allowed human societies to establish dominance over other human societies, but also gave rise to intragroup conflicts for dominance. I believe it is safe to conclude that humans have evolved with mechanisms for facilitating intragroup cooperation as well as conflict, and that evolutionarily-speaking a group's ability to successfully facilitate intragroup cooperation more than conflict would have a better chance for survival. Waller, *Becoming Evil*, 151-153, 160. See also Agustin Fuentes, "It's Not All Sex and Violence: Integrated Anthropology and the Role of Cooperation and Social Complexity in Human Evolution," *American Anthropologist* 106 (2004): 710-718. For an example of how critical cultural cohesion was to the Iroquois see Fred Anderson's analysis of how "mourning wars" caused internal dissonance in their society and how that lack of cooperation was a contributing factor in their defeat at the hands of the French in the late seventeenth century. Fred Anderson, *The War That Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 5-9.

⁴¹⁷ Small numbers of women in Plains Indian societies took on traditional "male roles" as hunters and warriors. Often if a young woman developed a strong bond with her father she would accompany him on hunting excursions and raids. These women often took female "brides" into their tipis to do the woman's work while they were off hunting and fighting. Some postmenopausal women became shamans or healers and – overall – women exerted much influence in villages. Moreover, "On occasion they sat on tribal councils, and sometimes they determined which men rose to power." Paul H. Carlson, *The Plains Indians* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), 74, 81-82, 107. Environmental historian Andrew C. Isenberg addresses the fact that, recently, anthropologists have questioned and challenged the "very idea that women have occupied an inferior social position." He notes, "The anthropologist Raymond J. DeMallie, for instance, has argued that women in Sioux society, although limited by cultural notions of appropriate gender roles, nonetheless exerted profound cultural authority as healers, visionaries, and through female sodalities." While I understand DeMallie's argument and Carlson's point that some women "sat on tribal councils," the fact is that women still did not exert much *political* influence. Andrew C. Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 95-96. Perhaps the most important book written that questioned women's inferior pre-contact position amongst Eastern woodlands peoples was historical sociologist Karen Anderson's *Chain Her By One Foot*. The book investigated Montagnais and Huron societies in the seventeenth century. The Montagnais were composed of small roving bands while the Huron had a much more complex (middle-range) society. Anderson tried to make the case that Montagnais and Huron women were actually the leaders of their societies before the arrival of the French in New France. Many reviewers of her work, however, have noted that women were subjugated beforehand. For instance, in a very fair review of

meaningful social recognition from their community, as well as develop a social support network that ensured group cooperation and political domination.⁴¹⁸ While civil and military leadership were separate in Plains societies, even civil leaders (headmen) most often – though not exclusively – gained their power “through successful [participation in] warfare.”⁴¹⁹ Obviously, there were many factors that would have gone into headmen’s

Anderson’s work, Julia Adams stated, “Contrary to her overt claim, however, Anderson’s own evidence convinced me that women in the two indigenous societies *were* subordinated to men before the arrival of the French...” Julia Adams, “Review,” review of *Chain Her By One Foot: The Subjugation of Native Women in Seventeenth-Century New France*, by Karen Anderson, *Contemporary Sociology* 21 (1992): 681. Anthropologists have noted that in southern New England Native American communities, which resembled middle-range societies with their semi-permanent villages, women were able to serve as sachems – even though they had male relatives. Women also retained sexual independence in marriage, but were not able to engage in polygamy like men. It also seems likely that where women had even greater access to the means of production and trade, they were more politically active. Overall though, anthropologist Kathleen Bragdon, who has studied southern New England tribes, concludes that even in these communities where women could have been sachems “women were sometimes devalued in spite of their great contributions to economy.” Kathleen J. Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 46-47, 177-178, 182. Feminist anthropologists concur that in all societies women are not necessarily accorded high status or equality because of their significant contributions to the economy. Carol C. Mukhopadhyay and Patricia J. Higgins, “Anthropological Studies of Women’s Status Revisited: 1977-1987,” *Annual Reviews in Anthropology* 17 (1988): 461-495.

⁴¹⁸ There is a debate in the anthropological field about the basis of cooperation in human societies. Some posit that small, stable social groups provided the basis for creating larger, more complex societies. Others point out that the traits essential for cohesion in a small group context are not necessarily the ones that a larger group would demand. I would argue, however, that even with repressive and tribute-oriented societies, there must be a level of cooperation in the core leadership of the society for it to function. I believe that computer scientists studying this problem have made a contribution to our understanding of the growth of societies. They argue that cooperation is necessary to the growth of a society and that cooperation “can evolve as a stable strategy in large social groups, subject to certain constraints.” Basically, they argue that

cooperation can be sustained in a large group with a limited number of interactions on each round [of the prisoner dilemma game] if players are able to base decisions about future play on the results of a number of rounds of past play and are permitted to refuse to play with others when necessary. In evolutionary terms the rewards for this cooperation would give a significant advantage to individuals in the group, who would, however, need to store more information to coordinate relationships with other players and would require greater processing power to do this effectively.

S.J. Cox, T.J. Sluckin, and J. Steele, “Group Size, Memory, and Interaction Rate in the Evolution of Cooperation,” *Current Anthropology* 3 (1999): 369-377. *For this dissertation’s purposes, however, the most critical point is that no one theorizes that cooperation is irrelevant.* Some even argue that cooperation is an innate human trait, which can be seen in young non-verbal humans. For this perspective see: Michael Tomasello, *Why We Cooperate* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009).

⁴¹⁹ Intelligence and generosity were also attributes that might lead to political leadership. Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, 71.

ability to maintain political dominance,⁴²⁰ but I do not believe it is coincidental that most human societies have evolved from small roving bands to more complex societies with a patriarchal model. Again, to clarify, I am stating that men were more frequently leaders in societies of different complexity and size. I am not saying that women did not have any power in either smaller, middle-range, or more complex societies. Women most certainly exerted influence over matters from the beginning of societal organization, but their political influence was usually less pervasive than their social and cultural influence.⁴²¹

To return to the issue of societal recognition of male contributions though, the men in Plains societies maintained various fraternal organizations and rituals that provided a forum for them to recount individual exploits in hunting and battle. Wives of warriors often formed auxiliary groups to the male organizations and women also had their own guild and craft groups that ranged from quill workers to agricultural workers. Men, however, maintained a larger number of such non-kin soldalities, which “crossed family, clan, band, and village affiliations, provided tribal unity, and promoted intratribal harmony and good feeling.”⁴²² In the summers when tribes came together for massive buffalo hunts, military fraternities maintained lodges where men “would lounge, sleep,

⁴²⁰ A leader’s ability to regulate gossip would most likely have been a key to maintaining control of a community. New research sheds light on the power of gossip to build and tear down group cohesion. Tim Hallett, Brent Harger, and Donna Eder, “Gossip at Work: Unsanctioned Evaluative Talk in Formal School Meetings,” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 38 (2009): 584-618. Also, leaders’ ability to control the meaning of ritual in a society would mean the difference between success and failure. Once political power was centralized it was also sacralized through ritual. Ritual, however, is a double-edged sword and can be used by the powerful to legitimize their place in society and by the weak to contest the status quo. David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 5. Lastly, ability to regulate violent intragroup strife would have been a critical to maintaining cohesion. See Fuentes, “It’s Not All Sex and Violence”: 710-718.

⁴²¹ Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, 81-82.

⁴²² Since the post-equestrian tribes only came together during the summer months for buffalo hunts, these rituals were quite critical to overall tribal cohesion. *Ibid.*, 75-76.

eat, dance, sing, and generally have a good time.”⁴²³ As part of this homosocial reverie, “members of military societies shared common battle experiences and their own secrets, dress, regalia, and ceremonies.”⁴²⁴ Other rituals and ceremonies, such as the scalp dance, which celebrated the taking of scalps in a raid, took place in a public setting. As anthropologist Robert H. Lowie notes, “In case of success they [warriors] dressed up and paraded round the camp with blackened faces..., showing off their scalps and their booty. Scalps were attached to sticks and carried by women dancers to the accompaniment of drumbeats and songs....”⁴²⁵ Such rituals would have afforded a powerful psychic reassurance for the hunter or warrior about their role and importance to their fellow men, as well as a forum for the wider community to symbolically reify them. When Plains Indians warriors and hunters became chiefs, they did so with the help of the other men in their tribe as “[h]eadmen and other leaders (or chiefs) ruled only to the degree that they could get people to follow them.”⁴²⁶ Thus, it seems men’s access to public acknowledgement and male solidarity ensured overt male dominance.

The experience of Plains Indians is not as inapplicable to nineteenth-century British hunters as one might think upon initial consideration. Many of the British hunters certainly thought that Native Americans’ experiences were irrelevant to their daily lives.

⁴²³ Robert H. Lowie, *Indians of the Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 101.

⁴²⁴ Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, 76. A ceremony dedicated to “counting *coups*” was observed by Colonel Richard Irving Dodge. He noted that the ritual was only attended by warriors that had taken *coups* in battle. Richard Irving Dodge, *The Hunting Grounds of the Great West; a description of the plains, game, and Indians of the great North American desert* (London: Chatto & Windus), 390.

⁴²⁵ Lowie, *Indians of the Plains*, 106-107. For an example of hunters attesting to their own prowess during a “*potlatch*” see: John Mortimer Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879), 97. For examples of warriors testifying to their deeds in a public sphere see: Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *The Great Divide: Travels in the Upper-Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876), 90-94.

⁴²⁶ Carlson, *The Plains Indians*, 71. The phenomenon of a warrior class helping to enforce the political control of a chief was also observed in certain New England native communities, especially amongst the Pokanoket, who were led by Massasoit. Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500-1650*, 47.

British and American travel writers pointed out how ridiculous Native men appeared as they gravely recalled their feats to a formally assembled jury of their peers. British and American hunters, however, would – *in no less formal way* – gather around a campfire after a hard day of hunting in order to seek psychological comfort from their immediate group’s affirmation and recognition of their feats. It seems hunters enjoy both hunting in the immediate vicinity of another hunter so that immediate praise or commiseration may be doled out, as well as in the comfort of a larger group of men around a campfire. For instance, at the beginning of a chapter in *Accessible Field Sports* Parker Gillmore stated,

The events which I am about to narrate were not written on the ground, for the simple reasons that it was often difficult to obtain a comfortable, quiet corner, where a man could collect his thoughts, and, perhaps, better still, that generally I was so fatigued, after a hard day’s work, I was disinclined to deprive myself of the pleasure of discussing with my companions the adventures and results, mishaps, bad and good shots, or anything else, which so happily, and not the least agreeably, form a portion of a sporting tour.

At the beginning of another chapter, Gillmore acknowledged, “Some may smile at what they think a feather-bed sportsman’s fancy, but among the most ardent Nimrods the retrospect of the day’s sport has always caused almost as much pleasure as the actual performance.”⁴²⁷ These remarks and sentiments were echoed by the other hunters.⁴²⁸ On

⁴²⁷ Parker Gillmore, *Accessible Field Sports: The Experiences of a Sportsman in North America* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1869), 82, 115, 146. John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 39.

⁴²⁸ Even Thomas Carson, who was a complete loner and lived in isolation, complained throughout his narrative that his sporting experiences were often marred because of the absence of a companion. He said, “Practically I lived alone, which was also my own wish, as it was disagreeable to have anyone coming into my one-roomed cottage, turning things over and making a mess. I did my own cooking, becoming almost an expert, and have ever since continued to enjoy doing so. Of course I could have had one of the boys to live with me; but no matter what good fellows cowboys generally are, their being in very close companionship is not agreeable, some of their habits being beastly. Thus it came about that my life was a very solitary one.... Few visitors came to my camp in summer or winter. Now and then I was gladdened by a visit of one or other of my partners, one of whom, however cared nothing for fishing or shooting, and the other was much of the time entirely absent from the country.”

Thomas Carson, *Ranching, Sport, and Travel* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1912), 66-67, see also 23, 213-214.

top of seeking their fellow hunters' fellowship and companionship, these hunter-writers would chronicle their exploits in prose in order to receive the larger community's validation by having their account published. How different are these rituals? Historian John MacKenzie has noted that many colonial governors used hunting in order to legitimate their leadership⁴²⁹ and it bears mentioning that fourteen of the writers examined in this dissertation either served in Parliament or were officers in the British Army, both preeminent leadership positions in British society.

Also, referring to homosocial interactions that take place on hunting trips as mere custom or "male bonding" limits our understanding of the overall utility of these activities to solidifying friendships. Homosocial interaction provides the opportunity for men to convince themselves of their superiority and is the basis of male power.⁴³⁰ Bearing witness to and praising certain actions and behaviors reaffirms men's beliefs that they are fit to be leaders because of their *superior* abilities and character.⁴³¹ In other words, men establish characteristics they feel are necessary to be manly and use those

⁴²⁹ John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 38.

⁴³⁰ Daphne Spain's work on men's ceremonial huts in nonindustrial societies is instructive. She found the physical exclusion of females and those men who were not good warriors from men's huts was critical to solidifying male domination and power in these societies. Daphne Spain, "The Spatial Foundations of Men's Friendships and Men's Power," in *Men's Friendships*, ed. Peter M. Nardi (Newbury Park: Sage, 1992), 59-73.

⁴³¹ This process of justifying male power is still very prevalent in modern athletics. Even though the "gap" in performance is closing – female athletes are still considered less talented than male athletes and this belief justifies female inferiority. Sociologist Paul Willis theorizes

The fundamental anxiety seems to be that men and women have to be continuously differentiated; male preserves continuously guaranteed. One way of emphasizing this is to promote laughter or cynicism when females take to the field, another way is (cf. Bobby Riggs) to set out to prove incontrovertibly that women are inferior through direct challenge. Another way is to draw attention to unarguable physical differences out of context.

Furthermore, Willis notes that – on a societal level – the only referent for female competitiveness in sport is "male achievement," and since there are inherent physiological differences between men and women this becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy of male superiority. Paul Willis, "Women in sport in ideology," in *Sport, Culture and Ideology*, ed. Jennifer Hargreaves (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 117-135, esp. 120-122.

values to evaluate other men's masculinity and legitimize male superiority and social domination. This feedback loop culminates in misogynistic belief systems and rhetoric, which are then used to justify the exclusion of women from participation in a range of activities.⁴³²

Callum McKenzie's work on Victorian gender construction clearly shows that men, *not* women, dominated the discourse on hunting,⁴³³ and men were able to set the standards by which other hunters would be evaluated. Furthermore, he notes how the discourse served to uphold patriarchy and exclude women. By advocating ideas about how hunting "unfeminized" women and endangered future domestic harmony, women were systematically marginalized from the activity. Literature for young girls on hunting was non-existent while books for young boys were ubiquitous and made it clear that shooting was the job of men. While some women challenged the status quo, traveled all over the world to engage in big-game hunting or entered shooting contests, this rarity did not change popular beliefs and imagery. McKenzie observes,

Many men were critical [of female hunters]; far fewer were complimentary. On grounds of male appropriateness and female inappropriateness, women hunters were given a hard time by the majority of men. The issue was essentially one of appropriate social training for adulthood. In the opinion of many men and not a few women, hunting served boys well and girls badly.⁴³⁴

⁴³² My theory about the basis of male power is very much the same as that of John Tosh. Tosh also sees male relationships and homosociality at the root of male power. In his work Tosh defines and characterizes manliness (with variations for different classes), and then shows how these values are inserted into the public discourse, which is used to evaluate other men. Thus, by living up to the established values one can claim masculinity, which is why women are systematically excluded from a range of activities. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 5.

⁴³³ While Callum McKenzie's research is invaluable and correctly concludes that male-constructed notions of appropriateness come to dominate the majority of men and women's thinking, his work is not very theoretical and he makes broad statements about popular Victorian beliefs without parsing out precisely how such beliefs come to dominate discourse. I would submit that Tosh's theory of male homosociality is the key to understanding the construction of manliness.

⁴³⁴ Callum McKenzie, "'Sadly Neglected' – Hunting and Gendered Identities: A Study in Gender Construction," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22 (2005): 551-558.

Whereas in pre-modern societies, hunting and fighting were often the preserve of men because they did not have to bear children, early modern and modern civilizations used popular discourse to keep hunting and fighting – until recently – the field of men. From the time that hunting ceased to be necessary for subsistence, the hunt began to serve other purposes,⁴³⁵ and by the nineteenth century hunting had long been a critical lynchpin of homosociality and female exclusion. As noted earlier, as chasing hounds became more gender-integrated in the mid-nineteenth century, every other form of hunting became more exclusionary of women.⁴³⁶ Hunting and writing were not mere diversions; they served the very important social function of allowing men to assert their masculinity, recognize other men's masculinity, and establish/reaffirm a discourse regarding manliness.⁴³⁷ McKenzie concludes

One aspect of the sports revolution was the persistence of a dominant assumption about the 'inferiority' of the female sex and the unwillingness on the part of women to be completely constrained by dominant social norms. Sport has had a large part to play in maintaining and sustaining a patriarchal social order in Western society. To overlook this is to fail to recognize the potent influence of sport not only in terms of class but also of gender.⁴³⁸

These lessons are still critical because male friendships based on all-male activities continue to exert an important influence on men's views of women – even as women's

⁴³⁵ Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 6-9.

⁴³⁶ John M. MacKenzie, "The imperial pioneer and hunter and the British masculine stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian times," in *Manliness and morality: Middle-class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 179.

⁴³⁷ Obviously, hunting is just one piece of the puzzle in how men constructed their masculinity. John Tosh notes that "the precise character of masculine formation at any time is largely determined by the balance struck *between* these three components [home, work, and association]." Hunting, since it was generally carried out with others would fall under the associational component. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 39.

⁴³⁸ McKenzie, "'Sadly Neglected' – Hunting and Gendered Identities": 557.

participation in sports has grown in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century and women continue to infringe on purportedly male domains. In assessing modern America, sociologist Michael A. Messner argues that

[I]t is important to look at men's covert intimacy in the larger context of structured power relations between men and women, and between men and other men. When examined in this way, we can see that, though men feel good about their athletic friendships, the fact that these kinds of friendship are often cemented by sexist and homophobic talk (and, at times, actions) suggests that men's covert intimacy within sports plays a part in the construction of a larger gender order in which men's power over women is reasserted (often through sexuality).⁴³⁹

For most men, athletic activities and their requisite rituals (increasingly, not participation but spectatorship) remain central to their social lives and their identity – by providing a forum for demonstrating their superiority to, and exclusion of, women.⁴⁴⁰

The importance of male friendships continues to reverberate in modern societies even though political candidates no longer must demonstrate their ability to kill prey and enemies in order to curry favor with fellow warriors; instead, they use rituals to communicate millions their fitness to lead.⁴⁴¹ Thus, it might seem dubious to suggest that male bonding activities continue to underpin patriarchy since it is so disconnected from the political process. Gender structures, however, continue to shape a public conviction that candidates – even female ones – must exhibit traditionally male characteristics, especially through their rhetoric. Margaret Thatcher talked tough throughout her time as Prime Minister and Hillary Clinton also took a more strident tone on foreign policy than Barack Obama in the Democratic Party primary of 2008. Perhaps part of the reason for

⁴³⁹ Michael A. Messner, "Like Family: Power, Intimacy, and Sexuality in Male Athletes' Friendships," in *Men's Friendships*, ed. Peter M. Nardi (Newbury Park: Sage, 1992), 232-233.

⁴⁴⁰ See Chapter 2 "Sports and Male Domination: The Female Athlete as Contested Ideological Terrain" in Messner, *Out of Play*, 36-38, 43-44.

⁴⁴¹ Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, 108.

these public convictions is because male friendships in the public realm oftentimes continue to be cemented through misogynistic comments.⁴⁴²

McKenzie rightly calls attention to the lack of scholarship regarding formalized clubs and fraternal organizations, but it seems important to note that the critical nature of *social interactions* within hunting narratives has been neglected as well. Inter-personal relationships with white, Euro-American guides were another unique and critical aspect to British gentlemen hunters' experiences in the West. In fact, guides were the most important figures in the narratives because of two factors: race and nationality. White American guides proved to be the perfect foils for upper-class British hunters who were anxious about the future of a class-based society in Britain and the maintenance of the British Empire – both of which they viewed through the prism of their own masculinity. In other words, upper-class hunters saw themselves as reflections of, or manifestations of, the pinnacle of British society; therefore, in order to validate the nation, empire, and class system they sought *personal validation* through their hunting excursions. One could make the argument that it is unlikely every hunter-writer was experiencing a severe bout of anxiety about their masculinity or about British society. However, every one of the

⁴⁴² R.W. Connell's work on the emergence of a "transnational business masculinity" demonstrates that this new hypermasculine identity is not based on creating closer relations with women, or a greater equality between the sexes. Rather, an increasing commodification of relations with women seems to be emerging. R.W. Connell, "Globalization, Imperialism, and Masculinity," in *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, ed. Michael Kimmel, Jeff R. Hearn, and R.W. Connell (London: Sage, 2004), 76-80. Andrew Spicer argues that "New Laddism," which has its roots in 1970s laddism, continues to be an uncomplicated and confident masculine style even though it is more self-reflexive and ironic than its earlier versions. Andrew Spicer, *Typical Men: The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2001), 192. As many have noted, the influence of this new hypermasculinity or "laddism" can be seen across American and British culture with its soft porn-like magazines in both Britain (*Loaded*) and America (*Maxim*, *FHM*) through infomercials such as *Girls Gone Wild* and in the mainstreaming of the porn industry. Furthermore, some have also noted that women's participation in this male culture while it is styled as a new feminism is actually incredibly ironic and antithetical to the goals of women's liberation. Levy, *Female Chauvinist Pigs*, 117.

authors did attempt to demonstrate their masculinity and vindicate British society vis-à-vis American society. I believe this *is* indicative of an overall “crisis of masculinity.” Interestingly, my findings do show that upper-class military men were less likely to demonstrate the tell-tale signs of anxiety over their masculinity.

Lastly, John Tosh argues, as I have done above, that the era from 1880 to 1900 actually witnessed a fusion of two crises: a crisis of Empire and a domestic crisis of masculinity. Tosh ignores the special challenge that the United States presented to Great Britain and notes that most of the imperial competition was emanating from mainland Europe, especially Germany.⁴⁴³ The purpose of this chapter is to fill that gap and to call attention to the challenge that America, and in particular its Westerners, presented to British hunters.

Measuring Up to Their Equals?

My research in hunting accounts corroborates British concerns regarding the future dominance of America and the concomitant spread of American values. These overarching concerns were the most crucial components the hunter-writers had to reconcile in their accounts and Western men’s marked lack of deference and their pretensions to equality made these concerns particularly pressing. Western men’s “egalitarianism” begged the question whether or not they were the equals of the British hunters. Albion’s Nimrods sought to show they were Westerners’ equals in the field as well as their social superiors.

⁴⁴³ Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 193-195.

The key to proving their masculinity in these accounts became establishing fitness and self-reliance. To demonstrate this fitness and self-reliance, the hunters had to keep up with their independent guides in every way. In other words, they needed to be able to protect and aid their party as well as overcome everything put in their way to kill game consistently.⁴⁴⁴ In the context of inter-personal relations between the British hunters and their white guides, there were a few different ways to establish their masculinity. Since Western hunting parties were composed of men who demanded each man carry his own weight in some way, many of the authors also enjoyed showing that they could meaningfully contribute to the smooth operation of the outfit. Eliciting praise from Westerners was also a valuable confirmation of masculinity. White Western guides were a perfect combination of impudence, race, and nationality to lend or bestow meaningful validations of masculinity. Lastly, creating a convivial camp atmosphere and/or genuine friendships, both of which were evidence of mutual respect, were ways in which a hunter might demonstrate his masculinity.

These opportunities to distinguish themselves to their white guides and to compare themselves were crucial because social superiority rested upon masculinity.

⁴⁴⁴ Inability to consistently kill prey is probably one reason why there were not more accounts written. We know there were many more British hunters in the West than the amount that eventually ended up writing accounts. Not all the British hunters acquitted themselves very well in the field. For instance, Samuel Nugent Townshend related one particular case that was quite funny and demonstrates one guide's savvy and his understanding of what British customers were in search of. Townshend divulged,

A guide, who shall be nameless, and a party whom I will not particularise, were out here [Colorado] in 1876; and as the latter was of the class that shoot and cannot hit, although an unusual quantity of game was found, only mountain air filled the game bag. The sportsman thereupon got discontented and disagreeable, and talked of going back; but as it is as much as a scout's character is worth to bring his party home empty, when the next two bucks were found he pretended to select the smaller, and bid his employer shoot at the big one, at which he also fired surreptitiously; the thing was done three times. Nimrod came into Denver thinking he never missed, and his guide never hit; and the amateur was and is happy.

Samuel Nugent Townshend, *Colorado: Its Agriculture, Stockfeeding, Scenery, and Shooting* (London: "The Field" Office, 1879), 35.

Without demonstrations and concrete proof of masculinity, pretensions to social superiority would have rung hollow in the “egalitarian” West. For instance, William Adolph Baillie-Grohman observed

There are three very admirable qualities to be found in the Western character. The first is the sturdy capacity of self-help, and genial readiness for mutual succour – the latter a concomitant result of the former; secondly, his alert common sense, leading him to shun and to deride the hypocrite and the pretentious: and thirdly, the manliness that under all circumstances does honour to itself by the uniform respect paid to woman.⁴⁴⁵

British hunters would have been shown no respect and incessantly mocked or snubbed by their guides if they were unable to exhibit a measure of “self help” – either by killing game or meaningfully contributing to the party in some way.⁴⁴⁶ Furthermore, if their accounts were filled with lamentations of their inability to keep up with Westerners, they would have read as one long unending book of excuses rather than exciting tales of kills, obstacles overcome, and British superiority. Since fitness and self-reliance were the lynchpins in ascertaining masculinity and social superiority, anything that confirmed these characteristics was critical to their narratives. Fitness and self-reliance were intertwined in Westerners’ minds, but the British hunters came to the West to show that they were indeed separate and that the attributes of the British upper classes – especially refinement, erudition, and humanity – proved that they were superior to their Anglo-

⁴⁴⁵ William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882), 23-24.

⁴⁴⁶ While the accounts are filled with stories of Western guides sabotaging hunts with supercilious companions there is no evidence to suggest that guides – out of sheer national spite – sought to intentionally subvert British travelers hunting experiences. For an excellent story on how several supercilious British hunters learned these things about the West the hard way see: Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 20-21. For evidence of the magnanimous conduct of several Coloradan guides who took pity on their British clients and began shooting game for them and crediting their clients see: Townhend, *Colorado: Its Agriculture, Stockfeeding, Scenery, and Shooting*, 35. While this episode might seem to contradict the assertions above, one should consider what most likely would have happened to these particularly fortunate hunters had they exhibited the same snobby attitude that the men in Murphy’s tale had. My guess is that there would have been absolutely no help forthcoming in bagging game.

Saxon cousins. The West was critical space for upper-class British hunters because it offered them the opportunity to prove their masculinity and the opportunity to display their social superiority in a place that was considered one of the most “egalitarian” on earth. Not even Australia was as critical to British hunters because the American West was more than just an “egalitarian” region within the British Empire; it represented a comprehensive and holistic threat to Britain’s political, cultural, and social systems.

Military Confidence

Of the accounts analyzed of the military officers, the upper class, and middle class, it is the military officers’ accounts that seem least preoccupied with *directly* using white men’s encomiums to legitimate their fitness and self-reliance. White Westerners were not unimportant to the military officers, but they were simply more important to the upper-class accounts. Perhaps military men had more opportunities to demonstrate their valor and manliness than ordinary members of the upper classes; therefore, they had less overall anxiety and need to prove their manliness to other men. Consequently, the military men also seem to be less concerned that their hunting abilities ingratiate them to their hunting party; whereas, the non-military accounts show a more distinct impulse to seek recognition for their hunting prowess and a meaningful place within the group’s hierarchy. While these accounts do not rely on direct interactions between the hunters and Westerners, Westerners provide a *benchmark* against which the hunter-writers are able to measure themselves against, and therefore one cannot say that white Western men are unimportant to the accounts. When the military men did utilize white men to establish their masculinity, the strategy they employed was detailing the *independence* of

Western men. Implicit was the recognition that Western men had carved a still rough civilization out of a dangerous, violent, and inhospitable natural and human environment. By noting their ability to keep up with these Westerners and to hunt and survive successfully in the harsh environment, the hunter-authors proved their independence as well as their worthiness to the hunting party.

In order to demonstrate their self-reliance and survival abilities, the military men emphasized their marksmanship, which demonstrated their ability to overcome a harsh natural – and sometimes human – environment in order to endure. These demonstrations of marksmanship were meant to prove their masculinity. Additionally, as we have seen, interactions with Natives, especially hostile ones, were an indirect commentary on British hunters' ability to measure up to white Westerners. These military men are also just as concerned as the other upper-class hunters with using their interactions with white Westerners to reveal their social superiority. The military officers simply chose different strategies to attest to their social superiority – using critiques of the American political system and demonstrations of their own leadership ability, intelligence, humanity, and refinement.

Only one military man obliquely employed Western men's praise to confirm his masculinity. Parker Gillmore's *A Hunter's Adventures in the Great West* is as close as an account by one of the military men got to utilizing guides' encomiums to validate one's masculinity. Gillmore was clearly anxious about how Americans whom he encountered perceived him, but he mostly relied on his feats in the field to reveal his masculinity.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ Pretensions to equality were particularly marked in the West, but there are accounts of Easterners asserting their egalitarianism as well and one of the funniest episodes related in Gillmore's account takes place while he was shooting ducks in Delaware. Ironically, this story was the only instance of a military

As a testament to his consciousness of being judged by fellow whites, he expressed his regret over having to join a trading party while a Native woman trapper accompanied him, explaining, “If she had been pretty, young, and attractive, it might possibly have been different, but to appear before my countrymen with a squaw without teeth, and her child strongly stamped with the peculiarities of the half-breed, was a very severe ordeal.” Soon after joining the trading party, Gillmore was given the chance to prove his worth as buffalo were sighted within a short ride from their path. He jumped at the opportunity. During the hunt, Gillmore struggled to bring his horse close to the herd and began to worry that he might not be able to make a kill. Closing in carefully, he explained his nervousness, saying “for I knew the eyes of all were upon me, and my reputation as a hunter would be damaged by a bungling performance, I delayed firing.” Eventually, Gillmore brought down a buffalo and was quite pleased with his performance exclaiming

man using an encomium to testify to his marksmanship and masculinity. Gillmore recounted that the very first moment that he met his “pusher” (i.e. – punter/guide/boatman) he was enraged. He explained, “He told me in the coolest and most off-handed way, that he guessed I had better stick to store business, and leave gunning to my betters.” After stifling his emotions, Gillmore hinted that his “pusher” was not exerting himself strenuously, whereupon his guide retorted that if only Gillmore would let him shoot they would return with a bigger bag. Gillmore fumed, “Obstinate, pig-headed, low-bred, good-for-nothing brute, were among the invectives that hovered on the tip of my tongue, but there was one of those indescribable but easily imagined twinkles in his eye that warned me how much better it would be not to express my feelings.” Gillmore and his guide were incommunicado for ten frosty minutes when a teal emerged on the river in the outer range of his gun. “I pitched my gun to my shoulder,” Gillmore related, “and really made a clever and difficult shot. ‘Guess you do know how to handle a shooting-iron,’ my boatman remarked.” After this episode, the punter requested some of his whiskey “and while I drunk to the Queen, he toasted General Jackson.” Gillmore went on to have a very successful day and upon landing the two had the following exchange,

‘I say, Ike, you took me for a Yorker.’

‘Jist so.’

‘Well, I’m not.’

‘Guess you are not far short of it.’

‘Yes, I am; for I am a Britisher.’

‘Well, darn me, if that’s not the second time I’ve been sold the same fashion;’ – adding (and here spoke the true Republican), ‘but one that can handle a shooting-iron the same fashion you did this day, gi’n he Yankee or Britisher, must be some punkins.’

Gillmore was contented with his exchange and this incident speaks volumes about how Gillmore wished to be perceived. Parker Gillmore, *A Hunter’s Adventures in the Great West* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871), 253-255

“after a struggle, the monarch of the prairies was dead!”⁴⁴⁸ Later on in the account, Gillmore’s companion, informed him that they might be lost in their efforts to find their destination and Gillmore earnestly stated,

‘A stout heart to a stiff brae,’ is a good old Scotch saying. Remembering it, I determined to prove to the satisfaction of my old friend [unnamed companion] – for often he had expressed opinions to the contrary – that there were other nationalities as well as his own possessed of what he was please to denominate ‘true grit.’

To display this “true grit,” in the very next paragraph, Parker was able to down six wild ducks in one shot to feed their hungry stomachs. All these incidents reveal Gillmore’s consciousness about being judged and the fact that he wished to make a sterling impression. None of the other military men even allude to the fact that they are conscious of the way in which they are being perceived.

All of the military men, however, alluded to their ability to keep up with independent Western men and guides, which was a testament to their independence and self-reliance. In a chapter on the Rockies in his *The Best of Fun, 1891-1897*, Edward Elmhirst praised Western men’s independence, “No work is too severe for these hardy backwoodsmen, when once the spirit moves them to undertake anything.” He then disclosed that he yearned to spend one winter trapping with these backwoodsmen, who he felt had tremendous character as well as physical hardihood. Such a desire showed his willingness to endure the harshest aspects of the Western environment, which surely reflected positively on his manly image. Eventually, Elmhirst chronicled several different taxing chases after huge elk where he showed himself to be as highly skilled a

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 72, 79, 239-240.

hunter as any Westerner.⁴⁴⁹ One of the hunts was carried out in the harshest of conditions that made it nearly impossible to keep his gun from freezing.

Henry Leveson also set out to praise all types of Western men. Of forest-rangers he said,

A forest-ranger, free from the conventionalities of society and the boring routine of everyday existence amongst dwellers in the cities, acquires in youth that manly bearing, simplicity of character, and self-dependence, that have ever been conspicuous in the greatest men of all ages.

He noted that fearless backwoodsmen “constantly owe their escape from their Indian enemies to their cool intrepidity, promptitude of action, and skill with the rifle.”⁴⁵⁰

Western men by necessity were paragons of self-reliance, and Leveson’s hunting companions (with one exception) lived up to every bit of this praise. Of his companions on one trip, he declared that “all were men of the right grit, and never did a party pull better together.” Indeed, many of the hunting party’s members were backwoodsmen and all of their attributes were called into action when they were attacked by a band of Sioux. Several of the men even died defending the hunting party. While this episode was covered in detail in the last chapter, it bears recounting that the Blackfeet guides, who were escorting Leveson’s party, were characterized as useless in battle. The whites were, therefore, in charge of the shooting and strategy because of their superior marksmanship and understanding of Native tactics. Leveson survived this harrowing onslaught and proved to be as canny and effective an Indian fighter as his Western companions.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ Edward Pennell Elmhirst, *The Best of Fun, 1891-1897* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1903), 133, 137, 360-377.

⁴⁵⁰ Henry Astbury Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1877), 229, 242.

⁴⁵¹ Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2, 223-257.

Lastly, one of the Westerners performed ignominiously and was found hiding at the conclusion of the hostilities, which also spoke to Leveson's bravery.

In *Accessible Field Sports*, Parker Gillmore co-opted the traits of a frontiersman and compared himself to Westerners even though most of his adventures took place while alone. He implored his fellow countrymen to come to the West:

However high your birth, delicate your nurturing, or boundless your means, to do without the assistance of hirelings, and rely entirely on yourself, is in no way derogatory; on the contrary, it is deserving of commendation, and the benefit that will result in after life from such lessons cannot be too highly estimated. I have known a few months of wild Western life do more good in forming a character than years passed in cities or continental tour; for here the fop forgets his folly, and the timid and nervous becomes self-reliant.⁴⁵²

Not only was Gillmore implying that the West demanded self-reliance, but also that he possessed the positive characteristics he attributed to Western frontiersmen. He had plenty of opportunities to demonstrate his coolness as well as his self-reliance. For instance, one evening, while camping alone, Gillmore was confronted with a black bear rapidly advancing toward him when his gun was loaded with duck shot. There was no panic by Gillmore. He held his fire until the bear was within ten yards in order to inflict maximum damage. His first shot severely wounded the animal and he then advanced toward the struggling animal and delivered the coup de grâce at point blank range into the ear of the bear.⁴⁵³

In his next work on the West, Gillmore demonstrated his survivalist skills. His clothes were in near tatters until he broke out a needle and demonstrated his talent for mending garments and overall resourcefulness. Also on this trek out of harm's way,

⁴⁵² Gillmore, *Accessible Field Sports*, 60.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, 131-134.

Gillmore was confronted with another marauding bear in his campsite, which he rudely dispatched at close range. Gillmore relished opportunities to illustrate his frontier abilities and he did so time and again in each of these accounts, often traveling and hunting alone.

John Boddam-Whetham acknowledged Western men's pretensions to equality and superiority saying, "Those who have seen the never-ending sweep of the Great Plains can understand the feeling of – well – call it self-sufficiency, that Western men have been accused of displaying." While Boddam-Whetham did not have any white guides on any of his hunting excursions, he was certainly aware that he was operating in an environment that white Westerners rested their claims to "self-sufficiency" on their ability to negotiate a hostile overall environment. In other words, in Boddam-Whetham's view, Westerners' huge egos were grounded on their independence. Throughout the account, Boddam-Whetham successfully sought to combat the environment, assert his racial superiority over his Native guides, demonstrate his superior marksmanship, and kill the most elusive of all Western animals, the big-horn.⁴⁵⁴ Heywood Walter Seton-Karr took note of the "wild, free, stirring, and healthy life," as well as the egalitarian nature of life out West. "[W]e employed ourselves," he noted, "in the routine occupations that are necessary where no servants are kept." Seton-Karr stated time and again his ability to provide meat for each of his expeditions in the Rockies, which testified to his self-sufficiency and indispensability to the group.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁴ John Whetham Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings; a Record of Travel in the Evening Land* (London: R. Bentley, 1874), 59-60.

⁴⁵⁵ Heywood Walter Seton-Karr, *Ten Years' Wild Sports in Foreign Lands: Or, Travels in the Eighties* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1889), 136.

William Shepherd and Frederick Townshend made the most unfavorable characterizations of Western men of all the military hunters yet they too acknowledged Westerners harsh existence and independence. William Shepherd obviously came from a family of some wealth as he was a Major with the Royal Engineers. Even after the Cardwell reforms officers needed quite a bit of support from their families in order to afford the fringe costs of being an officer. His account was about his experiences in raising and transporting sheep. On life in the West, he mused,

The life is sometimes pleasant, sometimes dreary; there is plenty of exposure and not a little discomfort; there is generally good health, and consequently good temper; there are all sorts and conditions of men, who meet you on perfect equality, whether better or worse than yourself; your wants are few, as generally you have to satisfy them yourself.

Shepherd also praised plainsmen's uncanny ability to find their way and added "one cannot but admire the self-reliance and courage of these men, which can only be partially appreciated until a visit has been paid to these silent prairies." He, however, went on to characterize professional hunters' lives as "ordinarily lazy, useless, and animal."

Shepherd's account chronicled his ability to establish his self-reliance and independence, especially through his ability to do business in the competitive and demanding market of transporting sheep. Moving sheep any major distance was fraught with major difficulties due to the animals' penchant for straying, cattle ranchers' animus toward sheep herders, and the rugged terrain that had to be traversed.⁴⁵⁶ Shepherd was particularly contented when he was not perceived as being a green-horn businessman. "I was much flattered at

⁴⁵⁶ William Shepherd worked in the Colorado mountains.

his surprise,” he recounted, “when I confessed how short a time I had spent in the country.”⁴⁵⁷ This compliment was a hard-earned badge of respect.

Frederick Townshend alluded to the harsh landscape and Native threats that Westerners had to negotiate throughout his narrative, he chided Easterners for their unwillingness to brave the harsh landscape of the West, and he showed his ability to keep up with the Westerners by killing buffalo and perpetually guarding against Native attack in a hostile zone. While Townshend certainly respected American men and soldiers, he never quite adjusted to the pervasive egalitarianism of the West. In fact, he went on a tirade for nearly two pages about American assumptions of equality, surmising “the latter [the idea of equality] seems to express the feeling most dearly cherished by the Americans.” He continued,

Evidences of this meet one everywhere and on every occasion. The assumption of the slightest tone of superiority or command to the American who is socially inferior, is immediately resented by a display of obstinacy, sulkiness, or insolence, while the same man, treated as your equal, will probably be obliging and polite.⁴⁵⁸

Townshend so thoroughly disapproved of Americans’ pretensions to equality that he lost his nerve with a particularly galling and insolent Omaha youth who was hawking newspapers and insulting all the men on a railroad platform. Townshend related the story:

At the railway station opposite Omaha, it was the custom of the boys who sold apples and newspapers, to chaff every grown man in the cars or the platform, addressing one as ‘old scarecrow,’ another as ‘bottle-nose,’ &c., which, instead of resenting, the great hulking Western farmers appeared to be pleased with, only laughing at the insolence of the youths. One of the young ragamuffins came up to me as I stood on the platform, and planting himself opposite me, squirted tobacco-juice close to my legs, and then called out, ‘Well, you aire a b---y Britisher,’ a

⁴⁵⁷ William Shepherd, *Prairie Experiences in Handling Cattle and Sheep with Illustrations from Sketches* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1884), 8, 52-53, 88-89, 72.

⁴⁵⁸ Frederick Trench Townshend, *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport and Adventure* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1869), 93, 100, 104-105, 125-126.

complimentary address in acknowledgment of which I gave him a kick that sent him off howling; and though a torrent of abuse poured out of his mouth, he took good care not again to come within reach of the thick hunting boots I wore.⁴⁵⁹

Through their performances described above, the military men proved themselves capable of conquering the same terrain, warding off the same threats, and killing the same animals as white Westerners. Perhaps there are no better accounts to demonstrate the validity of my thesis. While these military accounts are unquestionably haughty in their tone, all of the military hunters wished to be seen as willing to engage in hard work. William Shepherd, who was a Major in the Royal Engineers, penned an account about his direct and successful engagement in the marketplace and he detailed the hardships of life out West. Even Frederick Townshend, the newsboy kicker, wanted to be seen as exhibiting middle-class and frontier values. He sought out the harsh conditions of the West and showed his mettle time and time again on the plains – once after being thrown from his horse.

These markers of masculinity and competence were, however, not enough; the construction of their identity was not complete. It was not enough to simply show one's capability of roughing it out West. All seven military hunters sought to demonstrate their social superiority and thereby reassert the national superiority of the British upper class. The authors strove to show Western pretensions to equality were just that – pretensions. In addition, British gentlemen were shown to be unsurpassed and the veritable gold standard in refinement that not even members of the Eastern American elite men, such as Theodore Roosevelt, could approach.⁴⁶⁰ The military hunters made four common claims

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 124-125.

⁴⁶⁰ Tara Kelly is correct in her assessment regarding the “shifting ground” of the “language of Anglo-Saxonism.” Basically, Kelly makes the argument that the language of racial solidarity could be invoked and

in order to assert their overall superiority. The first was that America's political system was unfit to handle mass participation in politics and inferior to the British parliamentary system. The second and third claims: Westerners lacked refinement and intelligence. The fourth was that Westerners lacked a sense of humanity/sportsmanship regarding hunting; this cultural deficit was reflected in the extermination of wild animals and the absence of effective game laws.

Some of the hunters enjoyed pointing out the deficiencies inherent in the democratic American political system, thus reaffirming the more class-based British political system. Boddam-Whetham railed,

A Californian politician has no opinion of his own, but depends on that of the newspapers of his party. Whatever the majority says must be right. But then that is the opinion of the Americans generally; they much prefer being tyrannised over by a hundred to being quietly ruled by one. With them 'the majority' can do no wrong.⁴⁶¹

Boddam-Whetham was not alone in his characterization of American democracy. Parker Gillmore expressed his skepticism that the American government could survive mounting corruption scandals and then asserted that upstanding men of principle had no place in American politics. Similarly, Townshend was skeptical that the political system could withstand the race mixing that was taking place in America. Thus, while these authors in one breath would extol Westerners independence and self-reliance, in the other they would point out American society's deficiencies in order to reconcile cognitively their place on a lower rung of civilized society.

dropped at a moments notice depending on the situation of the hunter-writer. Tara K. Kelly, "The Hunter Elite: Americans, Wilderness, and the Rise of the Big-Game Hunt" (PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2006), 244..

⁴⁶¹ Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, 177.

Another theme was the lack of overall refinement in the West. For instance, John Boddam-Whetham was the man who complained of the lack of baths in Western hotels and whose indiarubber bath inadvertently caused considerable damage in Omaha. He also criticized Americans' use of slang, Americanisms, and repeated phrases. One particular word, "elegant," drew his particular ire. "In the West that terrible word 'say' (not 'I say') is prefixed to every sentence," he rumbled, "and the epithet 'elegant' is bestowed on the most inappropriate objects. Fancy an 'elegant day,' and yet you hear that expression continually!"⁴⁶² Edward Elmhirst sarcastically noted how a cowboy wiping his dinner plate with the last piece of bread was a mark of "good breeding" out West.⁴⁶³ William Shepherd was savage in several of his observations regarding Westerners' lack of refinement and their "rude habits." "This is the main educational disadvantage to young men starting alone in the West," Shepherd explained, "for good breeding has to be nurtured by descent and association; coarseness may be learned in a day."⁴⁶⁴ Frederick Townshend was convinced of Westerners' lack of refinement and good taste, and he was perfectly scandalized by the immorality of the weekly paper the *Police News*. Rampant prostitution and drinking, as well as Mormonism, also offended Townshend's upper-class Christian sensibilities. He characterized Laramie, Wyoming as comprised of "some of the vilest scum of the earth – murderers, thieves, and loose women."⁴⁶⁵

In each of Parker Gillmore's accounts, *Accessible Field Sports, A Hunter's Adventures in the Great West* and *Prairie Farms and Prairie Folk* (two volumes), a

⁴⁶² Ibid., 87.

⁴⁶³ Elmhirst, *Fox-Hound, Forest, and Prairie*, 336.

⁴⁶⁴ Shepherd, *Prairie Experiences in Handling Cattle and Sheep with Illustrations from Sketches*, 8-9.

⁴⁶⁵ Townshend, *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport and Adventure*, 80, 148, 205-206, 218.

running subtheme was the lack of refinement and intelligence of all Westerners – Natives and whites alike. In fact, the overall feel of each one of these accounts regarding Gillmore’s personal interactions with Westerners was that of a condescending anthropologist analyzing Westerners. He sought to extract information and knowledge from these human curios⁴⁶⁶ out West and correct their misapprehensions when necessary.⁴⁶⁷ Gillmore’s approach created a detached and omniscient perspective and the reader could therefore partake and enjoy investigating the populace with the tacit implication that they were intellectually-challenged. Gillmore characterized his perspective best by saying, “No sort of knowledge is a burthen, and, therefore, I always make it a rule to get an insight into all that falls under my observation; and I should advise others to do the same.” He explicated his overall view toward Westerners shortly after this statement. He recalled,

I listened with curiosity one day to these men [hunters] discussing their future proceedings. Some of them appeared as simple, frivolous, and changeable as children. One moment, the fascinations of city life were remembered by them with regret, and a determination to return to town was expressed. The great drawback was, that they were without the means of living, once they got there; and they had no idea of going back poor. One of the party had a visionary idea of some distant country where the Indians were friendly, and as yet untainted by contact with the white man. Game, he said, was there plentiful, and prospecting for gold certain to lead to the discovery of rich lodes. The physiognomies of one or two of the listeners expressed doubts whether such things were not too good to be true; but these were convinced by the narrative of some adventurer’s experience in this favoured land. Some portions of this story might be true; but assuredly the greater part of it was imaginary. There were great discrepancies in

⁴⁶⁶ For Parker’s efforts to eek knowledge out of Canadian “illiterates,” and the St. Francis Indians, who did not understand the value of their knowledge see: Gillmore, *Accessible Field Sports*, 45, 102.

⁴⁶⁷ All of Gillmore’s accounts are filled with his corrections of “incorrect” information. *Ibid.*, 52 (on correcting false notions about the American woodcock), 59 (on the incorrect appellation of buffalo rather than bison). Gillmore, *A Hunter’s Adventures in the Great West*, 50 (on disproving the “authorities” that the canvas back duck is not to be found West of the Atlantic seaboard), 156 (on disproving the notion that woodpeckers destroy timber; rather, Gillmore claims (incorrectly) that woodpeckers only bore into dead or decayed wood), 314-320 (on Gillmore’s exchange with an old man who did not know the proper name for a fischer cat).

the narrative; but the yarn had been spun dozens of times before,— and stories, like snowballs, gather additions in their progress.

Gillmore then described a story that the hunting group's leader, Jem Green, told the men and the effects of the tale. Green related to the men the location of gold deposits that his friend had confided to him shortly before being killed by Indians. A disgusted Gillmore said, "So the matter appeared settled. With no more cogent reasons than those above stated this hardy party of men were willing to start off hundreds of miles on what might well be considered a wild goose chase."⁴⁶⁸ Gillmore wanted to juxtapose this childishness with his own intelligence, which was evident in his powers of observation and his ability to apply knowledge to hunting. He continued to do this throughout his narrative. For instance, later on in his narrative he teased a companion of his that he did not know the correct name for an animal that he had successfully trapped. He poked and prodded until eventually "I gave up the attempt, at the same time informing him that the unknown was a half-grown fischer [cat]." After his companion informed him that he very well knew the name of the animal, Gillmore went on a four-and-a-half-page rant about how much he detested those with pretensions to knowledge.⁴⁶⁹ Henry Leveson also and not so subtly hinted at the intellectual inferiority of white Westerners:

Many a spirit-stirring tale have I heard from these simple-minded men, of their hair-breadth escapes and adventures, as we sat and smoked round the watch-fire; and from all that I can gather, for every white hunter who has 'gone under,' a dozen red skins' scalps dangle round the trappers' rendezvous.⁴⁷⁰

Boddam-Whetham, Gillmore, Leveson, and Seton-Karr all made similar arguments regarding Americans' lack of civility in hunting and slaughter. The hunter-

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 188-190.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 188-314.

⁴⁷⁰ Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2, 242.

writers' accounts *very rarely* displayed a tendency to correlate the size of bags made with one's masculinity.⁴⁷¹ In fact, only Price might be accused of demonstrating some indifference toward bag sizes. Leveson objected to the "indiscriminate slaughter" of buffalo on the plains and decried the hunting of moose in winters.⁴⁷² For his part, in account after account, Gillmore carefully crafted an identity as a humane hunter that never killed what he did not need. He stated,

If the wild animals that I have met form an estimate of my consequence by the amount of destruction I have committed upon their respective races, they must regard me, in the language of the States, as 'very small punkins.' I wish more of my countrymen could say the same. Unless for sustenance, or to obtain information on subjects of natural history, I now never killed any animal....⁴⁷³

Just as he wished more of his fellow British hunters would exercise more restraint, he abhorred the wastefulness inherent in many Westerners' practices. He was particularly aghast when he found two young hunters killing 40 to 60 birds a day in a very remote section of Illinois. He recounted a conversation that these young men had with a tavern owner:

[W]hen asked by the tavern keeper what they intended doing with their game, they laughingly responded, "Throw it in the hog-pen," and for upwards of a week they continued this dastardly behaviour. Can it then be wondered that game rapidly diminishes, when persons are to be found capable of such disgraceful conduct....⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷¹ The excesses associated with famously destructive forays such as Sir St. George Gore's three-year long trip in the early 1850s were a thing of the past. Gore's trip had "cost \$500,000, and took what even then was regarded as a profligate toll of wildlife. In the course of his wanderings, Gore by his own estimate slaughtered more than 2,000 buffalo, 1,600 elk and deer, and 100 bear." John I. Merritt, *Baronets and Buffalo: The British Sportsman in the American West, 1833-1881* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1985), 93. Some British-American expeditions, however, continued inflicting massive kill totals over 1,000 animals into the 1870s. See Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West and Their Inhabitants*, 118.

⁴⁷² Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2, 218-219, 272-275.

⁴⁷³ Gillmore, *A Hunter's Adventures in the Great West*, 27-28.

⁴⁷⁴ Gillmore, *Accessible Field Sports*, 38, 57, 240-241

All that said, by the late-1890s Gillmore was holding the United States up as an example of effective regulation.⁴⁷⁵ Boddam-Whetham also railed against the Western state governments' failure to regulate hunters. He fumed:

But some people kill for the mere love of slaughter; and the destruction of forests by fire, the roasting of eggs in spring, the reckless annihilation of animals at seasons even when they are utterly useless, and with the sure prospect of a total extermination, are all nothing compared to a little present selfish advantage. It has been urged that it is quite impossible to institute game laws in a new State. But there are very few States in America which are not old enough by this time to comprehend what are their own interests; and the rigid enforcement of the laws, and the example of educated men who are settled throughout the rural districts, would soon produce some effect on the minds of the masses as regards the wholesale destruction of game out of season.⁴⁷⁶

Boddam-Whetham held out hope that the American elite might be able to make a difference on the "minds of the masses." This statement suggests a transatlantic elite solidarity, but it also confirms his belief in the need for governance by men of superior social station.

Another common complaint, but one that did not spare elites, was aired by Heywood Walter Seton-Karr when he observed,

The idea held by some people seems to be as regards hunting antelope, to 'pump' as much lead as possible into the centre of a herd, on the chance of killing a few. Englishmen, however, hold that this is unsportsmanlike. Yet, I have seen an American lady do this, without any idea that it was cruel.⁴⁷⁷

This humanistic deficiency was a stain on the record of the American upper-class. Such statements were used as evidence of the British upper-class' and British hunters' superiority over Americans. Slaughter could thus be used to invoke individual superiority or national superiority. Even though British sportsmen overall had a

⁴⁷⁵ Parker Gillmore, *Leaves From A Sportsman's Diary* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1898), 328-330.

⁴⁷⁶ Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings*, 213.

⁴⁷⁷ Heywood W. Seton-Karr, *Ten Years' Wild Sports in Foreign Lands*, 119.

chequered record of enforcement of their hunting laws and slaughter,⁴⁷⁸ these British hunters who came to the American West crafted a humane identity and associated Westerners with barbarous practices.⁴⁷⁹

Every hunt that ended with a female animal killed or a large number of killed was, in one way or another, justified. When Heywood Walter Seton-Karr could not locate a wapiti bull-elk while hunting in the Medicine Bow mountain range in Colorado, he elected to kill a hind. “I felt it would be excusable, for the sake of venison, to shoot a hind or ‘cow-elk,’ as they were the first I had seen,” he reasoned, “I therefore picked out the largest and lightest coloured, supposing that she would most probably be a barren

⁴⁷⁸ John MacKenzie notes,

Prosecutions of Europeans for infringements [of African game laws] were rare, despite the fact that the legislation often enacted that one witness was enough and that half the fine should be paid to the informer. A number of secondary sources indicate that breaking the laws was widespread and guidebooks encouraged intending visitors by suggesting that game laws were difficult to enforce, particularly in remote districts.

MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 219.

⁴⁷⁹ The British sportsmen made a point about American excess that should not be overlooked. In a two-year period in the 1870s, four million buffalo were slaughtered for their hides and only a few small herds in isolated and protected areas remained by the end of the 1870s. This destructive impulse carried over into farming and ranching. The rapid process of Western settlement brought with it the same “exploitative” mentality seen in the hide hunters of the 1870s. This short-term mentality and profit-seeking attitude eventually culminated in the ecological disaster of the Dust Bowl. Daniel Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). I would also note that Western historian Karen Merrill’s argument pertaining to the “softening” of Western ranchers’ image – an effort she says that crystallized in the 1940s – did not take into account the importance of British ranchers and their travel accounts/autobiographical works that served to cast a more humane light on Western ranching well before American ranchers began a systematic effort to do so. Merrill ignores British contributions to the discourse on ranching. Her article misses many of the accounts of British ranchers in the American West before the 1930s. One account she does mention is Reginald Aldridge’s *Life on a Ranch* (1884). Aldridge was English, but Merrill fails to mention this as well. Just a few of the accounts Merrill missed were Thomas Carson, *Ranching, Sport, and Travel* (1911), J.M. Pollock, *The Unvarnished West: Ranching as I Found It* (1911), James Selwin Tait, *The Cattle-Fields of the Far West: Their Present and Future* (1884). In short, British notions of humanity in ranching need to be included in any study trying to understand the popular discourse about Western ranching. Karen Merrill, “Domesticated Bliss: Ranchers and Their Animals,” in *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West*, ed. Matthew Basso, Laura McCall, and Dee Garceau (Routledge: New York, 2001), 169-184.

one, and fired.”⁴⁸⁰ Seton-Karr was careful to note that this hind was probably beyond her days of reproduction. Such a discriminating and useful kill he deemed justifiable.

Henry Leveson, his hunting companion, Colonel Slade, two guides, and three Blackfeet Indians executed a particularly deadly hunt just west of Gallatin Peak in Montana. The hunters stumbled upon a large flock of big-horns, quickly worked to surround the game from above, and then had the Blackfeet try to spook the sheep up the mountain. They were successful and Leveson narrated the killing:

I dropped the leading ram in his tracks and broke the spine of the female, whilst Slade killed two other females that ventured quite close to us in their panic, and Villebois, by a fine shot, dropped another ram. Thus, in less than a minute, we were provided with a rare stock of food.

Leveson was quite content with the entire operation except for one detail: the horns on the ram he had dropped, while massive, “were very much broken, and very imperfect specimens, and the flesh was too rank to eat.” So, he and his friend pushed up the mountain hoping to find more big-horns and were again fortunate to find success. Leveson explained, “As we had already nearly as much meat as we could carry, I only wanted to secure a fine pair of horns....” After marking another ram in the midst of a flock of big-horns, Leveson brought it down, but he refrained from firing at the other big-horns. He recorded:

The report of my rifle caused a general stampede, and the herd ran about to and fro as if bewildered, passing and re-passing me at least a dozen times before they finally made off; and if I had wanted meat, I could easily have secured two or three more of their number, but as my object was accomplished, I let them go scatheless, and after a hard scramble, managed to reach the fallen ram.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸⁰ Heywood W. Seton-Karr, *Ten Years' Wild Sports in Foreign Lands*, 132.

⁴⁸¹ Leveson, *Sport in Many Lands* vol. 2, 260-261.

Once again, however, the flesh proved inedible, so Leveson simply secured his trophy and made his way back to camp. Even though Leveson certainly killed a big-horn that their party absolutely did not need for provisions, he was still able to demonstrate his restraint and his unwillingness to partake in “indiscriminate slaughter.”

CHAPTER 6

NON-MILITARY HUNTER-WRITERS AND WESTERN GUIDES

The upper-class writers with no military background were the most anxious about their masculinity. For the non-military writers, the chance to perform and kill in front of their purported equals was not enough in and of itself. Therefore, not only did they rely on their ability to keep up with their guides and parties, but they were also *much* more apt to use personal gestures, such as guides' compliments, group banter, and friendships, to legitimate their masculinity. All of these gestures were a sign of individual respect and valuable confirmations of their masculinity. Furthermore, in such an "egalitarian" environment, the mere economic relation between hunter and guide would not compel the guides to become genuine friends with their employers. Many accounts do, in fact, bear this out and provide evidence of non-accommodating guides. Thus, in contradistinction to these antagonistic relationships, genuine friendships were particularly important demarcations of mutual respect and, for the writers, valuable proof of their masculinity. Non-military writers were also more apt to comment on their role in tending to camp and their leadership amongst the group. The non-military writers wished to show that they were capable of carrying out the same mundane tasks as their Western counterparts, thus winning an important role in their hunting party. Mundane it may be, but it also showed that the writers were able to walk in lockstep with "self-reliant" and "independent" Westerners and successfully integrate into the hunting party – simultaneously gaining

their readers' and Westerners' respect. Getting their hands dirty and performing necessary grunt work for the group demonstrated the writers' competence and self-reliance. Today, a similar impulse continues to run through American culture and to a lesser extent British culture.⁴⁸²

Using the same language as their military-hunter counterparts, ten out of fifteen non-military hunters characterized the Western men they encountered as “self-reliant” and “independent.”⁴⁸³ Only four of fifteen had negative views of Western men and

⁴⁸² Perhaps the best contemporary example of this impulse might be George W. Bush's inveterate brush clearing. Demonstrating one's ability to perform the work of blue collar workers continues to be a way in which men are able to affirm their masculinity or revitalize it. American films such as *City Slickers* (1998) play on this myth. In British culture, this impulse to reassert masculinity through hard work seems to be more available to the working classes than to any other class. For an example of a tale of self-realization through hard work see *On A Clear Day* (2005) – albeit that the self-realization and the film's resolution did not show any prospects for an economic future for the protagonist. Overall, the British response to the increasingly feminine, competitive, and unsecure economic climate of the post-Thatcherite era with “its shift from a manufacturing to a service economy and concomitant high levels of unemployment,” has been to portray working class men as rudderless and powerless. Working class fathers have also been recently portrayed as abusive monsters that have resorted to violence as the basis of their masculinity has eroded. Andrew Spicer has concluded, “Underclass men are adrift in a society represented as hopelessly run-down. Their male confidence is eroded because they lack the traditional strengths of working-class masculinity: a secure place as the principal breadwinner and head of the family, and comradeship with mates at work or in a union.” Andrew Spicer, *Typical Men: The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2003), 184-201. Roberta Park has noted that by the inter-war period many military officers were of the opinion that competitive games could replace hunting for instilling manliness in men. “Simultaneously, ‘adventure’ also was being redefined to mean ‘the challenge of physical effort,’ not killing wild animals.” Roberta J. Park, introduction to J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: ‘Blooding’ the Martial Male* (London: Routledge, 2010), 5.

⁴⁸³ The writers whose accounts that cast Westerners as independent, egalitarian, and self-reliant men, but that will not be covered in detail below are the following: Mrs. John Beveridge Gladwyn Jebb, *A Strange Career: Life and Adventures of John Gladwyn Jebb* (London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1894), 68-69, 94-95. In Jebb's account, his masculinity rests mostly on his ability to keep up with his guide, Bob Harker, who he described as “a typical pioneer – strong as a bear and quick as a cat – a strange combination of simplicity and shrewdness, a splendid shot, and a noted tracker.” Most importantly, Jebb accompanied Harker on a manhunt for mass murderers and while Jebb was still very green and offered some poor advice near the end of the manhunt, he performed admirably when the time came to storm the perpetrators' camp. Rose Lambart Price. *The Two Americas; An Account of Sport and Travel. With Notes on Men and Manners in North and South America.* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1877), 274-275, 323-328. Since Price was a retired military man his account resembles the military officers' accounts in that there is no reliance on his guides' praise for his performance. That said, Price praised his guide's skills in hunting Indians and his skills at self preservation. Price's masculinity largely rested upon his ability to keep up with his guide “Little Buckshot” and his military escort “Colonel C.” That said, Price did also include a local Idahoan newspapers account of his hunt of a grizzly bear, which testified to his manliness. Samuel Nugent Townshend, *Colorado: Its Agriculture, Stockfeeding, Scenery, and Shooting* (London: “The Field”

generally found them to be exaggerators and that their courage and self-reliance had been overblown. Several accounts offer excellent examples of the different ways in which Westerners were used in order to construct the hunters' masculinity.

William Adolph Baillie-Grohman waxed poetic on the subject of Western egalitarianism and independence:

The West rejoices in the absence of 'nobs' and 'snobs' – worshipped lords and those that worship them; and the spirit, as an American author with some truth remarks, which disowns the one and discountenances the other, 'is not the noisy gascon of uncurbed democracy; it is the self-asserting, prideful scorn that comes of independent power and strength.'

Baillie-Grohman, who happened to live in a castle, reveled in the egalitarian and no frills atmosphere of the West and warned that "[t]he qualities of a man stand on their own merits," and that "[a]irs and 'frills,' cant and braggadocia, find... no customers."⁴⁸⁴

Office, 1879), vi, 27, 29-42. Townshend intimates that Western men are strong and independent because in his preface he makes the point that "young [British] fellows with some brains, muscle, and determination, with principle, moral courage, and courtesy, and without any extra amount of nonsense, affectation, political bigotry, or even capital, have succeeded very well [in the West] and can do so now as well as ever." Without these qualities, however, Townshend did not see success in their future. Townshend also chronicled Western guides' egalitarian natures and their demands on hunting trips. Townshend's guide, "Oregon Bill," was described as "a splendid muscular-looking fellow, his hair Indian fashion, grown far down over his shoulders, and his head surmounted with a Mexican sombrero." Townshend took pleasure in keeping up with "Oregon Bill" and overcoming the Coloradan environment. Horace Annesley Vachell, *Sport and Life on the Pacific Slope* (London: E.Nash, 1908), 17-40, 262. Vachell spent an entire chapter examining "The Men of the West," and he found them to be incredibly energetic, independent, hopeful, and plucky. Vachell went as far to state that "[t]he average English gentleman, the magistrate and landlord, lacks the intelligence, the cleverness and tact of his American cousin; but narrow and prejudiced as the Briton is in many ways, he takes the broader view in regard to the conduct of the world's affairs." In this account, Vachell's claim to masculinity centers on his financial success and perspicacity in the meritocratic West. That said, Vachell is less complimentary of American guides saying "I will take this opportunity of warning any reader who may be thinking of shooting big game in America, that this collapse of energy upon the part of Shorty [his guide] is typical of the professional hunter. It is technically called 'gittin' cold feet,' and I have always found that your hired man's feet do get cold quicker than his employer's." Regarding hunting, Vachell's masculinity is shown by his ability to kill in a more sportsmanlike manner than most Western pot hunters, who hunted deer at salt licks and shot quail on the ground instead of on the wing.

⁴⁸⁴ William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies: being a narrative of life on the frontier, and sport in the Rocky Mountains, with an account of the Cattle Ranches of the West* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882), 30.

While these dynamics of the West were in place, they would have been all show – in the eyes of Baillie-Grohman – without the men who upheld such values.

Characterizing Western men he said,

Among the rough and uncouth champions of the wilds, beneath a very shaggy exterior there are hidden many of the large-hearted qualities of ideal man in his primitive state. You find among them men – *true men* – on whose word you can build, and on whose quiet, cool-headed though subdued courage you can implicitly depend. Happily not a few of our best sportsmen who well know the West have on different occasions stood up for the sterling stuff of the genuine frontiersman.⁴⁸⁵

One of those “true men” happened to be his guide, Port. Baillie-Grohman was positively rapturous in his praise of Port. He devoted several lengthy passages to introducing Port and some of them must be quoted at length. Introducing him to the reader, he said

Port, the leading spirit in our party, is such a man – about thirty-four years of age, tall, squarely built, with very sound bodily strength, and as sound constitution, which, as he will tell you, not even the two nights he slept in a proper bed in eleven years have succeeded in undermining. His face is tanned to a Sioux brownish-red; and a fine beard, kept very cleanly, hides the lower portion of his pleasant features. A glance at the outer shell, a look into the grey-blue eyes, betray the character of the man before you. Very silent in the presence of strangers – always a good sign in this Western country – his appearance pleased me from the first.

After telling the reader of Port’s hard Western upbringing, his service as a scout in several Indian conflicts, and his apprenticeship as a trapper, he summed up his feelings about Port:

It takes moments of danger to discover a man’s true grit – the “bottom sand,” as a plainsman would say. On the one or two occasions of such a nature, when I happened to be at his side, his self-reliant coolness convinced me that in times of risk, no less than at the quiet camp fireside, I could have no trustier companion.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 16, my emphasis.

Perhaps understanding that his introduction of Port sounded like the stuff of a dime novel hero, Baillie-Grohman preemptively headed off that suspicion saying

The manliness about Port and other men of his calling is not that of the bravado, or that of the “bad man” of literature; but the quiet, unobtrusive manliness of a character that, while it knows not what pusillanimous fear is, yet knows what death is – of a nature that, while born and bred to carry life on the open palm, is yet for ever ready to do grim battle in its defence [sic].⁴⁸⁶

While Port and men of his ilk were not the stuff of older heroes, Baillie-Grohman and the Dunraven’s writings most certainly influenced the popularization of a new laconic Western hero during this era. It was this mix of “egalitarianism” and “true men” in the West that provided the perfect backdrop for Baillie-Grohman’s narrative, and the ideal and standards that he would have to live up to.

After noting several ways in which one might travel out West, some of which featured large logistical feats, he urged, “turn, for all intents and purposes, trapper yourself.” He explained there were few areas off-limits to true fur-hunters.

You enjoy the good-fellowship of thoroughly trustworthy men; and while they do their trapping or wolf-poisoning, you, who are tacitly considered the “boss,” or master, and are also addressed as such, can roam about at your own free will, gradually extending your expeditions as you become versed in the necessary art of woodcraft.... and when once mastered [the art of woodcraft], the pleasure of knowing himself perfectly independent will vastly enhance the charm of life in the woods and in the mountains.

Without pomp and circumstance, Baillie-Grohman manfully confronted the West. Baillie-Grohman performed admirably on his expeditions into the Rockies, helping to put out a sagebrush fire on the plains, killing four wapitis when the party had no meat, braving the elements without a tent through several winters (1879-1880 and 1880-1881), and also partaking in the mundane chores around camp like packing and cooking. In fact,

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 16-17.

Baillie-Grohman took particular satisfaction in his culinary exploits, while the rest of the men deemed some of his fare like “elk brain” a bit too sophisticated for their palate.

Overall, Baillie-Grohman exhibited his ability to keep up with his “independent” guides and proved to be an asset to the party with his contributions to the group.

Demonstrating his need for approval, Baillie-Grohman also never tired of hearing how well he had performed, for he loathed being the butt of ‘the boys’ jokes. In fact, whenever he was teased by members of his hunting party he seemed to take it rather hard. At one point, he took a chaffing for protecting his gun when falling off a horse. This banter was anything but playful to Baillie-Grohman, and he solemnly recounted this most dissatisfying outcome: “I well remember how among the ‘boys’ I once raised a great laugh, a laugh whose mocking intensity is still ringing in my ears....”⁴⁸⁷ This reaction should not be all that surprising in light of his descriptions of men like Port. These were men that he respected and wished that they respected him.

Baillie-Grohman even sought reassurance from a fourteen-year-old guide on one of his first hunts, and even he was capable of seeing the humor in the situation. “The shooting of my very first Wapiti,” he quipped, “under the guidance of an urchin some fourteen years old, was a somewhat ludicrous affair...” In Laramie Park, Wyoming, Baillie-Grohman was on his way back to camp after an unsuccessful stalk after a big-horn when he heard a shot nearby. Entering a glade where the shot had come from, he noticed a downed wapiti and, upon approaching it, something strange happened. The animal had been gralloched, but it was still moving and uttering the “most blasphemous oaths of the American tongue ever heard by me.” Out of the carcass popped a blood-soaked “urchin,”

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 11-12, 106.

who was “very dwarfed for his age,” and “behind him the lungs, heart, and a part of the windpipe [of the game].” After skinning and packing the hide by himself, an operation which demanded an immense amount of ingenuity for such a small boy, the diminutive lad asked Baillie-Grohman to spend the night at his family’s home since the sun was setting. Baillie-Grohman accepted, supped, and slept in his new acquaintance’s humble log “shanty.” The next day the entire frontier family, “men and youths, women and girls, all, men and female alike, armed with long rifles and revolvers, and mounted on shaggy ponies” cast off to intercept a huge “gang” of wapiti. They were hide-hunters who provided meat for local markets. While the family set off to kill wapiti, Baillie-Grohman and his new urchin-friend split off from the rest of the party and went after two bull wapitis. “The urchin, with his soft moccasins...,” Baillie-Grohman grumbled, “had naturally great advantage over me, and he took special delight in leading me over the roughest ground, where stones were constantly set rolling by my awkwardly heavy shooting-boots.” After sighting the two bulls, the youngster sprinted off leaving Baillie-Grohman behind. Not wanting to be left out of the action, Baillie-Grohman sprinted for a spot where the bulls would make for after being fired upon and since “[t]here was no need to keep quiet,” he made good time in his bulky boots. After the boy opened fire and wounded one of the bulls, Baillie-Grohman commenced firing as well and downed both of the bulls. The boy was highly impressed with his gun and performance – so much so that he nicknamed Baillie-Grohman’s .500 bore Express rifle “that thar singing cannon.”

But, the praise did not stop there. “It was my first Wapiti,” Baillie-Grohman related;

indeed, the first one I had ever shot at – and of course I was highly elated with my success. Moreover, the boy paid me the compliment that, for a “tenderfoot,” I had

done “mighty well.” Higher still did I rise in his esteem when I presented him with my bull, hide and all, reserving only the head.⁴⁸⁸

This was not the only instance of Baillie-Grohman seeking affirmation from his guides. On one particular occasion after a successful stalk of three large stags, Baillie-Grohman and Port fell upon another band of stags. Baillie-Grohman “secured three pairs [of wapiti antlers], thus acquitting myself (as I had stalked the latter by myself) to the entire satisfaction of Port, who was usually not given to pay compliments.”⁴⁸⁹ For Baillie-Grohman, there was no higher compliment than this one, paid to him by Port, who oozed “quiet, unobtrusive manliness.” It conveyed Port’s respect and that was enough. For Baillie-Grohman, white Westerners were indispensable figures in affirming their fitness and in the construction of their masculinity.⁴⁹⁰

Another hunter whose experiences with Westerners were at the heart of shaping their account was Dunraven. Dunraven spent his childhood years in Wales and Ireland, and as a young man, he led a rather peripatetic existence spending time Rome, Paris, and Dublin while acquiring his schooling. In Europe, Dunraven failed to make any friends as he had little interaction with boys his age in Rome and attended a Parisian school where the boys were much older than him.⁴⁹¹ When Dunraven was ready to enter university, he and his father, the 3rd Earl of Dunraven, clashed over which one Dunraven would attend. His father was an ardent Roman Catholic and had wished that he would attend a Catholic College at Oscott, Birmingham. Eventually, Dunraven won out and went on to log a few

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 137-147.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., 150.

⁴⁹⁰ Baillie-Grohman also revealed in the fact that he held the record for the largest ram horns shot by any European sportsmen “girthing nineteen inches at the base.” Ibid., 161.

⁴⁹¹ Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *Past Times and Pastimes* vol. 1 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922), 7-10.

less than rigorous years at Christ Church, Oxford.⁴⁹² After spending most of his time hunting, sailing, and playing cricket at Oxford, he went on to serve a stint in the 1st Life Guards in London – reveling in his time in these homosocial atmospheres. Dunraven then acted as a war correspondent for a few different London papers during the Abyssinia expedition and the Franco-Prussian War.⁴⁹³ Even though Dunraven served in the military, he never saw any real combat. In 1871, upon his father’s death, Dunraven succeeded his father as the 4th Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl, inheriting 39,000+ acres, Dunraven Castle in Glamorganshire, Wales, and Adare Manor in County Limerick, Ireland.⁴⁹⁴ While Dunraven enjoyed his youth immensely, he clearly harbored doubts about his readiness for public life as he entered his thirties – even expressing them to the sitting Prime Minister Lord Beaconsfield (Benjamin Disraeli).⁴⁹⁵ Instead of immediately entering the House of Lords or the fray of Irish politics where the issue of Irish Home Rule was coming to dominate the political landscape,⁴⁹⁶ Dunraven struck out to the

⁴⁹² Dunraven did not attend an English public school, but instead attended a raft of institutions on the continent, all of which was intended to inculcate an appreciation for Roman Catholicism. This was not the typical experience for the son of an Irish Earl. Most members of the Irish peerage sought to send their sons to top English public schools such as Eton or Harrow. Terence A.M. Dooley, *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland: a study of Irish landed families, 1860-1960* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 2001), 71.

⁴⁹³ Not only was Dunraven bored with his position in the 1st Life Guards, but perhaps another reason that Dunraven chose to cover the Abyssinia adventure and the Franco-Prussian War was because he was not being granted an extravagant allowance by his father. The two had clashed for some time over Dunraven’s unwillingness to convert to Catholicism (the 3rd Earl was Catholic) and attend the Roman Catholic College at Oscott, Birmingham. The issue of religion did not go quietly with the 3rd Earl, but continued to vex Dunraven as he disputed the terms of the 3rd Earl’s bequest to the Roman Catholic Church in Adare upon his death. Dunraven Papers D/3196 G: 2/1. Dunraven, *Past Times and Pastimes* vol. 1, 9, 210-211.

⁴⁹⁴ The discovery of coal on the Glamorganshire property in the mid-nineteenth century made the family wealthy. Muriel E. Chamberlain, “Dictionary of Welsh Biography: Wyndham-Quin, Windham Thomas,” National Library of Wales, <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s3-WYND-THO-1841.html> (accessed May 21, 2010).

⁴⁹⁵ Beaconsfield tried to allay his anxieties by saying, “‘Scholastic education is not so important as you think,’ ... ‘You have seen men and cities, and that is the best of all education.’” Dunraven, *Past Times and Pastimes* vol. 2, 98.

⁴⁹⁶ Dunraven would ultimately become an important moderate Unionist politician and serve as the chairman for the Irish Land Conference and president for the Irish Reform Association. Douglas Brooke Wheelton Sladen, ed., *Who’s Who 1907*, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1907), 525. Dunraven was an important figure in the passage of the Land Purchase Act (1903), which made it easier for tenants to purchase land

American West and spent the better part of his thirties hunting and, to the consternation of locals, attempting to make Estes Park, Colorado a private game reserve.⁴⁹⁷

In *The Great Divide*, Dunraven's guides, Texas Jack and Fred Boteler, were unremittingly portrayed as independent and handsome.⁴⁹⁸ Dunraven referred to Texas Jack as his friend and described Boteler as “[a]ctive, strong, willing and obliging, a keen hunter, always in good humor, capable of enduring great hardship, and a capital hand at making you comfortable in camp...” It gave Dunraven great satisfaction to stay right with Boteler during a particularly grueling stalk of a herd of wapiti. Dunraven recounted the episode in detail:

Walking, or trying to run fast up an extremely steep hill-side, when the ground is rendered wet and slippery by melting snow, may be a very fine exercise, but, at an altitude of 8000 feet or so, certainly it is awfully trying upon the muscles and lungs. Boteler no doubt, if alone, would soon have overtaken the game [wapiti], he being very strong, hardy, and in first-rate condition; but I, soft as I was, and unaccustomed as yet to mountain walking, made rather a poor hand of it. However, I did my best, and ran till I was sea-sick. The work – *to my great joy* – was telling heavily upon Boteler also, for his nose began to bleed violently; and

from their landlords. John Kandle, *Ireland and the federal solution: the debate over the United Kingdom constitution, 1870-1921* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 91. For the latest treatment of Dunraven's political life see, Michael V. Spillane, “The 4th Earl of Dunraven, 1841-1926: a study of his contribution to the emerging Ireland at the beginning of the 20th century” (PhD diss., University of Limerick, 2003).

⁴⁹⁷ John I. Merritt, *Baronets and Buffalo: The British Sportsman in the American West, 1833-1881* (Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing, 1985), 176-177. See also, Dave Hicks, *Lord Dunraven, the earl of Estes* (Estes Park: Unknown, 1968). Dunraven visited the U.S. just about every year from 1869 to 1896. Dunraven, *Past Times and Pastimes* vol. 1, 65-145.

⁴⁹⁸ In his article “Wapiti Running on the Plains” and in *The Great Divide*, Dunraven was very complimentary of Texas Jack's skills and looks. In narrating their entrance into Deseret, Dunraven stated, Jack was dressed in beaded buckskins and moccasins, fringed leggings and broad felt hat. Jack is a tall, straight, and handsome man, and in walking through the well-watered streets of Deseret in his company I felt the same proud conscious glow that pervades the white waistcoat of the male débutant when for the first time he walks down St. James's Street, arm in arm with the best dressed and most fashionable man about town. It was obvious to all that I was on terms of equality with a great personage, and on that account cigars were frequent and drinks free.

Windham Thomas Wyndham Quin Dunraven, *The Great Divide; Travels in the Upper Yellowstone in the Summer of 1874* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), 36.

we would both willingly have given up the chase had not the sight of an unusually fine herd encouraged us to proceed.⁴⁹⁹

Eventually, the two caught up to the herd and with some difficulty killed the largest stag, but not before misfiring because of the exertion and the cold. While Dunraven used these experiences to show his ability to keep up with these “fine specimens,” he did not rely on guides’ praises nearly as much as Baillie-Grohman.

Similar to Baillie-Grohman, though, in *The Great Divide* Dunraven described the process of going into camp at night in painstaking detail in order to note the role of every member of the group. In this section, he noted that “[m]en soon get used to it, and learn instinctively to undertake each a separate job, and not to interfere with one another.” For instance, Dunraven was normally in charge of cutting young saplings for tent-poles and cutting fire wood. He did not feel the need to assert his leadership within the group and always be leading it; instead, he was content to be a cog in the group’s operation. For instance, Dunraven made it very clear that before going off to cut wood he would always ask Jack where the tents would be placed and how they would ultimately be oriented so he knew where to place the saplings.⁵⁰⁰ The book even included an illustration depicting the men setting up camp. Dunraven’s intention was to portray the interdependence necessary to make the group function like a well-oiled machine.⁵⁰¹ Much like Baillie-Grohman, he did not feel the need to assert his leadership within the group and always be leading it, albeit they were most likely assumed to be the unofficial leaders as Baillie-Grohman’s comment suggests. Dunraven wanted simply to be accepted as the men’s equals; his superiority he took for granted. For these two British gentlemen, being

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 162, my emphasis.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 144-149.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 144-149.

accepted as part of a group of such esteemed hunters was crucial. Dunraven even recorded the fact that Texas Jack cursed at him at one point on the trip. With Dunraven and several others at the front guiding it, the group caravan was moving on a trail when several deer jumped out in front of the procession. Not being ready for such a contingency, the deer made off easily and Texas Jack fumed:

‘G—d Al—ty d—m,’ says Jack, ‘there goes our supper! Why the h—ll don’t you fellows in front look out?’ Well, we fellows in front did look out after that, and before long I jerked my horse on to his haunches and slid quietly off. The others followed my example without a word, for they too had caught a glimpse of the dark-brown forms of some wapiti feeding quietly in the wood. Boteler, in his enthusiasm, seized me violently by the arm and hurried into the timber, ejaculating at every glimpse of the forms moving through the trees, ‘There they go! There they go! Shoot! Now then! There’s a chance.’ All the time he was dragging me along, and I could not more shoot than fly. At last I shook myself clear of him, and, getting a fair easy shot at a large fat doe, fired and killed her.

This fit by Texas Jack was proof that these men were not just acquaintances – they were friends – because only friends can speak to each other in this truthful and relaxed way. Dunraven did not mind taking orders from Texas Jack, whom he regularly heaped praise upon, nor did he object to being dragged through the forest like a child by Boteler – as long as there was a wapiti at the end of their jaunt. Once the party had made their way to a campsite of Dunraven’s choice, the party experienced several days of disappointing hunts and Dunraven confirmed what most of his readers probably already suspected would happen. “It was evident that I had made bad medicine,” Dunraven recalled, “and that no good fortune would attend my efforts; so I handed full control over to Jack, and under his leadership we returned next day to our first camp....”⁵⁰² Again, Dunraven sought to demonstrate his ability to keep up with these men and prove himself their

⁵⁰² Ibid., 151, 168.

equals in woodcraft, not their superiors. In Dunraven's case, perhaps, there was an added bit of motivation for seeking out confirmations of manhood and camaraderie. His relationship with his recently-deceased father was unfulfilling as they had continually clashed over religion, and his father did not share his love of field sports. Furthermore, later in life Dunraven recalled that by not attending an elite public school he had "lost... the education, the discipline and the wholesome training of Eton, or any other great public school, and the intimate friendships that spring from public school life."⁵⁰³ Dunraven seemed to be trying perpetually to make up for lost time.

In an article "Wapiti Running on the Plains," Dunraven – failing to mention that his wife was traveling with him –⁵⁰⁴ remarked on the nature of the region and its men.

He stated,

The manly sense of independence, the self-respect, and that feeling of respect for others engendered by it, which so strongly characterize the American people, are as deeply marked and have as good an effect among the nomads of the West as in any other class of the population. Of course if a man gives himself airs he must expect to pay for it.

To drive home this theme Dunraven recalled an incident when one of his English companions literally paid more daily wages to his guides than his fellow hunters because of his supercilious attitude. On this particular trip, Buffalo Bill and Texas Jack, two famous Westerners, served as Dunraven's guides.⁵⁰⁵ According to Dunraven, they were "fine specimens of their race" and he never tired of describing their attributes. Upon meeting them, Dunraven exclaimed, "I thought I had never seen two finer looking specimens of humanity, or two more picturesque figures. Both were tall, well-built,

⁵⁰³ Dunraven, *Past Times and Pastimes*, vol. 1, 9.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 72.

⁵⁰⁵ Texas Jack's real name was John Baker Omohundro (1846-1880). Texas Jack Association, "Texas Jack History," http://www.texasjack.org/TJ/Texas_Jack_History.html (accessed January 11, 2010).

active-looking men, with singularly handsome features.” Not quite done with the praise, Dunraven noted, “Jack, tall and lithe, with light brown close-cropped hair, clear laughing honest blue eyes, and a soft and winning smile, might have sat as a model for a typical modern Anglo-Saxon – if ethnologists will excuse the term.” After mentioning that Texas Jack had since passed on, he summed up his character:

[H]e was a good and kind friend to me, a cheery companion, as brave as a lion, as gentle as a woman, always ready for anything, always willing to work, cutting down mountains of difficulties into mole hills, always in good humour, never quarrelling – a better hunting companion than Jack was in those days, or a more reliable friend, it would be hard to find.

Whereas Baillie-Grohman’s friendship with Port was implied, Dunraven made this mutual friendship and respect explicitly known at the beginning of his piece. On their second joint hunt, Texas Jack executed a blind stalk of wapiti that had been sighted at a distance of four or five miles. On the last leg of the stalk, Texas Jack led Dunraven and his trusty collie, Tweed, through a patch of cacti for a chance at a herd of wapiti. After successfully stalking this herd twice on foot, Texas Jack and Dunraven then mounted their horses and began running with the wapiti herd for about a half-hour. A U.S. Army Captain who accompanied them said that the field resembled a “small battlefield; a case of prairie murder.”⁵⁰⁶ This quip by the Captain was the only remark in his writings that could be construed as an encomium used to legitimate his masculinity.

Another upper-class hunter that bears investigating is John Mortimer Murphy. Like most of the hunters, Murphy noted the independent and egalitarian nature of the

⁵⁰⁶ Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, “Wapiti Running on the Plains.” *Nineteenth Century* VIII (October 1880): 593-606.

guides and was extremely complimentary of all Western hunters at various points in his account. To emphasize their egalitarian natures, Murphy stated,

One word may be said here of these Western guides, and that is, that they will bear no high-handed dictation or any assumption of superiority over them by those under their guidance; and though they may not resent it personally, they will in many other ways, by causing a person's hunting exploits to be few and far between.... If he is kind, genial, and open-hearted, however, they will do almost anything for him, and will leave no effort untried to make his experience of chase as pleasant as possible.

To drive home the critical nature of the perils of asserting British notions of social rank, Murphy narrated a story of some upper-class British hunters that bears recapitulation in full:

I remember meeting a party of English tourists once in Nebraska who were out on a buffalo-hunt; and although they were travelling three days, and had met herds of buffaloes every day, they were not able to get a shot at one; but, with characteristic pluck, they were still following the moving throngs, hoping to be able at some time to have a dash on horseback after them. As they had two good scouts and some experienced wagon-drivers with them, I was rather surprised at their ill-luck, but my surprise ceased when I spoke of the matter to the leader of the expedition. His explanation, which was made with many expletives, and in exceedingly vigorous language, was, that the tourists, who knew nothing about the business on which they were engaged, were constantly dictating to himself and his companions what they should and should not do in the most frigid and supercilious manner; that they never spoke to them except to give some command or make an impatient inquiry; that they kept entirely to themselves both in camp and on the march, and never once offered to share the contents of their flask with them; that their English servants were even as consequential as their masters, and evidently looked upon them (the guides) as barbarians and mudsills, and would obey no order unless it came from "mawster;" and that all, when by themselves, were overheard running down the country in every way. "'Tain't likely," was the scout's comment, "that we're going to trouble ourselves much about ---- of that sort, so we drive the buffaloes away before they get up to Bill and myself; and if they keep up their foreign style as they have done, they won't get any nearer to a buffalo than they have so far for the fortnight for which they engaged us." As two friends and myself were in the region on a buffalo-hunt, we asked the gentlemen to join us for a day or two if they wished, and to leave their teams and guides in camp, and we hinted that they could kill all the animals they would care to; but they, in a frozenly polite manner, refused our invitation, on the ground that they had their own tents and guides, and could not accept favors from unknown

strangers. We became frozen ourselves after that assertion, inasmuch as we thought it to be too egotistical in manner; so we left them at once, and, on returning to town a week afterward, heard that they had come back without killing a buffalo, although they had seen them in immense numbers.

I met the same party subsequently in Wyoming, and all expressed themselves delighted with their luck in that region; and some became as enthusiastic as their temperament would permit them in describing the quantity of game they had killed, and the wonderful scenery of the country. Their good fortune was due, however, to their former experience; for they soon learned that western men cared little for mere titles or wealth, and paid no more personal respect to their owners, when they were arrogant, than they would to the simplest citizen. They were, in fact, sometimes spoken of in the most disrespectful manner in their own hearing; and this taught them that they were not of as much consequence as they deemed themselves to be; so, accepting the facts, they made themselves as agreeable to those who accompanied them as cultured gentlemen could, and the result was such an amount of pleasure and successful hunting as they had never anticipated. I mention this incident for the purpose of showing how differently foreign tourists are treated by those very independent guides, when they, in the language of the latter, “put on lugs,” and when they are genial, and act the part of “hail fellows well met.”

Even this necessary camaraderie had its limits though as Murphy advised,

A lantern is also a necessity [to bring camping]; and a mechanical lamp which burns any kind of oil, and does not require a glass chimney... especially if reading at night is any pleasure; and it is, for one frequently gets weary of the same class of tales when repeated too often.⁵⁰⁷

Like Dunraven, Murphy had the pleasure of hunting with several excellent hunters, including Dr. Carver,⁵⁰⁸ who was “probably the best buffalo-hunter in the world, has killed sixty-three out of a herd in one run, and wounded several more; and it was no uncommon thing for him to kill thirty or forty in a run, and select his animals.” On that first run with Dr. Carver, Murphy had the dubious distinction of not being able to kill a single buffalo. Eventually, Murphy did get the hang of shooting buffalo. In his second

⁵⁰⁷ John Mortimer Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879), 26-27.

⁵⁰⁸ Dr. Carver was a famous marksman and hunter, who made his residence in New Haven, CT and operated a “Wild West” show that competed with Buffalo Bill’s show by the same name. “Rival Wild Westerners: Dr. W.F. Carver and Buffalo Bill at a Lively Fight in the Courts,” *The New York Times*, July 16, 1885.

run, after being thrown from his mount and most likely sustaining a concussion, showing tremendous character, he remounted his pony and killed five buffalo. While Murphy did not rely on direct encomiums to verify his masculinity, he certainly wished to emulate the Doctor to demonstrate his masculinity. He also used his participation in a conflict with Natives to show his ability to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with Westerners and “measure up.”

Like Baillie-Grohman and Dunraven, Murphy took great pride in being fully accepted and integrated into a hunting party. For instance, on a rather “jolly” trip into the Southern Oregon countryside, Murphy found himself accompanied by three U.S. Army officers, an orderly, and a French half-breed guide. On their first day hunting, not a moment after Murphy took up his position a black-tailed stag presented himself to Murphy. Murphy fired, but the stag bounded away and his companions teased him that all their fun was now ruined because Murphy had missed the first shot of the day. Similar to Baillie-Grohman, Murphy did not enjoy being the locus of everyone’s teasing. He explained, “The feeling of chagrin was bad enough; but to be taunted good-naturedly with spoiling the day’s amusement was the acme of depressing pride.” Thankfully, as they continued on, the stag was found dead shortly thereafter. Discovery of this kill came as an immense relief to Murphy, who said, “I was the recipient of theatrical congratulations, which were given demonstratively, as an antidote to the previous wounds.” At once, Murphy proved to be a competent hunter and their companion, well-liked and respected enough to be the butt of some repartee. The day was filled with more kills and the evening ended with “a dish of savory venison, washed down with some

Veuve Clicquot....” Murphy loved being part of this group and the camaraderie it offered.

Murphy enjoyed being part of another hunting group full of “genuine hunters” and the interdependence of the group. After arriving at their camping destination, Murphy recalled,

[E]ach man devoted himself to some special object; thus, while one cut up wood, another brought it in; some laid in a supply of water, and others attended to preparing the dinner; while still another party went after grouse in the woods, or to catch trout in the lake, and these soon returned with more than enough to last for twenty-four hours. I was among the anglers, and was fortunate enough to catch two dozen splendid fish, that averaged about four pounds each, in less than three hours, with no better bait than a grasshopper.

In one afternoon the party killed fourteen deer and capped off the evening with music and dancing. The trip went on smoothly until one evening Murphy got lost on his way back to the camp site. Luckily, a search party was Murphy able to find and bring him back to camp. To attest to the good-natured comradeship he had established with his fellow hunters Murphy recalled, “When we reached camp, I was hailed as the prodigal, and many a witty joke was cracked at my expense as a woodsman; but the *persiflage* was atoned for by a thoughtful, considerate kindness that would have done credit to tender-hearted women.”⁵⁰⁹ Such banter was gladly indulged in as long as it was quickly followed by true concern and sympathy. This harrowing episode illustrated his true acceptance into the group. Murphy meant more to the group than his angling contributions, he was their hunting buddy and companion, who they cared for, respected, and wished to protect. Overall, even though Murphy’s account exhibits aristocratic tendencies – such as his penchants for running hounds and Veuve Clicquot – he still

⁵⁰⁹ Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 341-357.

wished to be seen as willing to contribute to camp and a gritty hunter who could take a nasty fall and quickly recover.

To Sir Henry Seton-Karr Western guides were wonderful companions and especially good hunters.⁵¹⁰ In introducing his guide, he made sure to note that they became good and lasting friends and then said,

In Frank Earnest [his guide] we had been lucky enough to engage a westerner of the right sort. He was a Canadian who had left his Toronto home as a youth, and had passed a wild and somewhat chequered [sic] early manhood in hunting, trapping, and occasionally scouting in the small Indian wars that Uncle Sam was in those days constantly engaged in... There was nothing in the detail and necessary paraphernalia of camp-life that he was not familiar with – from choosing a camp and shoeing a horse to frying a venison steak and baking in a camp oven. And, above all, he possessed that sterling pride and sense of duty that prompted, and even compelled, him to do his level best to shot sport to two raw British ‘tender-foots’ who had employed him to that end.⁵¹¹

Other than providing meat for the larder, Seton-Karr did not dwell on his contributions to keep up the camps. Seton-Karr did so admire Frank that his encomiums and friendship were important to Seton-Karr’s construction of his masculinity. For instance, on his first elk hunt amongst some grimy hills and wooded valleys, Seton-Karr spotted a pair of horns sticking up from a marsh. Seven huge elk rose up and began walking away from the hunters. With an inkling of nostalgia he recalled,

The events of the next few moments will never fade from my memory. I sprang hastily from the saddle, ran a few steps up the hill for a better view, and, as Frank subsequently explained to the boys in camp, pumped lead for all I was

⁵¹⁰ While Seton-Karr was ambivalent about the presence of guides when hunting, he certainly embraced Westerners. Another Westerner that Seton-Karr clearly admired was a ranchman and hunter named Al. Seton-Karr stated that

This man was the prototype of Mayne Reid’s or Fenimore Cooper’s old Indian trapper of school-boy romance. He was born, so to speak, with a rifle in his hand, and possessed that marvellous [sic] instinctive skill with the weapon that comes, I suppose, from natural aptitude developed to its highest possible efficiency by constant use.

Henry Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays* (London: E. Arnold, 1904), 153, 45 (on ambivalence about guides’ presence in Hunt).

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, 149.

worth from a double .500 express rifle at the seven great bull elk slowly making up the hill.⁵¹²

Seton-Karr killed three of the elk, and bemoaned the possibility that some of the venison might go unused. More importantly, for the moment, was the fact that Frank figured so prominently in the story for Seton-Karr. Clearly, Seton-Karr found his friend's recounting of events to everyone in camp important and he knew the reading audience would as well. Frank's willingness to testify to Seton-Karr's skills demonstrated his genuine respect. Seton-Karr also relished recapitulating another tale where a different guide attested to his skill. On a day where neither he nor his guide had spotted a single buck and their camp was in desperate need of venison, they were on their way back to camp in a dejected frame of mind. He reminisced,

We were close to camp out of the good deer-ground, a disappointed pair of horsemen without any prospect of fresh meat for supper, when my eye was caught by a patch of gray on a bare hillside opposite, right on our path, and some 300 yards away. I put the glass on. Yes, it was a buck lying down and looking at us. We were riding through a hollow, and partially concealed by trees. My companion, a western hunter, would at first hardly believe it, until I gave him the glass. 'Yes, that's a travellin' buck takin' a rest; and a good un he is, too.'⁵¹³

Once again, Seton-Karr included the amazement of the guide to verify his honed hunting skills and then dropped the deer – providing some much needed meat for his hungry companions and another fine shot to attest to his considerable skill.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹² Ibid., 158.

⁵¹³ Ibid., 215-216.

⁵¹⁴ Seton-Karr's account has another chapter "On a Cattle Range," which was devoted to his experience ranching in the West. The chapter has all the familiar elements found in the hunting chapters simply adapted for ranching. For instance, after his excellent foreman, Chico, is killed, Seton-Karr must participate in a round-up with cowboys. Before his participation in the round-up though, Seton-Karr makes sure to note that Chico's last words were, "I died for the Pick [the company]." This profession of loyalty demonstrated his ability to win over independent Westerners and make them respectful and devoted to himself and the company. Again, since Westerners only respected those who were able to exhibit self-reliance and independence, this was surely a testament to Seton-Karr's independence. The chapter also featured Seton-Karr participating in a round-up, corralling a night-time stampede, and branding.

Much like all the other authors, Arthur Pendarves Vivian found a good combination in Western men, which lent credulity to his constructions of masculinity. Vivian's Westerners were forged out of a cauldron of violence, yet "even the rough western men, the hardy sons of the Indian frontier, accustomed from boyhood to fighting for existence, were hospitable and generous to a degree hard to find in more civilized life."⁵¹⁵ This hospitality was admirable, but not enough to efface their lack of refinement.

Much like John Murphy, Vivian used a guide's excuses to justify a failed hunt,⁵¹⁶ and like Baillie-Grohman, Vivian relied heavily on guides' praises to verify his accomplishments. For instance, Vivian took great relish in narrating the fact that a young companion of his, Curly, was impressed with his stalk of a mountain lion. Vivian stated,

I almost forgave Curly for deserting me. I found that he had arrived [back at camp] a very short time before me, and had already narrated the events of the day to the rest of the men. They were greatly surprised at my luck; none of them had ever killed a "lion," and on my expressing some regrets at not having had time to follow a bull elk I had seen on my way home, Herridge said, "Why, a lion is worthy forty bull elks."

Vivian held up well amidst a punishing environment and some recalcitrant guides. After another incident in which Curly shot at game without Vivian's assent, Vivian scolded him. "I had gone on in a fever of indignation," he recalled, "and when he joined me I naturally gave him a bit of my mind; so too, I fancy, did some of my men on his return to

Throughout, Seton-Karr performed "satisfactorily" and wins the respect of the regular cowboys. *Ibid.*, 283-307.

⁵¹⁵ Arthur Pendarves Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879), vi.

⁵¹⁶ Recounting a failed stalk of wapiti alongside his guide, Curly, Vivian blamed the wind changing for the failure. Once the wapiti caught wind of Curly and Vivian they quickly absconded. Vivian assured his readers, "He [Curly] acknowledged, however, afterwards that I was right in not shooting the cows or small bulls, and that my ill-fortune was due to bad luck, and not to bad hunting." *Ibid.*, 192.

camp.”⁵¹⁷ Vivian never took to any of his guides the same way that Baillie-Grohman, Dunraven, or Seton-Karr did. The one friendship he seemed to strike up did not flourish into a lasting bond. From the first, Griff Evans, a Welsh immigrant, served as a guide to Vivian and he praised Griff as a “capital shot” and “[o]n the strength of Wales and a common love of sport we soon began to understand each other, and got on swimmingly.”⁵¹⁸ Even though Griff was with Vivian throughout his entire stay in Colorado and Wyoming, and he “showed himself an old and experienced hand” at hunting and guided Vivian on a hunt where he came away with two monstrous wapitis, he did not show a preference to keep hunting with Griff as the expedition wore on – choosing instead to hunt with relative newcomers to the group, Curly and Lee. Since there was less of an emphasis on striking up true friendships in Vivian’s account, there was also less stress on integrating into the group and becoming one of the hunting party. In fact, at one point in time, an aloof Vivian remarked, “During these days of inaction the men seemed to pass the time pretty agreeably to themselves. They used to sit huddled together in their tent, with a frying-pan full of glowing embers in their midst, round which they played cards and told stories.”⁵¹⁹ Vivian made it clear that he did not spend much time in their tent and, when combined with his constant references about leaving his men to set-up camp at new sites whilst he would go out hunting, one gets the sense that Vivian was not in the West to prove that he was going to win these men’s hearts and minds; rather, he was there for compliments and trophies.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid., 192, 238, 245.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid., 141.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 248.

Granville Gordon, Charles Messiter, W. Mullen, and John Turner-Turner did not have as rosy a view of Western men as those authors examined above. Instead of trying to measure up to Western men, these authors sought to expose Westerners for what they felt they were: cowards, exaggerators, and hypocrites.⁵²⁰ Harsh assessments of Western men were critical to the accounts because they put the authors' masculinity in stark relief next to Westerners' unmanly behavior. These negative views of Western men do not mean that the West was unimportant to the hunters. In fact, I would argue the West continued to represent the same things it did for those writers who chose to portray Westerners in a more positive light. These accounts were simply attempts to alter the

⁵²⁰ Granville Gordon, overall, drew a rather unflattering picture of Western men. His guides were not particularly adept hunters and often left him in the field. While Gordon admits his trepidation at being lost in the mountains, he quickly recovers his bearings and finds his way to camp. Another man, Hank, who happened into their camp one night and took supper with their party, began trying to sabotage Gordon and his friend's trip by following them and starting game before they could fire. Apparently, Hank carried out these boorish misdemeanors because Gordon asked him to stop his spitting during their meal together. Despite this uncivilized Western behavior, Gordon overcame it and appears to have had a successful trip securing plenty of trophies for his mantle. So, rather than rising up to meet Westerners on their own turf and demonstrating his ability to keep up and be independent, Gordon withstood their ignorance and incivility and demonstrated his masculinity through good shooting and composure. Gordon demonstrates his social superiority through his unwillingness to endure perpetual expectoration at dinner, as well as his ability to win over his guide, Jack, to the point where Jack goes out and eventually "takes care" of Hank. In this environment it was fairly easy for Gordon to convey his sense of social superiority as Hank was literally behaving as if he were a child. Granville Gordon, *Sporting Reminiscences* (London: G. Richards, 1902), v-20. John Turner-Turner had nothing good to say about anyone, except for his wife, who while she accompanied him on his travels, was mentioned only twice in the account. Western men bore the brunt of his anger, which seemed to have fulminated from financial woes that Turner-Turner constantly alluded to and hung over the account like a dark cloud. His guide, Uncle Billie, was "useless" and "worthless," perfectly incompetent and inept. He could not properly locate a campsite, assist Turner-Turner in finding game, kill game, or identify the species of game properly. In sum, Uncle Billie is portrayed as a hack, as is another guide, Rube. Turner-Turner, who had never camped out before in his life, demonstrates a superior knowledge of woodcraft throughout the account as well as a knack for surviving. Much like Gordon, Turner-Turner overcomes "idiocy," to have a successful trip and learn much about woodcraft, survival, and independence. Even though Uncle Billie is cast as a dilettante, Turner-Turner uses Uncle Billie's anger to demonstrate his ability as a hunter at one point. Turner-Turner said, "That night Uncle Billie showed his annoyance at my successful day by declaring it to be impossible to pack any more heads [of wapiti], and as he stated that I should find wapiti in the same abundance, right through the mountains, I agreed not to shoot any more at present." Turner-Turner relies on good shooting and composure when turned around to demonstrate his masculinity, and superior knowledge of nature and animals to demonstrate his social superiority. Turner-Turner also showed his refinement, compassion, and merciful nature by noting that wapiti utter a wail upon being shot, so he always shot twice to ensure the kill and prevent undue suffering in the animal. He was "moved" by wapitis' death struggles. John Turner-Turner, *Three Years' Hunting and Trapping in America and the Great North-West* (London: Maclure & Co., 1888), 1-41.

overall perception of Western guides as ruggedly independent, self-reliant men, and to show the British hunters as the truly rugged and self-reliant.

Charles Messiter's *Sport and Adventures among the North-American Indians* has very little complimentary to say about Westerners. Few people escaped censure. Most of all, Messiter loathed Westerners who were unwilling to confront Native Americans. In most of the accounts it was tacit that Western men were manly because of their willingness to confront Native Americans, but Messiter called this correlation into question. To underscore his own bravery and masculinity, Messiter strove to show that he was fearless and independent. He lived with Native trappers for a winter and then conducted three separate hunting trips into hostile Native territory in Northern Kansas (near Sibley, KS) and West Texas. On each of these expeditions into hostile territory, Messiter called out what he saw as cowardly and hypocritical behavior. For instance, he was thoroughly disillusioned with his first hunting party when they were confronted with a band of Sioux in Kansas. Messiter recalled the moment,

On our [he and Brown] return to camp we found that we might very easily have come across some Indians, as eight or ten of them had during our absence ridden on to the bluffs which overhung the camp, and had shaken their spears at those in it.

We had a consultation that evening, and all the men, with the exception of Fox, wished to give up the trip and return home; but as the latter assured me that he would go on with me alone if necessary, they were at last shamed into remaining.

Since most of the men – especially Brown, who had been “boasting of the number of Indians he had killed” – had professed their indifference to the danger of Indians, Messiter was particularly disappointed in their pusillanimity.⁵²¹ Settlers in Sibley also

⁵²¹ Charles Messiter, *Sport and Adventures among the North-American Indians* (London: R.H. Porter, 1890), 114.

received a thorough castigation by Messiter as they had failed to even engage the Sioux in a fight when one of their fellow men was under attack and killed. Then, at another time, the men from Sibley assembled for a fight only to back down at the moment of truth. A disenchanted Messiter said,

The fact was that the Lake Sibley people had succeeded in exciting them for a time, by an account of the outrage, but that their courage had now all oozed away at their finger end. Nothing we could say was of any use, and they ended by mounting and returning the way they had come.⁵²²

All that said, Messiter did show respect for the men who stood up to the Comanche guide who had betrayed their trust and led them into a trap. This episode where the men were faced with long odds of survival was detailed in the last chapter. Needless to say, it was the positive traits of fierce independence and ability to survive in a hostile environment that Messiter wished to co-opt;⁵²³ however, as noted, he found much to disparage. The only guide whom Messiter truly liked was one that displayed a healthy amount of deference. In fact, he described the only guide about whom he spoke highly of throughout his account as “willing to do anything you asked him, which is not the case with all guides, some of those I have had standing on their dignity and refusing to cut wood or to help with the horses.”⁵²⁴ Tellingly, Messiter did not rely on Westerners’ compliments or friendship to confirm his masculinity, which is only logical since he did not exactly find them to be paragons of manliness.

W. Mullen was another hunter who did not characterize Westerners in an overall positive light. Mullen had a dislike for guides. On first arriving in California, Mullen was rather green. Recalling his impressionable state,

⁵²² Ibid., 134-135.

⁵²³ Ibid., 113-122, 131-133, 198-201, 216-226.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., 297.

When I first arrived fresh from England, full of Mayne Reid and the lamented Fenimore [sic], this remarkable-looking fellow [Hunter Bill] appeared the embodiment of all the scalp hunters of the former, and the nature's children of the latter novelist. But in him I was deceived; despite all his wonderful tales about "bars," [bears] elk, bighorn, and almost every animal from elephants to ground squirrels, I found out that the only bear he had ever interviewed was the one at Woodward's Gardens, and all the rest in the same proportion.

In his ignorance, Mullen hired Hunter Bill for two entire weeks. On their way to their hunting grounds, Hunter Bill stumbled into a San Jose bar that he simply refused to leave.

An indignant Mullen said,

After that I was much more careful; but "professional hunters" have had many a bright new dollar from me, and very little I've had in return from them. No, I killed my first elk (Wapiti deer, *Cervus canadensis*), and many a one after that, in company with the best fellow in the world – viz., myself; and here let me observe that, unless you know your chums, you are best alone.⁵²⁵

None of the hunting adventures related in Mullen's account took place with a white guide. From time to time, Mullen was accompanied by a hunting companion or some Native guides, but on no occasion was he assisted by a white guide.

In California, Mullen was also unimpressed with a professional hunter, "Jim," whom he had found potting quail with birdshot on the ground. Jim's method was simply a distasteful practice in Mullen's view. Even though he found this bounty hunter's methods distasteful and uncivil, he admired Jim's shooting ability. Mullen also enjoyed impressing Jim with his own shooting saying,

The hunters generally use a shot-gun, loaded with buckshot, but I always used a Westley Richards carbine, the practice and handiness of which rather astonished Jim occasionally, as I frequently brought down deer at from 200 to 300 yards. At short ranges the heavy Yankee rifles are good, but over 250 I used to beat them with my carbine, "till they did not know themselves."

⁵²⁵ W. Mullen, *Rambles After Sport; or, Travels and Adventures in the Americas and at Home* (London: "The Field" Office, 1874), 73-74.

While Jim was not an urbane character, his confirmation of Mullen's masculinity was deftly used in the narrative.

Besides proving his abilities to Jim, Mullen also relished an opportunity to demonstrate his skills to a farmer, Zack, as well as Zack's acquaintances – all of whom questioned his manhood and whether or not he was man enough to kill two grizzlies that had killed seven people. Mullen was absolutely defiant in the face of Zack and the townspeople's skepticism, and the account of his confrontations with Zack and curious townsmen filled up quite a few pages. Even Mullen's snarky comments could not mask his deep resentment at the implication that he might fall prey to the beast. Ironically enough, he almost did fall prey to the bears and only with some excellent luck was he allowed to live. Mullen's first encounter with Zack was representative:

“So you air one of them blarmed Britishers that run about a-shooting animals for the fun of the thing and darn the expense; but, sir, I tell *you*, we've got an animal in this yere country that hates a Britisher wus nor pisin, and that's a grizzly bar.”

“Just the very animal I want to see; but I don't know where to find any.”

“Want to see'em, does you! Lor bless you! come [sic] along with me for a for-night, and I guess I'll show 'em you pretty quick, Want to see 'em! My eye! May be they'll want to see *you*.”

This idea of the bars wanting to see me seemed so exquisitely droll to him, that he continued chuckling to himself for about five minutes, when, seeing I looked rather annoyed, he said, “Waal, streanger, you've no cause to get riled; only, blarm me, I *must* rile a Britisher, for I tell you there are precious few men about here that's seen a grizzly once that wants to see him again....”

Zack then related a story of how several hunters were treed by grizzlies for a solid week and only survived by eating their boot leather and tree bark. At this point, he invited Mullen out to his ranch to see the “bars” for himself and Mullen accepted. At this point, Mullen noted,

[B]y eight o'clock I should think every loafer and "bummer" for five miles round had assembled in the bar room of the hotel... They came in troops of threes and sixes, and stood staring at me as if I were some remarkable curiosity catalogued in a museum.

Several of the men then began questioning Mullen about how he intended on killing the bears, and one of the men warned, "'Zack's bars are 'tarnal spiteful I guess; spitefullest here about.'" The entire bar answered, "'You bet,' in sepulchral tones."

The day after arriving at Zack's ranch Mullen set out early to a spot where an ox had been mauled by one of the bears just the night before. When lackadaisically crossing a clearing to find the carcass, Mullen heard an angry growl not thirty yards behind him.

To say I 'was dumb with astonishment' is to say simply nothing. I was perfectly petrified. I did *not* 'raise my rifle slowly, take a steady aim between his two eyes, and fire, rolling him over, sir, dead as a mackerel;' but I wanted to go right down into my boots, and *did* go down behind a piece of scrub furze, which seemed, I know, uncommonly small. I was so taken aback at thus, as it were, meeting death face to face in a duel, away from everybody, that I could not keep my eyes off the bear. He didn't seem to care much whether I was there or not... If I attempted to retreat, the chances were he would come at me, and he would be sure to reach me before I could climb a tree.

Eventually, Mullen was able to fire after raising his rifle three times and dropped the bear dead in its tracks. After finishing his narration of the event he noted his terror, but contextualized it by noting that the grizzly might be the fiercest animal on the planet.

Justifying his trepidation he said,

All very well, my dear sir [hunter from India], with your forty beaters, two or three spare rifles, and an animal that occasionally wants half a dozen rockets to make him bolt. But let me place you face to face with a grizzly; no escape for one of you but by the death of the other – for a grizzly courts the combat, never refuses it, – and if you can get through the scrape without a quickening of the heart and a certain sensation commonly and vulgarly known as the "blue funk," you can do more than I could.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁶ Ibid., 58-69.

While Mullen did not exhibit perfect composure, and clearly understood the irony of the situation, he was still triumphant in his ultimate task and was able to kill the two bears, which no Californian had been able to do and the body count reflected. He also took delight in telling Zack the news and witnessing his disbelief that an Englishman had killed his bears. Mullen had “showed” those skittish Westerners something about manliness!

These upper-class hunters were also able to reconcile national and class issues through their interactions with Western men. Quite simply, just as the military men had done, these upper-class hunters used their interactions with white Westerners in the “egalitarian” Western environment to illustrate their social superiority, but they used a wider variety of strategies to assert their superiority. Whereas the military men used only four strategies, the non-military upper-class hunters used five different strategies. There was one strategy relating to leadership abilities that the upper-class hunters used that the military men did not. Since the ability to contribute to the smooth logistical operation of a hunting party was looked upon as a marker of self-reliance and independence, the ability to lead a hunting party and garner respect from the men was considered a signifier of social superiority to some hunters and they reveled in their role as leader. When combined, all of these strategies sought to uphold the notion of British superiority⁵²⁷ that Rose Lambart Price asserted in the closing pages of his account when he said,

⁵²⁷ Another excellent example of a British hunter baldly proclaiming British superiority over the American elite can be found in Edward North Buxton’s account. After recalling and praising an incredibly difficult and grueling individual effort by Theodore Roosevelt to bring a criminal to justice, which included several nights of constant supervision of his prisoner, Buxton stated, “Without endorsing Mr. Smalley’s opinion that for high breeding the best Americans beat the best Englishmen, it must be admitted that, for humanity combined with pluck, this feat is calculated to make an Anglo-Saxon proud.” Edward North Buxton, *Short Stalks; or, Hunting Camps, North, South, East, and West* (London: E. Stanford, 1892), 105-109.

The *jeunesse dorée* of New York endeavour to assume English manners, and do so with only indifferent success. This is, however, a defect in their education that time will gradually correct; and I daresay with constant study, in a few more generations, they may become nearly as affected as the class at home they so vainly attempt to imitate.⁵²⁸

Even the slight self-national-deprecation contained in the remark did not take the sting out of the observation that American elites were just poor imitations of English ones.

Price objected to universal suffrage, which he viewed as a wholesale disaster, and thought that the United States would be better off with educational or property qualifications for voting and holding office. Without such a change, Price predicted the eventual dissolution of the country as men of substance would refuse to enter American politics. Clearly, in Price's view, virtual representation and reliance on "betters" to handle politics was preferable to democracy.⁵²⁹ Dunraven articulated a similar argument in that democracy brought with it coarse and unsavory politics.⁵³⁰ For him, "mob oratory" replaced "statesmanship" in the political realm and would have grave implications. Both these men used their musings on politics to demonstrate their social superiority through their preference for conservative political principles, which held that education and rank determined one's role in the political realm.

Many of the same observations that surfaced in the military accounts regarding the lack of overall sophistication in the West were echoed in the non-military accounts. By calling attention to Westerners' deficiencies, Brits were demonstrating their

⁵²⁸ Price, *The Two Americas*, 352.

⁵²⁹ Price also railed against the abolishment of the purchase system in the Army. The implication being that gentlemen were simply more fit to lead. *Ibid.*, 323, 343-350.

⁵³⁰ Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *Canadian Nights* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1914), 10.

superiority. Perhaps Baillie-Grohman had the most sympathetic view regarding this lack of refinement. He observed:

Just as the tattered garb of the miner hides often some sterling qualities of a strong manhood, the whole community, rough and unpolished as it appears to the superficial observer, comprises the essential characteristics of a great people. Good manners are called the final flowers of civilization, some say they are the sign of its decay; and as a clever American writer has pointed out, the polishing of a people is a slow process. In the case of the Western nation, the conditions are of an exceptional kind; for not only are those under which manners are to be formed glaringly new in the absence of the traditions of caste and of history, but they are doubly new in the addition of the dogma of equality.⁵³¹

Mrs. John Beveridge Gladwyn Jebb used a similar strategy to make an observation about the West as a whole. In describing some of John's neighbors in Colorado, she said, "They were a charming couple – an American lady and gentleman, in the true sense of the words: clever, cultivated, witty, – perfect types of the best that wonderful nation *can* produce, and occasionally *does*."⁵³² In these excerpts, Baillie-Grohman and Jebb were simultaneously praising Americans yet gently noting their defects. While Baillie-Grohman praised the strong foundation that was being built to establish a civilization, he was also able to gently note its lack of polish and the difficulty that lay ahead for creating a truly refined society. Similarly, Jebb was able to shower praise on a singular couple, but in the next paragraph explained that they were the solitary couple worth socializing with in their area. Thus, Jebb could praise this couple and call attention to the overall dearth of society in the West.

Other authors were not as gentle when it came to discussing Western shortcomings in refinement. Charles Messiter complained of what he saw as bald

⁵³¹ Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, 22.

⁵³² Jebb, *A Strange Career: Life and Adventures of John Gladwyn Jebb*, 159-160.

attempts to part him from his money in Texas, and he had to threaten a man on one occasion. In Richmond, Texas, Messiter and his friends were given a speeding ticket, which they refused to pay and they walked out of the court house.⁵³³ On their way out of town, one of the men ran their horse into a yearling and broke his collar bone. When a “physician” from Richmond came out to their camp to tend to the wound, he clearly did not have any experience and the men refused to pay his exorbitant charge of twenty-five dollars. Messiter recalled the tense situation:

On this he got very abusive, called us swindlers and other names, when we told him that if he did not leave the camp in five minutes we would put him in the creek; so he rode off in a furious rage, saying that he would come back with some friends and clear us out, but he must have thought better of it as we never saw him again.⁵³⁴

On two other separate occasions people lured him into their homes without mentioning that they were going to charge him for his stay. At one of them Messiter gave a few dollars to one of his camp servants, Billy, and told him to try to pay their host for his hospitality thinking that the host would have refused such a gesture. On trying to leave, Messiter noted that “we found that when he offered to pay for the corn our host presented a long bill of which I forget the amount, but I know that ten dollars (£2) which we had given Billy was not nearly enough to settle it, so that our delicacy had been wasted.”⁵³⁵ Needless to say, Messiter saw this behavior as crass, uncouth, and ungentlemanly. As mentioned, W. Mullen complained of a professional hunter potting quail on the ground, but he also objected to his overall persona. He passively aggressively concluded, “After three weeks’ capital sport about Santa Cruz, I bade adieu to friend Jim with great regret,

⁵³³ Messiter, *Sport and Adventures among the North-American Indians*, 173.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 187-188.

as he was really a most jolly companion, though he *was* a trifle rough.”⁵³⁶ H.A. Vachell also thought Western quail hunters were unsporting.⁵³⁷

John Mortimer Murphy harped on the fact that Westerners were too busy to run to hounds. He proclaimed that “wolf-hunting ought to become there [the West] what fox-hunting is in Great Britain; and doubtless it will be so when the country gets settled up, and people have a little spare time to devote to the pleasures of the chase.”⁵³⁸ A few pages later he advised:

A hunt would be more picturesque if there were many persons in the field, or if it were graced by the presence of ladies; but in that thinly settled country men and women are too busy to devote much attention to the chase, except for some practical purpose, such as supplying the house with meat, or their pockets with the money procured from the sale of peltries.⁵³⁹

Another unforgiveable offense in Murphy’s estimation was that Westerners were ignorant of dogs in general. He also did not approve of Westerners’ inattention to the proper breeding of dogs. He lectured:

The Scotch deer-hound would, in my estimation, be an invaluable dog for chasing the antelope on the plains of the West; yet that splendid creature is scarcely known there, for I saw only three of the pure-blooded species in the entire region beyond the Rocky Mountains, though mongrels and crosses were not rare. Many of the best hunters in the country know little or nothing about the various breeds of dogs useful in the chase; hence they take no pains about procuring them, and seem to be content with anything in the canine form so long as it will chase an animal.

Westerners had no understanding of the import of breeding. Murphy thought this was a glaring deficiency in Western hunting circles because running to hounds “gives hounds, horses, quarry, and hunters a better opportunity of testing their speed, power, mettle, and

⁵³⁶ W. Mullen, *Rambles After Sport*, 43.

⁵³⁷ Vachell, *Sport and Life on the Pacific Slope*, 275.

⁵³⁸ Murphy, *Sporting Adventures in the Far West*, 158.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*, 20-21, 169-170.

endurance.”⁵⁴⁰ Murphy’s constant referral to these deficiencies was apparently made out of genuine concern. When Murphy moved to Florida, he became the secretary of correspondence for the “Florida Field Sports Association,” whose object was “to preserve the game and fish of the State; see that the game laws are enforced, develop a taste for field sports and all manly outdoor recreation, and try to acclimate such game as may be found suitable for this climate.”⁵⁴¹

Many authors picked up on the same theme of Western lawlessness. During his second trip to the West in the late 1890s, Sir Rose Price railed against the continuing use of firearms to settle disputes, as well as the proliferation of “hold ups.”⁵⁴² Samuel Nugent Townshend criticized the arbitrary nature and enforcement of mining laws in the West, as well as the “universal rudeness of subordinate railwaymen.”⁵⁴³ And, Arthur Pendarves Vivian disliked the fact that Jack Watkins had become a celebrity in Wyoming for breaking the law by operating a saloon without a license and then cowing an entire company of soldiers into retreat simply by threatening to shoot them.⁵⁴⁴ This reverence for lawlessness, in Vivian’s view, did not reflect well on Westerners. Such an attitude was irresponsible and ignorant.

Another theme throughout the accounts was the overall lack of intelligence of Westerners. John Mortimer Murphy viewed Westerners as less than perfect intellectual companions, and even advised bringing a lantern as guides’ stories were oft retold time and again around the campfire. Clearly, Murphy admired Westerners’ hardihood, but he

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid., 169, 191, 379.

⁵⁴¹ “Our Monthly Record: Fishing and Shooting,” *Outing*, vol. xiv., May 1889, 22.

⁵⁴² Rose Lambart Price, *A Summer on the Rockies* (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., 1898), 77-79.

⁵⁴³ Townshend, *Colorado*, 71, 119.

⁵⁴⁴ Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land*, 254-256.

did not think them especially refined or particularly good conversationalists. Throughout the account Murphy emphasized Westerners' unrefined dialect in recounting dialogue. John Turner-Turner was perhaps the most vicious when it came to judging Western intelligence. Of his guide he said, "Uncle Billie, when he saw the animal [a grizzly], proclaimed his utter ignorance by declaring it to be a cinnamon bear, I very much doubt his ever having been so close to one before."⁵⁴⁵ Taken in conjunction with his other remarks regarding the stubborn nature and incompetence of Uncle Billie, Turner-Turner did not develop a healthy respect for Westerners' intelligence. One more account that featured a harsh assessment of a guide was Edward North Buxton's narrative. Edward and his son Gerald gave their guide, Bob, very explicit instructions on how to proceed to their next campsite, but Bob ignored the orders and nearly ended up stranding father and son in adverse conditions for a night. Buxton left no doubt in the mind of the reader as to who was at fault in the matter. He said

My directions to Bob had been explicit – to go straight down to the stream to his right, and follow it to its junction with the other. It was obvious that that was the easiest slope for the horses, but he was in one of his obstinate moods, and had followed our track in the snow along the ridges, and when he arrived at the end it was too steep to get down, so that he had to return on his track nearly to the last camp.⁵⁴⁶

Regarding hunting and the dearth of protection for the animals, several authors made it clear that they found American game laws full of problems, which – to their mind – demonstrated a lack of proper and humane management of resources. This negative characterization was fairly uniform throughout the accounts.⁵⁴⁷ (Baillie-Grohman even

⁵⁴⁵ Turner-Turner, *Three Years' Hunting and Trapping in America and the Great North-West*, 30.

⁵⁴⁶ Buxton, *Short Stalks*, 93-94.

⁵⁴⁷ One author who will not be mentioned in this section is Arthur Pendarves Vivian, who also bemoaned the lack of protection for the buffalo and he seemed to think this was simply a failure of the national and

more detested the British Columbian game laws than Western states' laws because hunters were penalized very heavily in British Columbia's re-writing of their game laws in the 1890s). Western game laws he found clearly onerous and ill-conceived.

As a general thing, with the exception perhaps of Idaho, the law has gone to the other extreme, and the bag a stranger is legally entitled to make is of such ridiculously limited proportions as on the face of it to suggest that a wide berth had better be given to the Western States. The resident, on the other hand, enjoys the wide privileges of a "settler" who can kill game practically at any season of the year, and in quantities no law has as yet attempted to define, *always provided that the game is for his own use and no part of it is sold.*⁵⁴⁸

Baillie-Grohman's conveyed the absurdity of the situation and his belief that the laws would do nothing to protect game from Westerners' over-hunting and denuding the landscape of wild animals. To him this senselessness was a stain on the Western states and a tacit condemnation of Western men's inability to exert self-control. He went on to emphasize this lack of self-control and humanity. While hunting in an isolated park where the animals were rather tame, Baillie-Grohman stopped shooting after the second day saying,

I had enough of Wapiti shooting – or rather, the wanton waste that I would have perpetrated had I continued to let my rifle have free scope, would have been unjustifiably great, for beyond our own immediate wants and a couple of pony-loads of meat I had promised the people at the nearest ranche, there were, in the absence of Indians, no other customers for the venison.

He noted how amused all the men were by his instinct to grab his gun every time a wapiti jumped out in front of their party. But he was able to stifle his impulses and wished to demonstrate his self-control. Those chafing him then came under his scrutiny and he levied a harsh indictment upon them saying: "The Western hunter seems to fancy the

state governments because – on the whole – he found Westerners law-abiding. Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land*, 298-300.

⁵⁴⁸ William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia* (London: H. Cox, 1900), 42.

game resources of his home perfectly limitless, and exhibits a supreme indifference to the reverse side of the 'first come first served,' hence is often astonished at what he calls English squeamishness."⁵⁴⁹

Seton-Karr devoted a long passage in his book to the ethics of big-game hunting. I quote it at length because it has several interlocking elements that are meant to comment on Western society:

This is not the place fittingly to moralize on the ethics of big-game shooting. I have elsewhere written of the causes that have so sadly diminished the wild life of the Rockies.... Among these active causes the British sportsman is not included. We hardly ever killed the females of their kind, the cow elk or the doe deer, simply because we did not want them, and to us, therefore, there was no pleasure in so doing. The real agents of destruction have been the hide-hunters of the 'eighties and 'nineties, largely assisted by the Indians, as well as by the settlers and ranchmen, who not so long since killed recklessly of the herds of wapiti and deer as they migrated in the late autumn out of the mountains to their winter range on the open deserts.

But all this is another story. In those days we took our sport as we found it, while the western settlers and hunters themselves never for a moment seemed to anticipate the day when game might disappear from the foot-hills, and when the wild natural life of the continent might suffer serious loss.

At Fort Steele we renewed our acquaintance with the American officers we had first met some months before. They listened to tales of our sport, and admired our trophies. But they had ideas of their own on the subject. 'Talk about elk,' said one of them, 'why, I killed eleven elk before breakfast the other day.' He had struck a band of elk in the rutting season in the open country, and had killed eleven cows and calves, probably wounding many more, by dint of pumping his Winchester rifle into the herd, regardless of age or sex. The curious part of it was that he seemed proud of the feat, upon which we did not venture to comment.⁵⁵⁰

Seton-Karr's message was powerful. It was an indictment of Western men and culture and a defense of British sportsmen and the culture of big-game hunting, as well as a subtle commendation of British game laws and the class system, which provided rational

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., 150-151.

⁵⁵⁰ Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*, 185-186.

and effective leadership regarding the stewardship of the environment. The implication was that if upper-class Britons were given control they would manage the region with an eye toward sustainability.

Seton-Karr was not finished, however, and he returned to the issue of self-control one more time in a later chapter in order to justify his own large bag on a three-month expedition into the Bighorn Mountains of Wyoming in the fall of 1878. The entire bag consisted of “twenty-two bearskins and fourteen big-horn heads... as well as a couple of buffalo-heads and one or two of good black-tail deer.” While this was not an excessive bag, he still felt compelled to justify it because he did not want to be viewed as a wasteful Westerner. He said,

[T]he big-game hunters, for whom I now claim to say a word, have, in fact, done practically nothing to reduce the stock of Rocky Mountain big-game. They have only killed in sweet reasonableness, for sport and healthful excitement and exercise, the old bulls and such-like; and all their combined killing multiplied fivefold would have had no effect on the natural increase of the stock, unless, perhaps, in the case of such game as wolf, bear, and mountain lion, where no distinctions of age and sex are drawn.⁵⁵¹

A democratic society and culture, in Seton-Karr’s view, was simply incapable of protecting the environment and instilling the proper values one needed to promote proper stewardship. Similarly, Dunraven took pains to emphasize his humanity. After running down Wapiti on the plains and engaging in what the U.S. Captain deemed “a case of prairie murder,” he made sure to note that there would be no waste involved in this hunt. He stated,

The next two days we were busily engaged in cutting up the meat with axes and taking it into camp, for it must not be supposed that an ounce of all that meat was

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 218.

wasted; we hauled every bit of it out to the fort, where the demand for fresh venison greatly exceeded our supply.⁵⁵²

On a different note, Samuel Nugent Townsend observed the utter disregard that most Coloradans had for the state game laws. He related,

He [a representative Coloradan miner] shoots all he wants to eat, and often violates the State Game Laws by shooting elk, deer, and mountain sheep before August 1; and worse still, another State Game Law, that forbids “the wanton destruction of game at *any* period.”⁵⁵³

While miners did not like to abide by the laws that did not suit them, Townshend noted that they wholeheartedly supported stiffer regulations regarding the sabotage of mines. As mentioned before, Townshend found the observance and the application of the law to be arbitrary and reflective of the overall character of life in the West.

The last strategy that the writers used to exhibit their masculinity was demonstrating their leadership skills with white guides and their hunting parties.⁵⁵⁴ As noted before, Baillie-Grohman enjoyed pointing out how one would be considered “the ‘boss,’ or master” on an expedition with fur trappers. Upon profiling all the men in their party, he then stated, “So now, reader, you know my companions. They are thoroughly good fellows, genial, and devoted to me; and a pleasant and never broken accord – the paramount conditions for an undertaking of this kind – has long been established between us.” Baillie-Grohman wanted his readership to understand his position of leadership in the group and how he had earned that devotion. To justify this leadership, he mentioned his vast experience in the Alps and chronicled his feats in the Rockies. To make clear

⁵⁵² Dunraven, “Wapiti Running on the Plains”: 606.

⁵⁵³ Townshend, *Colorado*, 10.

⁵⁵⁴ One author who did use this strategy, but who will not be examined here is W. Mullen. Mullen recounted a story of stalking a wapiti with his companion and how his stern orders to his companion resulted in a kill after they were obeyed. W. Mullen, *Rambles After Sport*, 74-75.

how he was able to ensconce himself into a position of leadership with egalitarian Westerners by dint of his pluck and self-reliance, he editorialized on the question of British gentlemen emigrating:

The English settler will for some time sadly miss the social laws which govern the intercourse of different classes in the old world. At first he will not like the independence of the cowboy under him, who by look and manner will let him know that the question who is the better man of the two has long been settled in his own mind. His hands will itch when some saucy “Do it yourself” is the only answer he receives to some order concerning a matter not quite within the scope of his “help’s” duties. In time he will get accustomed to the ways and manners of the country; and if there is no false pride about him, the good points of the English character, to which none are more keenly alive than the Western men, will have gained him not only the good-will but the devoted attachment of the free-handed boys!⁵⁵⁵

In short, Baillie-Grohman was saying “if you are able to prove yourself to your ‘help,’ as I have, then their devotion will be readily forthcoming.” One’s superiority will become clear to those who presume to be your “equals.”

This theme of leadership and devotion was also picked up by Sir Henry Seton-Karr in his account. The most critical example of this leadership and devotion in Seton-Karr’s account came from his relationship with Chico, who was the foreman for Seton-Karr’s cattle company. After Chico had been shot and lay dying, Seton-Karr mentioned that Chico’s last words were “I died for the Pick [Ranch],” which was the range where Seton-Karr’s cattle were kept on the open range. This almost inconceivable devotion underscored Seton-Karr’s ability to evoke such an attachment to him. Seton-Karr also developed a strong friendship with his guide, Frank Earnest, who was a Canadian immigrant to the West. Seton-Karr referred to Frank several times as his “friend” throughout the account. After recounting their first meeting he noted, “But on that

⁵⁵⁵ Baillie-Grohman, *Camps in the Rockies*, 11, 20, 362-363.

August morning I commenced an acquaintance with him which rapidly ripened into a firm and lasting friendship of many years.” While this friendship was no doubt warmly embraced by both men,⁵⁵⁶ it was not one of perfect equality and the employer-employee dynamic that underpinned their initial relationship continued to define their connection for years as Seton-Karr employed Frank as the Pick Ranch manager. This position, surely, was no small job and would have paid a nice salary, but it nevertheless meant that Frank was Seton-Karr’s employee.⁵⁵⁷ From the other facets of Seton-Karr’s account, one detects a strong sense of his own sense of superiority – whether it is his remarks about Frank’s “sense of duty” to “show sport to two raw British ‘tender-foots,’” Frank’s subordinate position as the manager of the Pick Ranch, or his analysis of the destruction of Western wildlife – Seton-Karr was subtly demonstrating his social and national superiority.

Another hunter who also sought to show his ability to lead his men was Vivian.

Vivian exerted his authority throughout one particular trip to the West. After one of

⁵⁵⁶ Devotion also blossomed into genuine affection and friendship in several of the accounts. Baillie-Grohman, Dunraven, Jebb, Seton-Karr, and Vivian all tell tales of friendships that formed over the course of their trips. In the antebellum period, Sir William Drummond Stewart brought his guide, Antoine Clement, back to Scotland with him after a six-year period he spent in the West. Merritt, *Baronets and Buffalo*, 38. Monica Rico’s examination of Sir William Drummond Stewart’s relationship with his guide Antoine Clement is a good example of how complex realities of the relationships between hunter and guide could be. While some attested to the two men’s companionship in the field and Clement accompanied Drummond Stewart back to Scotland after his first expedition, Clement refused to return to Scotland after the second expedition and – for all intents and purposes – financially defrauded Drummond Stewart. Monica Rico, “Sir William Drummond Stewart: Aristocratic Masculinity in the American West,” *Pacific Historical Review* 76 (2007): 170-176. Establishing the true mutuality of these relationships would be impossible, but I think it is fair to say that real respect between hunters and guides was not something completely unattainable. That said, I believe Tara K. Kelly’s synopsis of the guide experience is exactly correct when she states, “Together, this mass of evidence tells a tale in which the financial relationship between guide and client, not the manly autonomous stalk, was the central meaning of the experience of the hunt.” Tara Kathleen Kelly, “The Hunter Elite: Americans, Wilderness, and the Rise of the Big-Game Hunt” (PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2006), 269.

⁵⁵⁷ For instance, during the round-up season of 1883, Seton-Karr noted that he was on his way to the mountains for a hunting trip, while Frank was left back at the ranch to attend to “some business details.” Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays*, 149, 291.

Vivian's guides, Curly, shot before him, he refused to hunt with him again and he noted how other men in the group chastised Curly for this indiscretion – demonstrating his hold over the group and his leadership. At another point on this same trip, Vivian had to assert control over the group by designating a camp spot, about which his two wagon drivers were unable to come to an agreement. Vivian narrated,

High words ensued, and at last I saw Griff's waggon [sic], with my blankets, clothes, and other necessaries going in one direction, whilst the other waggon, driven by Hank, and containing all the food and cooking utensils, was bound in another. Then I thought it was high time to assert my authority. To be without the contents of either one of the waggons, even for a single night in such a climate, was too serious a matter, so I ordered Griff back, and both disputants to camp in a spot selected by me. This succeeded, and things went on much as usual.⁵⁵⁸

Vivian showed his ability to intervene, command the men, and make them respect his decision. This display of leadership was quite impressive for a man who by his own admission was not an experienced hunter or woodsman. The tacit message was that Vivian held the right intangibles to be a leader, which – as a member of Parliament – was something that he had to possess.

One issue that compromised the hunters' pretension to leadership was guides firing before they had permission, and this was such a breach of regulations that many passages were angrily scrawled in response to these episodes. H.A. Vachell was crystal clear about the pecking order he expected to be observed on his outings. He offered some advice for visiting sportsmen:

It is well to mention at this point the unwisdom of engaging scouts and guides on no recommendation save their own. The small towns upon the outskirts of the big forests and prairies swarm with these gentlemen, and very few of them are worth

⁵⁵⁸ Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land*, 242-244, 265.

a pinch of salt. Your honest trapper is in the woods, not lounging about a saloon or hotel, and it is only he who can show you first-rate sport, and he, remember, may always fail. Pay him well, and let it be plainly understood between you that he is not to shoot without orders.⁵⁵⁹

While Vachell only intimated that he had experienced difficulties with willful and sanguinary guides, many of the other hunters chronicled incidents with such guides. Buxton, Turner-Turner, and Vivian all related tales of recalcitrant and impudent guides who would shoot before their employers.⁵⁶⁰ These incidents were simultaneously evidence of Western men's "egalitarian" spirit, their unwillingness to be tamed by a financial arrangement, and – in the minds of the writers – a testament to Westerners inability to understand their "place."

The Middling Men

There were far fewer middle-class accounts than upper-class accounts. As I have mentioned, the primary focus of these four accounts, with the exception of Percy Selous' book, is not on hunting. The accounts by Thomas Carson and J.M. Pollock concerned ranching; whereas Paul Fountain's primarily addressed issues of natural history. Nevertheless, the same discourse about American independence and self-reliance shone through these accounts just the same, as did the impulse of the authors to prove their ability to keep up with Westerners. Furthermore, the same themes are present that were found in the non-military upper-class accounts regarding the authors' attempts to establish social and national superiority.

⁵⁵⁹ Vachell, *Sport and life on the Pacific Slope*, 236-237.

⁵⁶⁰ Buxton, *Short Stalks*, 114. Turner-Turner, *Three years' hunting and trapping in America and the Great North-West*, 31-32. Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land*, 242.

Thomas Carson portrays ranching life in Arizona, New Mexico, and the Texas Panhandle as rife with human and environmental hazards. The first ranch Carson worked on and partly-owned was located on open-range land just north of the Apache reservation in Arizona. He characterized the Apaches as “warlike,” “naturally cruel,” and harboring the “most bloodthirsty and murderous character.” Mexicans were also in the vicinity and, in his estimation, they were an “idle and mischievous riffraff” because his fellow workers were constantly getting into fights with them. Ill-tempered rattlesnakes, vicious green-headed flies, and unpredictable bears made the environment an unforgiving and treacherous one. The men who braved these hazards and earned a living in this harsh country were cowboys, and Carson’s recollections of his fellow cowboys definitely tended toward romanticism.

Cowboys as a class, that is, the genuine cowboys of days gone by, were a splendid lot of fellows, smart, intelligent, self-reliant and resourceful, also hard and willing workers. If they like you, they would stay with you in any kind of trouble and be thoroughly loyal. No such merry place on earth as the cow camp, where humour, wit and repartee abounded. The fact of every man being armed, and in these far-off days probably a deadly shot, tended to keep down rowdyism and quarrelling. If serious trouble did come up, it was settled then and there quickly and decisively, wrongly or rightly.⁵⁶¹

As if this were not a dangerous enough environment, “rustlers” were everywhere and the only way to control grazing land and your cattle was “at the end of a gun,” according to Carson.⁵⁶²

With all of these threats, why did Carson choose to live alone in this frightful place? Of course, he wished to show that he was capable of being as self-reliant and resourceful as a cowboy. He explained:

⁵⁶¹ Thomas Carson, *Ranching, Sport and Travel* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1912), 75.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 62.

My partners mostly remained at headquarters. In summer time, from April to the end of October, this arrangement suited me very well indeed; in fact, it was made at my own suggestion; and the life, though a solitary one for long periods, suited me to the ground and I enjoyed it immensely. Practically, I lived alone, which was also my own wish, as it was disagreeable to have anyone coming into my one-roomed cottage, turning things over and making a mess. I did my own cooking, becoming almost an expert, and have ever since continued to enjoy doing so... During our short periodical round-ups of course I attended the 'work' with the rest; but to spend one whole month, as I did once, without not only not conversing with, but absolutely not seeing a human being, is an experience that has probably come to very few men indeed.⁵⁶³

Besides being an avid cook, Carson did enjoy hunting very much, especially wild turkey.

One of his ponies was trained in turkey hunting and seemed to take "delight" in it.⁵⁶⁴

Throughout the account, Carson's attitude to the dangers he faced was one of defiance.

The ranch Carson initially worked on and partly owned was raided once by a band of thieves and, at that point Carson, who was in charge of patrolling an entire section of the ranch, had to step up surveillance. Not long after these thieves had made off with many of the ranch's cattle, he had occasion to prove his mettle and independence. At risk to his life, he interdicted several rustlers trying to make off with about some stolen calves. Carson tracked the rustlers, boldly rode into their camp, and demanded that their leader, a known rustler, allow Carson to inspect the herd as it had passed through his ranch. "This he resisted by every means he could think of," Carson narrated, "asserting that they were a 'clean' bunch, with no 'strays,' and that he was in a great hurry to push on." Carson refused to budge and eventually rode through the herd finding a score of unbranded calves "without their 'mammies,'" suggesting they were being rustled.⁵⁶⁵

After being confronted with this the leader relented and allowed Carson to separate the

⁵⁶³ Ibid., 66-67.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid., 69-70.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid., 88.

calves from the herd. He separated the stolen property and branded it all in an afternoon.

Branding calves without help was nearly impossible; yet, Carson found a way. He stated,

When a man is single-handed and has to make his fire up as well as catch and tie down the calves he has his hands pretty full. In this case I used only one fire and so had to drag the calves up close to it; every bit of tie rope in my pocket, thongs cut off the saddle, even my pocket handkerchief, were all brought into service; as at one time there were as many as four calves tied down at once. I had only the one little branding-iron, a thin bent iron rod, generally carried tied to the saddle alongside the carbine. The branding-iron must be, if not quite red-hot, very nearly so. Then the calf has to be ear-marked and altered.⁵⁶⁶

Carson eventually left this ranch in Arizona to head for greener (or browner) pastures. He ventured across the border to New Mexico and took a management position on a ranch where his ability to keep up with the hired cowboys on the trail served him well. “Of course the owner or manager does not have to take part in night-herding,” he observed, “but the boys think more of him if he does, and certainly the man he relieves appreciates it.”⁵⁶⁷ Carson also noted that he was able to gain his men’s respect with some fancy shooting. Carson had a reputation for shooting and the men designed a challenge for him.

A small piece of board was nailed to a fence post and the boys began shooting at it. In a casual way someone asked me to try my hand. Knowing how much depended on it I got out my faithful old 45° six-shooter that I had carried for fifteen years, and taking quick aim, as much to my own surprise as to others’, actually hit the center of the mark! It was an extraordinarily good shot (could not do it again perhaps in twenty trials) but it saved my reputation. Of course no pressure could have persuaded me to fire again⁵⁶⁸

These skills Carson had attained in Arizona and New Mexico served him well as he started his own ranch near Amarillo, Texas. His ability to keep up with his men and manly performances affirmed his masculinity.

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid., 89.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid., 156.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 205-206.

Carson reveled in this independent lifestyle, and he enjoyed his time on this ranch on the Arizona-New Mexico border precisely because he was able to kill for the pot, learn how to cook, participate in round-ups, and defend the ranch from predations all on his own. He had become a self-reliant cowboy, and his experience in New Mexico demonstrated his ability to win skeptical and willful Westerners over. In sum, Carson's account – similar to the hunting accounts – revolved around his relationship with white Westerners. Cowboys were the brash and confident masters of their environment and Carson set out to show he was capable of surviving in the same environment under the same conditions.

The vast majority of J.M. Pollock's account of ranching took place in the Texas Panhandle. Before journeying to Texas, though, Pollock worked for a stint in Wisconsin on a farm in harsh conditions for an illiterate yet prosperous boss. "He [the farmer] worked hard and expected everyone under him to do likewise;" Pollock noted, "but this is the same all over America, as a man must either work hard or become a 'tramp' – millionaires and a few others excepted."⁵⁶⁹ Pollock recalled that the old farm hands worked the greenhorns particularly hard, but he proudly noted he was "able to keep up my end of the stick." Besides working in the corn fields, Pollock had to slaughter sheep for meat. He quickly grew inured to the process and became "as keen as any of them to pick the biggest and finest mutton in the flock – and to our eyes he looked much better without his skin than in it."⁵⁷⁰ This was hard work, but he enjoyed proving he could do it. After this grueling experience, Pollock moved on to Texas to meet up with a friend of

⁵⁶⁹ J.M. Pollock, *The Unvarnished West: Ranching as I Found It* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Dent & Co., 1911), 7.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

his who was trying his hand at ranching. After living in Texas about a month, he became a part-owner of his friend's ranch. The conditions were deadly. There were not a few disputes over grazing territory in the region. "[H]uman life was held very cheap in those days," Pollock reflected, "and seldom or never was the culprit brought to justice for these fatal fights, the usual plea of self-defence [sic] being all-powerful."⁵⁷¹ Besides the threats on his life, there was the difficulty and drudgery of running an outfit in such an isolated region. One winter day, the ranch's windmill broke and the water supply for a thousand head of cattle was in jeopardy. Pollock went off to find a technician whose name was Fox to fix the problem. After riding a good 25 miles to where the ranch Fox was reportedly to be found, he discovered that Fox had moved on to another camp, which was 15 more miles distant. "When I started from home in the morning I did not expect to be away more than ten or twelve hours at most," Pollock explained, "and therefore had taken no provisions with me."⁵⁷² Pollock had to spend an evening out in the winter cold without any food or real shelter. Thankfully, the next morning Pollock was able to locate Fox and return to the ranch with the needed parts to fix the windmill.

Working with the cattle was also a dangerous proposition because

Texas cattle of 20 years ago bore but little resemblance to the fat, sleek animals one sees peacefully grazing in the pretty English meadows, animals which have been accustomed for countless generations to look to man as their protector and the carer for their wants and welfare. The Texas cattle on the other hand had the inborn knowledge that they had no one but themselves to depend upon for either food or protection from enemies, among whom they counted human beings, wolves, and panthers.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., 65-66.

⁵⁷² Ibid., 114.

⁵⁷³ Ibid., 83.

Regardless of the dangers involved in working with such ill-tempered beasts, Pollock enjoyed his work as a rancher and cowboy, and enjoyed providing for himself, hunting for the pot, cooking for himself, participating in round-ups, and, generally, being independent. He positively delighted in the figure he cast:

[I]t would seem strange to English eyes to see full-grown bearded men, clad in little more than top boots and enormous spurs, bending over the wash-tub and scrubbing at a woolen shirt... stopping every now and then to stir a pot of beans or look into the oven to see if the coffee were roasted or the bread burning.⁵⁷⁴

Since Pollock did enjoy performing his work so much, he was careful not to allow others to take advantage of his good-will by loafing. He was also able to remain an equal partner in the ranching venture, but he did not exhibit any inclination to try to take over the operations.

Pollock devoted an entire chapter to one particular hunting trip and he prefaced the chapter by saying

By this time we had been about four years on our ranch, which was ten miles from our nearest neighbour, and nearly 100 miles from the railway. We had come to look upon ourselves, like Robinson Crusoe on an island, as monarchs of all we surveyed. We awoke one morning to find that we had neighbours, and that at no greater distance than five miles from our house.

Pollock and his mates wasted no time introducing themselves to their neighbors, who turned out to be ex-professional buffalo hunters. Pollock characterized them as “fiends who had wastefully and wantonly butchered and exterminated that splendid monarch of the plains, the American Bison.”⁵⁷⁵ These “fiends” began hunting the area around their ranch and in one winter hauled off over 350 deer to market. While rightfully angry Pollock and his companions could do nothing, and one day when Pollock was conversing

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.,182.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.,190-191.

with one of his neighbors, Jack, he was invited along on one of their expeditions as he promised to “show me the wonderful way in which he could load up his waggon [sic] with game.”⁵⁷⁶ Jack claimed to be a professional and Pollock noted that he “knew... how to talk big.” Pollock, however, was immediately displeased with Jack’s “unsportsmanlike” hunting style. Upon stumbling on a herd of antelope Jack fired a dozen or so shots bringing down only two beasts. “Jack’ was highly pleased with himself,” Pollock noted in disdain, “and took every chance of saying so, yarning away the rest of the afternoon about his fine shooting, and what he had done and what he was going to do.”⁵⁷⁷ Later in the trip Pollock was able to bring down an antelope that Jack had repeatedly missed and ultimately concluded that “although they can when necessity demands it make some very accurate shooting... since the introduction of the repeating rifle, they trust not so much to the accuracy of their aim as to the amount of lead they can, as they say themselves, ‘pump into’ a herd of game.”⁵⁷⁸ Pollock clearly thought of himself as an equal – if not better – hunter than this “professional.”

Paul Fountain’s *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America* described the Great Plains as a place that promoted freedom, health, and strength. Its inhabitants were strong, hardy, and resilient. Plainsmen were able to withstand a harsh climate and ward off the occasional native party of thieves. Amongst these independent Westerners and amidst this dangerous environment, Fountain crisscrossed the area for years making a living as an itinerant merchant, which provided enough money for him to travel all over the Southern and Western United States. Fountain wished primarily to demonstrate his

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 192.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid., 192.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 199.

character and masculinity through his powers of observation and knowledge of nature, and secondarily through his ability to endure harsh conditions in spite of a lame leg. Meanwhile, hunting and shooting were truly marginal to Fountain's account, and he placed little emphasis on his hunting stories throughout. There were, however, several hunting stories and they did figure into the construction of his masculinity. Simply to survive and keep up with Westerners was evidence of his masculinity and clearly important to Fountain, but it was not enough because even in an account such as Fountain's, which did not feature hunting as the basis for the author's masculinity, he still related several stalks and kills to show that he was able to perform in the way that upper-class British men were expected to perform. This expectation was so ingrained in travel accounts that Fountain probably felt including it was necessary in order to appeal to his "betters."

Percy Selous' *Travel and Big Game* included several chapters on the West and was a terse middle-class account of hunting and trapping as a livelihood. Selous demonstrated his masculinity by keeping up with fellow hunters, directing them in a harsh environment, and living in spartan conditions. At one point, by asserting his authority, Selous was able to ward off what could have been a potentially deadly situation for one of his fellow professional hunters. Selous' ability to keep up with, and lead, Westerners was crucial to this account.

The middle-class writers also sought to assert their social and national superiority in their accounts. Carson proved his social and national superiority subtly throughout his account. While Carson reified Westerners' independence, he also stated,

Of course I could have had one of the boys to live with me; but no matter what good fellows cowboys generally are, their being in very close companionship is not agreeable, some of their habits being beastly... Few visitors came to my camp in summer or winter. Now and then I was gladdened by a visit of one or other of my partners, one of whom, however, cared nothing for fishing or shooting, and the other was much of the time entirely absent from the country.⁵⁷⁹

Carson also touted his own abilities to earn the respect of cowboys working under him. In short, Carson accused the working and the capitalist classes in the West of a lack of refinement. In an attempt to bring some refinement to Amarillo, Texas, Carson organized polo matches, which is reminiscent of John Mortimer Murphy's attempt to bring "field sports" to Florida. Carson also took a clear swipe at the American government by saying Mexicans were ill-treated and driven to desperation by treacherous Americans. "They [Mexicans] have been robbed of their lands, their cattle and their horses," he explained, "bullied and ill-treated in every possible way."⁵⁸⁰ Carson's charges were an attempt to reassert his social and national superiority.

Pollock also sought to prove his social superiority by pointing out his neighbors' methods of conflict resolution and hunting. Murder was common and justice was nowhere to be found in the rough and tumble West. His neighbor was purportedly a professional hunter; yet, his unsportsmanlike methods, such as using a rapid-fire to bring down game and hollow-pointed bullets were distasteful to Pollock. Pollock was not as emphatic as Carson and leaves the reader with the impression that while he might be asserting his superiority over a few select individuals he is not trying to do so for all Westerners. As far as Pollock's claim to national superiority, one is left with the impression that he clearly enjoyed and loved his experience on the Plains, but that there

⁵⁷⁹ Carson, *Ranching, Sport and Travel*, 67.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 211-212, 114.

was something holding him back from assimilating too much and becoming an American. He observed,

It is a curious fact that immediately a German sets foot in America, he becomes an American; but an Englishman, Welshman or Scotchman remains to the end, in feelings and sympathy, a Britisher, no matter how long he may live abroad, and in spite of the fact that he probably takes out his papers of naturalization very soon after landing.⁵⁸¹

Clearly, Pollock harbored affection for Texas and enjoyed his life on the plains, but there was never a question about bringing his English fiancée to Texas to settle down.

Fountain did not attempt to assert his own social superiority in his account; whereas other authors used their knowledge of natural history and geology as evidence of their superiority, Fountain did not lord his knowledge over Westerners or comment on Westerners' ignorance. Yet, in his accounts there was an effort to claim national superiority. Fountain thought the American middle-class hospitable and generous to a fault. He also found middle-class Americans irascible and partial to lynch law, which he defended. Thus, instead of resting national superiority on the notion of the excesses of democracy, Fountain rested it upon the superiority of the upper-classes, *of which he was not a member*. Two important passages asserted this superiority. First, in discussing American elites, Fountain said, "With the Yankee aristocrat I seldom came in contact, therefore I do not presume to attempt to word-paint him. The only difference that I have noticed between him and Old-World aristocrats is, that he seems to out-Herod Her – no Brummel himself."⁵⁸² This remark was very similar to Price's remark about Easterners attempting to out do British aristocrats in their manners. Fountain was calling attention

⁵⁸¹ Pollock, *The Unvarnished West*, 17.

⁵⁸² Paul Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901), 47.

to the *excessive* displays of wealth and extravagance by the American elite. Of course, while there was a bit of a critique of the British aristocracy implicit in such a remark, it was, by no means, scathing. In fact, I believe it was a rather favorable critique of the British aristocracy because the remark assumed that British elites were less ostentatious.⁵⁸³ Furthermore, Fountain, who prided himself on his knowledge and his intelligence, conceded while discussing the color of a Utah lake that

It is, therefore, out of my power to conjecture what causes the colour of the lake. It would be mere guess-work, unsupported by a tittle of evidence, were I to attempt to do so. Viewed from its margin, or gazing into its waters from a boat, it appears as I have said, of a bright green... The waters are opaque... The touch was slimy... I remember greatly regretting at the time my want of scientific education. *I would have given much to have a skilled gentleman with me who could have ascertained the nature of the water.*⁵⁸⁴

In this account, Fountain was able to clearly validate his own masculinity and come to terms with his place in society. Fountain's willingness and acceptance of his place in society demonstrates the overall effectiveness of the upper-classes in asserting their superiority. Fountain's deference may have even worked to his advantage as he was able to gain critical support for his books and financial assistance from those in the upper class.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸³ When one compares this remark to working-class anti-aristocratic sentiment, it becomes clear that Fountain's critique is trifling. See "Chapter Four: Aristocratic Debauchery and Working-Class Virtue" in Antony Taylor, *Lords of Misrule: Hostility to Aristocracy in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

⁵⁸⁴ Fountain, *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America*, 222, my emphasis.

⁵⁸⁵ W.H. Hudson, a noted British literary figure, wrote the introduction for Fountain's *The Great Deserts and Forests of North America* (1901) and was instrumental in getting a grant to help out the financially depressed Fountain. W.H. Hudson and Dennis Shrubbsall, *The Unpublished Letters of W.H. Hudson, The First Literary Environmentalist, 1841-1922* vol. 2 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 377. In 1908 Paul Fountain received a £50 grant. A *New York Times* article covering the event said, "Among the recipients of civil list grants gazetted to-night appears the name of Paul Fountain, who received £50 in consideration of his contributions to literature and his straitened circumstances." "Paul Fountain Pensioned" *The New York Times*, June 26, 1908.

Selous, much like Carson, sought to write above his station and good evidence of that can be found in a passage previewing a grizzly hunt. Selous stated,

“Old Ephraim” ranged here where he pleased – the giant grizzly of the Rockies – about which such thrilling stories have been written, some of them probably rather too highly coloured. It is the fashion nowadays to accept with incredulity much that travellers and sportsmen write, and to consider it a hunter’s privilege to draw the long bow. I do not pretend to deny that some do embellish their narratives, so as to make them savour of the miraculous; but those who have themselves hunted, and who know, can always discern between truth and fiction, even where the truth looks, for ordinary mortals, almost beyond belief.⁵⁸⁶

Since most hunting accounts were penned by members of the upper-classes, Selous was defending their claims to veracity and hoping that his account might be accepted and read alongside theirs. Selous also included the story of his direction of a combined assault on a trapped and angry grizzly that could have ended badly for everyone involved to show his leadership. Similar to Pollock’s account, there are fewer pretensions to social or national superiority, which might be indicative of the fact that these accounts were written by middle-class men.

Overall, the middle-class accounts featured less of a sustained commitment to asserting social superiority. Of all the middle-class writers, it is Carson who clearly stands out as harboring the most desire to identify himself as upper class. In Carson’s account national and social superiority were closely related as upper-class British sport was a badge of refinement and something that Westerners lacked. While Selous wanted his account to be read alongside other upper-class hunters, there was less of a sustained commitment to establishing social superiority throughout his account – albeit Selous did show his leadership abilities in the midst of killing an enraged bear. For his part, Pollock

⁵⁸⁶ Percy Selous, *Travel and Big Game* (London: Bellairs and Co., 1897), 153.

exhibited even less of a wish to be seen as upper class. Pollock's treatment of Westerners was even-handed and less supercilious than the upper-class accounts. Lastly, Paul Fountain did not try to establish his social superiority. Rather, he sought to carve out a middle-class identity by demonstrating his deference to his "betters."

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMERICAN WEST TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH HUNTER-WRITERS

I do not like killing for killing's sake. The charm of the wild is that you are, like any other creature, 'seeking your meat from God,' pitting your skill and cunning against the skill and cunning of the creature you want for food. The great joy comes when, be it on the plains, among the mountains, or in the deep woods, you become craftsman enough to take care of yourself and realise the truth of what the Indian said: 'Wigwam lost maybe, but Indian not lost.'

The Earl of Dunraven, *Past Times and Pastimes* vol. 1

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were gender, racial, social, and national anxieties that came to concern members of Britain's upper class. The American West became an important psychic sphere for members of the British upper-middle class and upper class, who sought to validate their manliness, racial fitness, social rank, as well as national supremacy in hunting accounts. Perhaps most importantly, the job market in Britain became particularly demanding and professional training was increasingly required in order to succeed. While establishing oneself as a breadwinner had never been a given throughout British history, finding that economic independence became more difficult and competitive. Furthermore, as Britain's lead in manufacturing began to ebb and other nations began to industrialize and produce high-quality products with inputs of new capital and low wages, the basis for British wealth and dominance

began to erode and the public was very aware of these structural trends. Germany and the United States were emerging as viable economic and geo-political rivals and began dominating older industries and newer industries, especially chemicals and electrical equipment. British-produced popular titles like *Made in Germany* and *The Americanization of the World: or, The Trend of the Twentieth Century* made sure that no Briton could misapprehend what was happening.⁵⁸⁷

Britain had modernized and created an urban-industrial economy, but was now losing markets and jobs to rivals. The jobs and economic structures of the past were gone and the jobs of the future were not secured. For public-school educated young men entering adulthood during this era, the *combination* of these factors made the future uncertain. Many of the hunter-writers' individual economic prospects were uncertain. John Turner-Turner mentioned his money problems throughout his account, Parker Gillmore wrote to the Duke of Richmond seeking employment upon his retirement from the army, and John Mortimer Murphy was a bohemian journalist who presumably never made all that much money.⁵⁸⁸ On the other hand, the majority of the hunter-writers' livelihoods were fairly well-secured. Men such as Dunraven, whose fortune was ensured because of vast amounts of coal on his Wales estate, or Vivian, who inherited a coal mining company, were not subject to such base concerns. Yet, even men like Dunraven and Vivian must have felt pangs of doubt about the future. For men who were raised to think about the future of their family and nation several generations down the road, the

⁵⁸⁷ Ernest Edwin Williams, *Made in Germany* (London: William Hennemann, 1896). William Thomas Stead, *The Americanization of the World: or, the Trend of the Twentieth Century* (London: Horace Markley, 1901).

⁵⁸⁸ John Turner-Turner, *Three Years' Hunting and Trapping in America and the Great North-west* (London: Maclure & Co., 1888), 43. John Parker Gillmore to the Duke of Richmond, West Sussex Record Office, Goodwood Archives, (Goodwood Ms829 f468), See Appendix A for information on Murphy.

overarching trends of land sales and the erosion of British dominance must have caused concern. Dunraven, in particular, was forced to confront the end of an era as he took a leadership position in working out a way in which Irish landowners could divest themselves of their property. Thus, even men with a sense of financial security were forced to confront a rapidly changing economic and geo-political landscape.

With the overall growth of banking and industrial wealth and their concomitant peerages, not to mention the Americanization of high society's social scene, it was also becoming more difficult to discern who belonged and who did not belong in a growing upper class. Middle-class, plutocratic, and aristocratic values were being fused in the midst of the breakdown of elite social exclusivity. Political democratization contributed to the feeling that the tyranny of public opinion had begun to shape policy. These social and political developments were – most often – directly attributed to the perfidious example of the United States. Overall, these economic, social, and political trends created an atmosphere of anxiousness for those of the upper-middle and upper class. Some were worried about maintaining their place in society (Dunraven, Vivian, and Turner-Turner), while others were hoping to win social acceptance (Gillmore, Murphy).

As society was changing, some of these hunters thought they could change with it and maintain an esteemed place in British society. While the hunters were clearly anxious about the pace of change in Britain, there was also a recognition by them, albeit sometimes grudgingly, that trends such as increased competition in the job market, the erosion of landowning and the rise of industrialization, political democratization, and increased rights for women could not be rolled back. Upper-class men, and upper-middle-class men with pretensions to being upper-class, had to find a way to remain

relevant in a society that was increasingly ruled by competition and merit not privilege and patriarchy. Throughout the period 1865 to 1914 hunting accounts remained the vehicle through which many upper-class aspirants chose not only to construct their masculinity but also to certify their upper-class status and Britain's place in the world. While obviously every hunting account was singular in certain respects, all of the accounts followed the same basic formula of verifying the hunters' masculinity and demonstrating their social rank/values as well as Britain's supremacy. Even those accounts that began with professions of inexperience in hunting, such as Murphy's or Turner-Turner's accounts, ended up by illustrating the hunter-writers' journey to becoming a grizzled and canny hunter. What makes the hunting accounts analyzed in this dissertation significant is that those hunters who chose to travel to the American West had to confront *all* of the domestic and geo-political anxieties British men were experiencing. The region, therefore, offered the hunter-writers the opportunity to reconcile important social and national issues that were not broached in other parts of the world.

The hunter-writers responded to these developments and threats by crafting an identity that was more than simply a reaffirmation of their social rank or a reassertion of elite values. The men who hunted in the harsh conditions of the West were not trying to "transcend" the "market," "bourgeois values," and "modern degeneracy" as J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie claim.⁵⁸⁹ The British hunters who sought out the difficult conditions of the American West wanted to prove they possessed the hearty work ethic of

⁵⁸⁹ Callum McKenzie, "The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism with Particular Reference to 'The Shikar Club,'" *The Sports Historian* 20 (2000): 87. J.A. Mangan and Callum McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: 'Blooding' the Martial Male* (London: Routledge, 2010), 184-185.

the British working and middle class and America's Western frontiersmen to show that they could compete and succeed in any environment or social circumstance – including the marketplace. The hunters also wished to demonstrate that they remained the lower classes' "betters."

As the epigraph to this chapter demonstrates, the hunters were obsessed with Westerners' independence and hardiness, and they were keen to show they were capable of performing the same physical and mental acts as frontiersmen. From killing a big-horn in the midst of a snowstorm to maintaining composure after an adrenaline-fueled scramble up a mountain to the mundane activities of setting up a campsite and providing for that camp, the hunters sought to demonstrate they were the equals of frontiersmen. If the hunters wished to show their ability to reassert elite values they could have easily done so by writing about their aptitude at "shooting"; or they could have taken a trip to India and hired hundreds of beaters to flush out a tiger that they could have killed whilst perched atop an elephant. But they did not do these things.

In short, an amalgam of middle-class and upper-class values was utilized in the accounts and shown to be the pillars of British manliness. Aristocratic *mentalités* such as libertinism, paternalism, etiquette, and politeness were notably absent from the accounts. Elite notions regarding "character building" and "fair play" did form important frameworks for the hunters and they were joined by the complementary middle-class values of hard work, self-reliance, and endurance. And while the plutocratic trend of ostentatious displays of wealth and globetrotting may have been presumed from the transatlantic nature of the hunting grounds, the conspicuous consumption displayed by royalty shooting parties at Sandringham or by infamous globetrotters like Bend Or (2nd

Duke of Westminster) on the French Riviera was nowhere to be found in these accounts. A fusion of middle-class and upper-class values dominated the narratives and was found across the accounts no matter how they are analytically broken down. Thus, hunting in the American West was not about depicting oneself as above it all, and it was about more than just reconciling middle-class and aristocratic sporting values; it was an opportunity to demonstrate that they were *fit* to succeed in any endeavor. These men wished to create an identity that showed they were prepared for anything and, therefore, fit to be deferred to and lead even in a more meritocratic society.

Hunting accounts were the perfect cultural vehicle to accomplish these goals because, simultaneously, the hunters could perform middle-class frontier values while on the hunt, yet the hunt took place in a space that was constructed as apart from the morally questionable forces of the marketplace. Moreover, hunting was a sport that appealed to the middle as well as the upper class, and hunting accounts grew in popularity during this period. Thus, the hunters had the luxury of proving themselves capable of demonstrating the middle-class work ethic to a large reading audience without having to actually dirty their hands in the marketplace.

The hunter-writers also used their accounts to demonstrate their social and national superiority. Even though the hunters were trying to prove that they were able to live up to middle-class and frontier values, the upper-class writers sought to demonstrate they were still Westerners' social superiors and "betters." With their exaggerated egalitarianism and national pride, Westerners played right into the hunter-writers' hands. The hunter-writers relished exposing and ridiculing Westerners' lack of intelligence and refinement, as well as their inhumanity, greed, and political dysfunction. While there

were some differences between the military and non-military upper-class accounts, each account sought to illuminate the absurdity of Western pretensions to equality in its own way. Overall, the middle-class accounts were *much* more muted in their attempts to establish social superiority, albeit they too sought to reaffirm British supremacy. In articulating these arguments, the accounts reasserted traditional British class divisions and the supremacy of the upper class.

In sum, these accounts were an acceptance and defense of capitalism and imperialism, as well as middle-class values and meritocracy, all of which were coming to dominate British society, but also a condemnation of how Americans and radical republicans in Britain unquestioningly and absolutely embraced them. The hunter-writers wished to skewer the notion that pretensions to equality meant there was an actual equivalence between the middle and upper classes simply because Westerners and radical republicans claimed there was. Further, the upper-class accounts' self-assurance in articulating their identity precluded any questions that manliness and social superiority were – in any way – constructed concepts. Rather, these characteristics were depicted as being a naturally evolved condition, which had implications for the British nation's fate in a global struggle for supremacy. The hunters, therefore, were able to portray themselves as the natural elite of an evolutionarily-fit British nation. Their clear superiority over Western frontiersmen was supposed to be an indication of Britain's ability to stay atop the struggle for global supremacy. That these accounts proved to be powerful assertions of the righteousness and continued dominance of British society

should not be surprising as many have claimed that imperialism, which was fueled by nationalism, was a dominant idea during this era.⁵⁹⁰

This dissertation has endeavored to show that the two most important subjects that the hunter-writers touched upon in order to construct their hegemonic masculinity were the environment and inter-personal relationships with white guides. The natural environment, and the hazards associated with it, posed difficult challenges for the hunters. The hunters were not walking up to coverts filled with hand-raised “game” birds. Gentlemanly elements of “fair play” interacted with an unpredictable and savage climate and hard work was often necessary in order to overcome the environment. Whereas a wrong step at Sandringham might result in a twisted ankle, a wrong step in the Rockies could mean falling hundreds (maybe thousands) of feet to one’s death, as the hunters never tired in reminding their readers. A bad decision to stay out in search of game too long might mean being cut off from camp in violent storms, confronted with hostile Natives, or simply losing one’s way in the black-ink night. Overcoming these threatening conditions to bag wild game necessitated quite a bit of perseverance, marksmanship, and intelligence; it allowed the hunters to craft a hardy pioneering image as well as one of an intellectual hunter. Manly independence on the frontier thus went far beyond simply being a breadwinner.

The reason the landscape was so fundamental to the accounts was that the hunter-writers were comparing themselves to men who consistently and successfully negotiated this treacherous environment. In the hunters’ view, the “self-reliant” and “egalitarian” white inhabitants of the West, as well as Native Americans, were products of the harsh

⁵⁹⁰ John M. MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), ix.

frontier environment. As a consequence, frontiersmen were inevitably “rough” and “coarse” in their bearing, tone, and manner,⁵⁹¹ but they were also invariably cast as the virile and self-reliant shock troops of “civilisation.”⁵⁹² Western men were reputed for their independence, self-reliance, woodcraft, and military skills. Simply being able to keep up with these guides was a sign of manliness. Earning a guide’s compliments or his friendship, therefore, was also significant to many of the writers as it connoted a measure of respect between hunters. Western men’s egalitarianism provided a host of other critical opportunities for the hunter-writers to craft their identity and image. The campsite, in particular, became an important space. Pitching into the orderly functioning of camp demonstrated a hunter’s willingness to put himself on the same level as his guide(s) and show that he himself was not above *working* and keeping camp in good order. Engaging in camaraderie around camp also demonstrated the hunters’ willingness to amiably socialize with men they thought (and showed) were their social inferiors. This magnanimity was integral to crafting a gentlemanly image. Lastly, some of the writers stressed their ability to control and lead their willful Western companions. Not only was this an important demarcation of masculinity, but it also connoted the hunters’ superiority. Thus, by successfully negotiating ones’ way through a hunting expedition, a

⁵⁹¹ Christopher Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners: Social patterns in nineteenth-century Anglo-American travel literature*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 52.

⁵⁹² Chapters 5 and 6 deal with this subject of Westerners’ independence extensively. Nearly every account makes clear that Western men were self-reliant. Fifteen of the twenty-six writers I am examining for my dissertation made explicit their belief that Anglo-Saxons were the superior race on the North American continent, and even those who did not make statements to that effect indirectly supported such a conclusion by conceding that Americans were fit for self-government. One representative hunter said, , “I do not think at this period there is a single man in England, unless he happens to be a lunatic, who begrudges the Americans their independence, or who would have them otherwise than what they are – prosperous and powerful....” Rose Lambert Price, *The Two Americas; An Account of Sport and Travel. With Notes on Men and Manners in North and South America* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1877), 207.

Nimrod could demonstrate his ability to overcome natural obstacles and prove his self-reliance by directly or indirectly comparing oneself to those at the forefront of expanding Anglo-Saxon dominion.

While Native Americans' presence in the West became less critical to the overall construction of the hunter-writers' identity, it was by no means unimportant and it was used to provide important validations of masculinity. Hostile Natives tested hunters' martial skills and intelligence, and close encounters with Native hunters and Native groups offered more chances to compare themselves to people who did not offer deference. Natives were a substantial threat to the British hunters. Native men were known for their exceptional hunting abilities, especially their facility for getting very close to their quarry. This issue had to be dealt with in a way that left no opening for discussion of British shortcomings. Since Native hunters' priority was bagging the greatest amount of edible meat for their families, all of the personal skill and character that they displayed in obtaining game was discredited because the hunters deemed their techniques "lazy" and "unsporting" and their marksmanship as "poor." These characterizations served to reinforce British notions of "fair play" and Natives' racial inferiority. Natives' inability to master European technology was seen as a testament to their unintelligence, and the hunters often seized the opportunity to expose Native gender relations, hygienic standards, and morality as evidence of their benighted condition. This wholesale denigration of Native civilization was meant to preempt any true comparison of Native and British men and their standards of manliness. No savage could be compared to modern man as their worlds were too different and modernity had marked Natives for extinction. Since the hunter-writers made this argument, it meant that they

could not take too critical a stand on the issue of modernization with its attendant commercialization, industrialization, urbanization, and professionalization. These characterizations of Native Americans were critical for a modern, expanding imperial nation as they justified capitalism, a Darwinian worldview, and, therefore, the British civilizing mission.

All of the elements the hunters encountered made the American West a space that forced British hunters to confront more challenges than any other place in the world, which also meant, however, that the vindication of British manliness coming from the accounts was powerful. Thus, a trip to the American West was, potentially, high-risk and high-reward for the hunters. These risks paid off psychologically-speaking and culturally-speaking. The accounts were highly successful for the individual hunter-writers as they were able to convince themselves of their masculinity, fitness, superiority, and their ability to succeed in any endeavor. The act of consciously constructing and framing their various interactions with the natural environment, Westerners, and Natives gave the hunter-writers complete control over their masculinity and identity. Even if the hunters' actual performances did not match up to those they wrote and depicted, there must have been a great sense of security in knowing that they were able to control the reading public's perceptions about themselves. Unflattering facts could be omitted from the account or glossed over, and most writers and readers probably came to believe the small fictions that inevitably snuck into each account. While the act of constructing their stories (i.e. – the mental/physical act of writing) was most important for the hunters, the accounts would have most certainly had a long-term effect on the hunter-writers' self-image. Not every kill probably came to be ingrained in the minds of the writers, but

certain concepts and particular encounters would have become definitional to their sense of self. Certain stories and phrases stand out and perfectly encapsulate everything the hunters were striving to prove about themselves. For instance, Dunraven, writing in his seventies, recalled his two-day stalk of a deer in Estes Park with his trusty Scotch gillie, Sandie, in amazing detail.⁵⁹³ The level of detail and the manner in which the story was told shows that Dunraven thought the story was important. Even though in old age Dunraven grumbled that he wished he had not spent so much time hunting and engaged in field sports, those feelings did not stop him from continuing to write about hunting. In fact, in the very same autobiography where he mentioned these regrets he devoted an entire chapter to hunting.⁵⁹⁴ Clearly, he wished to tell these stories because he felt they were important and they said something about his character. Parker Gillmore's depiction of being awoken from a nap by a black bear with nothing but bird shot in his gun was another defining moment and story. "Men become cool in such situations," Gillmore instructed, "either from association or the power of controlling their feelings."⁵⁹⁵

I would also argue that these accounts were culturally successful in reconciling the working, middle, and upper class. The accounts' self assurance and certitude must have made them convincing to the reading public. From the upper-class perspective, hunting accounts must be seen as an integral tool in slowing social and political change. For example, even though British society was undergoing major reforms (voting reform, legalization of unions, etc.), important and fundamental changes to British society did not

⁵⁹³ Wyndham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *Canadian Nights: being Sketches and Reminiscences of Life and Sport in the Rockies, the Prairies, and the Canadian Woods* (London: Smith, Elder, 1914), 41-47.

⁵⁹⁴ Wyndham Thomas Wyndham-Quin Dunraven, *Past Times and Pastimes* vol. 1 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922), 167.

⁵⁹⁵ Parker Gillmore, *Gun, Rod, and Saddle: Personal Experiences* (New York: Geo. E. Woodward, 1871), 139.

take place until after the First World War (full democratization) and the Second World War (nationalization of key sectors of the economy, gender segregating dismantling, etc.).

These accounts worked to reconcile the working and middle class to their inferiority and stave off class warfare just as they were also a sign of the pervasiveness of middle-class values. The upper-class accounts certainly demonstrated upper-class writers' willingness to concede that certain attributes of frontiersmen were worthy of emulation, notably hard work and self-reliance. Since these values were also popular middle-class values, middle-class readers would have been heartened to see such an endorsement. The middle-class hunting and ranching accounts analyzed in this dissertation also serve as a powerful demonstration of upper-class influence over social standards and behavior. The Pollock and Carson ranching accounts are instructive in that they contain obligatory mentions of hunting and relate several hunting stories even though these accounts were not about hunting. Both accounts also called attention to the lack of refinement and humanity of Westerners when it came to the hunt.⁵⁹⁶ Hunting came to be a fundamental test of manliness and the middle-class writers also came to accept upper-class notions of propriety in the hunt.

Perhaps the best example of the influence of the upper-class hunting book genre is over the lower-middle-class writer Paul Fountain. Not only did Fountain include some hunting episodes in his account even though hunting was something Fountain was clearly not adept in and he was physically handicapped, which made hunting nearly impossible

⁵⁹⁶ Pollock was disappointed in his neighbors "unsporting" methods of hunting and Carson was simply unimpressed that his American counterparts did not enjoy hunting. J.M. Pollock, *The Unvarnished West: Ranching as I Found It* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Dent & Co., 1911),192.

for him. He also bemoaned his lack of education and, therefore, inability to be a “gentleman.” Fountain’s remark demonstrated his deference to properly-bred gentlemen.

Class antagonism was more muted in Britain in comparison to the United States during this turbulent era, which featured several dramatic and symbolic acts such as the Great Uprising, Haymarket Square riot, Coxey’s Army, the Homestead Strike, and the Pullman Strike. Even the Southern United States was not immune to class antagonism as the Populist Party and fusionist candidates of the late 1880s and early 1890s demonstrated. Not to downplay the severity of the violence associated with Ireland’s Land League, but it was not as threatening as the organized labor-led violence in the United States. One could make the argument that the reason for the relatively muted class conflict of the late nineteenth century in Britain was due to the economic, social, and political reforms. While these factors undoubtedly contributed to the relatively placid nature of class relations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they cannot explain everything. Culture always plays a role in class relations. For example, even though the Tories opposed most of the reforms, they continued winning significant percentages of the working-class votes during this era, and their core constituency continued to remain the upper class. How can one explain such a phenomenon? I believe that hunting accounts were a critical means of convincing working- and middle-class voters that members of the upper class were their “betters” and should be deferred to. Of course, other factors such as the traditional deference to the monarchy also contributed to perpetuating traditional notions of class and society.

The decline of the popularity of the frontier hunter and his *proven* superiority had long-term implications for class relationships in Britain. In the inter-war era the Hunt

became more ritualized, aristocratic, and imperial, which led to the popular derision and parody of hunting and the rise of competitive games. From mock memoirs such as Mary Dunn's *Lady Addle Remembers: Being the Memoirs of Lady Addle of Eigg*⁵⁹⁷ to P.G. Wodehouse's characters to the popular radio soap opera "The Archers"⁵⁹⁸ hunters and big-game hunting were mercilessly satirized. During the late nineteenth century, upper-class hunters were highly esteemed members of the national community,⁵⁹⁹ and by the 1930s they had become a punch line. This fall, when combined with the ebbing tide of Social Darwinism and the Eugenics Movement, proved to be fatal for the sport's mass appeal. Thus, one of the tools that had bridged the class gaps between the middle class and upper class was taken away, clearing the way for the Labour Party to win an increasing majority of the middle and working class in national elections and, ultimately, the fundamental ideological change that accompanied Labour rule post-1945. Obviously, many other factors contributed to the rise of Labour and their socialistic ideology, but the desacrilization of hunting was not unimportant. Deference to traditional leaders was slowly being chipped away and the certitude of a hunter like Gillmore was now seen not as a laudable aspect of British masculinity and upper-class superiority, but as a risible and hollow manifestation of overconfidence, vapidty, and inhumanity.

Over the time period covered in this examination the number of accounts diminished. From the 1870s to the 1890s there was considerable interest in hunting accounts of the West, but by the decade of the 1900s and 1910s only six and two

⁵⁹⁷ Mary Dunn, *Lady Addle Remembers: Being the Memoirs of the Lady Addle of Eigg* (London: Robin Clark, 1936).

⁵⁹⁸ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 1.

⁵⁹⁹ Hunters were particularly esteemed for their knowledge of natural history and were often asked to give public lectures on their findings and experiences. See Chapter 5: Publicist and Proselytizer: The Officer-Hunter as Scientist and Naturalist in Mangan and McKenzie, *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism*, 139-167.

accounts, respectively, were written; six of these eight accounts were reminiscence pieces that harkened back to hunting/ranching escapades in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s. The shrinking number of accounts has to do with several different interlocking factors. Most importantly, the West was being intensively settled during this period, and by the turn-of-the-twentieth-century this congestion caused several major problems. First, there were fewer areas that were truly disconnected from civilization yet accessible to the hunter. Part of the mystique referred to over and over again in the accounts of the 1860s and 1870s was that few men had ever trod where the hunters were stalking. The movement of Native Americans onto reservations was also critical because the potential for Native predation lurked over the accounts of the 1860s and 1870s. After 1892, however, most of the accounts do not even broach the issue of Native Americans. For many, danger was an essential part of the allure of the West. The disappearance of large numbers of big-game animals out West certainly had something to do with the diminishing popularity of the West as a destination for big-game hunters as well. Finally, consider the emergence of African colonies in the 1880s and 1890s. At this time, Britain concentrated on expanding colonial frontiers and exotic African game beckoned big-game hunters. As a testament to Africa's popularity with hunters the colonial authorities were basically forced into adopting game laws by the nineteenth aughts to curb the slaughter of animals. Hunting retained its intense popularity, even while cricket and rugby grew in popularity, because so many of the hunting accounts were able to fuse frontier values with aristocratic values. In short, hunting continued to be a way that an upper-class aspirant could confirm his stature up until the First World War.

CHAPTER 8

EPILOGUE: THE CONSEQUENCES OF IMPERIAL THINKING

The constructions of masculinity I have examined in this dissertation have significance for British and American culture. In 2010, it bears thinking about the long-term consequences of empire, amidst several overlapping trends. Some Englishmen worry that, as anthropologist Kate Fox has noted, "... the English have lost their national identity [and] – that there is no such thing as ‘Englishness.’” However, Fox argues that amidst globalization and Americanization a sense of “Englishness” has actually increased.⁶⁰⁰ And, recently, the *New York Times* reported in the wake of the election of Barack Obama, influential minorities in Britain continue to feel as if “the political system held immigrants back.”⁶⁰¹ In a country where 6% of the population is composed of ethnic minorities, they have been historically underrepresented,⁶⁰² not to mention not incorporated into the bureaucracy of the House of Commons.⁶⁰³ These are long-term problems that continue to dog Britain and most frankly acknowledge that race relations could be better.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰⁰ Kate Fox, *Watching the English: The Hidden Rules of English Behaviour* (Boston: Nicholas Brealey, 2008), 1.

⁶⁰¹ Steven Erlanger, “After U.S. Breakthrough, Europe Looks in Mirror,” *New York Times*, November 12, 2008.

⁶⁰² Francis X. Clines, “Commons Likely to Get First Blacks,” *The New York Times*, June 8, 1987.

⁶⁰³ Anthony Bevin, “No blacks, please, we’re MPs,” *NewStatesman*, August 2, 1999.
<<http://www.newstatesman.com/199908020014>>.

⁶⁰⁴ Fox, *Watching the English*, 136.

The blame for this underrepresentation most certainly lies in Britain's former empire. The British upper- and middle-class notions of the unfitness of Native Americans reported in this dissertation were indicative of popular representations of Native peoples broadly across Britain's Empire. For instance, Frederick Courtney Selous' *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (1896) offers a striking affirmation of the necessity of replacing native Rhodesians with whites, who are simply more fit. Listen to his citation of science to endorse racist governance:

Therefore Matabeleland is doomed by what seems a law of nature to be ruled by the white man, and the black man must go, or conform to the white man's laws, or die in resisting them. It seems a hard and cruel fate for the black man, but it is a destiny which the broadest philanthropy cannot avert, whilst the British colonist is but the irresponsible atom employed in carrying out a preordained law... the inexorable law which Darwin has aptly termed the 'Survival of the Fittest.'

Now there may be those who maintain that the aboriginal savagery of the Red Indians in the Eastern States of North America, or of the Kafirs in the Cape Colony, was a preferable state of things to the imperfect civilisations which have superseded them. To such I have no reply... Only I would ask them to endeavour to make themselves as well acquainted as possible with the subject under discussion, either by actual travel or by reading, and I would beg them not to accept too readily the assertions constantly made without regard to truth or honesty by the newspaper opponents of British colonisation, which are broadly to the effect that no savagery exists in Africa except that practised on the blacks by Europeans.⁶⁰⁵

This passage bears a striking resemblance to many written by the hunters in the American West, and is indicative of how unquestioning and widespread the idea of racial inferiority of Native peoples was to the colonizers.⁶⁰⁶

These notions of inferiority also exerted influence over American perceptions of Native Americans, especially amongst the American elite. First, British and American

⁶⁰⁵ Frederick Courtney Selous, *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia* (London: Rowland Ward & Co., Limited, 1896), 67.

⁶⁰⁶ Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860-1945: Nature as a model and nature as a threat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 203-206.

hunting accounts were widely read and consumed on both sides of the Atlantic,⁶⁰⁷ and they mixed with newspapers and novels to shape public perceptions of Natives. The high cost of telegraphic reports, ethnocentrism, demand for sensational headlines, and rare access to Native opinions meant that newspapers rarely published anything but simplified, tendentious representations of Natives.⁶⁰⁸ “Dime novels,” generally speaking, portrayed Natives as foils to throw white protagonists’ masculinity into relief. For instance, in *The Virginian* (1902), Natives stage a grizzly attack on Wister’s hero that he must manfully overcome, but the attackers are never actually described by the author, nor seen by the hero.⁶⁰⁹ These mediums limited the scope of investigation into Native Americans, and it is unlikely that either shaped the perceptions of America’s elite. By the late nineteenth century, travel books were important resources regarding Native Americans, especially because they were a less restricted medium than newspapers or novels. Many travel accounts were rambling affairs that often filled pages by devoting more space and detail to encounters with Natives than any other cultural medium was capable of providing. Secondly, many of the British authors developed lasting friendships with their American counterparts.⁶¹⁰ Some contributed to each others’ accounts,⁶¹¹ quoted/paraphrased each other,⁶¹² published each others letters,⁶¹³ and some

⁶⁰⁷ Tara Kathleen Kelly, “The Hunter Elite: Americans, Wilderness, and the Rise of the Big-Game Hunt” (PhD diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2006), 220.

⁶⁰⁸ John M. Coward, *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press, 1820-1890* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 227-231.

⁶⁰⁹ Owen Wister, *The Virginian* (New York: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2005).

⁶¹⁰ “The Hunter Elite”: 221.

⁶¹¹ A few examples shall suffice. Theodore Roosevelt, when he was President of the United States, wrote the forward to William Adolph Baillie-Grohman’s edited version of *The Master of Game*, which was the oldest book on hunting in England. Edward of Norwich, *The Master of Game: The Oldest English Book on Hunting*, ed. William Adolph Baillie-Grohman and Florence Nickalls Baillie-Grohman (New York: Duffield & Co, 1904), xix-xxix. Theodore Roosevelt also confirmed some information regarding wapitis for an edited volume devoted to big game. Horace Gordon Hutchinson, ed., *Big Game Shooting*, vol. 1

even dedicated their books to their transatlantic friends.⁶¹⁴ Many American hunters, especially influential members of America's elite, men like Roosevelt and Wilson, developed an Anglophilia that would shape their ideology and policy.

The discourse combined with the transatlantic interpersonal relations means that British opinions on Natives were widely circulated and known, and, I would argue, they contributed to the increasing popular perception and the policy shift after 1900 that Native Americans could not be assimilated into American society. This attitudinal shift – for all intents and purposes – turned America's Natives into a colonized people.⁶¹⁵

Throughout the Reconstruction era, British writers popularized the idea that the Plains Indians would inevitably disappear, while American writers, in a racially sensitive era, struggled to reconcile what was happening on the Plains. In fact, in the 1870s even newspapers, an organ predisposed to sensationalism and vehement racism against

(London: "Country Life," Ltd., 1905), 166. Albert Bierstadt illustrated Arthur Pendarves Vivian's account. Arthur Pendarves Vivian, *Wanderings in the Western Land* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1879). The Earl of Dunraven contributed an article to a book that George Bird Grinnell and John Muir had also written pieces for and that was edited by Alfred Marshall Mayer. See: The Earl of Dunraven, *Sport with gun and rod in American woods and waters*, ed. Alfred Marshall Mayer (New York: The Century Co., 1883), 182.

⁶¹² Edward North Buxton was so impressed with a particular story from Theodore Roosevelt's *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman* about how Roosevelt apprehended and transported a criminal by himself in an isolated and harsh environment that he recounted an entire section of it. Edward North Buxton, *Short Stalks; or Hunting Camps, North, South, East, and West* (London: E. Stanford, 1892), 109. Theodore Roosevelt was quoted in Percy St. Michael Podmore, *A Sporting Paradise with Stories of Adventure in America and the Backwoods* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1904), x. William Adolph Baillie-Grohman reproduced an entire article that George Bird Grinnell had written regarding white goats. William Adolph Baillie-Grohman and Florence Nickalls Baillie-Grohman, *Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia* (London: H. Cox, 1900), 363-370.

⁶¹³ Parker Gillmore published a "Letter from an American gentleman" regarding game laws as they pertained to the English hare. Parker Gillmore, *Leaves from a Sportsman's Diary* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1898), 337-341.

⁶¹⁴ Sir Henry Seton-Karr dedicated his volume of hunting adventures to "my brother-sportsmen of the Anglo-Saxon race." Henry Seton-Karr, *My Sporting Holidays* (London: E. Arnold, 1904), vi. Sir Rose Lambart Price dedicated his account to "My Old Friend and Relative Major General John J. Coppinger, U.S. Army." Rose Lambart Price, *A Summer on the Rockies* (London: S. Low, Marston & Co., 1898), v.

⁶¹⁵ Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), xi-xiii.

Natives, showed an increasing moderation in the East and the West.⁶¹⁶ This tension, on the one hand, between an increasingly circumspect American press, public, and Army and, on the other, Darwinistic British writers became very clear in Colonel Richard Irving Dodge's popular hunting account, *The Plains of the Great West and Their Inhabitants* (1877). Dodge's book was well reviewed and admired by George Bird Grinnell and Theodore Roosevelt.⁶¹⁷ The book included an introduction by Londoner William Blackmore, who asserted the Plains Indians would inevitably disappear. Blackmore stated,

[I]t is impossible for the savage Indians and semi-civilized white men to occupy the same country. All authorities who have investigated the subject are unanimous in predicting that the Red Men are a doomed race. The edict has gone forth, '*Delanda est Carthago*;' and the Indians will as surely disappear before the progress of the more energetic and aggressive Anglo-Saxon, as the snows of winter melt away before the summer sun.

But sad as the fate of the Red Man is, yet, even as philanthropists, we must not forget that, under what appears to be one of the immutable laws of progress, the savage is giving place to a higher and more civilised race.⁶¹⁸

Dodge, however, went on to articulate a very different position. While he never called into question whites' rights to Native lands and he graphically described Native tortures in an attempt to kill the popular image of a "noble savage," he clearly held out hope that Natives will be afforded the chance to be placed on reservations and given the chance to

⁶¹⁶ After the Meeker massacre where Utes had killed the Indian agent Nathaniel Meeker, "[e]ven some western papers recognized that the Ute outbreak had roots in unfair government policies and mistreatment of the tribe." Coward, *The Newspaper Indian*, 199.

⁶¹⁷ Theodore Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell thought it one of the best books on the plains country. Robert Taft, *Artists and Illustrators of the Old West: 1850-1900* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1953), 357.

⁶¹⁸ William Blackmore, introduction to *The Plains of the Great West and Their Inhabitants*, by Richard Irving Dodge (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1877), liv.

assimilate.⁶¹⁹ Several years later, in a new book, Dodge made an even more forceful case for assimilation:

There is no future for the Indian as Indian; but I can see for him long vistas of honor and usefulness when he shall have become a citizen of the United States. If we had said to the Irish or to the Germans, 'You may live among us, but you shall never be citizens,' would we have been as great a nation to-day?⁶²⁰

These attitudes are reflective of long-held views of Native Americans that carried a tacit understanding bubbling under the surface. If Natives could not assimilate to modern society, they would be wiped out and vanish from the earth.⁶²¹ Generally, British hunting accounts simply forecasted Natives' imminent extinction, lending credence and gravitas to American ideas about extinction.

Perceptions and policies began to change after the end of the Spanish-American War (1898), as Americans entered into the age of high American imperialism and hemispheric domination. Between 1887 and 1934 Natives would lose eighty percent of their land, and they would not gain citizenship until 1924. Neither of these results was the intent of the Dawes Act of 1887.⁶²² What happened?

The United States became a true imperial power whose values were indistinguishable from that of Britain or France's, and the American aristocracy's ideology reflected this new identity. Mahanism and imperialistic values were adopted by the American elite. American leaders fought the long and bloody Filipino insurgency,

⁶¹⁹ Richard Irving Dodge, *The Plains of the Great West and Their Inhabitants*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1877), 440.

⁶²⁰ Richard Irving Dodge, *Our Wild Indians: thirty-three years' personal experience among the Red Men of the Great West* (Hartford: A.D. Worthington and Company, 1883), 641.

⁶²¹ For instance, Horace Greeley's wanted Natives to be assimilated into American society, but he also, at times, questioned their ability to assimilate and become industrious and productive citizens in a modernizing America. Coward, *The Newspaper Indian*, 1-5.

⁶²² Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 175. Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, xi-xiii.

which only truly ended in 1913, and even the “anti-imperialistic” Wilson made repeated interventions in Latin America. The mental structures necessary for empire cannot be adorned and discarded at will, and the American ruling elite were being guided by their imperialistic ideology. Correspondingly, this era was rife with increasing racism, from the rise of the Eugenics movement, to Woodrow Wilson’s segregation of the Civil Service, to delays in granting Native Americans citizenship, to imposing Prohibition on the “degrading” elements of American society. It seems that British hunting and travel accounts, along with newspapers and “dime novels,” helped to create an atmosphere where increasingly racist values could find acceptance in high and low culture.

One could argue that forceful voices, such as Mark Twain, shifted the debate over imperialism in America, and, therefore, America never truly became an empire because popular opinion had turned against empire. One can plausibly make such an argument and defend it, but I do not find it convincing. Twain and the Anti-Imperialist League did not stop American leaders from Roosevelt to Wilson from incessantly intervening in Latin America, segregating the Civil Service, and ignoring the plight of Native Americans. The influential ruling elite became attached to imperialistic values. As historian Frederick E. Hoxie has succinctly put it,

With the passing of nineteenth-century reformers and their rhetoric of equality, and the rise of a politically powerful white population in the West and South, politicians like Roosevelt began arguing accommodation to local prejudices was more realistic than federal ‘philanthropy.’⁶²³

When implemented, these attitudes spelt the death knell of the ideals that had undergirded the Dawes Act. Indeed, Roosevelt oversaw a huge effort to push further settlement of the

⁶²³ Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 105.

West that would erode Native land holdings and cause degradation to public lands by encouraging systematic mining.⁶²⁴ This was not just political expediency, though, because Roosevelt thought it was America's destiny to "civilize" the continent and made it very clear throughout this era through his writing and speeches that he felt Native Americans and other non-white peoples were not the equals of whites.⁶²⁵ Lest we should think Roosevelt came to these ideas about civilization, race, empire, and assimilation solely from his experiences out West, one should recall Roosevelt's famous "Strenuous Life" speech:

Their doctrines [those of humanitarians], if carried out, would make it incumbent upon us to leave the Apaches of Arizona to work out their own salvation, and to decline to interfere in a single Indian reservation. Their doctrines condemn your forefathers and mine for ever having settled in these United States.

England's rule in India and Egypt has been of great benefit to England, for it has trained up generations of men accustomed to look at the larger and loftier side of public life. It has been of even greater benefit to India and Egypt. And finally, and most of all, it has advanced the cause of civilization.⁶²⁶

The mental structures, the attitudes, of the British Empire were consciously adopted and adapted by Theodore Roosevelt in order to justify American imperialism and the creation of an aristocratic ruling class. As cultural historian Richard Slotkin has noted,

Roosevelt's special brand of Teutonism was derived from an eclectic mixture of sources. The theory as such was derived from the work of European historians and social scientists, including French philosopher Gobineau and the English historians Freeman and Stubbs, who developed an implicitly racialist interpretation of the 'Whig' historiography of Macaulay.⁶²⁷

⁶²⁴ Ibid., 105.

⁶²⁵ See for instance Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* published between 1889 and 1896, or Roosevelt's 1912 Progressive Party convention speech. Ibid., 105-106. The most systematic and thorough deconstruction of Roosevelt's racial beliefs has been done by Richard Slotkin. Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: the myth of the frontier in twentieth-century America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 42-51.

⁶²⁶ Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life," Speech before the Hamilton Club, Chicago, April 10, 1899. <<http://www.bartleby.com/58/1.html>>

⁶²⁷ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 45.

Boone and Crockett were not the only men on Roosevelt's mind as he headed out West.

Daniel Herman has located the primary impetus for Roosevelt's imperialism in his reification of Boone and Crockett.⁶²⁸ It is my contention, however, that he did not wish to ultimately embody their experience because frontiersmen were destined to vanish before civilization, which he made clear in his *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman*. He explained,

The Indians should be treated in just the same way that we treat the white settlers. Give each his little claim; if, as would generally happen, he declined this, why then let him share the fate of the thousands of white hunters and trappers who have lived on the game that settlement of the country has exterminated, and let him, like these whites, who will not work, perish from the face of the earth which he cumbered.

The doctrine seems merciless, and so it is; but it is just and rational for all that. It does not do to be merciful to a few, at the cost of justice to the many.

After Roosevelt is done explaining how white frontiersmen were destined to disappear before oncoming civilization, he also noted how ranchmen and cattlemen will also be displaced and their lifestyle "will shortly pass away from the plains as completely as the red and white hunters.... The free, open-air life of the ranchman, the pleasantest and healthiest life in America, is from its very nature ephemeral."⁶²⁹ As a historian and someone who was able to analyze and understand the economic forces surrounding him, it is likely that Roosevelt – at the same time – wished to indulge in a bit of nostalgia by

⁶²⁸ "Having absorbed the many virtues and predatory imperialism that saturated the literature of Boone, Roosevelt – probably not by accident – began hunting in foreign lands not long after he supported expansion into Cuba and the Philippines." In a footnote, Herman does state that "Roosevelt's favorite hunters included not only Boone and Crockett but also an Englishman, Frederick Courteney Selous, who had gained fame in Africa. Daniel J. Herman, *Hunting and the American Imagination* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 221, 335.

⁶²⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman: Sketches of Sport on the Northern Cattle Plains* (New York: G.P.), 20.

playing the role of those who forged the path to civilization and embody the values of what he saw as America's destiny: empire.

While Roosevelt enjoyed dabbling in ranching, reified Boone and Crockett, and adorned buckskins for the frontispiece of *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman*,⁶³⁰ underneath that suit burned an equally ardent desire to embody the Great White Hunter, who was the preeminent symbol of triumphant imperialism, a symbol of the *highest* civility and human evolution. In the preface to William Adolph Baillie-Grohman's edited version of Edward of Norwich's *Master of Game*, Roosevelt demonstrated his admiration for English hunters:

During the century that has just closed Englishmen have stood foremost in all branches of sport, at least so far as the chase has been carried on by those who have not followed it as a profession. Here and there in the world whole populations have remained hunters, to whom the chase was part of their regular work – delightful and adventurous, but still work. Such were the American backwoodsmen and their successors of the great plains and the Rocky Mountains... But disregarding these wild and virile populations, and considering only the hunter who hunts for the sake of hunting, it must be said of the Englishman that he stood pre-eminent throughout the nineteenth century as a sportsman for sport's sake. Not only was fox-hunting a national pastime, but in every quarter of the globe Englishmen predominated among the adventurous spirits who combined the chase of big game with bold exploration of the unknown. The icy polar seas, the steaming equatorial forests, the waterless tropical deserts, the vast plains of wind-rippled grass, the wooded northern wilderness, the stupendous mountain masses of the Andes and the Himalayas – in short, all regions, however frowning and desolate, were penetrated by the restless English in their eager quest for big game. Not content with the sport afforded by the rifle, whether a horse or a foot, the English in India developed the use of the spear and in Ceylon the use of the knife as the legitimate weapons with which to assail the dangerous quarry of the jungle and the plain. There were hunters of other nationalities, of course – Americans, Germans, Frenchmen; but the English were the most numerous of those whose exploits were best worth recounting, and there was among them a larger proportion of men gifted with the power of

⁶³⁰ Ibid., ii.

narration. Naturally under such circumstances a library of nineteenth-century hunting must be mainly one of English authors.⁶³¹

⁶³¹ Theodore Roosevelt, forward to *Master of Game: The Oldest English Book on Hunting*, by Edward of Norwich, ed. William Adolph Baillie-Grohman and Florence Nickalls Baillie-Grohman (New York: Duffield & Co, 1904), xix-xx.

APPENDIX A
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON WRITERS

Baillie-Grohman, William Adolph (1851-1921): Austrian, Irish, and English ancestry. His father was an Austrian aristocrat and his English mother was related to the Duke of Wellington. Brought up shooting and hunting at Schloss Wolfgang in Austria. Also spent considerable time at Mounte Heaton, Rosecrea, Tipperary, Ireland. Educated with tutors and in France until he attended Elizabeth College, Guernsey at the age of fourteen. At eighteen he tried to become a lawyer then a merchant. He was unsuccessful, but inherited a fortune and turned to travelling, hunting, and publishing. After a few trips and books he went to the American West in 1878 for the first time. The West became his favorite place and between 1878 and 1893 he crossed the Atlantic about 30 times and tried to develop the Kootenay Valley. Married in 1887 to Miss Florence Nickalls, daughter of Tom Nichalls, Esq., of Patterson Court, Nutfield, Surrey.

Elected to the Alpine Club and won the Gold Medal at the Big Game Exhibition in Vienna (1910). Eventually settled at Schloss Matzen, Tyrol in 1893, but continued to spend time in all the big cities of Europe doing research, especially London in the winters. Published several books about the Tyrol and the edited version of *Master of Game*, which was incredibly well received.

Boddam-Whetham, John Whetham (1843-1918): Came from a long line of military men going back to Cromwell's New Model Army. His father was a Colonel. Educated at Eton. Sandhurst? Purchased commission in 73rd (The Perthshire) Regiment of Foot (Ensign 1862); Professional cricket player from 1862 to 1871. Published other books on Central America and the Caribbean, British Guiana. Married to Adelaide Harriet Matilda Manning. Resided at Kirklington Hall, Southwell, Notts. Lived at Folkestone, England when he died. Sons went into Navy and Army.

There is an Australian genealogical book titled, *A Family history concerning the Boddams, the Whethams, the Boddam-Whethams and those associated with them.*

Brassey, Thomas Allnutt (1863-1919): 2nd Earl Brassey; His father was an important liberal politician/colonial politician (Governor of Victoria) and was ennobled in the 1880s: Baron Brassey in 1886; Earl 1911. Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. Editor of *The Naval Annual* (1892-1899 & 1902-1914 & 1919). Served in the 2nd Boer War. Married Lady Idina Mary Nevill (1865-1951), daughter of the 1st Marquess of Abergavenny.

Buxton, Edward North (1840-1924): Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Became Sheriff of Essex and Deputy Lieutenant for Essex. Served as Chairman for the following: Essex local Education Committee, Essex County Council, and London School Board between 1875-1881. MP for Walthamstow 1885-1886 (supported free trade). Lived at Knighton, Buckhurst Hill, Essex England. Married Emily Digby and had 7 children. Eventually became a conservationist and member of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire. His older brother Thomas became a Baron.

Carson, Thomas (ca1854-?): Desperately wanted to live a "country life," so when he was old enough (22) he set out to India. Lived in India from 1876-1880. Went into partnership with two Englishmen ranchers in New Mexico from 1883-1895. Eventually became Ranch Manager for Scottish Land & Mortgage Company, which operated in New Mexico and Arizona. Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

Dunraven, Windham Thomas Wyndham-Quin (1841-1926): 4th Earl of Dunraven

Family fortune made from coal deposits on land in Wales and his father, the 3rd Earl of Dunraven was a Conservative MP, a Roman Catholic convert and founder of St. Columba College. Dunraven's mother did not convert to Catholicism, nor did the 4th Earl. Educated at a host of different institutions and situations. First, packed off to a Roman Catholic school in Rome, private school in Ireland, private tutors. Then sent to a prep school in Paris. Finally sent to Christ Church, Oxford at seventeen. He hunted, sailed, and played cricket and tennis there. Purchased commission as a Lieutenant in the 1st Life Guards in 1862. Helped shut down Hyde Park in 1866 when the Reform League tried to enter in order to protest. Returned to the family estate in Adare, County Limerick for the 1867 Fenian Uprising and its aftermath. Became a war correspondent covering the Abyssinia crisis and the Franco-Prussian War. Succeeded his father as Earl of Dunraven in 1871 and gained financial independence. Just about every year between 1869 and 1896, Dunraven visited the American West. Participated in the America's Cup races in 1893 & 1895. Also the owner of the Fort Union Stud Farm at Adare, which he kept even after selling most of his lands. In the 1890s Dunraven served on the Croom County Council, London County Council, and the Glamorganshire County Council. Helped raise the 18th Battalion Imperial Yeomanry (along with Henry Seton-Karr) for the Boer War and was commissioned as a Captain in 1900. Dunraven fell sick upon landing in South Africa and saw no real action. After arriving home he raised a permanent battalion of Yeomanry and commanded them for the first three years. Retired as a Colonel. Twice served as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies and, as a moderate Unionist, he served as chair for the Irish Land Conference. Ran a hospital ship during the First World War. Served as a Senator in the first Irish Free State Senate. In 1869 married Florence Kerr, daughter of Lord Charles Kerr, and they had three daughters. Knight of the Order of St. Patrick. Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. Member of the Royal Cork Yacht Club, Garrick Club in London, which was a haunt for members of the literati.

Elmhirst, Edward Pennell (1845-1916) Father was the Rector Edward Elmhirst, who served as Rector of Shawell for 52 years and was a good cricket player. Educated at Rugby and then Sandhurst. Served in Japan and China with the 9th Regiment of Foot from 1864-68. He became a Musketry Instructor from 1871-1874 with the 9th. A.D.C. to General C. Elmhirst at Malta and Bangalore from 1874-78. Adj. of Artists' Volunteer Corps, 1878-82. Master and Huntsman Neilgherry Hounds, 1875-77. Woodland-Pythchley Hounds, 1880-81. Became a Captain in the 50th (The Queen's Own) Regiment of Foot in 1879, then served in South Africa in 1899-1900 during the Boer War. Earned a medal with two clasps. Published *Our Life in Japan* in 1869, several foxhunting tomes, and was a contributor to *Field* magazine under the name Brooksby. Married Laura Mary Kennard in 1873, daughter of Stephen Ponder Kennard, JP of Woodlands, Heston, Middlesex. Address: Blisworth House, Blisworth, Northamptonshire.

Fountain, Paul (????-????) Little formal training and, yet, his books were widely reviewed, and, generally, well received. Those with pretensions to scientific accuracy did often dispute Fountain's basic conclusions about certain matters. Fountain worked as an itinerant trader in the West for many years.

Gillmore, John Parker (1835-1900): Grew up in Scotland and Ireland. Father, Alfred Gil[l]more was a military man and planned a military education for Parker. For a time attended St. John's Grammar School? near Hamilton, Lanarkshire. Educated at Sandhurst? Purchased commission in the 1st (Royal) Regiment of Foot. Served in the Crimea and the Second Opium War. Retired from

the military in 1862 at rank of Captain. Lived in the United States from 1862-1867. In 1869, began publishing a series of travel/hunting accounts with special emphasis on the American West and South Africa. In 1862, married the actress Emily Thorne, who came from an acting family. Couple had three or four children and then divorced in 1875. Re-married to Elizabeth Gillmore in 1882.

Gordon, Granville Armyne (1856-1907): sixth son of the 10th Marquis of Huntly and Maria Antoinetta Pegus. Married twice: 1st to Charlotte D'Olier Roe in 1878; 2nd to Margaret Humble in 1902. Had three children and died at sea. His grandson became the 12th Marquess of Huntly succeeding Granville's eldest brother.

Jebb, John Beveridge Gladwyn (1842-1893): At age nine sent to a private school at Bonn, Germany. At eleven, he was sent to a clergyman tutor at Chesterfield and spent considerable time visiting his aunt near Yorkshire and riding to hounds. At fourteen he attended Cheltenham public school, then Woolwich. Saw active service in India as Lieutenant from 1861-64 with the 88th Regiment of Foot, then enrolled at Oxford for 3 years. He was left £2,000/yr allowance by his parents. After a failure in business, he began travelling all over the Americas. Eventually lost most of his fortune through poor investments. Married twice.

Leveson, Henry Astbury (1828-1875): nickname: The Old Shekarry. Served in the Crimea as a Major earning the Turkish war medal and three clasps, as well as the British medal and clasp. Joined the Garibaldi Army in the Italian Revolution. Served as Colonial Secretary to Lagos.

Messiter, Charles Alston (1841-1920): Born to Thomas and Marianne L. Messiter. Thomas was a Barrister. Traveled to American and Canadian West between 1862-1874, amassing a collection of Native American artifacts. The collection stayed in the family till 1982 when it was sold at auction at Southeby's, New York. Magistrate for Somerset in 1881 and living at Barwick House. Married Lucy Ashton Bayard (born in Pennsylvania, USA) in Toronto, Ontario in 1869. They had two daughters.

Mullen, W. (1841-????) Journalist for "The Field."

Murphy, John Mortimer (1815-) born in Ireland, amateur botanist, geologist, and paleontologist, as well as a linguist. Worked as a journalist for several big journals. After spending extensive time in the American West, he lived on both sides of the Atlantic, but in 1889 was supposedly in Florida writing a book about the Indian Wars there. Murphy eventually published several books about American game-bird shooting and hunting and fishing in Florida. He seems to have retired at Sponge Harbor, Hillsboro County, FL.

Murphy was made a member of the American Geographical Society and was a member of the Florida Field Sports Association, whose honorary 1st President was the 3rd Duke of Sutherland (George Sutherland-Leveson-Gower). Quoting *Outing*, "[t]he object of this association is to preserve the game and fish of the State; see that the game laws are enforced, develop a taste for field sports and all manly outdoor recreation, and try to acclimate such game as may be found suitable for this climate." He tried to build a sportsman's hotel at Sponge Harbor in 1895.

Here is an article written about Murphy in *The Morning Oregonian* (Portland, OR) July 1, 1889:

"A Brief Sketch of John Mortimer Murphy, Once Connected Here with the Press."

Residents of Portland from 1870 to 1875 will well remember that journalistic Bohemian John Mortimer Murphy. He was editorially connected with the old "Herald" and subsequently with the "Bulletin" both of which have long been numbered with things of the past. After leaving the field of journalism, Mr. Murphy traveled extensively over the Northwest coast, collecting materials for a sort of descriptive directory. He also corresponded with several Eastern journals. He left Oregon more than ten years ago, and since then has resided on both sides of the Atlantic.

From an Eastern periodical it is learned that Mr. Murphy is now secretary which was organized several years ago. The same publication contains a biographical sketch of Mr. Murphy. From it the following extract are made, which may be of some interest to those who knew him when he drove a quid on the Portland press.

John Mortimer Murphy the popular and prolific sporting writer, keen naturalist and extensive traveler was born in Ireland in 1815 and was [introduced] into the pleasures of field sport at the age of 9. From that time until he came to the United States he was a regular attendant in all hunt meets and coursing matches, regattas and horse races held within a large area of his native place.

[unreadable, but talking about his travels all over North and Central America]

He had traveled extensively through Europe, published several volumes on travel, sport, and natural history, acted as correspondent for some of the leading publications in the country and Europe and is a member of [several?] learned societies.

He has a practical knowledge of all manly sports and is considered to be an excellent amateur botanist, geologist, and paleontologist and he has made a special study of our American Indians and has collected more of their dialects than any unofficial person in the United States. It is said that he could at one time speak correctly nineteen Indian languages and several more fairly well. He has visited about all the leading tribes between the Missouri river and the Pacific ocean to collect their legends, study their sport, and determine their origin. He is now studying in his own thorough but exceedingly quiet way the fauna of Florida and gathering the personal reminiscences of those who participated in the Indian wars of that state.

Pollock, James Matthew (1862-1925) Born in Paisley, Scotland to John and Margaret A. Pollock. At 19 he was an Army student in London, being tutored by a Lieutenant in the Suffolk Artillery Militia and a Sub-Lieutenant in the Galway Militia. Served with the 6th Battalion Rifle Brigade. In September 1883 became Captain in the 6th. After returning, worked as a commission agent in the grain trade. Married in 1889 at Wandsworth. Widowed by 1901, and living with mother in Dolton in Devon County.

Price, Rose Lambart (1837-1899): 3rd Baronet of Trengwainton
Son of Francis Price, Captain in the 19th Regiment of Foot and 78th Highlanders. Educated at Grosvenor College, Bath. Major in the Army. Saw action in East Africa suppressing the slave

trade, the Indian Mutiny, and in the Second Opium War (Capture of Canton; Pei Ho Forts and Tangku). Received a medal and three clasps. Succeeded his uncle to Baronetcy of Trengwainton, Cornwall in May 1872. Married January 1877 to Isabella Tarleton (1843-1918), daughter of John William Tarleton of Killegih, King's County. Lived at Hensol Castle, Pontyclun, Glamorganshire, Wales. Dunraven Castle is in Glamorganshire.

Selous, Percy Sherborn (1849-1900) Cousin of Frederick Courtney Selous. Artist, naturalist/ornithologist, taxidermist, linguist. Emigrated to Greenville, Michigan, U.S.A. in 1890s. Published widely about birds and reptiles in various scientific journals. Married 1875 to Louisa Jane Andrews. Two children. Died from a snake bite.

Seton-Karr, Henry (1853-1914) Son of George Berkley Seton-Karr of the Indian Civil Service. Educated at Harrow and Corpus Christi College, Oxford (B.A. 1876, M.A. 1879). Called to the bar in 1879. Owned a cattle ranch, the Pick Ranch, in Wyoming. Director of Capitol Freehold Land and Investment Company. Conservative MP for St. Helens 1885-1906. Knighted in 1902. Member of the Shikar Club & the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire. Died when the *Empress of Ireland* sank in the St. Lawrence river in May 1914. Brother, Heywood Walter Seton-Karr.

Seton-Karr, Heywood Walter (1859-1938) Born in Belgaum, Bombay, India to George Berkeley Seton-Karr and his wife Eleanor, daughter of Henry Osborne of Suffolk. Educated at Eton (1873-1877), then Oriel College, Oxford. Attended Sandhurst and gazetted Lieutenant in 1882 in the Royal Berkshire Regiment. Saw action in Egypt in 1883 earning a medal. Transferred to the Gordon Highlanders. Retired from Army in 1884. Traveler, artist, archeologist. Many of his sketches and paintings can be found in the *University of Alaska's Digital Archives*: <http://vilda.alaska.edu/>. Awarded the Galileo gold medal by the University of Florence for his excavations of hand-axes in Somaliland. Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Naval & Military Flyfishers. Royal Anthropological Institute. Never married. Wealth at death: £14,773. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61117>

Shepherd, William (1824?) Attended Woolwich. Lieutenant in 1859 (winner of the prestigious Pollock Medal given to best cadet). Captain in 1871. Major in 1881. Lieutenant Colonel in 1889. All service with the Royal Engineers.

Townshend, Frederick Trench (1838-1924) Son of Richard Townsend and Helena Trench. Educated at Harrow and Exeter College, Oxford (B.A. 1860). Purchased his commission as a Cornet in the 2nd Life Guards in 1861. Lieutenant 1862. Captain in 1865. Trip to the American West in 1868 – escorted by General Augur's expedition into Kansas and Nebraska. Promoted to Major in 1877. Saw active duty and was wounded in the Egyptian Campaign of 1882. Awarded the Khedive Star and the Order of Osmania (4th class) and promoted to Lieutenant Colonel. Made Colonel in 1886. Half-pay in 1891. Never married. Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Member of 3 London clubs: Arthur's, Batchelor's, Carlton.
Townsend Family Papers – Frederick's bio page:
<http://shayol.bartol.udel.edu/townsend-tree/php/record.php?ref=524>

Townshend, Samuel Nugent (1844-1910) Son of Samuel Townsend and Charlotte Augusta Becher. Educated at Queen's University. Married Henrietta Morgan, daughter of Captain Anthony Morgan of Cork, in 1886. Became a JP in Cork. Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Member of the Royal Yacht Club. Wrote for *Field* and was an unsuccessful businessman with two mining companies failing in Australia and Arizona.

Townsend Family Papers – Samuel's bio page:

<http://shayol.bartol.udel.edu/townsend-tree/php/record.php?ref=432>

Turner-Turner, John Edmond Unett Phillipson (1856-?) Son of John Turner-Turner (d. 1874) and Marion Maria Dorothea Hoare of Avon, Ringwood (d. 1897). John purchased Avon Castle in 1873, which included an estate of 1200 acres on the River Avon. Estimated value of the castle's construction £80,000. Castle became a hotel. Served as JP for Hants. Lived at Avon Castle until 1901.

Vachell, Horace Annesley (1861-1955) Educated at Harrow, then Sandhurst. Served in the Rifle Brigade (Prince Consort's Own). Ranch owner in California (1883-1899), Returned to England in 1899 and settled at Widcombe Manor, near Bath. Become a novelist and playwright. Married Lydie Phillips (d 1895), his partner's daughter. Introduced polo to Southern California. Tried to enlist in the First World War, but was rejected because of his advanced age.

Vivian, Arthur Pendarves (1834-1926) Son of an industrialist, John Henry Vivian and his Sarah Jones. Lived at Glanafon, Glamorganshire, Wales and continued his father's business. Educated at Eton, mining academy at Freiberg, Saxony, and Trinity College, Cambridge. A politician, he served as a Liberal MP in House of Commons from 1868-1885, at which time his constituency was abolished. Served as JP and county councillor for Glamorgan (1889-98) and JP, High Sheriff, and county alderman (1898-1926) in Cornwall. Married Lady Augusta Emily, the 4th Earl of Dunraven's sister, who died in 1877 right before his trip to Canada and the United States. Remarried in 1880 to Lady Jane Georgina, daughter of John Dalrymple, 10th Earl of Stair. Invested as a King's Counsel (K.C.), as well as a Knight Commander, Order of the Bath (K.C.B.). Member of the Shikar Club.

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