

Hunting and Imperial Masculinity in Eastern Africa



Introduction

In Reading 1: Hunting in the Wilderness, we learned that the wilderness is an Anglo-American cultural construct created by ideas of the frontier and the sublime. We learned that many people—particularly white, elite men—sought this wilderness as a place to prove their strength, bravery, and martial prowess. Through discussions of subsistence, commercial, and elite hunting we saw that different types of people engaged in hunting and fishing activities for different reasons and in different historical contexts. In Reading 2, we are going to apply these ideas to eastern Africa generally and then to the specific imperial case study of the Man-Eaters of Tsavo.

HUNTING IN EASTERN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

HUNTING IN EASTERN AFRICA

THE PROBLEM OF IMPERIAL SOURCES

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EASTERN AFRICA

IMPERIAL HUNTING AND MASCULINITY IN AFRICA

THE MAN-EATERS OF TSAVO

Hunting in Eastern Africa

Africa is not a country. It is a continent composed of 54 countries and 2 disputed territories. The non-human environment varies widely across the continent, from arid deserts in the north, to rain forests in the west, to savannah in the east. Some hunting practices were used in multiple regions across Africa. Because the major case study of this lesson focuses on an imperial hunt near the Tsavo River in what is now the nation-state of Kenya, this reading will focus on the non-human environment and hunting practices of eastern Africa, particularly in the region between Lake Victoria and the coast.

Eastern Africa contains many of the megafauna commonly found in a Western child's "African safari" playset: elephants, giraffes, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, lions, hyenas, wildebeest, impalas, zebras, and gazelles. The ground is mostly covered in grasses and thorn bushes. The most common trees in this semi-arid landscape are of the distinctive acacia and baobab varieties.

Key Terms:

Imperialism

Colonialism

Decolonization

The "Civilizing Mission"

Reading "Against the Grain"

Subaltern Studies

East African Protectorate

Ugandan Railway

Imperial Hunt

Guides and Gunbearers

The Man-Eaters of Tsavo



Map of contemporary Africa, 2021



Maasai herdsman grazing cattle

Hunters in eastern Africa used a variety of techniques depending on their reason for hunting and their intended prey. Prey could be as small as rodents or as large as an elephant, and the techniques varied accordingly. A handful of examples can demonstrate this variety. Some hunters built blinds out of branches by watering holes and then shot thirsty animals with a bow and arrows or a rifle. A specialist hunting group in Kenya known as the Okeik manufactured a prized poison they applied to their arrows and spears to hunt elephants. They also sold that poison to other groups, such as the Kamba and Maasai, who engaged in herding and farming activities in addition to hunting. These groups typically focused on hunting during the dry season when other food sources were scarce.

The Kikuyu of the forested highlands near what is now Nairobi often dug pit traps, covered them with branches, and placed a fallen log on either side of the pit so that the animal stepping over the log would be thrown further off balance when the concealing branches gave way beneath its weight. Many groups who went out for organized hunts during the dry season would ring their camp with pit traps and snares as well as follow animals on foot. In the early twentieth century, a European observer described a Nyamwezi community hunt where each household contributed rope to create a line of nooses 150 feet long. The community then coordinated a drive of surrounding game into the line of nooses so that hundreds of animals were caught in the ropes. Subsistence hunting was common among most people in the region, with seasonal hunts taking place in the dry season to supplement agricultural and pastoral food sources. This was not the only type of hunting, however. It could also be tied to social and ritual power. The Maasai, for instance, typically only hunted predators, such as lions, that threatened their cattle herds; participating in a lion hunt was crucial to the coming-of-age rituals for young men.

The Kimbu considered lions to be “royal game” and hunting them the province of the chief. Many groups of people were also involved in commercial hunting, particularly the ivory trade. There is evidence of trans-regional trade in ivory in Swahili-speaking eastern Africa from at least the seventh century AD. The ivory would either move north and into Europe along trans-Saharan trade routes or east and south across the Indian Ocean. In the nineteenth century, Europeans began to purchase great quantities of ivory from coastal traders, but it wasn’t until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that European imperialists began to participate in elephant hunting in the interior.



Maasai hunt a hyena, a common livestock predator, 1907

The Problem of Imperial Sources

Many of the peoples described above left little to no written record or had their oral histories disrupted by imperial violence and displacement. If these sources are missing or incomplete, how do we know about the history of hunting in eastern Africa?

Most of the textual sources of information on hunting practices in eastern Africa come from nineteenth century European colonial texts such as imperial travel and hunting memoirs. Some academic work has been done to collect oral histories of different African groups. Other historians look at trading records to get a sense of what animals were being killed for commercial purposes. But, for the most part, the detailed descriptions of hunting practices that are available to contemporary historians come from European observers. This means that the information in these sources was written in an imperial and/or colonial context and must therefore be handled with care.



Maasai warriors, c. 1906-1918

Imperialism and Colonialism

Before discussing how to read “against the grain” of imperial and colonial sources, we are going to spend a few minutes thinking about these terms, imperialism and colonialism. It is possible that you have encountered them before when studying the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They are often used interchangeably but do have some important distinctions.

A good way to think about the difference between imperialism and colonialism is that imperialism is an *idea* and colonialism is an *action*. Therefore, you can have imperialism without colonialism, but not colonialism without imperialism. Colonialism deepens imperial control.

Imperialism is, therefore, the *idea* that one region or country is superior to another and is therefore within its rights to dominate the lesser region to the advantage of the dominant party.

Colonialism covers bureaucratic, political, economic, social, cultural, and settlement *actions* taken by the dominant region or country to exert their power over the imperial territory that they have claimed. When a writer in London expresses a desire to bring British “civilization” to the “barbaric” regions of the globe, this is imperialism. When a British bureaucrat moves to Calcutta and drafts legislation designed to strip property rights from local Indian landholders, that is colonialism. This hierarchical, extractive relationship was the dominant form of global governance during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the twentieth century, we start to hear the word **neo-imperialism**. From the Greek prefix, this literally means “new imperialism.” After nation-states like India and Kenya gained their independence from the British Empire, they were no longer subject to that imperial power or colonial government. However, because these newly independent countries often lacked the same financial, technological, and educational resources as their former colonizing powers, they were still stuck in the same type of hierarchical and extractive relationship found in nineteenth century imperialism, but without the formal practices of colonial domination. Neo-imperialism, therefore, is still animated by the same belief in the superiority of one region or country over another. It replicates the same types of global hierarchies, but under the guise of foreign aid, cultural imperialism, or trade treaties rather than formal colonial structures.

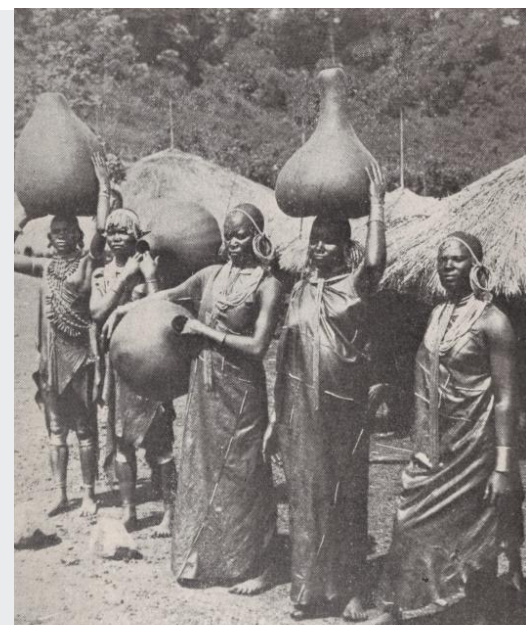
In the twenty-first century there are movements to decolonize and deimperialize mindsets, practices, and spaces. **Decolonization** started with movements to expel colonizing powers from specific territories. For instance, when South Asian ousted the British Empire from the subcontinent, the work of decolonization began but was not finished. Today, one definition of the term refers to “the attempt of the previously colonized to reflectively work out a historical relation with the former colonizer, culturally, politically, and economically” (Chen, 3). Decolonization is about understanding the many ways colonialism has explicitly and implicitly shaped one’s society and working to remove ideas and institutions that continue to promote unjust hierarchies.

Alternatively, one definition of **deimperialization** is the work of “the colonizing or imperializing population to examine the conduct, motives, desires, and consequences of the imperialist history that has formed its own subjectivity” (Chen, 4). This is work that needs to be done by the governments and citizens of former imperial powers to come to terms with the ways in which they have benefited from this historical system of exploitation. Both terms, as well as this module, argue that in the twenty-first century we live in a world shaped by centuries of imperial hierarchies, domination, and extraction. Therefore, we must understand where we came from in order to work for a more sustainable and just future.

The Problem of Sources

For historians, understanding our past means studying **primary sources**, or any source of information created at or near the time of an event under study. As previously mentioned, most of the primary sources concerning eastern African hunting practices that are readily available today come from British and German observers. This poses an immediate problem for historians because their information is limited by the biases of these imperial writers. A major bias of British imperialists was a belief in the **civilizing mission**, a justification for colonial land grabs that presumed all people outside of western Europe were uncivilized and therefore in need of British intervention to lead better, proper lives. This idea often inspired imperial hunting and travel memoirs to describe local practices and customs as strange, backward, or savage. Even sympathetic imperial writers rarely spoke the local language, so they were at the mercy of an interpreter and could also misunderstand their observations because of their biases and because they could not ask clarifying questions. These writers may also have also remained silent on topics that would be of interest to contemporary historians simply because they, the writer, did not have interest in them at the time.

What this means for historians in the twenty-first century is that we must critically analyze the archives that are available to us and avoid reproducing the sentiments of imperial writers. We must read **“against the grain.”** This process involves reading imperial records specifically for clues about the lives and beliefs of people who did not leave their own written record such as the rural poor, working classes, and women. It then means recognizing and stripping out imperial prejudices, such as the belief in the civilizing mission, that color the text. Finally, when possible, reading “against the grain” means using the sources at hand to try and reconstruct the actions, motivations, and voices of common people who previously had not been heard. Historians continue to debate how effective we can be at reconstructing these voices given the sources that we have, but this kind of work continues on under the banner of **everyday history** and **subaltern studies**.



Kikuyu women in British East Africa, 1917

A Brief History of Eastern Africa

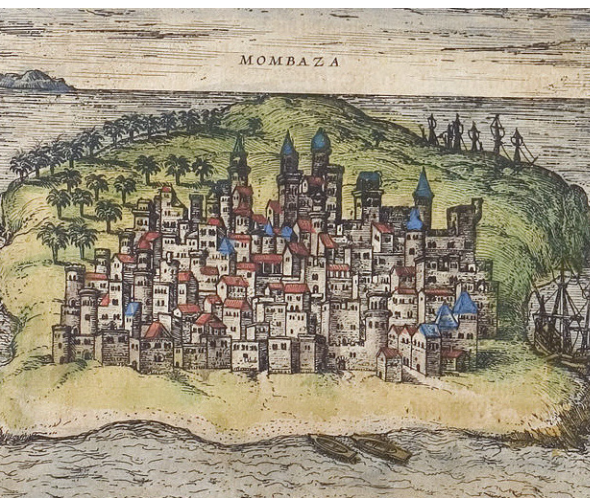
One way to prepare ourselves to read “against the grain” and reconstruct a history from below is to remind ourselves that eastern Africa has thousands of years of vibrant history. Even when it comes to the global trade of ivory and other products of commercial hunting, Europeans are relatively recent interlopers in the region. And when they do arrive, they must contend with the rich social and cultural history of the region even if they do not understand it.



Topographical map of the African continent

Eastern Africa, particularly the areas of Tanzania and Kenya near Tsavo, are divided between a semi-tropical coastal region, a dry strip of semi-arid scrubland known as nyika, and relatively fertile uplands. Therefore historically, settlement was concentrated on the coasts and in the uplands with trade between different groups crossing the mainly unpeopled nyika.

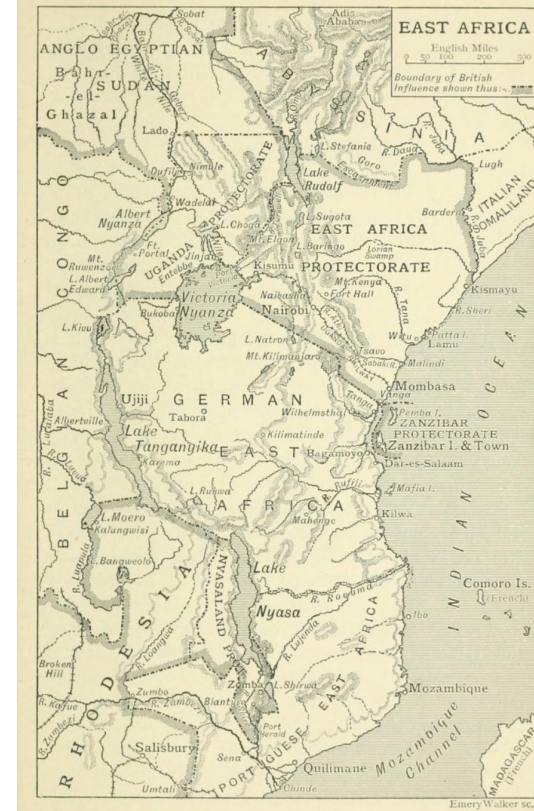
During the medieval and early modern periods, the uplands saw the settlement of different groups of Bantu-speaking people who engaged primarily in pastoral and/or agricultural activities. They formed shifting trade links and alliances among themselves during this period, but there was never an overarching political kingdom or empire in the region. Major trading port cities such as Mombasa and Mogadishu were populated by Swahili-speaking groups from approximately 1000 AD. Though they were often functionally independent city-states, these places were integrated into networks of coastal and Indian Ocean trade. By the fourteenth century, towns as far south as Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanzania were profiting from a variety of trade routes and using their wealth to erect mosques and marketplaces. Some of this wealth came from trade in ivory.



A view of the city of Mombasa, under Portuguese rule from 1498 to 1730

The sixteenth century saw the arrival of Portuguese traders on the East African coast. They first allied with the town of Malindi and launched a joint attack on Malindi's rival, Mombasa. Over the next century, most coastal city-states alternatively allied with or were attacked by the Portuguese and their African neighbors. In the seventeenth century, the Portuguese established Fort Jesus near Mombasa, but, overall, their position in the India Ocean—both in Africa and India—had begun to weaken by that time. In the early eighteenth century, the region came under Omani influence. Though also Muslim and tied to eastern Asia through long-standing trade links, the Swahili-speaking people of the coast did not welcome Omani control any more than they had Portuguese. And just like with the Portuguese, though different city-states fought the occasional battle alongside or against the Omani, most of eastern Africa remained relatively free of unwanted foreign influence into the early nineteenth century.

As the nineteenth century opened, trade links between smaller language groups in the interior and the coastal city-states increased, in part because of a growing world-wide demand for ivory and the subsequent retreat of the elephant population from the coast owing to overhunting. In the 1830s, Sayyid Said established greater Omani control over eastern Africa from his base on the island of Zanzibar. With the help of Indian financiers called banians, his government spurred the international trade in ivory. The communal hunting patterns that had defined communities like the Nyamwezi, gave way to smaller parties of professional ivory hunters. Because of the increased use of ivory in items such as piano keys and billiard balls, both Britain and the United States took an increased interest in Said's kingdom on Zanzibar as the nineteenth century progressed. To fund their ivory purchases, Britain increasingly sought to circumvent the Omani and pushed their manufactured cloth and metal goods directly into the African interior through the 1870s. During the 1880s, Britain and Germany effectively divided up eastern Africa into spheres of influence. The territory that would become the independent nation-state of Kenya was under British control. In 1895, the British declared it the East Africa Protectorate. In 1920, the territory would be renamed Kenya colony and in 1963, the Independent Republic of Kenya was formed.



Map of East Africa, illustrating the British Protectorate and German colonies

Railways and Empire

Shortly after the establishment of the East Africa Protectorate, the British imperial government started to construct the Uganda Railway to connect Mombasa and Nairobi with Lake Victoria. The line was meant to extend the formal structures of British colonialism into the interior, including administrative oversight, military control, and increased trading links. The railway also provided travelers with protection from the environment by moving them swiftly through potentially dangerous landscapes, such as the nyika, and shading them from the subtropical sun while doing so. Because railway technology was emblematic of modernity and progress in the Victorian imagination during the nineteenth century, the presence of the line also acted as a symbol of the civilizing promise of empire. As aforementioned, this meant that when British imperialists stole territory and strangled markets, they could tell themselves their actions were in the name of "civilization" and therefore in the best interests of the people they had conquered. With this mindset, they believed that the Ugandan Railway was a gift to the people of eastern Africa, rather than a method for increasing British control of the interior and monopolizing the lucrative ivory trade.



Map of the Uganda Railway, Mombas to Port Florence, British East Africa, 1909



Uganda Railway near Mombasa, c. 1899

This imperial logic had animated railway construction throughout the British Empire during the second half the nineteenth century, beginning with lines near Bombay (Mumbai) and Calcutta (Kolkata) in India in the 1850s. By the turn of the twentieth century, approximately 24,000 route miles had opened on the subcontinent and two generations of Indian laborers had honed the specialized skills needed for railway construction and operation. The Uganda Railway Company therefore recruited South Asian workers from Karachi and Lahore to construct the railway; over 36,000 indentured laborers signed three-year contracts to work on this project. They did the bulk of the specialized technical labor; African laborers typically engaged in manual work such as portage and earthworks. All of this was overseen by a handful of British managers. According to their memoirs, these managers were often away from the worksite and out hunting.

Imperial Hunting and Masculinity in Africa

As we have seen, nearly all groups in eastern African engaged in some sort of hunting activity, whether it was for food, profit, or political and ritual power. A new element was introduced to this hunting landscape as the British consolidated their political and economic power in the East Africa Protectorate at the end of the nineteenth century. This new element was the **imperial hunt**, a hierarchical joint endeavor between European imperialists and African guides and porters. These expeditions were displays of imperial power. Though the hunting often produced food for the members of the party and could also yield commercially valuable tusks, this was not the main reason for such imperial hunts.



Hunters in East Africa following a buffalo hunt, c. 1910

Big game hunting in the savannahs and forests of eastern Africa was a way for British men to believe they were escaping the bondage of civilization and domesticity and honing their masculinity in this newly opened frontier space. Though the Anglo-American idea of frontier is most commonly associated with the American West, the same principles apply to British imperialists' perceptions of the interior of eastern Africa. They saw this space as an unpeopled wilderness dotted with small villages but as mostly an open landscape populated with a diversity of big game animals. The challenges of surviving in this semi-arid landscape among dangerous megafauna such as lions and hippopotamus allowed male British hunters space to perform their rationality, bravery, and fortitude. These values were reproduced in the imperial hunting memoirs these men wrote about their experiences, thus reinforcing the links between wilderness, hunting, and "real" men.

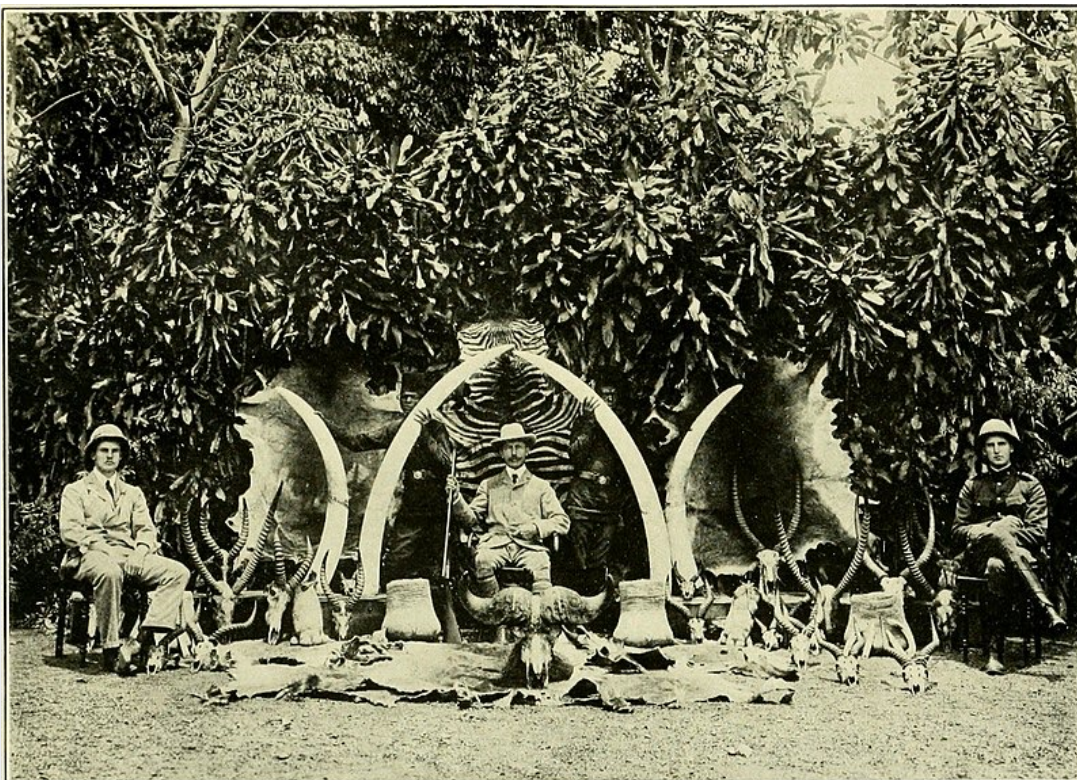
These hunting memoirs also allowed imperial hunters to display their specialist knowledge of African landscapes, animals, and people. While such displays established the authority of these men within imperial society, this knowledge was gained from often intimate relationships with African guides and gunbearers. The imperial hunter often could not enter a particular territory without the approval of the local chief or political power. They could not safely navigate and camp in that territory without the local knowledge provided by guides and porters. Similarly, any kill could not be butchered or carried out without the assistance of dozens of local people.



Image from Richard Tjader's 1910 book, *The Big Game of Africa*, captioned "The Lioness Which Almost Killed the Author".

The imperial hunter's dependency on African assistance opened up space for "African leaders, communities and hunters to shape the outcome of hunts and direct hunting expeditions to their own ends" (Thompson, 162). This became increasingly important after imperial legislation outlawed most types of African hunting. Before this, in years of drought or rinderpest (a deadly cattle virus) agricultural communities could turn to subsistence hunting to supplement their scarce food sources. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a local leader would have to negotiate with an imperial hunter and withhold assistance unless the hunter promised to provide meat for the community.

These intertwined relationships made regular appearances in imperial hunting memoirs, with the more skilled British writers painting complex characterizations and compelling anecdotes regarding the African guides, gunbearers, and porters among whom they lived. While such narratives should upset imperial stereotypes of "child-like" or "savage" Africans, these beliefs were so central to the imperial project (and thus the very existence of the imperial hunt) that British writers took pains to layer in racist interpretations that reaffirmed a fundamental difference between Britain and Africa and therefore justified the imperial project. An unvarnished expression of these views can be seen in Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden."



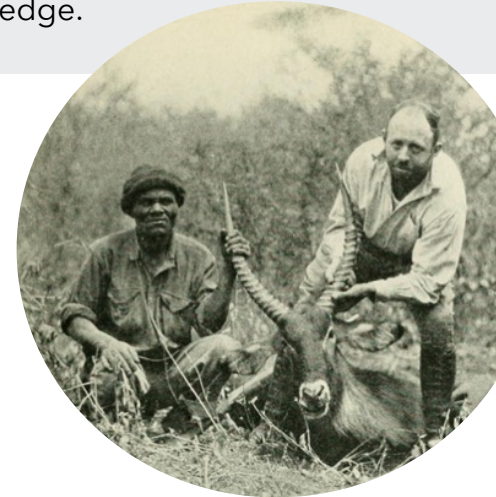
The governor of Uganda, Henry Hesketh Joudou Bell with hunting trophies, c. 1910



Scene from a hunting trip in Simba, Kenya, June 1914.

Another clear illustration of this contradictory position is the role of the gunbearer in the imperial hunt. The man in this position stood next to the white hunter and ensured that his extra gun or guns were loaded and ready. As the twentieth century progressed, this was one of the few times when an African could legally handle a modern firearm. Gunbearers often also dispensed local hunting knowledge.

Despite the importance of this position to the success of the hunt, imperial hunters often distrusted their gunbearers. In an incident in 1898, Genthe, a European hunter, was trampled and killed by an elephant after he ignored the advice of his gunbearer, Mataja, to stay further away from the animal. Mataja then oversaw the burial of his employer and reported Genthe's death to the local British authorities, who ordered his body exhumed in order to determine that he was in fact killed by an elephant and not Mataja. When the incident was reported in the *British Central Africa Gazette*, the article simultaneously cast suspicion on Mataja—and by extension, all gunbearers—while also bemoaning the fact that Genthe ignored his good advice and got himself killed.

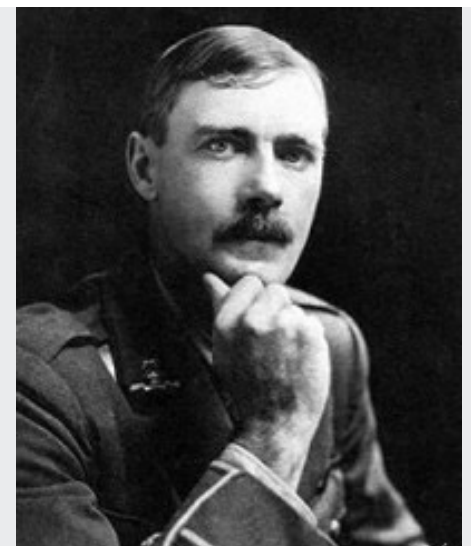


Paul Hoefler and guide Maniki with water buck, 1920s

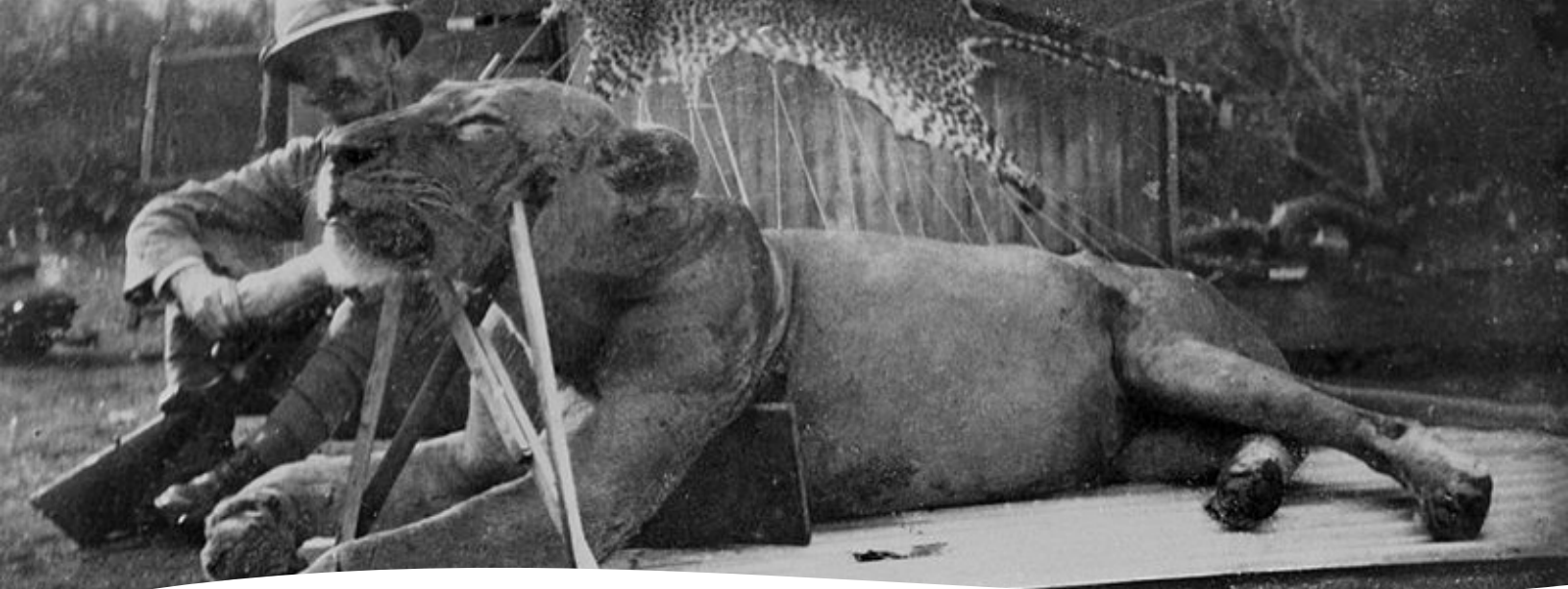
Because the British imperial project was predicated on the belief that white men were mentally and morally superior to everyone else on the planet, imperial hunters' dependence on African labor and expertise was deeply unsettling, particularly since the imperial hunt was designed to display mastery over land and labor. This is why the imperial hunters' written acknowledgement of their dependence was so distorted with racist ideology. A passage from military officer and hunter Chauncy Stigand illustrated this phenomenon:

"The white man, who is a keen hunter, is generally much more in touch with the native and in sympathy with him than the one who does not care for sport. It is easy to see why this should be so. The latter meets the native over matters of discipline, taxes, labour, and many other things which are of the white man's invention and making, and so difficult for the native to understand. The hunter meets the savage on common grounds and on matters with which the latter is, in a primitive way, more conversant than he himself is."
(Quoted in Thompsell, 164)

This paragraph, written in 1913, recognizes the expertise of local Africans and the reliance of imperial hunters on that expertise, but it does so using racist terms such as primitive and savage.



Chauncy Stigand



J.H. Patterson, posing with the first of the two Tsavo lions, 1898

The Man-Eaters of Tsavo

One of the primary sources you will read with this lesson is a chapter from the semi-autobiographical imperial hunting memoir by Lieutenant Colonel John Henry Patterson entitled *The Man-Eaters of Tsavo*. Patterson spent most of his career in the military, serving in British India in the late nineteenth century and with the Jewish Legion in the British Army during World War I. Despite little technical experience, in 1898 he was recruited by the Ugandan Railway Company to act as chief engineer and oversee the construction of a railway bridge over the Tsavo River.



Map of British East Africa, 1909

This stretch of the Uganda Railway passes through the nyika, the semi-arid scrubland between the coast and the uplands. This landscape has a justifiably dangerous reputation. It is home to the tsetse fly, the winged carrier of sleeping sickness, which afflicts humans and cattle alike. The region was also crossed with caravan routes bringing ivory and enslaved people to coastal city-states for sale onward in the Indian Ocean network. The people who died of exhaustion or heat stroke in the nyika were often left where they fell and were scavenged by hyenas and lions. Long before the arrival of the railway and Patterson, the lions of Tsavo had gained a reputation for feasting on human flesh, a departure from the behavior of most African lions. Tsavo lions also look different than their cousins on the Serengeti. Because of the extreme temperatures and meager water resources, male lions evolved to have short, thin manes or no manes at all in order to stay cooler.

The two lions that terrorized the railway work crew on the Tsavo River were maneless males. Recent study of their skulls, now owned by the Chicago Field Museum, shows that both lions had tooth damage to the extent that it would have been painful for them to pierce the hide and crush the trachea of the species' usual ungulate prey. Typically, if a predatory cat such as a lion, tiger, or leopard turns to soft and defenseless human prey it is because they have been injured in some way and can no longer hunt their typical food sources. Zoologists have also speculated that man-eating can be learned behavior, usually from a mother to cubs. In the case of the Tsavo lions, it is possible that the lion with more severe dental problems encouraged his hunting partner to turn to human prey.

The attacks on Indian and African laborers in Tsavo began in March of 1898 and continued intermittently through December of that year, when Patterson eventually shot both of the lions. His narrative attributes 135 deaths to these lions, but recent analysis of the isotopes in their hair and skin, which can indicate diet, combined with knowledge of lions' metabolism suggest that 35 people were eaten by these lions in the months before their death. This new evidence should not discount the terror that gripped the Tsavo railway encampment in 1898. Not only is 35 still a shockingly high number of deaths, but the isotope evidence only identifies the number of people eaten by the lions, not people who were killed but not consumed. The deaths or desertions of Indian indentured laborers were recorded by Patterson and the railway company, but no systematic records were kept of the Africans who worked at the site. There is no way, then, to conclusively know how many workers deserted and how many were killed by the lions.

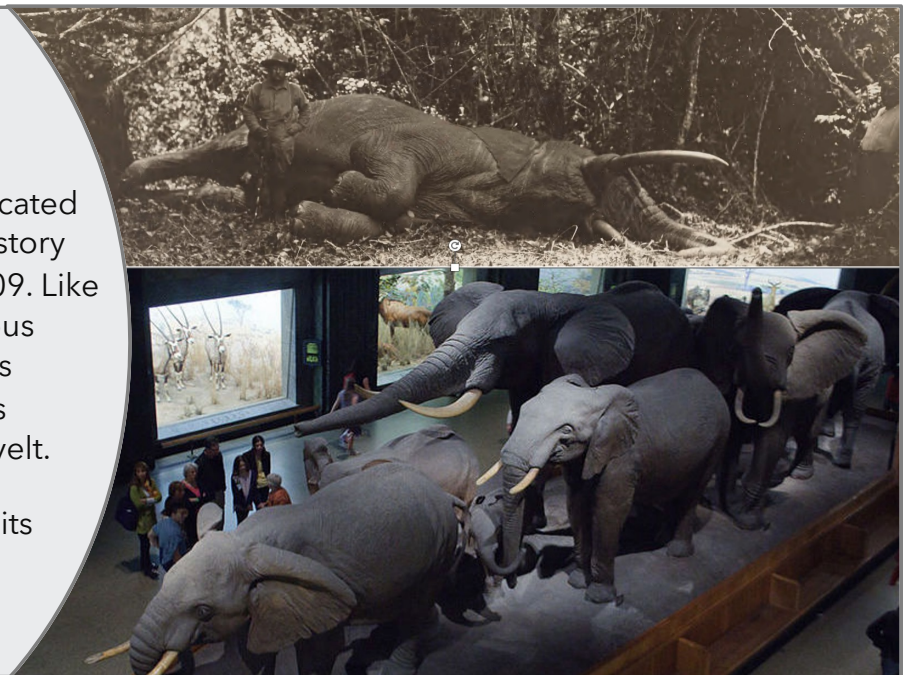
After Patterson shot the lions, he had their skins preserved and turned into hunting trophy rugs. In 1920, he sold their hides and skulls to the Chicago Field Museum, where they are still on display today. With this sale, Patterson participated in another aspect of the imperial hunt: collecting and cataloging specimens for the advancement of zoological knowledge. Most of the taxidermized animals in natural history museums in the United States and Europe were collected through the efforts of nineteenth and early twentieth century imperial hunters. Theodore Roosevelt's African safari, for instance, produced the core of the collection at the Museum of Natural History in New York City.

The impulses behind the imperial hunt and the collecting and cataloging of zoological and botanical specimens are similar. Both are aspects of the imperial project. They require white people, usually men, to venture into foreign territories and endure physical and mental hardship for the sake of hunting or collecting. These ventures rely on the assumption that Euro-American epistemologies, or practices of gathering knowledge, are superior to any other knowledge system on the globe. They assume that knowledge can only be produced when a rational white man is organizing the project and curating the findings for the edification of an imperial public. The creation of this purportedly universal knowledge is then used by apologists as evidence in support of the civilizing mission of imperialism. We will see these trends continue in Reading 3, when elite Euro-American settlers in the United States attempted to ban Native Americans and the rural poor from practicing "improper" hunting in the wilderness.

Explore More...

The Akeley Hall of African Mammals located in the American Museum of Natural History was conceived of by Carl Akeley in 1909. Like many such exhibits, it contains numerous taxidermized animals. The hall's famous centerpiece displaying eight elephants includes one shot by Theodore Roosevelt.

Learn more about the [African Hall](#) and its [famous centerpiece](#).



Theodore Roosevelt (top), and the centerpiece of the AMNH African Hall (bottom)

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Maasai herdsman grazing cattle in Ngorongoro crater, by Muhammad Mahdi Karim, 2010, GNU Free Documentation 1.2, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maasai_man_with_cattle.jpg
"Spotted hyena attacked by Maasai warriors," in Karl Georg Shillings and Frederic Whyte, *Wildest Africa*, 1907, Public Domain, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Crocuta_vs_Maasai_2.png

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Maasai, German East Africa, c. 1906-1918, CC: BY SA, German Federal Archives, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv_Bild_105-DOA0556_Deutsch-Ostafrika_Massaikrieger.jpg

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"Kikuyu women, British East Africa," New York Public Library Digital Collections, 1917, Public Domain, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47dd-e358-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

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Space-based topographic map of African continent, NASA/JPL/NIMA, Public Domain, <https://www.nasa.gov/content/us-releases-shuttle-land-elevation-data-to-aid-global-climate-resilience>
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Uganda Railway Near Mombasa, c. 1899, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kurve_bei_Mombasa.jpg
"German Hunters at Mosch After a Buffalo Hunt. Herr Bast Second from Left," in in Peter MacQueen, in *In Wildest Africa*, London: George Ball and Sons, 1910, pg. 134, Public Domain, <https://archive.org/details/inwildestafricar00macq/page/134/mode/1up>

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"The Lioness Which Almost Killed the Author, Shot on the Sotik, 1909," in Richard Tjader, *The Big Game of Africa*, New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1910, Public Domain, pg. 46 <https://archive.org/details/biggameofafrica00tjad/page/46/mode/2up>
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Christian Thames together with Kenyan guide, scene from a hunting trip in Simba, Kenya in June, 1914, photograph by Alfred Klein, Public Domain, <https://digitalmuseum.org/021015822337/christian-thams-sammen-med-en-kenyaner>
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Captain Chauncy Hugh Stigand, before 1919, Fair Use, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Captain-chauncey-stigand.jpg>

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The first of the two Tsavo man-eating lions
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Map of British East Africa, National
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Photograph of Theodore Roosevelt, with the bull
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